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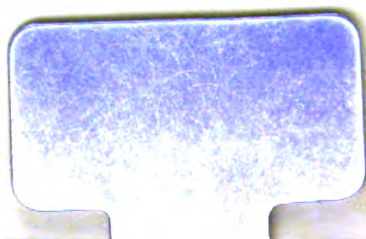
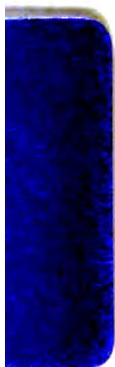
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VOLUME XVII.

NEANDER'S GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY.

VOL. VI.

EDINBURGH :

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET,

LONDON: J. GLADDING; WARD AND CO.; AND JACKSON AND WALFORD.

DUBLIN: JOHN ROBERTSON.

MDCCCLXI.

GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND CHURCH

FROM THE GERMAN OF
DR AUGUSTUS NEANDER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FIRST, REVISED AND ALTERED THROUGHOUT
ACCORDING TO THE SECOND EDITION.

BY JOSEPH TORREY,
PROFESSOR OF MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF
VERMONT.

“ I am come to send fire on the earth.”— *Words of our Lord.*
“ And the fire shall try every man's work of what sort it is.” “ But other foundation can no man
lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus.”—*St Paul.*

VOLUME VI.

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DEDICATION OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND,
THE REVEREND JOSEPH BLANCO WHYTE OF DUBLIN,

A PRESBYTER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I DEDICATE this volume, my dear sir, to you, in token of the fellowship of mind and heart existing between us—a fellowship springing out of our common consciousness of that evangelical truth which, fitted and designed to unite all men together in one community, begets friendship on both sides the ocean between those who, by the eye of the spirit, can recognise each other as kinsmen and brethren, though they have never seen each other face to face. And as we are united by the consciousness of that truth which for eighteen centuries has been at work to found among all mankind a fellowship which will destroy all separating intervals of time and space, so are we more particularly bound together by our peculiar mode of apprehending that truth, resulting from the history of our lives, which, differing as they do in other respects, resemble each other in this, that they have run through the same opposite extremes, agitating the times in which we live; as well as by our common conviction of what it is which constitutes the essence of the gospel, and of its relation to the changing forms of human culture. Out of your struggle with superstition and infidelity, with dogmatism and scepticism, you have reached and found repose in the settled conviction that, as in your last work you finely express it, the essence of Christianity consists not so much in the revelation of a new speculative theory or system of morality, as in the bestowment of a new divine life fitted to penetrate, and refine from its inmost centre, man's entire nature with all its powers and capacities, and also to give a new direction to all human thought and action. This divine principle of life is one which ever retains the freshness and vigour of youth; while dogmatic systems dependent on the changing forms of culture among men become superannuated. Humanity as it advances in years, by this principle of the new life continually grows young again. From this divine life comes the consciousness which conquers doubt, which dissipates *σκάνδαλα* and *προσκόμματα*, which overcomes all difficulties; while human science ever continues to be a patchwork, as it cannot deny without contradicting itself. To exhibit the progressive evolution and purification of this divine life within the whole compass of humanity, on the sides of thought and of action, is precisely the task which the present work, feebly and imperfectly as it may be done, aims to accomplish; and because you perceived this to be its aim and tendency, you have expressed your agreement with it. May the Spirit of God ever keep us thus united, that so with the greater energy we may, till the last breath of life, bear witness of this divine life which Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, and Saviour of sinful mankind, has bestowed; that we may promote, cherish, and refine it both in ourselves and in others; that we may contend with it and for it, against scepticism and dogmatism, against the pride and presumption of a false philosophy, and the arrogant idolatry of mere notions of the human understanding.

A. NEANDER.

BERLIN, Oct. 4th, 1834.

DEDICATION OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

TO MY BELOVED FRIEND AND COLLEAGUE,

DR TWESTEN.

WHEN I dedicated to you a volume of this work some years ago, my inward motive was the consciousness of our spiritual fellowship as Christians and theologians ; while at the same time the outward occasion was presented in the pleasure I had of greeting you here again, and of being able to compare our views with regard to many points, on the spot where our ancient friendship first commenced. And then again, when one of my dearest wishes seemed likely, though by a painful occasion, to be fulfilled, and I was promising myself the satisfaction of being permitted to labour with you for the kingdom of God in a closer collegial union, I felt desirous of dedicating to you the third volume of my church history by way of saluting you as my colleague. I omitted to do so because I was unwilling to anticipate a decision of which I had not as yet been certainly assured. Since then, you have followed the call of the Lord which invited you to join us ; and since then, I have experienced and enjoyed, amid the jars and divisions of an all-separating, all-isolating period, the rich and manifold blessing of our collegial connection. First of all, then, I would thank God for this. I would thank Him, that he led you to us ; for in such a time of the breaking up of old foundations, in such a period of ferment, we do indeed especially need theologians who can with calmness and composure, with firmness and freedom, pursue right onward through the oppositions which agitate the times, that true middle course, which is not to be found by falling in with every tendency of the good and the evil spirit of the age, but which the pure and simple truth of the gospel presents of itself, as the only way *ultra quod citraque nequit consistere rectum* ;—men who seek after nothing but the simple truth, and who would let this have its sway ; who have received from above that disposition which will not allow them to comply with the wishes of those for whom this simple truth is not good enough, nor to humour that sickly tendency of a false culture and excitement which can be satisfied only with the piquant and the striking. May God, therefore, who has bestowed this blessing on you, preserve your health and strength to work among us yet many years by your science and your life, in this spirit, for his kingdom ; and may he give you to enjoy an ever increasing pleasure and delight in this work. May he bless also our union, and cause us to be a mutual help, as it becomes Christian friends to be, to each other, by strengthening each other's hands, and encouraging each other's hearts and correcting each other's errors. May he enable us to labour together for one common end, even that—to use the language of the great Erasmus—*ut Christus ille purus atque simplex inseratur mentibus hominum*, an end to which science itself must also be subservient.

Yours, with my whole heart,

NEANDER.

BERLIN, June 10th, 1836.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

IN presenting to the public this third volume of my Church History, I beg leave to remark that it would have given me great pleasure if I had found it possible to conclude in this volume my account of the image-controversy; but in considering the immense mass of the materials, I have thought best to reserve the second part of this controversy for the next succeeding period, where it chronologically belongs. The thread of events which in this period served to prepare the way for the schism betwixt the Greek and the Latin church, I shall take up again in the genetic exposition of this controversy in the following period.

Through the obliging assistance of my friend Dr Petermann, whose praiseworthy efforts have opened the way for establishing among us a chair of Armenian literature, I have been enabled here and there to avail myself of Armenian sources of information hitherto unexplored.

May the indefatigable labours of this estimable man, in a field which promises so rich a harvest, meet with the acknowledgment and the patronage they so eminently deserve.

A. N.

BERLIN, Oct. 4th, 1834.

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH VOLUME.

GOD be thanked that he has enabled me to complete this new and important section of the present work, and to approach the flourishing period of the middle ages.

I cannot forbear expressing my hearty acknowledgments to Councillor Reuss of Gottingen, and to Mr Kopitar, keeper of the Imperial library in Vienna, for the kind assistance they have rendered me on several points of literary inquiry. Mr Kopitar has shown the distinguished kindness of sending me from his private library the Greek work mentioned on the 314th page of this volume, with the request that after having made such use of it as I needed for myself, I should place it in the royal library of this city for the use of other inquirers.

I must also express my obligations to Dr Petermann for the extracts with which he has furnished me from books published only in the Armenian language.

NEANDER.

BERLIN, June 10th, 1836.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME SIXTH.

FOURTH PERIOD OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO POPE GREGORY THE SEVENTH, OR FROM
A. D. 814 TO A. D. 1073.

SECTION FIRST.

EXTENSION AND LIMITATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH,
p. 1-100.

<i>Denmark and Sweden.</i> Disputes concerning the succession in Denmark lead prince Harald Krag of Jutland to apply to Lewis the Pious for assistance A. D. 822. Lewis takes advantage of this opportunity to found a mission. <i>Ebbo</i> of Rheims and <i>Halitgar</i> of Cambray, missionaries. Harald baptized A. D. 826. <i>Anschar</i> from the monastery of Corvey sent by Louis to Denmark A. D. 826. His labours restricted by Harald's expulsion. <i>Anschar</i> goes in 829 to Sweden, labours to introduce Christianity, returns in 831 to the Frank empire, Lewis makes <i>Hamburgh</i> a centre for the northern missions. <i>Anschar</i> , <i>Ebbo</i> , <i>Gauzbert</i> appointed by pope Leo IV. to diffuse Christianity in the North,.....	1-9
In Denmark king <i>Horik</i> a hindrance to the spread of Christianity. <i>Anschar</i> not discouraged. <i>Gauzbert</i> labours in Sweden with good success. <i>Hamburgh</i> laid waste by the Normans. Death of Lewis the Pious. Bremen united with <i>Hamburgh</i> . <i>Anschar</i> takes advantage of the personal friendship of king <i>Horik</i> (<i>Erich</i>) of Jutland to spread Christianity in Denmark. <i>Ardgar</i> labours in Sweden. <i>Herigar</i> converts the calamities which befel Sweden into a means of advancing Christianity among the people. Pious Christians in Sweden. <i>Ardgar</i> returns home. <i>Anschar</i> goes with <i>Erimbert</i> to Sweden. Meets with an unfavourable reception. Succeeds in persuading the King to embrace Christianity. <i>Anschar</i> returns (in 854). <i>Horik</i> II. an enemy of Christianity. <i>Anschar's</i> humility, sickness, and death,.....	9-23
<i>Rimbert</i> , <i>Anschar's</i> disciple, labours in Denmark and Sweden. King <i>Gurm</i> in	

Denmark (934) hostile to Christianity. Compelled by Henry I. of Germany to desist from persecuting Christianity. Archbishop Unni goes to Denmark. Favourably received by the king's son, <i>Harald Blaatand</i> (911). War between the latter and Otho I. (972) favourable to the introduction of Christianity. Harald receives baptism. Svenno, Harald's son, opposed to his father, and to Christianity (991). <i>Canute the Great</i> (1014) zealous in favour of Christianity. Undertakes (1027) a pilgrimage to Rome. Records his sentiments in favour of Christianity in a letter to his people,.....	23—28
<i>Sweden.</i> Labours of Rimbart and of Unni. Its union with Denmark favourable to the cause of Christianity. The Swedish king, Olof Stautkonung declares himself at first decidedly in favour of Christianity. English Ecclesiastics accomplish nothing by their imprudent zeal. Jacob Amund and his step-brother Emund (1051) promote Christianity. Stenkil his successor (1059) active in behalf of Christianity. The cure of an idolatrous priest tends to advance Christianity. Opinion expressed by Adam of Bremen respecting the preparation of Sweden for receiving Christianity,.....	28—31
<i>Norway.</i> The Normans become acquainted with Christianity by means of their piratical expeditions against Christian nations. Prince Hacon endeavours to found the Christian church in Norway. Transfers the Yule festival of his people to Christmas. Proposes to his people (945) that they should renounce idolatry. Meets with violent opposition, and is forced to conform to the usages of his country. The Danish king Harald endeavours (967) to destroy paganism in Norway by force. His vicegerent, <i>Yarl Hacon</i> , restores idolatry. The Norwegian general <i>Olof Tryggweson</i> becomes acquainted with Christianity through his intercourse with Christian nations. Receives baptism in England, obtains the government in Norway. Introduces Christianity by force (1000). Under the foreign regents, who divided Norway among them, paganism revives. <i>Olof the Thick</i> (1017) a decided Christian. Proceeds with great violence against paganism. Scarcity in some provinces causes the restoration of the pagan rites, which Olof abolishes by force. Insurrection against Olof under <i>Gutbrand</i> . Olof demolishes the great Thor (an enormous idol). Is killed in a battle against Canute, king of Denmark and England (1033). Honoured as a martyr,.....	31—39
<i>Iceland.</i> First attempt to introduce Christianity there. <i>Thorwald</i> , a respectable Icelander, carries bishop Frederic of Saxony to Iceland (981). Thorwald meets with an indifferent reception. Traverses the country amid many persecutions. Goes to Norway (986). Olof Tryggweson induces the Icelander Stefnor to preach Christianity in his native land. Obligated to leave his country (997) and to return again to king Olof. A like fate befalls the Icelander Hialti. Thangbrand (997) sent as an envoy to Iceland by king Olof. Obligated to flee on account of a murder (999). Gissur and Hialti go as missionaries to Iceland (1000). Are received. Sidu-Hallr, leader of the Christians. Laws passed in favour of Christianity. Recognition of Christianity as the public religion. Isleif, the first Icelandic bishop,.....	39—48
<i>The Orcades and Faroe islands.</i> Olof Tryggweson induces one of the most powerful of the Faroe-islanders, Sigmund Bresterson, to receive baptism (998). He proposed to the islanders that they should receive Christianity. Meets with violent opposition. Yet labours on zealously. <i>Thrand</i> , a powerful islander, with his followers, returns back to paganism,.....	48—49
<i>Greenland.</i> The Icelander Leif conveys (999) Christianity to Greenland. Adalbert (1055) bishop of the Greenlanders. Ion, said to have met with martyrdom in Greenland, A. D. 1059,.....	49

<i>Bulgaria.</i> Christians who had been taken prisoners by the Bulgarians (813), diffuse Christianity in Bulgaria. Constantius Cypharas, a captive monk. Bogoris, prince of the Bulgarians, converted by his sister Theodora and by the monk Methodius (864). Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, exhorts him in a letter to take measures for the conversion of his people. False teachers among the Bulgarians. Pope Nicholas I. lays down rules for the Bulgarians respecting the keeping of festivals, against superstition, against cruelty, against the too frequent capital punishments, against the employment of the rack, respecting freedom and despotism. The Greek emperor, Basilus Macedo, prevails upon the Bulgarians to adopt the Greek church,	50—59
<i>Crimea.</i> Cyrill and Methodius, meritorious efforts of, to convert the Chazars inhabiting this peninsula,.....	59—61
<i>Moravia.</i> Radislav, ruler of the Moravians, connects himself from motives of policy first with the Greek, afterwards with the German empire. Cyrill and Methodius labour earnestly for Christianity. Methodius, archbishop of the Moravian church, excites the jealousy of the German clergy. Is complained of to Pope John VIII. Is summoned to Rome, where he satisfies the pope (879). John VIII. recommends Methodius in a letter to Swatopluk, successor of Radislav. Methodius falls out with Radislav. Bishop Wichin takes part against him, and he is defeated (881),.....	61—69
<i>Bohemia.</i> Duke <i>Borziwoi</i> of Bohemia becomes acquainted with Christianity at the Moravian court. His son <i>Wratislav</i> leaves behind him, A. D. 925, two sons, <i>Wenzeslav</i> and <i>Boleslav</i> . Wenzeslav, a zealous Christian, is assassinated by his pagan brother Boleslav (938). Boleslav professes Christianity. His son, Boleslav, the mild, a zealous Christian. Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, labours in Bohemia. Severus, archbishop of Prague (1038), makes laws for the church,.....	70—72
<i>Kingdom of the Wends.</i> Boso, bishop of Mersburg, labours first among the Slavonians. Insurrection of the Wends. Otho I. avails himself of his victory over the Slavonian tribes to found several bishoprics. <i>Mistiwoi</i> , a Wendian prince, destroys all the Christian establishments in northern Germany (983). Repents and returns back to Christianity. Gottshalk, founder of the kingdom of the Wends (1047), a zealous Christian. Finds many bishoprics. New insurrection of the Wends. Gottshalk dies (1066) by martyrdom,.....	72—76
<i>Russia.</i> Commercial connections and wars with the Greek empire the means of spreading Christianity among the Russians. Under the grand prince Igur (945) there are already Christians in the Russian army. Kiew, the most important place for the diffusion of Christianity. The grand princess Olga embraces Christianity. Her son, Swaroslav, is not to be won to Christianity. Confounding of the Russi with the Rugi (note). <i>Wladimir</i> , uncle of the grand princess Olga, embraces Christianity. He and his successor, Yaroslav (1019—1054), promote Christianity. Introduction of Cyrill's alphabet, and his translation of the Bible,.....	76—80
<i>Poland.</i> The Christian church planted there from Bohemia. Duke Miecislav and his Bohemian wife, Dambrowska, receive baptism (966),.....	80
<i>Hungary.</i> Its connection with the Greek empire the first occasion of missionary enterprises there. <i>Bulosudes</i> and <i>Gylas</i> , two Hungarian princes, are said to have been baptised at Constantinople towards the middle of the tenth century. Beginning of the missions (970). <i>Pilgrim of Passau</i> sends the monk Wolfgang to Hungary as a missionary. Adalbert of Prague and his disciple Radla labour in Hungary. Stephen, son and successor of the	

Hungarian prince Geisa, labour zealously to spread Christianity (997). Calls monks and ecclesiastics into his kingdom. Has recourse to violent measures for the introduction of Christianity. Emmerich, his son and successor. Stephen honoured as a saint. Reaction of the pagan party,.....	80—87
<i>Limitation of the Christian church in Spain.</i> Until the year 850 Christians allowed in the free exercise of their religion. Insults and persecution of the Christians. The more lax and the more strict party of Christians. Paul Alvarus of Cordova. Fanatical enthusiasm for martyrdom among the Christians. Abderrhaman II. caliph of the Arabians (850). Perfectus (850), John, Isaac, Flora die as martyrs. Eulogius and Alvarus promote the fanaticism. Recafid comes out against it. Aurelius and other martyrs. Council of Cordova against these disturbances (852). Mohammed, successor of Abderrhaman. Eulogius dies a martyr. Apologeticus martyrdom of Eulogius and Indiculus luminosus of Alvarus. Prudent party of the Christians repress the fanaticism,.....	87—100

SECOND SECTION.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION, 101—205.

I. Popes and the Papacy, 101—172.

<i>Pseudo-Isidorean decretals.</i> Evidence of their spuriousness. Their contents. Who was their author? Contest about the recognition of them. The weak government of Lewis the Pious favourable to the putting in practice of the Pseudo-Isidorean principles,.....	101—110
Nicholas I. (858) seeks to realise the idea of the papacy sketched forth in the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals. Makes his authority valid against the unlawful connection of Lothaire, of Lotharingia with Waldrade. Synods at Metz and Rome (863). Lothaire recognises Thietberga, whom he had repudiated, as his lawful wife. Resorts to new devices to satisfy his lust. Letter of the pope to Thietberga,.....	110—117
Nicholas in the contest with <i>Hinkmar archbishop of Rheims</i> . Synod of Soissons (863). Principles on which he proceeded defended by the declarations of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals. Founds the papal theocratic monarchy in relation to church and state,.....	117—122
Hadrian II. contends (867) with Charles the Bald unsuccessfully. Letter of archbishop Hinkmar to the pope in reference to the threat of excommunication pronounced against Charles the Bald. Hadrian in his quarrel with archbishop Hinkmar and in favour of his nephew, bishop Hinkmar of Laon, seeks to establish the Pseudo-Isidorean principle, that the definitive sentence in affairs relating to bishops belonged exclusively to the pope. Archbishop Hinkmar violently attacks the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals. The pope's consistency in applying these principles triumphs,.....	122—128
John VIII. Hadrian's successor (872). Hurtful influence of Italian princely families on the papacy. Rome, the seat of every species of corruption. John XII. (956) pope, deposed by king Otho II. of Germany. Leo VIII. his successor,.....	128—131
More liberal direction of ecclesiastical law. Gerbert, centre of the movement, acquires influence in the time of John XV. Hugh Capet, in the quarrel	

with duke Charles of Lotharingia, confers the vacated archbishopric of Rheims on Arnulph, the nephew of the latter. Council of Rheims (991) for inquiring into this matter. Arnulph, archbishop of Orleans, exposes the vices of the papal court. His proposition triumphs; Arnulph of Rheims is deposed and Gerbert made his successor. The pope declares the proceeding arbitrary and illegal. Gerbert defends his principles before the council of Muson (995). The contest between the party of Gerbert and that of the pope endures till the time of Gregory V. Gerbert deposed at the council of Rheims (996),.....	131—139
Gerbert chosen pope by Otho III., takes the name Silvester II. Recognises Arnulph of Rheims. The dukes of Tuscoli, dominant party in Italy, choose Benedict IX. (1033) for pope, and soon afterwards (1044) Silvester III. Benedict sells his papal dignity to Gregory VI., without wholly giving up, however, his papal authority. Henry III. deposes all the three popes, and elects Clement II. Commencement of new reformation tendency under Leo IX. (1049), represented by Petro Damiani and Hildebrand,.....	140—146
<i>Preparation for a new period in the evolution of the Church.</i> Hildebrand, and his early education. Friend of the deposed Gregory. His great influence on Leo IX. Introduction of a stricter moral discipline by means of celibacy and the abolition of simony, the principles of his reforming enterprise. Resistance to the laws grounded on this basis. Leo IX. labours to carry them into effect. Councils of Mantua (1052) on the maintenance of these laws. Leo himself transgresses the ecclesiastical laws in fighting against the Normans (1053). He is severely censured for this by Damiani,.....	146—155
Increasing influence of Hildebrand. <i>Victor II., Stephen XI., Benedict X.,</i> which latter abdicates. <i>Nicholas II.</i> passes a law concerning the papal election, in which is contained at the same time the foundation of the college of cardinals (1059). Energetic efforts of the party of Hildebrand and Damiani. The cause of the papacy becomes the cause of the people and leads to contests in Florence and Milan. <i>Ariald, Landulf de Cotta, and Nazarius</i> preach in Milan in support of the papacy. Parties in Milan (Patarenes). Damiani and Anselm of Lucca sent by the pope to Milan to inquire into these disturbances. Insurrection there suppressed by Damiani. Triumph of the Romish church,.....	155—166
Contest of the two parties after the death of Nicholas II. (1061) at the election of a new pope. Anselm of Zucca chosen pope by means of Hildebrand, under the name of Alexander II. Alexander not recognised in Germany and Honorius II. chosen. Contest of the two popes, decisive with regard to the church-evolution of the middle ages. Alexander recognised at the synods of Osborn (1062) and Mantua (1064) as pope,.....	166—169
New disturbances at Milan. Defence of priestly marriage. <i>Erlembald</i> contends in Milan in the cause of the papacy. <i>Ariald</i> murdered in Milan (1067). Feuds in Florence quieted by Damiani and the monk Peter. Preparatory steps to the new secular government of Rome by Hildebrand,.....	169—172

II. *History of the church constitution in its other relations, 173—205.*

1. *Relations of the church to the State.*

Appointment to church offices. Hurtful influence of the sovereigns upon it. Quarrels of Lewis III. of France with Hinkmar of Rheims on this subject. Three different parties with regard to the right of investiture in sovereigns. Abomination of simony. Indulgence shown it. Participation of the clergy

in war (955). Examples: Fulbert of Cambray, Ulrich of Augsburg, Bernward of Hildesheim. Important voices remonstrate against it: Radbod of Utrecht, Damiani, Fulbert of Chartres. Influence of the church on the administration of justice. Proposal for a general peace. *Treugae Dei*,.....173—183

2. *Organization of the church within itself.*

Things secular and spiritual confounded, a cause of corruption to the church. Earnest labours of pious bishops, particularly in Germany. Hurtful influence on the clergy of the secular standing point. Ecclesiastics from the ranks of the nobility, and their conduct towards the bishops. Rudeness among the clergy. Influence of the secular interest of families. Complaints about the corruption of the clergy. Efforts made to stem this corruption by Dunstan of Canterbury, Ratherius of Verona, and Agobard of Lyons. Castle priests. Council of Pavia (850) against the *clerici acephali*. Council of Seligenstadt (1020) against the abuse of patronage,.....183—192

III. *History of Monachism, 192—205.*

Attempts to revive the ancient strictness of the Monastic life. Reformers of monachism. *Benedict of Aniane*. His call to the monastic life. His labours. Hurtful influence of worldly-minded bishops. Synod at Trosley (909) on the decline of monachism. New attempts at reform. *Berno of Burgundy* (927†). *Odo* (942†). *Agmar*. *Majolus*. *Odilo*. *Hugo*,.....192—197

Extravagances of the fanatical monastic asceticism in Italy. *Hermits*. *Romuald* of Ravenna, founder of the *Camaldulensian* order. Congregation of Vallombrosa under *John*. *William of Dijon* reformer of monachism. *Gerwin of Centulum* in France. *Nilus the Younger* in Italy. His education, labours, and death (1005),198—205

SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, 206—246.

Predominating tendency of the liturgical element in divine worship. Ordinances of the council of Mentz (847) on preaching. *Otfrid*, probably a German preacher. His poetical paraphrase of the gospels. Ordinances of the council of Valence (855) on preaching. Pastoral instructions of *Gerard* bishop of Tours (858) and of the synod of Rouen (879). Council of Langres (859). Ordinances of Riculf bishop of Soissons on the founding of schools. *Rabanus Maurus* de institutione clericorum. Pastoral instructions of archbishop *Hinkmar*,.....206—210

Tendency in the direction of Christian Reform. *Agobard of Lyons*. His zeal against the too artificial church music. His book on images. His attack on the *Tempestarii*. *Claudius of Turin*. Is without reason accused of Adoptionism and Arianism. Influence of the doctrines of Augustin on him. His mode of apprehending sin. His biblical commentaries. Becomes bishop of Turin (814). Zealous in his opposition to the too frequent pilgrimages. Is accused as a teacher of error. His work in vindication of himself. Takes his stand in opposition to image-worship. Is stigmatized by *Theodemir* as a

heretic. His death (839). Jonas of Orleans comes out against the doctrines of Claudius. *Walafrid Strabo* and *Hinkmar of Rheims* on image-worship, 210—227

Reaction against a predominating sensuous tendency. *Nilus*. *Ratherius of Verona* preaches against all descriptions of mock penitence. His views with regard to pilgrimage. Flights against a sensuous anthropomorphism. *Odo of Cluny*. His correct appreciation of miracles,.....227—234

Superstition. Promotion of it by the worship of saints and relics. In what sense? Introduction of the worship of saints into the entire church. Pope John XV. sets the first example for this 973. Employment of the consecrated oil on the sick. Ordinance by the synod of Pavia 850 on this subject, 234—238

Judgments of God. Different species of. *Agobard of Lyons* and the council of Valence 855 against them. *Atto of Vercelli* and king Robert of France against them,.....238—240

Church discipline. System of penance. Fanatical zeal in defence of it. *Damiani* defends self-castigation. *Indulgence.* Ordinances of the council of Mentz 847 on private and public church penance. *Jonas of Orleans* against almsgiving and the sacrifice of the mass,.....240—243

Spiritual jurisdiction. Independent exercise of it by each bishop in his own diocese. Infringed upon by the too frequent pilgrimages to Rome. Bishop *Abito of Basel* 820 and the council of Seligenstadt 1022 zealous opponents of those pilgrimages. Three different grades among the guilty. Excommunication. Anathema. Interdict,.....243—246

SECTION FOURTH.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY APPREHENDED AND DEVELOPED AS
A SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES, 247.

I. *In the Western church, 247—346.*

Practical and biblico-ecclesiastical direction in Theology.

Frankish church. *Magnentius Rabanus Maurus*. His labours. His writings. His freedom of spirit with regard to the hierarchy. *Haimo of Halberstadt* (853†). *Walafrid Strabo* (849†). *Glossa ordinaria.* *Christian Druthmar* (850), interpreter of the Scriptures. *Servatus Lupus*, zealous friend of scientific study. *Jonas of Orleans*. His book *De institutione laicali*. His rules of living for princes,.....247—252

Dialectical and speculative direction in Theology.

Frankish Church. *Fredegis*. His controversy with *Agobard of Lyons*. Spread of a dialectical direction of theology from Ireland. *John Scotus Erigena* (877†). Influence of the Greek Church teachers on him. Agreement of the rational and ecclesiastico-traditional ground idea of his theological bent. His twofold position with respect to the knowledge of God. His four kinds of being. His view of sin. *Dionysius Areopagita*. Confounding of *Dionysius of Paris* with the former. Diffusion of his writings,.....252—262

Evolution of a new spiritual creation in Theology.

England. *Alfred the Great* (871—901). His plan for the culture of his people. His translation of the *regula pastoralis* of *Gregory the Great*.

Barbarism in the church after his death. <i>Dunstan of Canterbury. Ethelwold of Winchester. Elfric of Malmesbury</i> ,	262—265
<i>Italy. Ratherius of Verona. His preloquia. Atto of Vercelli. His commentary on the epistles of Paul</i> ,	265
<i>France. Gerbert. Abbo of Fleury. Fulbert of Chartres. Berengar. Lanfranc (1089†)</i> ,	265—267
<i>Germany. Notker of St Gallen (1022†). His German paraphrase of the Psalms. Williram. His translation of Solomon's Song</i> ,	267—268

Conflict of opposite theological views.

<i>Doctrine of predestination. Beginning of the controversies on this subject occasioned by Gottshalk. His education. His study of the doctrine of Augustin. Peculiarities of his own doctrine. His hypothesis of a prædestinatio duplex. Influence of the Augustinian system of doctrine on him. Letter of Rabanus Maurus against his doctrine marks the course of the succeeding controversies as formal controversies. Peculiar doctrine of Rabanus Maurus. Gottshalk defends his doctrine before an assembly convened at Mentz. Assembly of the states at Chiersy (849). Gottshalk condemned as a heretic. Offers to submit to a judgment of God. His death (868). Indignation of the pope against Hinkmar, Gottshalk's oppressor</i> ,	268—280
Fruitless endeavours of Hinkmar to put down the Gottshalkian doctrine. <i>Prudentius of Troyes (861) adopts Gottshalk's doctrine. Ratramnus of Corbie (868) in favour of Gottshalk's doctrine. Servatus Lupus (862) the most learned defender of the Gottshalkian doctrine. His work De tribus quæstionibus. John Scotus an opponent of Gottshalk. His doctrine concerning prædestination and the freedom of will. Wenilo of Sens, Prudentius of Troyes, and Florus of Lyons against Scotus. Hinkmar gains new opponents of the Gottshalkian doctrine. Amulo and Pardalus of Lyons against Gottshalk's doctrine. Remigius of Lyons censures the harsh conduct of Hinkmar towards Gottshalk. New undertakings of Hinkmar. Second synod at Chiersy (853) against the Gottshalkian doctrine. Synod at Valence (855) against the synod at Chiersy. Proposals for establishing a common system of faith. The holding fast to set formulas a reason for the non-adoption of that proposal. Hinkmar's book on predestination, the last thing that appeared in this controversy</i> ,	280—298
<i>Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Peculiar tendency to the sensualization of divine things in the Western church. Commencement of the controversies respecting the Lord's Supper. Paschasius Radbert (831). His stiff supernaturalistic doctrine of transubstantiation. Doubts concerning his doctrine. Ratramnus De corpore et sanguine Domini. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper compared with that of Paschasius. John Scotus (perhaps Ratramnus) against Paschasius. His view of the Lord's Supper. Milder view of Ratherius of Verona, Herigar, and Gerbert. General approbation of the doctrine of transubstantiation</i> ,	298—308
Continuation of these controversies. <i>Berengarius. His theological education. His free method as a scholastic teacher. His views respecting hermits. Influence of Augustin on his doctrine. His favourable judgment on the book of Ratramnus or Scotus. Attacks upon him. His Letter to Lanfranc. Council at Rome. His condemnation at the Council of Vercelli. His liberation brought about by his friends. Berengar's endeavours to defend himself on the score of his doctrines. Proposal for a council. Council at Paris, at which Berengar does not appear. Defends himself before the council at</i>	

Tours (1054). Publicly explains himself to the satisfaction of the papal legate. His journey to Rome (1059). Appears before an assembly. Confirms under the fear of death a confession of faith drawn up by Cardinal Humbert. Yet spreads abroad his doctrine in France. Lanfranc accuses him of perjury. His reply to Lanfranc. His followers. His continued labours in France. His controversy with <i>Gottfrid of Tours</i> . Eusebius Bruno on the doctrine of transubstantiation. Council of Poitiers. Berengar in Rome (1078) before Gregory VII. Complete triumph of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Death of Berengar (1088). More exact exhibition of Berengar's doctrine. His opposition to every representation of a bodily appearance of Christ in the eucharist. His figurative interpretation of the eucharist. <i>Conversio</i> of the bread and wine in his own sense of it. His view of the sacraments generally the ground of his apprehension of the eucharist. His spiritual view of the church. His fight against stories of miracles. Berengarians not agreeing with him. His position in regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation. Comparison of his mode of apprehending the Lord's Supper with that of Paschasius,.....	308—346
II. <i>In the Greek church, 346—374.</i>	
<i>State of theology.</i> Compared with that in the Romish church. <i>Photius</i> . <i>Œcumenius of Tricca</i> . Obstacles hindering the free evolution of the church,.....	346—348
<i>History of the controversies respecting images.</i> Reason of their renewal. Leo the Armenian (813). His first essay to abolish images. The patriarch Nicephorus opposed to it. Beginning of the destruction of single images by the soldiers. Controversy between the emperor and the patriarch on the use of images. <i>Theodorus Studita</i> . His education (note). Protests against the emperor. The latter enjoins silence. Resistance of Theodore and the patriarch. Nicephorus deposed (815). <i>Theodotus Cassiteras</i> , patriarch. His tendency to a sensuous realism. Council of Constantinople occasioned by Theodore. Milder measures of the emperor. Violent resistance of Theodore and the monks. Forceful measures resorted to by the emperor,.....	348—364
<i>Michael II.</i> (821), emperor. His position in relation to the image-controversies. His effort to restore tranquillity. Neutral position with regard to images. Embassy sent by Michael to the pope and Lewis the Pious,.....	364—368
<i>Theophilus</i> (830), emperor—opposed to image-worship. His conduct towards the teachers and artists who operated to promote image-worship. Reaction in favour of image-worship occasioned by the empress Theodora. The empress after the death of Theophilus necessitated to favour the re-introduction of images. Manuel and Theoctistus. Their wardship over the minority of Michael. Solemn introduction of images in Constantinople (842), festival of orthodoxy. <i>Ignatius</i> . <i>Photius</i> in favour of image-worship. Council at Constantinople (869) opposed to iconoclasts,.....	368—374

APPENDIX.

Participation of the Western church in these controversies.

Proceedings of the Frankish Church against the image-worshippers. The embassy above mentioned of the emperor Michael to Lewis the Pious; occasion of it. Synod at Paris (825). Transactions of this synod. Embassy of Lewis to the pope. Uncertainty respecting the issue of the negotiations with the pope,.....	374—377
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III. *Relations of the Greek and of the Latin church to each other ;
and controversies between them, 377—421.*

Dogmatical differences between the two churches. Their opposite views with regard to man's nature. With regard to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. John of Damascus. His doctrine concerning the unity in the triad. Doings in relation to this subject at the synod of Aix (809). Decrees of this council sent to pope Leo III. The latter opposed to the addition *filioque*. John Scotus. Sides on this point with the Greeks,.....377—381

Difference in outward things.

The second Trullan council (691). The points of difference between the two churches, expressed by the Greek church against the Latin. Subject-matter of these differences,..... 382

Controversies between the two churches.

Concerning the patriarchate of Ignatius and of Photius. Ignatius (Nicetas) patriarch of Constantinople (846). Severity of his character. Endeavours of Bardas, uncle of the young emperor Michael, to depose Ignatius from his dignity. Photius chosen patriarch by Bardas. Character of Photius. Ignatius refuses to sign his abdication. Cruel treatment of his adherents. Michael's profanation of sacred things. Synod convened at Constantinople (859) against Ignatius. The emperor and Photius have recourse to the pope. The pope's want of confidence in the truth of the charges alleged against Ignatius. Rhodoald and Zacharias sent as envoys to Constantinople. The envoys bribed. Synod at Constantinople (861). Firmness of Ignatius before it. Letter of Photius to the pope. Adherents of Ignatius in Rome. Synod there (863). The envoys deposed and Photius anathematized. Letter of reproach sent by the emperor to the pope. The pope's reply. The emperor and Photius attack the Latin church. Defence against these attacks by Rattramus. Controversy interrupted by Michael's death,.....383—397

Basiliius the Macedonian, emperor (867). Ignatius restored to the patriarchal dignity. Council at Constantinople (867). Photius deposed by the council at Rome (868). Inquiry into the whole dispute by the eighth œcumenical council of Constantinople (869). Opponents and defenders of Photius. Photius anathematized. Influence of the Greek church on Bulgaria; preparation for a new schism. Interrupted by the death of Ignatius (878). Friendly relation existing between Photius and Ignatius previous to the death of the latter. Attempt of the emperor to elevate Photius to the patriarchal dignity. Conduct of the pope in this matter. Deception practised by the envoys in the earlier œcumenical councils. Council at Constantinople (879) answering to the requisitions of an œcumenical council. Transactions at this council. Photius obtains misericorditer the patriarchal dignity. Is banished on the ground of political charges (886). The Ignatian party dominant,.....397—411

Tranquillity in the two churches without any close connection between them. Nilus labours in the Greek and in the Roman church. His view of church usages calculated to promote peace between the two churches. Peaceful negotiations between the two churches concerning their separation from each other (1024). Universal indignation against such proceedings. Frustration of them. Greek abbots in Rome; Roman abbots in Constantinople,.....411—413

Touching Roman rites in the Greek Church. Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople. Attacks the Latin Church. Use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper in the Romish Church. Cerularius considers this, as well as fasting, an inclining to Judaism. Refutation of these charges by Humbert. Endeavours of the Greek emperor to restore peace. Message of the pope to Constantinople (1054.) Humbert's work in refutation of the charges of Michael and of the priest Nicetas. The work of Nicetas burned by order of the emperor. Still more inimical disposition between the two churches. Heretical names, Azymites and Prozymites, Fermentarians. Theological investigations occasioned by the dispute concerning the use of leavened or unleavened bread; Peter of Antioch and Theophylact of Achrida on the paschal meal of Christ. Views taken by both touching the further (milder) proceedings towards the Latin church,..... 413—421

IV. *Reaction of the sects against the dominant church and its system of faith, 421—447.*

In the East.

Paulicians. Cruel enterprises set on foot by the empress Theodora against them. Carbeas flees out of the imperial army with five thousand of this sect to Armenia. Extensive spread of this sect in that country. John Tzimisces transplants (969) a large portion of this sect to Thrace. Their spread in Bulgaria, 421—423

Ariurdis and Sun-children. Appear in Armenia. Their doctrines a mixture of Zoroastrian and Christian elements. Points in which they differed from the Paulicians. New shaping given to this sect by Sembat and Medschusik. Name Thondracenians. Their further spread by means of Jacob (1002). His doctrine. Taken prisoner by the Catholicus. He is slain by his enemies. Spread of this sect in the Roman provinces, 423—425

Euchists and Enthusiasts. Appear in Mesopotamia. Their resemblance to the older Euchites and to the Bogomiles. Mystico-theosophical tendency, dualism. Spread under the disguise of monks. Different parties among them. Their constitution, 425—428

Athinganians. Derivation of this name. Principal seat of the sect. Sprung from a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. Their observance of all the rites of Judaism. Perhaps the sect against which Paul contends in the epistle to the Colossians,..... 428—429

In the West.

Corruption of the clergy in Italy; point of approach by which to attack the dominant church. The awakening spirit of inquiry in France an occasion for attacking the church doctrines,..... 429—430

Sects in Orleans. Their rationalizing and mystical tendency. Probable connection with Italian sects. Their contest against the supernatural birth of Christ. Their spiritual baptism and spiritual eucharist. Lisoï (Lisieux) and Stephen at their head. Council convened against them at Orleans (1022). Death of the majority of them at the stake,..... 430—435

Sects around Cambray and Arras. Ramihed gives spread to heretical doctrines. Synod convened against him in Cambray. Confesses his orthodoxy. Refuses

to take the eucharist (in proof of his innocence). Is burned. Spread of his followers,	435—439
<i>Sects in Montfort near Turin.</i> Gerhard, their presiding officer. A trial of them ordered by Heribert (1027—1046). Mystico-idealistic tendency. Denial of the reality of Christ. Rejection of marriage. Death of the majority of them at the stake,	440—442
<i>Heretics and fanatics.</i> Study of the Latin authors, occasion of heretical tendencies. Probus at Fulda (in the 9th century). Extends the efficacy of Christ's redemptive sufferings also to the better pagans. Connects therewith the doctrine of absolute predestination. <i>Vilgard</i> , grammarian in Ravenna. Fabulous stories respecting him. Probable spread of heretical tendencies in Italy and Sardinia. <i>Leuthard</i> makes his appearance (in the 11th century) near Chalons sur Marne, as a fanatic. Finds something unchristian in marriage and in several other Christian customs. Destroys himself. Cruel proceedings against erroneous teachers resisted by Waza of Liege (1047),.....	442—447
—————	
Index to the fifth and sixth volumes,	448
Passages cited from ancient authors in these volumes,.....	465
Passages from Scripture,.....	465

CHURCH HISTORY.

FOURTH PERIOD. FROM THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLEMAGNE TO POPE GREGORY SEVENTH. FROM A.D. 814, TO A.D.

SECTION FIRST.

EXTENSION AND LIMITATION OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

As we have already remarked, in the history of the preceding period, it was the intention of the emperor Charles, that the circle of churches and of missionary establishments, about to be founded in Northern Germany, should extend beyond these limits into the countries occupied by Scandinavian and Slavonian tribes; and, in order to this, he had resolved to fix a metropolis for these northern missions in North Albingia. For this reason, he had refused to incorporate a church planted on the borders of the empire, near Hamburg, and placed under the care of Heridac, a priest, with any of the neighbouring bishoprics, meaning to reserve in his own hands the power of establishing there, for the purposes above-mentioned, an independent bishopric.¹ But the war in which he was then engaged with the Danes, and afterwards his death, prevented the accomplishment of these plans by himself; and they were first carried fully into effect, under peculiarly favourable circumstances, by his son and successor, Lewis the Pious. In Denmark certain feuds had arisen, touching the

¹ Rimbart's *Life of Anshar*, c. 12 . Pertz *Monumenta Germaniæ historica*, T. ii. p. 698.

right of succession to the crown ; and, on this occasion, his interference was solicited by one of the princes, Harald Krag, who ruled in Jutland. In answer to this application, he sent, in 822, an ambassador to Denmark ; and, with the negotiations which ensued, was introduced a proposition for the establishment, or at least to prepare the way for the establishment, of a mission among the Danes. The primate of France, Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, a man educated at the imperial court, and for a time the emperor's favourite minister, was selected by him for the management of this business. Ebbo, who at the court of his sovereign had often seen ambassadors from the pagan Danes, had for a long time before felt desirous of consecrating himself to the work of converting that people.¹ Practised in the affairs of the world, and ardently devoted to the spread of Christianity, as well as confident of its triumphant progress, he was peculiarly qualified to unite the office of ambassador with that of a teacher among the heathen. Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai, author of the *Liber pœnitentialis*,² was for a while associated with him ; and the emperor made him the grant of a place called Wclanao or Welna, probably the present Munsterdorf, near Itzehoe,³ as a secure retreat, as well as a means of support during his labours in the north. He succeeded in gaining over king Harald himself, and those immediately about his person, to Christianity ; though political reasons may no doubt have contributed somewhat to this success. In the year 826, the king, with his wife and a numerous train of followers, made a visit to the emperor at Ingelheim, where the right of baptism was with great solemnity administered to him and to several others. The emperor himself stood god-father to the king, and the empress Judith, god-mother to the queen. All who submitted to baptism were magnificently entertained, and loaded with presents. This would naturally serve as an allurement to many who were not to be influenced by purely religious motives. As king Harald was now about to return to his country, though far from being as yet firmly established in the Christian faith, as he was likely to be assailed in the midst of

¹ See Rimbert's *Life of Anskar*, c. 13. *Afflatus Spiritu pro vocatione gentium et maxime Danorum, quos in palatio sæpius viderat.*

² See Vol. v. p. 176.

³ See Langebeth's note on the *Life of Anskar*, in *Scriptoribus rerum Danicarum Hafniæ*, 1772. T. i. p. 453.

heathenism by so many temptations ; and as, moreover, the time of archbishop Ebbo was too much occupied with the spiritual and secular concerns of his station, to enable him to bestow the requisite attention on the affairs of the mission, it was thought necessary to look out among the monks for some person suitably qualified to accompany the king in the capacity of a priest and teacher.

This duty was allotted to a young man already far advanced in the Christian life, who by faithfulness in the least, had proved himself worthy of being placed over affairs of greater moment—the monk Anschar or Ansgar, born not far from Corbie in France, in the diocese of Amiens, A.D. 801. In accordance with his natural disposition, which inclined him from childhood to retire apart for serious meditation and prayer, he was early given by his parents to the monastery of Corbie, which had attained a high reputation under the government of the abbot Adalhard, and where Paschasius Radbert, one of the learned men of his age, directed the studies of a flourishing school. Anschar, his most industrious pupil, afterwards became the assistant of his labours ; where he remained until called to a more independent sphere of action. The occasion was as follows : Among the Saxons, now finally subdued after so many obstinate battles, the emperor Charles had already determined to found, along with other ecclesiastical establishments, monasteries, for the tillage of the land, and for the Christian education of the people, purposes for which these establishments had been found so well adapted in other parts of Germany. But the execution of this design met with too many obstacles in a country as yet hardly rescued from paganism. He confined his endeavours, therefore, in the first place, simply to preparing the way for the accomplishment of this object, by distributing the Saxons, whom in time of war he had taken as captives or as hostages, among the Frankish monasteries ; so that, after having been trained there as monks, they might return and labour for the transplantation of monachism into their own country. The high reputation of the monastery at Corbie induced him to place an unusual number of the young Saxons under the care of that institution. The abbot Adalhard, who well understood the designs of his kinsman the emperor, was informed by one of these young Saxons, named Theodrad, of a tract of ground on his father's estate, abounding in springs

of water, and well adapted for the foundation of a monastery. This Saxon youth he sent home to his country, for the purpose of procuring from his friends a gift of the spot described, in order that a monastery might be founded there,—in which business he would be very likely to succeed. But Adalhard was soon afterwards prevented, by the pressure of political business¹ committed to his care, then by the disgrace into which he fell with the emperor Lewis the Pious, involving the loss of his abbacy, from prosecuting this plan. But another Adalhard, who succeeded him as abbot of Corbie, followed up the enterprise, and at the diet at Paderborn, in the year 815, obtained permission from the emperor to found a monastery in the spot above designated. Monks were sent there from the monastery of Corbie, and by them monasticism was first introduced into that region. The monastery soon acquired great fame among the people; many young men of noble parentage applied for admission into it; and many boys were placed there to be educated. But the country in which it was placed was too unfruitful to secure for it a sufficient support; the monks were obliged to struggle with the severest want, and indeed would have been wholly unable to sustain themselves, had they not been provided with food and clothing by the parent monastery of Corbie. After having thus maintained their post with difficulty for more than six years, they were delivered from a situation of the most extreme distress by the abbot Adalhard, who, recalled from his exile, and restored to his former situation, had acquired still greater influence than ever. He not only procured for them momentary relief, by sending them waggons loaded with provisions, but also secured to them a more lasting benefit by persuading the emperor to bestow on him as a gift for this purpose a more productive region of country in his own domains, not far from Hoxter, on the Weser; and to this place the monastery was removed in 822, where from its parent seat it received the name of Corvey.² Anschar was one of the monks transferred from Corbie to this spot. He had the direction of the conventual school, and at the same time

¹ The administration of the empire of Italy during the minority of the prince Pipin.

² See the account by an ancient author in Mabillon *acta sanctorum*. O. B. t. iv. P. i., and Pertz *monumenta*, ii. p. 576.

preached to the people, which doubtless served to prepare him for his later labours among the heathen.¹

From early childhood Anschar was conscious of an attraction towards the godlike, which kept him from wasting his powers on frivolous pursuits. Voices of admonition and warning had come or seemed to come to him in visions and dreams. The glory of God, the blessedness of the life eternal had been presented to him in bright and inspiring images. Once, for example, he thought himself lifted up to the Source of light, whence all holy beings drew their supplies; and he gave the following account of what he witnessed: "All the ranks of the heavenly host, standing around in exultation, drew joy from this fountain. The light was immeasurable, so that I could trace neither beginning nor end to it. And although I could see, far and near, yet I could not discern what was embraced within that immeasurable light. I saw nothing but its outward shining, yet I believed that He was there, of whom St Peter says that even the angels desire to behold Him. He himself was in a certain sense in all, and all around him were in Him. He encompassed them from without, and supplying their every want, inspired and guided them from within. In every direction alike he was all. There was neither sun nor moon to give light there, nor any appearance of heaven or earth. But the brightness of the transparent ether was such, that instead of being the least oppressive, it refreshed the eye, satisfying the souls of all with inexpressible bliss. And from the midst of that immeasurable light, a heavenly voice addressed me, saying, 'Go, and return to me again crowned with martyrdom.'" In the vision which beamed forth from the depths of his own consciousness in this symbolical representation, we see disclosed the inmost longings of his soul. We may presume that the accounts he had heard of the labours of missionaries among the German tribes, had awakened in him an irrepressible desire of preaching the gospel among the heathen, with a willingness even to sacrifice his life in his Master's cause. Two years afterwards he had another vision, while deeply engaged in prayer. He thought that Christ appeared to him, calling upon him to confess his sins, that he might receive absolution. He said,

¹ See Rimbart's account of his life, § 6.

“Thou knowest all things ; not a thought is hidden from thee.” But the Lord replied, “It is true that I know all things ; yet it is my will that men should confess to me their sins, that they may be forgiven.” So after he had confessed his sins, Christ pronounced them forgiven—a word that filled him with inexpressible joy. At another time, when assured after the same manner that his sins were forgiven, he inquired, “Lord, what wouldst thou have me to do?” when he was told, “Go, preach the word of God to the tribes of the heathen.”¹

Thus by the history of his own Christian experience, and by the leadings of the divine Spirit which guided it, Anschar was already fitted and waiting for this great calling, when summoned to undertake it. The abbot Wala of Corvey, on being consulted by the Emperor Lewis, knew of no other person whom he could confidently recommend as qualified for the Danish mission. And when the emperor asked Anschar himself whether he was willing for God’s glory to accompany king Harald to Denmark, he replied at once that he was both willing and anxious to go. His abbot Wala then declared, that he would by no means compel him by his monastic vow of obedience to undertake so formidable a work ; but if he chose this vocation of his own free will, the abbot said he rejoiced at it, and cheerfully gave him permission to engage in it. Though many tried to intimidate and dishearten him, by dwelling on the hardships and dangers he must necessarily encounter, he adhered steadfastly to his purpose, and retiring to a neighbouring vineyard, prepared himself in solitude, by prayer and study of the Scriptures, for the great undertaking. Only one monk, Autbert, a man of noble descent, volunteered to accompany him ; but they found it would be necessary to wait upon themselves, for not a single domestic of the monastery was disposed voluntarily to offer his services, and the abbot refused in this case to interpose his authority.

The emperor called the two missionaries before him. He gave them church vessels, tents, and whatever else they needed for their journey, and dismissed them with exhortations to zeal and perseverance in their calling. At first they met with no very favourable reception from king Harald and his attendants ; the

¹ Vita Anschar, § 9.

latter being still too deeply sunk in pagan barbarism to pay any due respect to the office of a missionary. But on their arrival at Cologne, whence they were to pass by the Rhine to Holland, and thence to Denmark by the way of Dorstatum (Wyk te Duerstade), at that time a famous commercial town, the central depôt of the trade with the north, and of the commercial intercourse between pagan and Christian tribes, Bishop Hadelbød presented them with a convenient vessel for their voyage, which induced king Harald to join company with them, thus affording them an opportunity of winning his confidence and regard, a task in which the engaging manners of Anschar eminently qualified him to succeed.

The first two years, from the end of 826, Anschar spent in Denmark, where he is said to have converted many. The accounts, however, are too vague and indefinite to be entitled to much confidence. The most important proceedings which marked the wisdom of his course, was to purchase boys belonging to the nation, whom, with others presented to him by the king, he took under his own care, to educate and train as teachers for their countrymen. The work commenced from small beginnings. A school for twelve boys was the first Christian institution planted by Anschar, which, for the sake of security, he established on the boundaries at Hadeby or Schleswig. The unsettled condition of the country prevented him from doing more. By embracing Christianity, and forming connections with the Franks, Harald had rendered himself unpopular with his nation. In the year 828, he was expelled by his enemies, and driven to seek refuge in a Frankish feof which he had received as a present from the emperor. Nor was there any longer safety for Anschar in Denmark. Besides, he had lost his sole companion Autbert, whom sickness had compelled to return to Corvey, where he soon afterwards died. While the circle of Anschar's labours was becoming thus circumscribed, a new and larger field was opened to him, which he joyfully accepted. By intercourse with Christian nations, some seeds of Christianity had already been scattered in Sweden. Commerce especially had contributed to this event. Christian merchants had conveyed the knowledge of Christianity to Sweden, and merchants from Sweden becoming acquainted with Christianity at Dorstede, had many of them no doubt there em-

braced the faith. Others, induced by what they had heard about Christianity, betook themselves to Dorstede, for the purpose of obtaining a better knowledge of the religion, or of receiving baptism.¹ In the expeditions, moreover, which they made to distant Christian lands, they had brought away with them numbers of Christian captives; by which means the knowledge of Christianity had already found its way to Sweden, and attracted more or less the attention of the people. Hence it came about, that certain envoys from Sweden, sent to the emperor Lewis on other business, informed him, that there were many among their people desirous of obtaining a better knowledge of Christianity, and of becoming incorporated with the Christian church; and the emperor was invited to send them priests. Accordingly the emperor applied to Anschar, proposing that he should undertake the mission to Sweden, with a view to ascertain, whether any opening presented itself for the preaching of the gospel in that country. Anschar declared at once, that he was ready to engage in any enterprise which might serve to glorify the name of Christ.

The Danish mission having been confided to the care of the monk Gislema, Anschar, accompanied by monk Witmar of Corvey, embarked on board a trading vessel for Sweden, in the year 829, taking with him various presents from the emperor to the king of Sweden, the object of which was to procure a readier acceptance for the proposals of the missionary. Attacked, however, on the voyage by pirates, they were glad to escape with their lives, after having lost nearly everything they carried with them. Many of the crew were now for abandoning the voyage; but Anschar would not allow himself to be discouraged. He declared it to be his settled resolution not to return till he had ascertained whether God was preparing the way for the preaching of the gospel in Sweden. They landed at Birka (Biorka), on the Lake of Mälarn, a port near the ancient capital Sigtuna. Anschar obtained permission of the monarch to preach the gospel, and to baptize all such as were willing to embrace Christianity. They found also many Christian captives, who rejoiced in being allowed once more to partake of the communion. Among the first who came over to Christianity was Herigar (Hergeir), a man

¹ See the passage from Anschar's life, § 27, cited in full on a future page.

of rank, and the governor of a department. He became a zealous promoter of Christianity, and erected a church on his own freehold estate.

Having thus, after residing in the country a year and a half, prepared the way for the spread of the gospel, and accurately informed himself with regard to its future prospects, he returned, in 831, to the Frankish kingdom. The favourable prospects for the extension of Christianity in the North, disclosed by Anschar's report, induced the emperor Lewis to carry out the plan already projected by his father Charlemagne. He founded at Hamburg a metropolis, which was to serve as a centre of operation for the missions of the North, and got Anschar consecrated archbishop of North Albingia. The diocese being a poor one, and constantly exposed to the inroads of the pagan tribes of the North, he bestowed on him the monastery Turholt (Thoroult) in Flanders between Bruges and Ypres, both as a place of refuge and as a source of revenue to defray the expenses of his station. To place this arrangement on a more stable foundation, he immediately despatched Anschar to Rome on a visit to pope Gregory IV. The latter confirmed all that had been done; bestowed on Anschar the Pall, or distinguishing badge of the archiepiscopal dignity, and conferred on him, in connection with archbishop Ebbo, the charge of preaching the gospel to the nations of the North. But as Anschar was unable, alone, to supply the wants of both the missions, that in Denmark and that in Sweden, and as Ebbo, though he never ceased to take a lively interest in the spread of Christianity in those regions, was still prevented by the multiplicity of his other engagements from lending an active, personal co-operation in the work, the latter appointed and consecrated to the episcopal office, as his representative, his nephew Gauzbert; and to him was especially entrusted the mission in Sweden. At his ordination he received the name of Simon. The monastery founded by the archbishop at Welna was bestowed on Gauzbert, for the same purpose as Thoroult had been granted to Anschar.

As to Denmark, the mission after the expulsion of king Harald had been shut out, it is true, from all immediate access to this country, where king Horick, a violent enemy of Christianity, reigned supreme. Anschar, however, was unwearied in making

efforts on a small scale, hoping by these lighter beginnings to prepare the way for more important operations in the future. He purchased captives of the Danish, Norman, and Slavonian races, particularly boys ; and such as he found suitable for his purpose, he either retained near his own person, to be trained as monks and clergymen, the future teachers of their countrymen, or sent them to be educated in the monastery of Thoroult. In Sweden, on the other hand, the state of things was more favourable, so far as this, that Christianity here had at the outset gained followers among the people themselves, who declared in its favour, not from outward motives of interest or advantage, but from the impulse of their inward feelings. Gauzbert met in Sweden with a favourable reception, and continued to labour there for many years with good success. But in the year 845 he was attacked in his own house, robbed of all he had, and driven away by an insurrectionary mob of the maddened heathen populace. About the same time that the Swedish mission was thus interrupted, Anschar's work in the North was also threatened with destruction. In 845, the city of Hamburg was attacked and pillaged by the Normans, who laid waste the whole country with fire and sword, making the churches and the clergy the special objects of their fury, and Anschar lost his all. It was with extreme difficulty that he managed to save himself and his relics. A magnificent church, which he had procured to be erected, with the monastery attached to it, as well as the library presented to him by the emperor, fell a prey to the flames. When Anschar beheld the fruits of his frugality and toil for so many years annihilated as in a moment, he repeated once and again the words of Job, "The Lord gave, the Lord has taken away,—he has done what seemed him good,—blessed be the name of the Lord." Followed by his companions and scholars he was compelled to wander about in uncertainty, till at length he found refuge on the estates of a noble lady, by the name of Icia or Ida, at Rameshoe in the department of Holstein. From this spot, he now travelled over his pillaged and wasted diocese, labouring to promote the religious instruction, to confirm the faith, and to console the minds, of its unfortunate inhabitants. Meantime, he had lost also his powerful protector, the emperor Lewis, who died in 840. In consequence of the division of the territory after his death, he was

deprived of the monastery Thorout, which had hitherto supported him in his poverty. Many of his companions forsook him for want of the means of sustenance ; many returned back to the monastery of Corbie. But Anschar made the best of his situation, and endeavoured faithfully to fulfil the duties of his calling in the midst of so many embarrassing circumstances.¹

Thus he laboured many years, travelling from his place of refuge through every part of his wasted diocese. In the meanwhile, he beheld the mission destroyed which had been commenced in Sweden, without any apparent prospects of its restoration. The archbishop Ebbo of Rheims, from whom that mission originally proceeded, having become entangled in the political quarrels of the Frankish empire, was for a time, it is true, wholly withdrawn from missionary affairs. But when, after many calamities, in which he had involved himself by participating in the insurrection against the emperor Lewis the Pious, he became bishop of Hildesheim, his zeal in behalf of the holy enterprise was rekindled, and he exhorted Anschar not to be disheartened by these accumulating embarrassments. In their last interview on this subject, he said to the latter : “ Be assured, that what we have laboured to accomplish for the glory of Christ, will bring forth fruit in the Lord ; for it is my firm and settled belief, yea I know assuredly, that although what we have undertaken to do among those nations, meets for a time with obstacles and hindrances on account of our sins, yet it will not be lost, but thrive more and more, till the name of the Lord extends to the extreme boundaries of the earth ! ”

Meanwhile, the way was preparing for an improvement of his affairs. At the very time Anschar met with the calamity above described, Leuderich, bishop of Bremen, died, and the vacancy of this bishopric set king Lewis of Germany to devising measures for extricating an archbishop, who laboured so zealously for the good of the church of the North, from all his difficulties. He probably left this bishopric for a time without an incumbent, with the intention of uniting it to the archbishopric of Hamburg, and thus relieving the poverty of this latter, which was constantly ex-

¹ This scholar, Rimbart says : *Ipse cum paucis, qui cum eo substiterant, prout poterat, se agebat et licet in paupertate degens, injunctum sibi officium nequam deserere voluit.* Vit. § 21.

posed to be devastated by barbarians—an arrangement, however, which could be carried into complete effect only by the removal of various difficulties and objections, on the part of the spiritual and secular orders, arising from the necessity of introducing various changes in the relations of the existing dioceses to each other,—the bishopric of Bremen having, in fact, been subordinate to another archbishopric, then belonging to the kingdom of Lotharingia, the archbishopric of Cologne. For this reason, and because he was unwilling to create any strife in the church, and wished to avoid all appearance of self-interest, Anschar declined, for a long time, to accept of the assistance which was thus proffered to him.¹ By various negotiations, extending from the year 847 to the year 849, all the difficulties which impeded this new arrangement were finally removed; moreover, the change was sanctioned by the papal confirmation. Thus Anschar came into possession of a larger and securer income, without which he would have found it impossible to maintain the missionary establishments in the North, with any prospects of success. From henceforth the town of Bremen, on account of its safer position, became the ordinary seat of the archbishop.

Under these more favourable circumstances, Anschar turned his attention once more to the missions in Denmark and Sweden. By presents, he succeeded in softening the temper of Horick (Erich) king of Jutland, hitherto a violent enemy of Christianity. He undertook the management of certain political negotiations with that monarch, in conducting which he won his confidence to such a degree, that the king admitted him to his private councils, and refused to treat with any other agent in his affairs with the German empire. He availed himself of this personal attachment of the king, to obtain his consent for the admission of Christianity into his kingdom. We have no evidence, it is true, that the king himself embraced the Christian faith; but he held it in great respect; and Anschar was permitted to lay the foundation of a Christian church, and to establish the Christian worship of God whenever he chose, as well as to instruct and baptize all who desired it. He selected, as the most eligible

¹ Vita Anschar, c. 22. Pertz monumenta. T. ii p. 706. Dominus et pastor noster hoc sibi periculosum esse aliquo modo formidans et ne a quibuslibet nævo cupiditatis reprehenderetur, caute prævidens, non facile huic dispositioni assentiebat.

spot for founding a church, the town of Schleswig, situated on the borders of the two kingdoms, a place which had much intercourse by trade with the Christian towns, Dorstede and Hamburg.¹ Over the church here established he appointed a priest; many concealed Christians, who had been baptized at Hamburg or Dorstede, now ventured to make public profession of their religion, and rejoiced in the opportunity of once more uniting in the Christian worship of God. As from this time the Christian merchants of Dorstede came to the place with greater confidence, and the intercourse between the two parts grew more lively, the event operated favourably for the prosperity of the town, and Christianity recommended itself by its beneficial influence on the condition of the burgesses. Many received baptism, but many also joined in the public worship only as catechumens, for the same reason that had induced multitudes already in more ancient times to put off their baptism,² under the impression that, by delaying that rite until the last moment, they should, by then receiving it, pass without blemish to immortal life. Many who, under the visitations of sickness, had sought help in vain from the gods, on whom they had lavished their offerings, submitted to baptism, and their recovery was regarded as an effect of the holy rite.³

As to the Swedish mission, its failure happened precisely at the same point of time, which had proved so unfortunate to Anschar; and during the seven ensuing years, after the expulsion of Gauzbert from Sweden, he was unable to do anything towards the re-establishment of the mission. At length, in the year 851, he succeeded in again finding a suitable person to engage in this enterprise. He prevailed on Ardgar, a priest and eremite, to exchange a life of peaceful seclusion, consecrated solely to his own improvement, for more active labours in promoting the kingdom of God. He calculated in this case especially, on the well-known zeal of his ancient friend Herigar, to whom, above all others, it was his earnest advice that Ardgar should attach himself. Nor was he deceived in his expectations. Through every change of circumstances, Herigar had not only

¹ Sliaswig, the place on the Slia, Heithaby.

² See Vol. i. p. 429.

³ See Vita, c. 24.

continued steadfast in the faith himself, having never been moved by any pressure of distress to seek help from the gods, but had boldly proclaimed his faith among the heathens, and many circumstances, in themselves unimportant, had contributed to give his testimonies and exhortations additional weight with the people. For it happened here, as it often has in the history of missions, the slightest circumstances became influential, from the connection in which they were placed by an overruling Providence.

One of the persons who had taken an active part in the tumultuary proceedings by which Gauzbert was forced to leave Sweden, was the son of a chieftain, and he had conveyed a large portion of the booty which fell to his share to his father's house. It so happened, that this family were afterwards visited with sore calamities; they lost the greater part of their property, and the son, with many other members of the family, died. The father, judging after the usual manner of a heathen, concluded that he had incurred the displeasure of some deity, and thus brought upon himself these misfortunes. Following the common practice in such cases, he went to a priest, for the purpose of consulting him respecting the God whom he had provoked to bring these evils upon him, and whose favour he must seek to propitiate, in order to be delivered from them. The priest assured him, that inasmuch as he had been so faithful a worshipper of all the gods, there was no other whom he could have injured but the God of the Christians; and he therefore advised him to remove as quickly as possible from his house every article which had been consecrated to that deity. A religious volume, belonging to the spoils obtained by his son in the attack on Gauzbert, was immediately removed from the house, and bound to a stake. The man vowed satisfaction to the God whom he had injured. The volume was afterwards taken away by a Christian, and preserved till the arrival of Ardgarr. It was this Christian who related the whole transaction to Rimbart, Anschar's disciple and biographer.¹ Again; it was a

¹ See Anschar's Life, c. 18. This Christian afterwards, in the monastery of Corvey, committed the Psalms to memory, with a view to supply to himself in this way, the want of a knowledge of letters. *Ex cujus ore etiam ista cognovimus, qui postea magnæ fidei et devotionis extitit, ita ut psalmos quoque apud nos memoriter sine litteris didicerit.* He must, therefore, have either learnt Latin without

prevailing custom among the Swedes, when exposed to the calamities of war, or to other dangers, to seek the special assistance of some one of their gods, vowing to him a gift in case of deliverance ;¹ and if they were delivered, then this god was made an object of special veneration. It so happened that Birka, a place already mentioned, the residence of many wealthy merchants, was threatened by a hostile army ; and the inhabitants had sought protection in vain from their gods. Herigar seized hold of this occasion to direct them to the Almighty God, whom he himself worshipped. The imminent danger procured him a hearing ; and, in accordance with the usual custom in such cases, the whole population met together in a field, where they vowed to the Lord Christ a fast, and a distribution of alms in his name, in case he should deliver them from the power of the enemy.² By a concurrence of circumstances, they were actually delivered. And although this and similar experiences could not convert them, it is true, at once into believing Christians, yet they were at least led more and more to the conviction, that Christ too was a powerful deity,—mightier than other gods. Herigar made the best use of such incidents, to prove the power of the God whom he worshipped.

We may conceive, then, with what delight the arrival of Ardgar was hailed by the stadtholder, who, for seven years, had not received the holy supper from the hands of a priest. Through his meditation, he obtained permission to preach wherever he pleased. There were many Christians besides, who had painfully felt the want of a Christian priest, and were not a little rejoiced at beholding one once more among them. One of these was Friedeburg, a pious widow, who, in spite of all the violence of the pagans around her, had remained steadfast in the faith. And

a knowledge of the Latin alphabet, which, however, is not probable, or there must have been, even at that early period, a Swedish version of the Psalms ; or, it is possible, that he may have used the version of Ulphilas, which was then still to be met with, as we learn from Walafrid Strabo in this century, who says of the same (de rebus eccles. c. vii.) : quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos habentur. Comp. Massmann's excellent edition of the Commentary on John, in the Gothic language. München, 1834, p. 88.

¹ Adam Bremens, hist. eccles. c. 230. Si quando preliantes in angustio positi sunt, ex multitudine Deorum, quos colunt, unum in auxilium invocant, ei post victoriam deinceps sunt devoti illumque cæteris anteponunt.

² Rimbert, c. 19. Exeuntes, sicut sibi consuetudinis erat, in campum pro liberatione sui jejunium et eleemosynas domino Christo devoverunt.

seeing no prospect that, in the hour of death, which to a person of her years could not be far distant, she could receive the holy supper from the hands of a priest, she had purchased some wine, and carefully preserved it in a vessel, directing her daughter to administer to her, at the last hour, a portion of the element, which was to represent to her the blood of the Lord, and be the sign that she commended herself to the Lord's mercy, in passing from the world. The greater was her satisfaction, in being able to join in the Christian worship of God, restored by Ardgarr; and she now had her most earnest wish fulfilled, in being permitted in her last moments to draw comfort and strength from partaking of the holy supper.¹ Zealously devoted in her lifetime to works of charity, she charged her daughter Kathle to dispose of all her effects after her death, and to distribute the avails in alms—a bequest not unmixed, perhaps, with some superstitious notion of the effect of the pious act, in delivering her departed soul from the pains of purgatory. As the poor were few in numbers, however, in that neighbourhood—the inequality of conditions being less strongly marked in the simple mode of life which there prevailed—the daughter was to go with the money to Dorstede, where churches and priests, and also paupers abounded.² These directions the daughter faithfully obeyed. Proceeding to Dorstede, she procured the assistance of pious women, devoted to that business, to go round with her to all the churches, where the poor were to be found, and inform her how to distribute the money according to the various necessities and deserts of the needy.³

¹ One evidence of the important influence, which the constant intercourse between this commercial town and the northern kingdoms had on the spread of Christianity.

² The great number of churches attracted thither also a multitude of the poor; and the unwise distribution of alms, no doubt, encouraged and promoted poverty.

³ It is further recorded, that when the daughter, with her companions and assistants, had distributed about half the sum, she ventured to take one piece of the money to purchase refreshments for herself and her friends, weary and exhausted with their labours. But great was her astonishment, on finding in the purse which she had placed empty in a particular spot, the whole sum distributed, with the exception of that single piece. She consulted with a priest in whom she confided, about this wonderful event; and he assured her, that God intended, by this miracle, to let her see that he, the almighty and all-sufficient in himself, needed no gifts; and that whatever was given to the poor, from love to him, should be richly repaid in heaven, to encourage her in similar works of charity, and moreover to assure her that her mother was happy with the Lord. This money, he said, was now presented to her by the Lord, and she might dispose of

Herigar also enjoyed the privilege of receiving the holy supper in his last moments. But upon his death, the eremite missionary could no longer resist the too strong bent of his mind for the quiet of the contemplative life, and, in 852, returned to his former seclusion.

After his return, Anschar was the less disposed to think this mission ought to be left unprovided for, as his friendly understanding with king Horik, who promised to lend his aid and protection to the cause, seemed to open for it more favourable prospects than ever. He invited his fellow labourer, the bishop Gauzbert, to resume the work in which he had been interrupted. But Gauzbert represented to him, that as he himself had left behind him so unfavourable an impression on the minds of the people, it was not he, but Anschar, of whom they still retained the most friendly recollections, who was the most suitable person to undertake this mission. Anschar was compelled to admit the correctness of this statement, and joyfully obeyed a call, which, no less by its relation to the proposed aim of his life, and to the leadings of divine Providence indicated by his position, than by one of those visions which imaged forth the divine aspirations of his soul, seemed to him to be from God. During the time of his deepest anxiety about the Swedish mission, he had a dream. Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, appeared before him in a glorified form, and foretold him, that from his lips the islands and the distant tribes should hear the word of God; that he was destined to carry salvation to the extreme boundaries of the earth; and that the Lord would glorify his servant. This dream appeared to him as a prediction of the spread of Christianity in Sweden; and the words, "the Lord would glorify his servant," he was inclined to interpret as having reference to his destined martyrdom, which he had anticipated from his early youth.¹

The more gladly, therefore, did Anschar follow the suggestion of his friend Gauzbert; and with a cheerful alacrity he was ready even to meet the crown of martyrdom, which according to the vision might also await him in Sweden; though he by no means

it as she pleased. See *Vita Anschar*, c. 20. We have here either a beautiful myth, or an example of that deception sometimes resorted to for the purpose of working on the faith of the new converts.

¹ See l. c. † 25.

intended to seek the martyr's death, by rashly disregarding any rule of prudence in the conduct of the mission. He commenced his journey in 853, as an ambassador of king Lewis, intrusted with special business from that monarch to Sweden, and accompanied by the priest Erimbert, a nephew of Gauzbert, appointed by the latter as his representative. King Horik sent with him an envoy to introduce and recommend him to the Swedish king Olof.¹ By his envoy, the king declared himself in a way which clearly illustrates the point of view in which he regarded Anshar, as well as the faith he preached. The king said, "He was well acquainted with this servant of God, who came to him as an ambassador from the emperor Lewis. Never in all his life had he seen so good a man, nor found one so worthy of confidence." Having found him out to be a man of such distinguished goodness, he had let him order everything as he chose to do in regard to Christianity. Accordingly he begged king Olof to allow him in like manner to arrange everything as he pleased for the introduction of Christianity into his own kingdom, for he would wish to do nothing but what was good and right.

Anshar, however, on his arrival, found the popular mind in an unfavourable state of excitement, the occasion of which might be considered, indeed, as a proof of the influence which Christianity had already begun to acquire. For it is manifest, that the seeds of Christianity scattered in Sweden had, in the meanwhile, been operating even without the aid of teachers; and the very fact of the mixture of Christian and pagan elements among the people, testifies of the power which the Christian faith had already begun to exercise over the minds of men. On the one hand, there were some who decidedly espoused Christianity, on the other, some who were disposed to admit Christ among the other deities. Hence, in the zealous adherents to the old popular religion, the apprehension might be excited, that Christianity would work mischief to the worship of the gods. One individual, accordingly, from the midst of the people, had believed himself called to appear among the Swedes as a messenger from the national gods, to announce their displeasure at the neglect into which the worship of those deities had fallen, to whom they were

¹ *Orici missum pariter et signum habuit secum*, according to the Life of Anshar. What is to be understood by *signum*, as a sign of the royal credentials, is uncertain.

indebted for all their prosperity, and at the introduction of the worship of a strange God. If they wished for a new god, they should enrol among the number of their deities Ericht, one of their ancient kings. This enthusiast found great acceptance with the people, and much zeal was manifested in founding a temple and a ritual for the new deity.

In this very business they were engaged, when Anschar arrived at Birka; and he found a prevailing state of feeling most unfavourable to his object. His old friends advised him to abandon his enterprise, and be satisfied to get away with his life. But Anschar declared, that as to his life, he would abandon nothing for that; he would gladly offer it for the cause of Christ, and also gladly suffer for that cause every species of torture. But resolved, even at the sacrifice of his life, to make every effort to procure an entrance for the gospel, he did not imprudently and fanatically rush on martyrdom, but had recourse to all the measures of Christian prudence to ward off the danger, and pave the way for the introduction of Christianity among the people. He invited king Olof to a feast in his own house, and made him presents, with which he was gratified. Having thus gained his personal goodwill, he begged that he might be permitted to preach and make known the Christian faith. The king, on his own part, was inclined to grant his request; but his authority being limited, he could not decide, except by convoking an assembly of the people, and consulting the gods by lot; but he promised to favour the proposal in the assembly of his people. Everything now depended on their decision; and Anschar, with prayer and fasting, besought the Lord that he would so dispose the popular mind as to be favourable for the promotion of his own cause. Meantime, while engaged in celebrating mass, he felt such inward assurance, such a glow of pervading joy, that he said to a priest, his most intimate friend, "I am now sure of my cause; grace will be with them;" and his assurance was confirmed by the event.

At first, the king consulted with his nobles; and they sought to explore the will of the gods by the use of the lots. The lot was favourable to the admission of Christianity. Next, the proposal was made, in the king's name, to the assembly of the people. While the discussion was going on with great earnestness and heat, a very aged man stepped out of the midst of the assembly,

and said, "Hear me, king and people; many of us, no doubt, have already been informed, that this god can be of great help to those who hope in him; for many of us here have had experience of this in dangers at sea, and in manifold straits. Why then should we spurn what is necessary and useful to us? Once, several of us travelled, for the sake of this religion, to Dorstede, and there embraced it uninvited.¹ At present the seas have become dangerous by piracy. Why then should we not embrace what we once felt constrained to seek in distant parts, now that it is offered at our doors?" These words produced the desired effect. It was resolved that no obstacle should be offered to the introduction of the Christian worship of God. The resolution of this assembly of the people bound, it is true, only a part of the Swedes, the inhabitants of Gothenland; but in the other part also, Sweden in the more limited sense of the word, the resolution of the popular assembly turned out to be favourable. Anschar left behind him in Sweden the above-mentioned priest, Erimbart, to guide and direct the public worship. The king granted him a spot for building a church; Anschar purchased another, on which to erect a house for the priest. This being completed, he returned to his diocese in 854. Christianity had at first, it is true, but few decided followers; and these were for the most part merchants. But the recognition, widely diffused among the people, of Christ as a deity, and the impression left by the stories of his power, served to prepare the way for greater things in the future. Circumstances, similar to those which have been mentioned, contributed to lead men, in the first place, into the habit of regarding Christ as a mighty protecting deity, in war and in other dangers. The consultation of the lot had induced men to apply to him for succour, and the event had corresponded to the confidence reposed in him. Pagans were thus led to hold fasts and to distribute alms in honour of Christ.

In Denmark, however, a change happened in the same year unfavourable to the interests of the Christian church. King Horik,

¹ The words to which we have already made allusion at page 8, and which are contained in § 27 of the Life: *Aliquando quidam ex nobis Dorstadum adeuntes hujus religionis norman profuturam sibi sentientes, spontanea voluntate suscipiebant.* We might, to be sure, understand these words as meaning, when they had visited Dorstede on other business, they had there embraced Christianity; but the antithesis is more in favour of the rendering followed in the text.

Anschar's friend, was killed in battle ; and of his entire race but *one* descendant, Horik II., was left as regent over a small portion of the country. This person allowed himself to be governed by a certain stadtholder, Hari, a man hostilely disposed towards Christianity. The doors of the Christian church at Schleswig were closed, Christian worship was forbidden, the priest obliged to flee. Not long afterwards, however, Hari fell into disgrace, and a person well disposed to Christianity, and who already, in the time of Horik I., had been of the greatest service to Anschar and to the cause of Christianity, attained to the highest influence. The king himself invited Anschar to send back the priest, since he was not less disposed to be the friend of Christ and of Anschar than the elder Horik. One thing which the pagans would not suffer before on account of their fear of enchantment, was now permitted ; the church of Schleswig was provided with a bell. Liberty, moreover, was given to found a second church at Ripen, in Jutland, over which a priest was appointed.

Anschar was at all times extremely solicitous that the missionaries sent out by him should set an example of disinterestedness. He advised them to ask nothing of any one ; but rather to follow the example of the apostle Paul and support themselves by the labour of their own hands, content with the little they needed for subsistence and clothing. He himself, however, generously gave them not only what they required for their own subsistence, but also a surplus for making presents and so creating friends, according to his own general practice of seeking, by means of presents, to gain influential patrons to the missions in Denmark and Sweden. His own diocese had but recently been rescued from paganism ; and the wars with adjacent heathen tribes could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the growth of his people in Christian life and knowledge ; hence he was still obliged to sustain many a hard conflict in his own field with pagan barbarism ; of which the following is an example : Certain Christians who had been dragged off as slaves by pagan tribes of the North, had effected their escape from the harsh treatment they were compelled to suffer, and taken refuge in the adjacent territory of North Albingia. But some of the more powerful chieftains of that district having recaptured them, sold some of them as slaves again to pagans or Christians, retaining others as servants in their own

households. Anschar was indignant to find that such things were done in his own diocese. But he was at a loss how to subdue the pride of these mighty ones, till by the impression of a dream in which Christ appeared to him, he was inspired with confidence. He repaired in person to the district where these events had occurred. With such equanimity and cheerfulness did he start on this expedition, that his attendants remarked they had never made so pleasant a journey—so happy did they find themselves in his society, so deeply were they conscious that the Lord was with them. He himself went straightway into the midst of the nobles ; no one dared contradict him. The captives were collected from all sides, and immediately set free.

Anschar from his youth was exceedingly given to religious contemplation, to prayer, and other devotional exercises of life consecrated to seclusion. He had caused to be constructed for this purpose a particular cell, naming it his place of quiet and penitence, to which, with a few like-minded friends, he was in the habit of retiring. This indulgence, however, he never allowed himself, except when an opportunity was given him of recruiting himself for a short time from his labours among the heathen, his devoted toil as a preacher, and from the functions of his episcopal office, soon leaving again this beloved seclusion to engage once more in his public duties. He was in the habit of disciplining himself by severe mortifications ; but at the same time he was not ignorant that humility is the soul of the Christian life ; and observing how easily self-exaltation attached itself to such outward austerities, he begged God to save him by his grace from this danger.¹ Too humble to entertain a wish of being able to perform miracles, he could not prevent the coming of sick persons from distant parts, who hoped to be restored by his prayers. Was a word, however, dropped in his presence, intimating that miracles had been wrought by his prayers in the healing of the sick, he said, “ Could I deem myself worthy of such a favour from the Lord, I would pray him to vouchsafe me but this *one* miracle, that out of me by his grace he would make a good man.”²

After having laboured more than thirty-four years for the sal-

¹ L. c. c. 35.

² Si dignus essem apud Dominum meum, rogarem, quatenus unum mihi concederet signum, videlicet ut de me gratia sua faceret bonum hominem.

vation of the heathen nations of the North, when past the age of sixty-four, he was attacked by a severe fit of sickness, under which he suffered for more than four months. Amidst his bodily pains, he often said they were less than his sins deserved, repeating the words of Job, "Have we received good from the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" His only regret was to find that the hope of dying as a martyr, with which that early dream had inspired him, was not to be fulfilled. An anxious concern for his diocese, for the souls of the individuals who stood round him, and especially for the salvation of the Danes and Swedes, occupied his mind to the last. In a letter written during this sickness, he recommended, in the most earnest terms, to the German bishops and to king Lewis, strenuous efforts for the continuance of these missions. At last, having received the holy supper, he prayed that God would forgive all who had done him wrong. He repeated over, as long as he could speak, the words, "Lord, be merciful to me a sinner; into thy hands I commit my spirit;" and died, as it had been his wish to do, on the feast of the purification of the Virgin, February the third, 865.¹

Anschar's successor, his faithful disciple Rimbert, strove in all respects to imitate his master. He made several journeys, not without great danger, to Denmark and Sweden. To ransom Christians captured by the pagan nations of the North, he parted with everything, even to the gold and silver vessels of the Church, and to the horse which he kept for his own convenience.² But the circumstances of the times were most unfavourable to the missions among the Scandinavian tribes; for the pagans from those parts, by their desolating irruptions in quest of plunder, spread terror and havock far and wide among the Christian nations, in Germany, England, and France, everywhere threatening with destruction the institutions of Christianity themselves. Yet the Danes, by their settlements in England, in the midst or on the borders of a Christian people, were in part brought more nearly within the range of Christian influences. Odo, an archbishop of Canterbury, who lived about the middle of the tenth century, and was honoured as a saint, descended from a pagan Danish family. Christianity had taken strong hold of his mind while he was yet

¹ See in the *actis sanct.* at the III. of February.

² See his *Life*, c. 17. *Mabillon acta sanct. sæc. iv. p. ii. p. 481.*

a young man, and he professed the Christian faith in opposition to the will of his parents.¹

In Denmark, during the first half of the tenth century, king Gurm, a usurper of the sovereign authority, manifested the most bitter hostility to everything belonging to the Christian church till in the year 934, when, compelled by the power of the German emperor, Henry I., he promised to desist from his persecution of the Christians, and at the same time gave up the province of Schleswig to the German empire. This province now afforded, for the first time, a stable and secure seat for the Christian church. It was settled by a colony of Christians, thus affording a convenient point of transit for Christianity to Denmark. The archbishop Unni took advantage of this happy change, and again made a missionary tour to the North. His efforts, it is true, were unsuccessful to produce a change on the mind of king Gurm himself; but he found so much the readier access to the heart of his son Harald, who, under the training of his mother Thyra (a daughter of that first Christian prince Harald, and a zealous confessor of Christianity), had already been led to the Christian faith. Though he had not received baptism, he publicly declared himself in favour of Christianity; and, as he shared the government with his father, the archbishop could travel, under his protection, into every part of Denmark, labouring for the establishment of the Christian church. This Harald, surnamed Blaatand, through the whole period of his reign of fifty years (from 941 onward), favoured the spread of Christianity. A war between this prince and the emperor Otho I. terminated in 972 with a treaty of peace, which also had a favourable influence towards the firm establishment of the Christian church in Denmark. Harald, with his wife Gunild, received baptism in the presence of the emperor, and the latter stood god-father at the baptism of the young prince Sueno (Sven Otto). But, although Harald, before he became sole ruler, had shown himself favourable to Christianity, yet we are not to infer from this, that he had from the first regarded Christianity as the only true religion; but he proceeded by degrees,

¹ Accordingly we find a treaty concluded between the Danes settled in England and the English in the year 905, whereby the former bound themselves to renounce paganism and to adopt common ecclesiastical laws. See Wilkins' *concilia Magnæ Britanniae*, T. i. fol. 202.

from a belief in the God of the Christians as the mightiest deity, with whom, however, the old national gods might also still be worshipped, to faith in the God of the Christians as the only being to be worshipped, to the exclusion of the old national gods, whom he finally regarded as no better than evil spirits. With respect to the manner in which this change was produced, we have the testimony of an ancient legend, widely diffused in the North, and handed down by popular tradition and by the historians,¹ which doubtless is not without some foundation of truth. A priest by the name of Poppo, celebrated for his knowledge and his spiritual gifts, had come to Denmark from North Friesland to labour as a missionary. He happened to be present at a banquet in the palace, when among other topics the conversation turned upon the strife betwixt the old and the new religion, a subject which at that time greatly agitated the minds of men. Some of the Danes said, Christ was to be worshipped indeed as a God; yet the old national gods were mightier, for they had performed greater wonders. This Poppo disputed, and maintained, that Christ was the only true God, that those gods whom *they* worshipped were on the contrary evil spirits. The king, who was still a believer in the old gods as well as in Christ, asked the priest whether he dared to prove this by a miracle; and then, as it is reported, proposed that he should submit to the judgment of God by the ordeal of the glowing iron. Now, whatever may have actually occurred on this occasion, something at least was done or took place, which made a deep impression on Harald's mind, and contributed in a great measure to settle his convictions, and which seems also to have made a great impression on the untutored people. Poppo, who afterwards became bishop of Aarhus, is said to have laboured earnestly for the spread of Christianity

¹ This story is found related already by monk Wittekind of Corvey at the opening of the eleventh century—Annal. l. iii. in Meibom. script. rerum German. T. i. p. 660, and in the same age by bishop Ditmar of Merseburg in his Chronicle, l. ii. The historian, Adam of Bremen, who has drawn into his narrative many accounts concerning the ecclesiastical events of the North, says of Poppo: *Cujus veritate miraculi et tunc multa millia per eum crediderunt et usque hodie per populos et ecclesias Danorum celebre Popponi nomen effertur*, c. 77. p. 56, ed. Lindenbruch 1595. To be sure, many important discrepancies are to be discovered in the report about these facts, as it regards persons, place, and time, which is nothing wonderful in a legend handed down from mouth to mouth, and points to the different sources from which the story came; but it is impossible to make out the exact character of the facts lying at the foundation of the tale.

in Denmark.¹ Harald, both in respect to the development of his religious convictions and to the character of his conversion, may be compared with the emperor Constantine. Though he manifested great zeal for the spread of Christianity and of ecclesiastical institutions, and thus obtained a good name from those who regarded solely the external interests of the church, yet his cruel and perfidious acts show that Christianity had produced in him no moral change. The influence of Christianity, however, is certainly manifest in the manner in which he directed his efforts to restrain the rude passions of his people. It was first under his auspicious rule, that Adaldag, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, an active and zealous labourer both for the spread of Christianity and for the enlargement of his archiepiscopal province, was enabled to conceive and carry out the plan of consecrating several bishops for Denmark. One of these was bishop Liafdag, particularly celebrated for his devoted and influential activity.

The Christian church, however, was not to obtain the victory in Denmark, without a fierce struggle in the first place between the pagan and Christian parties. The pagans were still quite numerous and powerful, and they were embittered in their feelings by the violent measures adopted by Harald for the universal introduction of Christianity. Of this tone of feeling, Sveno, the son of Harald, twice took advantage, and stirred up a rebellion against him. In 991, Harald perished in battle; and Sveno, who took the government, re-established the old religion, in compliance with the wishes of the party which had placed him on the throne. The Christian priests were expelled. Libentius, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, attempted in vain, by messages and presents, to give the feelings of the young prince a different direction. When the Danes, under this monarch, conquered England, they expended their fury more particularly on the clergy and monks, and everything belonging to the church. In this Christian land, however, Sveno himself began to be more tem-

¹ Many names of places in the North perpetuate his memory, as for example, Poppolz, a forest between Flensburg and Schleswig, where, according to tradition, he built himself a hut. In a brook which flows by the spot, Hillegenbach, he is said to have baptised his disciples. See Pantoppidan's *Annales ecclesiæ Danicæ*. p. 158. The village Poppenbüttel, near Hamburg, may be reckoned also to this class.

perate in his opposition to Christianity, and even to return to the faith in which he had been educated. His son, Canute the Great, who reigned from the year 1014, was won over to Christianity by the influence of the Christian church in England, and especially of his consort, the English princess Emma, who was a devoted Christian. But religion was never able to obtain such mastery over him as to place an effectual check on the fierceness of his passions, his love of rule and thirst for conquest; and the form in which Christianity had been taught him was so mixed up with superstition, as to furnish him with ample means of pacifying an alarmed conscience. When he became king of England and Denmark, he applied himself with great zeal to the work of giving a stable foundation to the Christian church in his native country; and to this end employed the labours of many ecclesiastics sent over from England. He showed great respect for everything that pertained to the church,¹ and by his efforts to promote its interests, sought to atone for the deeds of violence done by himself and his father. In the year 1027, he started on a pilgrimage to Rome, which he had long before meditated, for the purposes of devotion, and to bespeak the interest of the pope in behalf of his people.² He proposed to himself, if we may believe him, in this enterprise, objects worthy of a Christian prince, all which he made known in a letter addressed to his people. "I have with prayer," he writes, "consecrated my life to God himself, resolving from henceforth to act in all things as shall seem right before him; to rule with justice and piety over the people who are my subjects; and if, from the impulse of my youthful passions or from neglect, I have done many things in my past life contrary to right, I now propose, with God's help, to retrieve every wrong. I therefore command my counsellors, never henceforth to countenance any injustice out of fear to me, or favour to any potentate whatever; nor to suffer anything of the kind to find admission into my kingdom. I also command the nobles in my kingdom, if they have

¹ Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who had received from him a present to his church, writes in reply: *Te, quem paganorum principem audieramus, non modo Christianum, verum etiam erga ecclesias atque Dei servos benignissimum largitorem agnoscimus.* See ep. 97.

² As he says himself: *Quia a sapientibus didici, sanctum Petrum apostolum magnam potestatem accepisse à Domino ligandi atque solvendi, clavigerumque esse regni cœlestis et ideo specialiter ejus patrocinium apud Deum expetere valde utile dixi.*

any regard for my friendship or their own good, never to allow themselves in arbitrary acts of injustice and violence against any man, be he rich or poor. All, from the highest to the lowest class, shall experience exact justice according to the laws, and none shall depart from them, whether for the sake of gaining my royal favour, from respect to the person of a nobleman, or for the purpose of collecting money for me."¹

It was only by slow degrees that the rudeness of a people, who, as Adam of Bremen remarks, thought it disgraceful to shed tears for their own sins, or at the death of their dearest friends,² could be subdued by the influence of a church which trained its members by legal discipline, and it was only by gradual advances they could be brought into closer contact with the mild and humanising spirit of Christianity.

As to the spread of Christianity in Sweden, the work commenced by Anschar had been there also interrupted by the same causes which had operated in the case of the Danish mission. For seventy years after Anschar's death, nothing beyond the transitory essays of Rimbert had been done for this object; when archbishop Unni, who, under king Harald Blaataand was performing a good and successful work in Denmark, extended his labours from that country to Sweden. He met, as it is reported, with a kind reception from the Swedish king Inge Olofson, and laboured among the people with good success; but he died at Birka, as he was about to return, in 936. Owing to the intimate connection with Denmark, where at that time the reign of Harald was so favourable to the spread of Christianity, the gospel at all points found its way also to Sweden. Liafdag, bishop of Ripen, and the bishop Odincar, whom archbishop Adaldag had ordained for this very purpose, are said to have been particularly active in promoting this work.

From this time, Christianity continued to make progress; though it often became intermingled with paganism. The Swedish king Olof Stautconnung, who reigned in the first half of the eleventh century, declared himself at the beginning decidedly in favour of Christianity, and endeavoured to place it on a firm foot-

¹ See Wilkins' *Concilia*, T. i. fol. 298.

² *Lacrimas et planctum cæteraque compunctionis genera, quæ nos salubria censemus, ita abominantur, ut nec pro peccatis suis nec pro caris defunctis ulli flere liceat.*

ing in his kingdom. English clergymen, Sigfrid, Grimkil, and others, who came thither by the way of Norway (see on a future page), were active in these efforts. As the famous temple at Upsala was the central point from which the old cultus was continually preserved alive in the hearts of the people, the king resolved upon its destruction as the surest means of overturning the old popular religion. When this intention of the king came to be known to the people, they entered into an agreement with him in a popular assembly, that he should select for himself the best portion of the country for the purpose of founding in it the Christian church; but that everywhere else each should be allowed in the free exercise of his religion. The king chose the western part of the country, and the first bishopric was founded at Skara in West-Gothland, over which an English clergyman, by the name of Thurget, was ordained by archbishop Unvan. But other ecclesiastics, coming over from England, attacked paganism with such inconsiderate zeal, as to arouse the fury of the heathen population. One Wulfred, who had already been the means of converting many, seized an axe and dashed to the ground a much venerated idol. He was attacked by a body of furious pagans, and died covered with wounds.¹ The less violent zeal of king Jacob Amund, Olof's successor, contributed so much the more effectually to the spread of Christianity. His step-brother Emund, who succeeded to the government in 1051, pursued the same course of policy; but he was not so inclined to acknowledge the superior ecclesiastical authority of the archbishop of Bremen, who acted as the pope's legate, and was very desirous of setting himself up as patriarch of the North. Osmund, the king's bishop, who had been ordained not in Bremen but in Norway, was for proceeding after a more independent way in ecclesiastical affairs, and the king encouraged him. The delegates of the archbishop of Bremen met with a very bad reception in Sweden; in consequence of which, the king and his bishop appeared in an unfavourable light to the advocates of the reigning church-system.² It would have been attended with very important consequences to the shaping of the church and Christian development in the North, if the reaction of the northern spirit of freedom against dependence

¹ Adam Bremen, c. 41—44.

² The accounts on this side, therefore, in Adam of Bremen, deserve no confidence.

on the organs of the papacy had lasted for a longer period. But under Stenkil, Edmund's successor from the year 1059, the ancient relation to the church of Bremen was immediately restored. An event happened in the reign of this king, which must have given a favourable direction to the current of popular feeling with regard to Christianity. A priest of the temple at Upsula became blind. This man had heard a great deal said about the power of the Christian's God; and as there were many who worshipped Christ at the same time with the other gods, it would be no more than natural for him to conclude, that this calamity had befallen him, in consequence of the anger of the only god whom he slighted and neglected—the god of the Christians; and as he had sought in vain for help from his own gods, he might now conceive the hope of obtaining relief by applying to the God of the Christians. While his mind was occupied with these thoughts, the Virgin Mary appeared to him in a dream, and promised him that his sight should be restored, if he would come over to the worship of her son. The priest recovered from his blindness, and went about everywhere proclaiming the almighty power of the Christian's God, and the vanity of idols. The archbishop of Bremen took advantage of these favourable circumstances; and having consecrated Adalward, one of his clergy, to the episcopal office, sent him to Sweden. Adalward entered upon his work with great zeal, and in conjunction with bishop Egino of Schonon, made every exertion to bring about the destruction of the temple at Upsula, that stronghold of paganism. They were ready to suffer every species of torture to effect this object. But when king Stenkil heard of their design, he deterred them, declaring that if they carried it into effect, they would not only fall victims themselves to the wrath of the pagan people, but involve him and the whole church of Sweden in the greatest dangers.¹

According to the observation of a contemporary and eye-witness of these events, the canonical priest Adam of Bremen, much more might have been accomplished by the preachers in Sweden; for the Swedes were very susceptible to religious impressions, and indeed inclined already to recognise a divine power in Christianity, and to unite the worship of Christ with the old worship

¹ L. c. c. 237.

of the gods. Says Adam of Bremen:¹ "They receive the preachers of the truth with great kindness, if they are modest, wise, and able ; so that the bishops are even admitted into their popular assemblies, where they gladly listen to their discourses concerning Christ and Christianity. And assuredly they might easily be converted to our faith, if bad teachers, who seek their own rather than the things of Jesus Christ, did not prove to them a stone of stumbling."

The Normans, strictly so called, had manifold occasions, in their predatory excursions to the remote east and south, of becoming acquainted with Christianity among the Christian people with whom they came in contact. Many of their leaders had, among their other adventures in distant lands, come to the knowledge of Christianity ; and in a life full of hazardous chances, and chequered fortunes, well calculated to awaken the consciousness of dependence on a higher power controlling human events, they were by various circumstances led to believe in the God proclaimed by Christianity. And when by the same means they became more fully confirmed in their faith, they were not wanting in a zeal to make known the God whom they worshipped to the rest of their countrymen. But they failed of possessing that kind of Christian knowledge, and that peculiar spirit and disposition of mind, which would lead them to the appropriate means for diffusing abroad a religion like that of the gospel. The first who attempted to plant the Christian church in Norway was prince Hacon, before the middle of the tenth century. He had received a Christian education at the court of king Athalstan of England ; and full of zeal for Christianity, he returned, when a young man, to Norway, where he made himself master of the kingdom. But he found both the people and the nobles of the land blindly devoted to the religion of Odin ; and he would have soon lost the throne, which did not belong to him by the law of inheritance, if he had publicly shown at the very outset his zeal for Christianity. He was obliged to perform his exercises of Christian worship in secret, for which purpose he had obtained priests from England. Every week, he observed Sunday and Friday ; the latter as a fast-day in remembrance of Christ's

¹ L. c. c. 229.

passion. He so arranged it, that the ancient national festival in honour of Odin, the three days' festival of Jol or Yule in honour of the sun-god Freyr (the dies natalis invicti Solis of the Scandinavian tribes) which was usually celebrated with abundant feasting, should be transferred to the time of the Easter festival. Thus, without being disturbed or exciting observation, he could keep his own festival in his own way. It was probably his design also in some future day to convert the heathen festival into the Christian one, since the very object of it, as in the case of the analogous festival among the pagans of the old Roman world, furnished an occasion for so doing. Having first gained over his most confidential friends to the side of Christianity, as soon as he had reason to believe that his power was sufficiently established, he proposed, in the year 945, before an assembly of the people, that the whole nation, great and small, masters and servants, men and women, should renounce idolatry and sacrifices, worship the only true God, and Jesus Christ his Son, devote every Sunday to the exercises of religion, resting from all labour, and observe every Friday as a fast-day. Such a proposition to renounce at once the old religion and customs of the land, could of course serve only to exasperate the minds of a people who were devoted to their ancient sacred institutions, especially as nothing had been done to prepare the way for such a measure by a previous inworking of Christianity upon their modes of thinking. The heads of households declared, they could not gain a subsistence for themselves and their families, if so much time were to be withdrawn from labour. The labouring class and servants declared, that by so much fasting they would have no strength left to work. In many of the speeches of the nobles who took up the argument, zeal for the old national religion, and repugnance to a new and foreign worship opposed to the customs of the people, was most emphatically expressed, and the king's proposal repelled with universal indignation. But the assembly was not satisfied to have the king desist from his attempts to introduce Christianity. It was considered indispensable to the prosperity of the land, that its king should take part in the public sacrifices. At the beginning of winter, when, according to an ancient custom, a great sacrifice must be offered, the king was required to repair with the rest to the place where the cere-

mony was to be performed. But he ate with his Christian friends, at a separate spot, to avoid defiling himself with the pagan sacrifice, and having his religious feelings annoyed by the sight of these heathen customs. This behaviour of the king, which seemed to cast reproach on the festivals and customs of his people, was regarded by them as an insult to his subjects, to the kings his ancestors, and to the gods themselves. Sigurd, one of the most influential of the nobles, and who had been the most active in procuring the government for Hacon, stood forth as mediator between the king and his irritated people, and convinced him, that, to avoid a popular insurrection, it would be necessary for him to yield, in some measure, to their demands. Hacon returned to his palace, and, taking his throne, the full goblets were presented, which, according to an ancient Scandinavian custom, must be drained dry, in honour of the gods. Sigurd drank first to the king, in honour of Odin, then presented it, filled up again, to the king himself. The latter, before touching it to his lips, signed the cross over it, as a protection against the polluting effects of this approach to the service of demons. This act did not escape the notice of the assembled pagan nobles; and the only way in which Sigurd could pacify them was by roundly asserting that the king had merely signed over the cup the hammer of their own god Thor. But on the next day, the fury of the heathen people broke out more fiercely. As every Christian was forbidden to eat horse-flesh,¹ it was now required of the king, with clamorous uproar, that he should taste of it; but he firmly refused. At length he consented, for form's sake, to touch his lips to the cloth which lay over the edge of the cauldron, in which the flesh had been seethed. Thus the king and his people separated, mutually excited against each other; the former, because he had been forced to yield so much against his own religious feelings; the latter, because the king, after all, could not be brought back to the ancient sacred rites and customs. The celebration of the Yule-festival of this year led to a repetition of the same stormy and clamorous demands; and the king, on this occasion, fearing lest the fury of the people

¹ At the times of the planting of the Church in Germany, by Boniface, the eating of horse-flesh was already denounced as a heathen practice. Pope Gregory III. strictly forbade it, in his letter to Boniface of the year 732: "Immundum enim est atque execrabile." See Boniface epp. p. 66.

should break out in open rebellion, actually consented to eat part of the liver of a horse, and to drain all the cups drunk to its honour, without signing the cross over them. He repented, however, of having ever consented to do a thing so contrary to his conscience, and was already resolved to try the fortunes of war with the heathen party. The invasion of his country by a hostile power, which he met with the united strength of his people, was all that reconciled him to them. About the year 960, he was wounded mortally in battle. He now declared it to be his purpose, if he should survive, to leave his kingdom, retire to some Christian nation, and by tears, penitence, and a reformation of life, seek to obtain from God the forgiveness of his sins. The conviction bore like a heavy weight on his conscience, that he had denied the faith. His friends begged him to direct that his body should be transported to England, for interment according to the rites of Christian burial; but he said he was unworthy of it. Having lived as a heathen, he desired to be buried as one. The universal affection of the people for this king, who had died in battle for his country, would afterwards be likely to have a salutary reaction on their feelings towards a religion, to which he was so sincerely and zealously devoted.

When the Danish king Harald, in 967, made himself master of Norway, he sought to destroy paganism and introduce Christianity by the same violent measures as he had resorted to in Denmark. But here, as in the other case, these measures resulted only in a more violent reaction of paganism. The person whom he appointed stadtholder was Yarl Hacon, Sigurd's son, with whose assistance he had conquered the country. But as Hacon's real object was to serve his own interest, he rendered himself independent of his master, and destroying all Christian foundations, showed great zeal in everywhere restoring again the pagan idolatry. But when he had fully secured possession of the sovereign power, he rendered himself odious by his oppressive tyranny, and the hatred with which he was regarded by the people opened the way for Olof Tryggweson, another Norwegian general, who was aiming at the sovereignty.

This Olof had travelled extensively in foreign lands; in Russia, Greece, England, and the neighbouring ports of Northern Germany. By intercourse with Christian nations, in his predatory

excursions, he had obtained some knowledge of Christianity, and had been led, by various circumstances, to see a divine power in it. In some German port he had become acquainted, among others, with a certain ecclesiastic from Bremen, Thangbrand by name, a soldier priest, whose temper and mode of life were but little suited to the spiritual profession. This person carried about with him a large shield, having on it a figure of Christ on the cross, embossed in gold. The shield attracted Olof's particular notice. He inquired about the meaning of the symbol, which gave the priest an opportunity of telling the story of Christ and Christianity, as well as he knew how. Observing how greatly Olof was taken with the shield, Thangbrand made him a present of it; for which the Norman chieftain richly repaid him in gold and silver. He moreover promised to stand by him, if he should ever need his assistance and protection, in the future. In various dangers, by sea and on the land, which Olof afterwards encountered, he believed that he owed his life and safety to this shield; and his faith in the divine power of the crucified one thus became stronger and stronger. At the Scilly Isles, on the southwest coast of England, he received baptism; upon which he returned to Norway, his country, fully resolved to destroy paganism. In England, he again met with the priest Thangbrand, who had been compelled to leave his country, for having slain in single combat a man of superior rank. Olof took him along to Norway, in the capacity of a court clergyman. No good could be expected to result from his connection with a person of this character. Inclined of his own accord to employ violent measures for the destruction of paganism and the spread of Christianity, he would only be confirmed in this mistaken plan by Thangbrand's influence.

Olof was received in Norway with great joy, as the deliverer of the country from the oppressive yoke of Hacon; and, no sooner had he obtained possession of the government, than he made the introduction of Christianity his chief concern. At an assembly of the people, the king stated that he should require of them such obedience as became freemen; first, they should be knights to the sovereign Lord, whom he himself served—of the King of kings, the being who created heaven and earth, and who would make them, from servants, brethren of his only begotten

Son, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. The kingdoms of the earth—he said—were founded for no other purpose, than to form the citizens, by good institutions, for being incorporated into the kingdom of heaven. Olof everywhere destroyed the heathen idols and temples, and invited men to be baptised. Of those who would not otherwise submit, he purchased obedience to his commands, by conceding to them various privileges. But he also made use of threats and violence to extort obedience, and in many cases exercised a revengeful cruelty. Paganism had, however, but very few martyrs, or Olof's violent measures would have turned to its advantage. His reign ended with a war against the united powers of Denmark and Sweden, in which, in the year 1000, he lost his life.

As the foreign rulers who divided Norway between them, though friendly to Christianity, took no active part in the work of planting the Christian church in that country, the pagan party, which, under the former reign, had been suppressed by force, were now enabled to cast off the yoke imposed on them, and stand forth free again; but the other two parties—the decided Christians, and those who were for uniting the worship of Christ with that of the old national gods—could also freely express themselves. If, under Olof's reign, a more earnest and simple method had been pursued, to work upon the religious convictions of the people, such an interval would have proved a more important and salutary thing; since the previously scattered seeds of Christianity, left to themselves, would, by their own inherent and divine vitality, have surely made progress, and freely developed themselves. But that spiritual element was wanting; and this short period of free development was followed again by a domination of the Christian church, arbitrarily forced upon the people from without; for Olof the Thick, who delivered Norway from her foreign yoke, came into the country in 1017, when already a decided Christian, with bishops¹ and priests, whom he brought with him from England;

¹ Adam of Bremen names, as particularly distinguished among these, the bishops, Sigafid, Grimkil, Rodulf, Bernard. See c. 94, p. 66. He says of his zeal for the extermination of all pagan superstition: "Inter cætera virtutum opera magnum Dei zelum habuit ita ut maleficos de terra disperderet, quibus quum tota barbaris exundet, præcipue Norwegia talibus monstris plena est. Nam divini et augures, magi et incantatores cæterique satellites antichristi ibi habitant. Illos omnes et hujus modi persequi decrevit ut sublatis scandalis firmiter in regno suo religio Christiana elucesceret."

and his mode of procedure was still more despotic than that of the first Olof, and attended with more harshness and cruelty. He travelled through the whole country, with a view to arrange everything himself that was necessary for the effecting of his object, and to ascertain with exactness how far the cause had prospered ; and the obstinate were threatened with the confiscation of their goods, the maiming of their bodies, and various kinds of punishment by death. Hence it naturally happened, that many submitted to baptism through fear, not changing their religion, but only practising it secretly ; though even this could not escape the jealous scrutiny of the king ; and such renegades, who had never really been believers, incurred his particular displeasure. An unproductive season, which, in 1021, followed after a series of fruitful years in many of the provinces, was looked upon by the heathen as a consequence of the anger of the gods, on account of the transition to the worship of the strange God ; and they who had submitted to baptism merely out of fear, began again to practise in secret more zealously the ancient rites, with a view to propitiate the angry deities. It came to the ears of the king, that in the province of Thrand a number of festive banquets had been held in honour of the gods ; when, according to ancient custom, all the goblets were offered to the national gods, the Ases ; sacrifices were offered ; the altars sprinkled with blood, and the gods supplicated to renew the productivity of the earth. He sent for a few delegates to come to him from that district, and state what reply they had to make to these accusations. The most considerable man among them endeavoured to put a good face on the matter ; he said they were nothing but the convivial meetings customarily held among the people of the land, and that words uttered on such occasions ought not to be construed so strictly as those spoken in times of soberness. But when, by closer inquiry, Olof found out that the inhabitants of this province, though they had submitted to baptism, had almost universally continued to be pagans, and that they observed the usual times of sacrifice in autumn, winter, and spring, in order to obtain a favourable season, he fell upon them unexpectedly, while engaged in celebrating one of their spring festivals, and took terrible vengeance on those who had deceived him. As many, through fear, now promised sincere obedience, he founded churches here, over which he appointed

priests, who were to make all the arrangements required for the due introduction of Christianity.¹

Dread for the most part of Olof's violent measures, induced obedience, indeed, though there was no sincerity in it; while from the boors, inflamed with zeal for their divinities, and urged on by the speeches of their leaders, he occasionally met with an obstinate, though short-lived resistance. In the province of Dalen was a powerful man, named Gudbrand (after whom the whole province was called Gudbrandsdalen),² a zealous champion of the old religion. This person assembled the people as Olof approached, and telling them that they ought not to wonder that the earth had not yet opened to swallow up the profane monster, who presumed to treat the gods with such insolent contempt, said they had only to bring out the great Thor (a colossal idol), and let him appear in public, when Olof and his whole force would melt away like wax. The words were received by the multitude with a shout of exultation; and, clashing together their shields, the crowds of peasantry marched forth to meet the king, who soon put them to flight. Gudbrand's son was taken prisoner; and the king, after detaining him for a few days, sent him back to his father, to announce his own approach. Said Gudbrand, "Who, then, is this God of the Christians, whom no man has seen, or can see? We have a god whom every one can see, the great Thor, in whose presence all must tremble." A meeting was agreed upon, where each party was to prove the power of its own god. Olof prepared himself for this meeting, the night previous, by prayer. Next day, the colossal image of Thor, overspread with gold and silver, was drawn to the public place, and around it the pagans assembled. The king directed Colbein, one of his guard, a man of gigantic stature and great muscular strength, to stand near him. Gudbrand first made a speech, challenging the Christians to produce evidence of the power of their god, and pointing them to the great Thor, the sight of whom filled them all with alarm. Upon this Olof spoke: "You threaten us with your deaf and blind god, soon to meet with a sorry end. But lift up your eyes to the heavens; behold our God, of whom ye say he

¹ See Tormodi Torfaci hist. Norveg. 1. ii. c. 21. I follow, in this whole account, the extracts from Northern sources, contained in this instructive work.

² Stift Aggershuus on the borders of Stifts Bergen and Drontheim

can be seen by no one, how majestically he reveals himself in the radiant light." The sun burst forth; and at the same moment Colbein, as previously directed by the king, demolished with a single blow the mighty idol. The monster fell, crumbled into small fragments, out of which crept a great multitude of mice, snakes, and lizards. Gudbrand was no longer disposed to stake everything upon a god that could not help himself.¹

The embittered state of feeling occasioned by Olof's despotic severity probably facilitated the conquest of the country by Canute, king of Denmark and England. The banished Olof returned, and prepared himself for a new struggle. He would receive none but Christians into his army. He caused the shields and helmets of his soldiers to be emblazoned with the sign of the cross, and gave them as his watchword, "Onward, warriors of Christ, the cross and the king." He was mortally wounded in battle, on the 29th of July 1033, and soon after his death honoured by the Christians as a martyr. The fame of the miracles wrought at his tomb spread far and wide.² The day on which he died, the 29th of July, was universally observed as a festival by the people of the North. The veneration in which Olof was held, could not fail to have a salutary reaction on the tone of popular feeling towards Christianity. Adam of Bremen says of the Normans, who by the influence of Christianity were first induced to leave off their piratical expeditions;³ "After receiving the gospel, educated in better schools, they learned to love peace and to be contented with their poverty."

An hundred years after the occupation of Iceland⁴ by a Norman colony, the first attempt was made to transplant Christianity to

¹ See Tormod. Torf. l. ii c. 23.

² Adam of Bremen says of his tomb, Hist. Eccles. c. 43: "Ubi usque hodie pluribus miraculis et sanitatibus, quæ per eum fiunt, Dominus ostendere dignatus est, quanti meriti sit in cœlis, qui sic glorificatur in terris."

³ De situ Daniæ, c. 96.

⁴ Where perhaps even earlier than this, the Irish monks, who wandered everywhere, and defied every hardship, had endeavoured to form an establishment; since it is intimated in old Northern legends that the Normans, when they settled in this island, found there already Christians (Papas, priests) Irish books, bells, bishops' staffs, etc. See Münter's Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums in Danemark und Norwegen, Bd. I. S. 520—with which compare the remarks of monk Dicuil of Ireland, in 825, whose book, De mensura orbis terræ, was first published by Walckenaer, Paris, 1807. He speaks (De mensura, p. 29) of the Thile ultima (probably Iceland), in qua æstivo solstitio sole de canceri sidere

that island. Thorwald, son of Codran, from a noble Icelandic family, roved the seas as a pirate, as was customary with sons of the first Norman families; he distinguished himself, however, from others of this class, by devoting all he gained, beyond what was necessary for his own subsistence, to the redemption of captives.¹ This trait of philanthropy spoke of better feelings in the heart of the rude Icelfander, and formed, as we may presume, the medium of access through which Christianity reached him. His adventures brought him to Saxony, where he fell in the way of a certain bishop, Friedrich,² who instructed him in Christianity and baptised him. His conversion to Christianity amounted, indeed, to something more than such conversions usually did among these rude inhabitants of the North, who, while sojourning in distant lands, were induced to become Christians; for the bishop Friedrich had probably given him better instruction; and he showed the influence of Christian principles by renouncing piracy. Still it appears evident from his conduct, that he had by no means as yet experienced that moral change which Christianity aims to effect,—the stormy passions which swayed the rude pagan of the North were not subdued. In 981, bishop Friedrich, in company with this Icelandic chieftain, his new convert, visited Iceland, in the hope, in which he was encouraged by Thorwald, that he should be able to win over multitudes to Christianity. The first winter he spent in Thorwald's family, who laboured, for some time without success, to induce his father to receive baptism. The old Codran worshipped more particularly, as his tutelary god, a stone,³ possessed, as he imagined, of wonderful virtue, and refused to put faith in the God of the Christians, until it should be

faciente transitum, nox nulla. Brumali solstitio perinde nullus dies. He then relates that ecclesiastics, thirty years before, had resided there from the first of February to the first of August.

¹ See the account of the introduction of Christianity into Iceland, *Kristni-Saga*,—a narrative drawn from old traditions. The original Icelandic, with a Latin translation, was published at Copenhagen in 1773.

² As he had been absent six years from his diocese, he could not have been bishop of any particular see. But if he had really received episcopal ordination, as from various circumstances it may be inferred that he had, we must suppose that he had been ordained bishop of a church yet to be formed among the heathen,—*episcopus regionarius*.

³ We may here call to mind the *lapides uncti* of the ancients.

proved that he was mightier than his own. The bishop prayed over the stone, and it fell in pieces. This proved to the heathen the power of the Christian's God. So states the later tradition, which, no doubt, may have mixed up the true facts of the case with fiction; still in substance it accords fully with the character and manners peculiar to the infancy of these tribes of the North; and similar stories were recorded in connection with the more authentic histories of missions among people at the same stage of culture. To the same class belongs an event which took place when Thorwald and the bishop attended the customary autumnal festival (see above). On this occasion, two of those men, called Bersetkers, who in certain states of frenzy or possession were supposed capable of doing extraordinary things, rushed frantically in, and proposed to pass unharmed between two fires. They did not escape, however, without a scorching, which was regarded as an effect of certain words spoken by the bishop over the fires; for looking upon these enthusiasts as men possessed of evil spirits, he had pronounced a prayer over the lighted pyres, to confine the power of the demon. Both these men fell victims to the popular fury. But such occurrences, as it turned out in the end, left but a transient impression, except on a few individuals. Till the bishop could readily express himself in the Icelandic dialect of the common old German stock, the preaching to the heathen was done by Thorwald. The latter stood forth also as the advocate of Christianity before an assembly of the people. But he was not well received. Many of the Scalds (the national poets) composed satires against Christianity and its preachers. Thorwald, yielding to the impulse of his passions, took bloody revenge on two of them for their defamatory songs, in spite of the efforts of the bishop to pacify him by giving a milder interpretation of the equivocal language which had been used. Within a period of five years, they travelled in company over the whole island, often followed and stoned by the people, who threatened to arrest and accuse them as enemies to the national gods. In the northern parts of the island alone, they found many who were willing to be baptised, others who could not as yet be persuaded to submit to baptism—whether because they were not fully convinced of the truth of Christianity, or because this custom of baptism by immersion appeared to them strange

and foreign,¹ or because for the reasons already explained, they wished to put off the rite to the end of life. Over these they made the sign of the cross,² and then admitted them to the class of catechumens. Others broke in pieces their idols, and ceased to pay tribute to the idol-temples; yet without becoming Christians.³ One of the new Christians, Thorwald Spakbödvarsson, went so far as to build a church upon his estate; and the bishop appointed a priest for it, which produced a great excitement among the pagans. And whether the bishop now supposed that he could no longer remain in Iceland and hope to escape the fury of the heathen, who threatened him and his companions with death, or whether he wished to expend the rest of his labours on Norway, with the assistance of Thorwald, who belonged to a kindred race, the fact was they went over to that country in the year 986. The bishop, however, finding it impossible to tame the revengeful spirit of his warlike companion, renounced his fellowship, and retired home to his native land.

The king Olof Tryggweson, of whom we have already spoken, felt himself bound to labour for the spread of Christianity, not only in Norway, but also in the islands peopled by Norman colonies. He was moved to this by a natural interest for the good of those who belonged to the same national stock, and also by a concern for his own subjects, exposed, by their intercourse and connection with the pagan colonies of Norway, to be infected by the paganism still prevailing there. Now as there were many Icelanders at the court of Olof, who by his means had first become acquainted with, and then been converted to, the Christian religion, he persuaded one of these, by the name of Stefner, who belonged to one of the respectable families of Iceland, to undertake the work of introducing Christianity into his native land. Here then was the case of a layman going to his countrymen in the character of a missionary. This happened in the year 996.

¹ If lustrations by water were already in use among the northern pagans, and a certain magical consecration was conceived to be connected with them (see *e. g.* the words of the Edda: "Si mihi *homo* puer aqua est adspargendus, ille non deicietur, etsi in aciem veniat, non cadet homo ille ab ensibus." Vol. iii. of the edition of Copenhagen, 1828, p. 141), baptism could not be universally regarded as a strange and foreign rite.

² The cruce signare, Primsigning, see l. c. c. i. near the end; and c. ii. p. 15. Comp. Finni Johannæi Hist. Eccles. Island. T. i. Hafniæ, 1772, p. 42, note C.

³ See Kristni-Saga. c. ii. near the end.

He travelled over the whole island, but found none who were inclined to listen to his preaching. Even his own family declared against him. Finding it impossible to effect any good as a teacher, he contented himself with destroying the temples and idols. In this way, he roused against him the wrath of the pagans; and his vessel, which lay at anchor in the port, having been loosed from her moorings and driven by a storm to sea, these pagans interpreted it as a punishment sent upon him by their god Freyr. At an assembly of the people, it was decreed that every man, from the fourth degree of kin, should be bound to prosecute the Christians, as enemies of the gods. Thus the ties of blood were to be sundered by abandoning the national divinities.¹ Several of his kinsmen now appeared as accusers of Stefner; and being condemned, he was forced, in 997, to leave his country, and return back to king Olof. Another Icelander of the higher class, Hiallti, was banished from the country for composing a song in ridicule of the Icelandic divinities; and he, with his step-father Gissur, repaired to Norway. Here, those Icelanders generally, who were obliged to leave their country on account of their zeal for Christianity, met with so much the more friendly reception from king Olof. Other Christians, who still remained in Iceland, did not fall away from the faith; though they dared not perform openly the rites of Christian worship. The first want of success, however, did not induce the king to abandon his purpose; and he took advantage of an opportunity which soon presented itself for carrying it into execution.

Thangbrand, the worthless priest of whom we have already spoken, having received an appointment from the king on a certain island, after squandering away the property of the church, had endeavoured to cover up his lavish expenditures by extortions made on the pagans. Having thus fallen into disgrace, no other course remained for him to regain the favour of his monarch, but to offer his services for the work of transplanting Christianity to Iceland. He first visited that island, as an ambassador of king Olof, in the year 997. A person less fitted to procure an entrance for Christianity to the hearts of men, could scarcely be

¹ A crime of such a nature as to occasion a severance of this sort was designated by the name *Fröndaðion*.

found. If he effected anything it could only be outward conversions, brought about by constraint, or other foreign means addressed to the senses. As soon as it became known that Thangbrand and his associates were Christians, no man would have anything to do with them, not even so much as to show them a port. King Olof's authority, however, procured for them a favourable reception from Sido-hallr, a man of some importance, who was perhaps already favourably disposed to Christianity, in consequence of what he had heard about it. On the festival of St Michael, while Thangbrand was celebrating mass with great pomp, in his tent, Hallr felt a curiosity to witness these ceremonies. The scene made a strong impression on the pagan's mind. This prepared the way for his conversion to the Christian faith ; after which he stood by the priest Thangbrand in his labours. The latter found means to address the people at their popular assemblies. He travelled through the country, and baptised many ; but the national bards (the Scalds) persecuted him with their sarcastic songs, as an enemy of their gods. The warlike Thangbrand, having revenged these insults by killing two of the bards, was pursued as a murderer, and compelled, after remaining two years in Iceland, to return, in 999, to his king. He complained of the insults which he had received, while acting as the king's ambassador. He described the Icelanders as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to Christianity. By this account, Olof was transported with anger. He resolved to take severe retribution on the pagan Icelanders, who had just come to visit him. He commanded them to be thrown into chains. But the two Christians from Iceland, already mentioned, Hiallti and Gissur, endeavoured to pacify him. They informed him, that Thangbrand had made himself odious by his violent mode of procedure ; that the Icelanders, if properly treated, might easily be won over to Christianity ; and they reminded him of a characteristic remark of his own, evincing at once the warmth of his zeal for the spread of Christianity, and its lack of knowledge, that " he was ready to forgive a crime of any magnitude, if the transgressor would consent to be baptised." He then agreed to pardon all Icelanders, if they would embrace Christianity. He detained only four of the most considerable men, as hostages, and all the Icelanders near his court submitted to baptism. In the spring of the year 1000,

Gissur and Hiallti engaged in a mission to their native land, accompanied by the priest Thormud, and some other ecclesiastics. They carried with them building materials, supplied by king Olof, for the erection of a church in Iceland. Such as had remained Christians in secret, now came forth openly. Hiallti, Gissur, and Hallr of Sido, stood high in the esteem of their countrymen, and knew how to approach them. Thus was formed an important Christian party; and this was fought by a pagan one with the utmost exasperation of feelings. A religious war seemed inevitable; but was prevented by the influence of the prudent followers of the pagan party, and of those who, though not as yet Christians, had lost their confidence in the power of the gods.¹ That this last was the case with numbers, appears from the following example. The frightful account of the eruption of a volcano, having been seized upon by the pagans and represented as an evidence and token of the anger of the gods, one of their own priests, Snorro, exclaimed: "What was it, then, which excited the anger of the gods, when the rock on which we now stand first emitted flames?"

The pagans resolved, as was customary on occasions of great calamity, that each of the four districts of the island (answering to the four points of the compass) should offer two men in sacrifice to the gods. Upon this, Hiallti and Gissur said to their friends: "The pagans devote as sacrifices to their gods the most abandoned men, and cast them headlong from precipices. We will choose an equal number from the best of the people, who, in the true sense, shall devote themselves as offerings to our Lord Christ, shining forth to all as conspicuous examples of Christian life and confession." The proposal was adopted and executed. Conformably to the Icelandic constitution of government, each several district had its priests, who presided not only over the religious rites of the people, but also over the legislation and the administration of justice; who had to direct the deliberations,

¹ Even before the influence of Christianity had wrought this in Iceland, it is reported of many, that the original consciousness of God had so far pierced through the fog of idolatry, as to determine them to pay religious homage only to the creator of the sun. See Münter's Church History of Denmark and Norway, vol. i. p. 523. To such cases Adam of Bremen probably alludes, when he says of the Icelanders: *licet ante susceptam fidem naturali quadam lege non adeo discordarent a nostra religione.* Hist. eccles. page 150.

when new laws were proposed at the national assemblies, to promulgate these laws, and see to their execution. Now, as the pagan laws were no longer agreeable to the Christians, the latter chose Sido-Hallr as their head, requesting him to draw up for them a schedule of laws in accordance with the Christian point of view. But in this way, the people would be divided into two opposite parties, not only in religion, but in their civil affairs. Such a schism, which certainly might lead to a civil war, Sido-Hallr wished to avoid. For this purpose, he repaired to the priest¹ Thorgeir, then holding the office of chief supervisor over the legislation,² who was probably himself already inclined to Christianity. It was agreed, that he should propose new laws for the whole nation, and that among these he should adopt three in favour of Christianity; while it was conceded that, in some other respects, he might allow indulgence to the deep-rooted paganism, leave many things still undetermined, and the whole to the reforming influence of Christianity after it had once become firmly rooted. As a compensation for carrying out this project, Sido-Hallr paid him a certain amount of gold. Thorgeir now summoned a national council. When convened, he represented before it the great danger which must accrue to the nation, in case two different legislatures and two governments should spring up within it. It would sow the seeds of a civil war, which would fill the island with desolation. Better far that both parties should make mutual concessions, and so unite in a legislation which should be valid for the whole island. These representations were favourably received; and both parties came to an agreement, that they would adopt the laws proposed by Thorgeir, which were as follows: 1. All Icelanders should submit to baptism, and profess Christianity; 2. All idol-temples and images standing in public view, should be destroyed; 3. Whosoever publicly offered to idols, or exercised the pagan rites of worship, should be banished. But for any man to practise the pagan religion in private, should not be reckoned as a crime. To eat of horse-flesh,³ and to expose children,⁴ were not as yet forbidden

¹ Goda.

² The office of Lögsögu.

³ See above, p. 33.

⁴ As in China, and the islands of the South Sea, so also among these Scandina-

by law ; and the ancient customs, not at variance with Christianity, were to remain.

Thus, while Christianity was recognised as the public religion, paganism might still subsist along with it, as a private religion, among a portion of the people ; and so one thing and another, in manners and customs at variance with Christianity, might still endure. Through the influence, however, of those principal men of the nation, who united with zeal for Christianity a warm love for their country, Christianity was gradually introduced more and more into the life of the people. King Olof, the Norwegian saint (see above), endeavoured to make his code of ecclesiastical laws, drawn up by bishop Grimkil, valid also in Iceland ; and on learning that the exposure of infants, and other customs, springing out of paganism, still prevailed there, he sent, at the very beginning of his reign, an embassy to Iceland, for the purpose of inviting the priest who then administered the office of *Lög-sögu* in Iceland, to abolish those heathenish customs.¹ At first foreign bishops only laboured in Iceland, without any fixed diocese. Gissur, however, who had done so much for the diffusion of Christianity in his native land, saw clearly that Christianity could not exist and flourish without culture. He sent his son Isleif to Erfurt, to be educated in the school there established. This person, on his return, imported the seeds of knowledge into his country. By the choice of the people, he was consecrated bishop in 1056, and established his episcopal *sée* at Skalholt, a place fixed upon by his father. This was the first episcopal see established in Iceland ; the second was founded at Holum, in the year 1107. The first bishops, sprung from the ancient and principal families, and who had received their education in foreign

vian tribes, it was customary and permitted by law, to expose and leave to perish such children as the parents did not choose to bring up,—which was done not merely by such as lacked means of subsistence for their offspring, but also by such as found something objectionable in the make and shape of their bodies. It is true, that in the case of the Icelanders, even in their condition of paganism, some indications are to be discovered of a reaction of the moral feelings, more developed among them than among the South Sea islanders, against this unnatural custom. Yet it was only by the influence of Christianity that it could be wholly suppressed. How difficult this was, appears from the fact, that even when men ventured to forbid the public exercise of pagan rites, yet they dared not extend the prohibition to this point. See on this subject the remark in *Finni Johannæi Hist eccles. Island. T. i. p. 68.*

¹ See *Tormod Torf. hist. Norveg. 1. ii. c. 2.*

parts, were enabled through their great influence (being revered as fathers, and looked up to for counsel and advice on all subjects) to act so much the more efficiently for the extirpation of the remains of heathenism.¹ The historian of the Northern church, the canon Adam of Bremen, says concerning the Icelanders, at the end of this period: "As in their simplicity they lead a holy life, and seek nothing beyond what nature has bestowed on them, they can cheerfully say with the apostle Paul, having food and raiment, let us be therewith content, 1 Timoth. vi. 8; for their mountains serve to them as cities, and their springs are their delight. Happy people, whose poverty no one despises; and happiest in this, that at the present time they have all received Christianity. Many things are remarkable in their manners; but above all their charity, which places all they own in common, alike to the foreigner and to the native."²

After the same manner, Christianity was propagated from Norway, under the reigns of the two Olofs, to a series of Northern islands, dependent on this kingdom,—to the Orcaades,³ and to the Faroe islands. King Olof Tryggweson sent for a man, by the name of Sigmund Bresterson, who, after having suffered from the period of childhood a variety of misfortunes, and passed through strange adventures, had attained to great power in the Faroe islands. To this man he promised his friendship and great honours, if he would embrace Christianity;—assuring him, however, that by so doing, instead of injuring himself he would secure a title to the happiness, which Almighty God would bestow on him, as on every other man, who kept his commandments from love to the Holy Spirit;—viz. to reign for ever with his

¹ Adam of Bremen: *Episcopum habent pro rege, ad cuius nutum respicit omnis populus, quicquid ex Deo, ex scripturis, ex consuetudine aliarum gentium ille constituit, hoc pro lege habent.*

² See *Hist. eccles.* the edition above cited.

³ On the islands of the Orcaades, establishments had, perhaps, been founded already by the Irish monks (see above, p. 300), till they were driven away by fear of the Normans. The above-mentioned Dicuil speaks (p. 30) of the islands in septentrionali Britanniae oceano, quæ a septentrionalibus Britanniae insulis duorum dierum ac noctium recta navigatione, plenis velis assiduo feliciter adiri queunt; and he says of them: in quibus in centum ferme annis eremitæ ex nostra Scotia navigantes habitaverunt. Sed sicuti a principio mundi desertæ semper fuerunt, ita nunc causa latronum Normannorum vacuæ anchoretis plenæ innumerabilibus avibus ac diversis generibus multis nimis marinarum avium.

beloved Son, the King of kings, in the highest bliss of the kingdom of heaven. Sigmund might the more easily be persuaded to embrace Christianity, as he seems to have been convinced of the vanity of idolatry, even before he had found anything better to satisfy his religious need. It was this circumstance which had encouraged Olof to hope, that by his means the way might be prepared for establishing Christianity in the Faroe islands; for he had heard that he was not in the habit of sacrificing to the gods, like other pagans.¹ He, with his followers, all received baptism; then first was he instructed in Christianity. He returned home in 998, with ecclesiastics, supplied by the king. But on proposing to his people that they should all renounce idolatry, and submit to baptism, he met with the most determined opposition; and it was not till after he had overcome it by force, in 999, that he could induce the people of Faroe to be baptised. Hence, the majority remained pagans in their way of thinking; and relapsed into idolatry, as soon as they had nothing more to fear. Sigmund, however, caused a church to be erected on his own estate, and continued to labour for the spread of Christianity. Meanwhile, another principal man of these islands, named Thrand, who had resisted Sigmund, from the first, and only yielded to superior force, turned back again with his followers to paganism. King Olof the saint took great pains also to place the Christian church in these islands on a firmer footing.

Under the reign of Olof Tryggweson, the seeds of Christianity were first conveyed by Leif, an Icelander, in the year 999, to Greenland, which had been discovered and peopled but a short time before. In 1055, a certain Albert was sent to the Greenlanders, as their bishop, by Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg or Bremen; and in a bull by pope Victor II., defining the archiepiscopal district of the Hamburg and Bremen church, Greenland was assigned to this see.² In 1059, Ion or John, a Saxon or Irish bishop, is said to have made an attempt to introduce Christianity among the inhabitants of one of the three coasts of North America discovered by adventurers from Iceland, but to have died there as a martyr.³

¹ See the *Färeyingia-Saga*, published by Mohnike, 1833, p. 321, 322.

² See Münter's *Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums in Dänemark und Norwegen*, Bd. i. s. 558.

³ L. c. s. 561.

Several tribes of Tartarian and Slavonian origin, dwelling on the borders of the East-Roman Empire, were in this period brought over to Christianity. Among these were the Bulgarians, who, coming from the central parts of Asia, and spreading themselves along the borders of the Roman Empire, had among Slavonian nations adopted their language and customs. Becoming involved, during the ninth century, in frequent wars with the Greek empire, in which they carried off Christians, particularly monks and ecclesiastics, as captives, they were instructed by them in Christianity. In an irruption of the Bulgarians into the Roman empire, A.D. 813, accompanied with wide devastations and the capture of Adrianople, they dragged off, with other captives, a bishop. This person formed the companions of his captivity into a church, who remained true to their faith, even in the midst of heathens, and earnestly laboured for its spread. Many of them perished as martyrs; among these, the bishop himself. Then, somewhat later, a captive monk, Constantine Cypharas, endeavoured to carry forward the work thus commenced, though not with any great success. It so happened, however, that in the year 861, the empress Theodora, for some special reason or other, was led to redeem this monk from bondage, and to procure his return to his native country. At this juncture a sister of the Bulgarian prince Bogoris resided at Constantinople, whither in early youth she had been conveyed as a captive, and where she had been brought up and educated as a Christian; and the negotiations to effect the redemption of the above-mentioned monk resulted also in her being sent back to her friends. She now considered it her duty to complete the work, for which the monk Constantine Cypharas had prepared the way, by labouring to gain over her brother to the Christian faith; but surrounded as he was by rude Bulgarians, and dreading, if he should desert the faith of his fathers, an insurrection of his people, she found him little inclined to listen to her exhortations. But outward circumstances favoured her pious efforts. A famine, severely oppressive to the country, softened the heart of Bogoris, so that he became more susceptible to religious impressions, and was even induced to seek help from the God of the Christians. Having remarked the fondness

¹ See Constantine Porphyrogenit. Life of the emperor Basilius Macedo, c. iv. Hist. Byzant. ed. Venet. continuatores post Theophanem, p. 100.

of the prince for painting, his sister availed herself of this circumstance and sent for Methodius,¹ a monk and skilful artist, probably the same who is so deservedly celebrated for his efforts generally to effect the conversion of the Slavonian tribes. Bogoris, being an ardent lover of the chase, commissioned this monk to paint a hunting-scene in one of his palaces. But instead of it, he drew a sketch of the last judgment; and the impression it produced on the mind of Bogoris, furnished an opportunity for making him better acquainted with Christianity. He was baptised between 863 and 864;² and as the absent Greek emperor Michael stood as his god-father, he took from him the name Michael.³ Photius, who was then patriarch of Constantinople, wrote him a long letter, exhorting him to prosecute the work which had been commenced, and to take every pains for the conversion of his people; and at the same time expounding to him the essential parts of Christian faith and morals. In the beginning of his letter, he unfolded at large the matters belonging to church orthodoxy, as contradistinguished from the different heresies, to which he added a brief history of the general councils of the church, things, which the rude Bulgarian prince was neither prepared to understand, nor to make use of in any way for the promotion of his equally rude Christianity. In the second part of his letter, he explained, indeed, the requirements of Christian morality, representing love to be the fulfilling of the law, and saying many things, which were well adapted to the capacity and wants of the Bulgarian prince; but he said a great deal besides which was wholly out of place. Among other counsels of state-craft, he gave the following, with reference to the political divisions in the

¹ The arguments adduced by Schlözer, in his edition of Nestor's Russian Annals, p. iii. p. 171, against the identity of the two, are, to say the least, not conclusive; though it is certainly singular, that Methodius, if he laboured in Bulgaria as a missionary, did not bestow more pains on this mission, as we might expect him to have done from his mode of procedure in other Slavonian missions, of which we shall speak hereafter.

² A chronological mark is furnished by the letter of Photius to the bishops of the East, which contains his charges against the Latin church; for in it he says, that two years had not yet elapsed since the conversion of the Bulgarians, when the false teachers of the western church found entrance among them, which must have happened shortly before he wrote this letter, οὕτω γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους οὐδ' εἰς δύο ἑταυτοὺς τὴν ἑσθὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τιμῶντος θρησκείαν. Photii epistolæ. Lond. 1651, ed. Montacut p. 49.

³ See Constantine Porphyrogenit. l. iv. c. 14 et 15, l. c. p. 75, and Joseph Genes. reg. l. iv. p. 97, ed. Lachmann, in the new edition of the Corpus Hist. Byzant. by Niebuhr.

Bulgarian nation, then no doubt on the eve of breaking out in consequence of Bogoris' defection from the national religion. "Concerted insurrections, which cannot easily be suppressed, it is the better plan to ignore and allow to be forgotten, rather than attempt to suppress them by force. For the effect of the contrary course is often only to add fuel to the fire, and to cause serious dangers, and great damage even after the victory has been won; but appeasing the storm by gentle measures avoids both the danger and the injury, while it promotes humanity and wisdom."¹ On the whole, it appears quite evident, that the learned and highly accomplished Photius could not so well adapt himself to the condition of this people, as a Western bishop of simpler feelings, but more accustomed to associate with men at a similar stage of culture.

But the Bulgarian prince Michael, following no doubt his rude notions of Christianity, proceeded to force his people to change their religion. The consequence was a revolt against his authority.² He succeeded in suppressing it; and the cruel revenge which he now took on the guilty, proves the slight and superficial character of his Christianity. He ordered that the principal men who had been concerned in this insurrection should be executed. On the part of the Greek church, there seems to have been an entire want of the proper care which was needed in order to the thriving of Christianity among so rude a people. The deficiency of clergy induced a Greek layman, who happened to be among them, to set himself up as their teacher, pretending that he was a priest; and by him many were baptised. But when they found how they had been deceived by him, they cut off his nose and ears; and after inflicting upon him many other personal injuries, banished him from the country.³ Other Greeks introduced various strange stories and superstitions among the people. They boasted of being able to foretell all future events from the Scriptures.⁴ They pretended that the true chrism was

¹ See the first long letter of Photius, in the edition of these letters by Richard Montacute, bishop of Norwich. Lond. 1651, fol. 40.

² Constantin. Porphyrogenit. continuat. iv. c. 15. The more accurate accounts are drawn from the letter of pope Nicolaus I. to this prince, presently to be cited (c. 17.)

³ In the letter of Nicolaus, c. 14.

⁴ L. c. c. 77. Græcorum quibusdam codicem accipientibus in manibus clausum,

to be found in their country alone, whence it was distributed through the whole world.¹ Teachers of various nations and from distant regions came also to Bulgaria, preaching very different doctrines, so that the people hardly knew what to believe.² In this state of things, reasons partly of a political nature, the existing differences with the Greek empire, and the closer connections which had been formed with the German empire, and partly religious, the uncertainty produced by the collision of the doctrines propagated among them, and the hope of receiving, as many other rude nations had done, a settled form of doctrine from the church of St Peter, all these circumstances combined, induced the Bulgarian prince and his nobles, in the year 865, to apply for help to pope Nicholas I. This pope, in the following year, sent two Italian bishops,³ as his plenipotentiaries to Bulgaria, perhaps also with the proposal of appointing a bishop for that province.⁴ He gave them Bibles, and other books suited to the wants of the new church, with a letter, in which he answered a hundred and six questions and petitions proposed to him by the Bulgarians. These answers show that it was not the sole anxiety of the pope to introduce among the Bulgarians the institutions of the Roman church, the papacy, and a Christian ceremonial; but that he was at great pains also to direct their attention to the things requisite for the advancement of the Christian life. And the respect which he paid to the peculiar situation and wants of the newly converted people, evinced his pastoral wisdom.

He told the Bulgarian prince and his nobles, and endeavoured to convince them of it by passages from the Bible, that they had sinned, in permitting the innocent to suffer with the guilty.

unus ex iis accipiens parvissimam particulam ligni, hanc intra ipsum codicem condat, et si undecunque aliqua vertitur ambiguitas, per hoc affirmant scire se posse quod cupiunt.

¹ L. c. c. 94.

² L. c. c. 106. Multi ex diversis locis Christiani advenerint, qui prout voluntas eorum existit, multa et varia loquuntur, id est, Græci, Armeni (perhaps Paulicians) et ex cæteris locis.

³ See Anastas. Præfatio ad Concil. Constantinop. IV. Harduin. Concil. T. v. p. 757, respecting the Bulgarian prince idoneos institutores expetiit et accepit, Paulum scilicet Populoniensem et Foxmosum Portuensem.

⁴ At the close of his letter he speaks of the *futurus episcopus*.

And even with the guilty, whom God had delivered into their hands, they ought to have pursued a more gentle course, sparing their lives, so as to give them an opportunity of voluntarily and cheerfully seeking forgiveness for what they had done.¹ With regard to those who would not renounce idolatry, he said, it should be attempted to bring them to the faith by exhortation and rational persuasions rather than by force. If they refused to listen, it was only necessary to avoid intercourse with them ; thus they would become ashamed of their folly. But in no case should resort be had to violence to enforce belief ; for nothing could be good, which did not flow from free inclination of the will.² God required only a voluntary obedience ; had it been his pleasure to use force, none could have resisted his almighty power. Such as refused to be converted, were reserved to the judgment of God. The pope obviously was too closely bound by the prejudices of his age, respecting the laws and rights of the church, to apply this principle in its full extent. He made a difference³ between unbelievers and those who fell away from the faith ; though in reality the difference was only outward ; yet to the latter, he applied the laws of the Old Testament against blasphemers. He sharply reproved the Bulgarians for their unjust and cruel conduct towards the above-mentioned Greek priest. He undertook his defence, on the ground that he had adopted that fiction from pious motives, and with the hope of saving many whose confidence he could not otherwise have gained ; and even if he deserved to be punished, banishment from the country would have been sufficient in his case.⁴ The pope was consulted respecting the bearing of the cross, which he explained,⁵ as meaning the mortification of the flesh, or compassion to our neighbour ; for it was our Lord's command that we should bear the cross in our hearts. But men ought also to bear it on their bodies, so as to be constantly reminded of their duty to bear it in the heart. In answer to the question on what festival days men ought to rest from bodily labour, he was not satisfied with barely naming the

¹ L. c. c. 17.

² L. c. c. 41. *Omne, quod ex voto non est, bonum esse non potest.*

³ L. c. c. 18.

⁴ L. c. c. 14—17.

⁵ L. c. c. 7.

days, but took this opportunity to instruct the Bulgarians with regard to the design of festivals, and of resting from labour on such days.¹ Men, he said, were bound to rest from their labours on festival days, in order to have more leisure to attend church, to occupy themselves with prayer, with spiritual songs, and with the divine word, to imitate the example of the saints, and to distribute alms among the poor. But if a man neglected all these things, and squandered away in idle amusements the time taken from lawful occupations, he would do better to labour on such days with his own hands, that he might have something to bestow on the needy and suffering.

In connection with all these points, the pope was careful to warn the Bulgarians against a superstitious reliance on outward things, to which they were easily exposed, by reason of their previous pagan notions and habits. They had asked him what they were to do in times of war, in case of surprise by a sudden attack of the enemy, whilst they were assembled in the church for prayer, which would leave them no opportunity to finish their devotions. He told them that the devotions thus commenced might be finished in any other place; for Christians were not confined to any particular place of prayer, like the ancient Jews to Jerusalem.² They had asked him, whether they might be allowed to go out on any day to battle; to which he replied,³ that in the pursuit of their lawful business, men were not restricted to particular days, save only (sudden emergencies excepted) the festivals he had mentioned, which were revered by all Christians;—not as though it were wrong to do things lawful even on those days; for men should not rest their hopes on particular times and seasons, or expect to derive help from them, but only on the living God. Rather, on these festivals they should be more diligent in prayer, except prevented by some unavoidable necessity. So, in answer to a like question respecting the times for fasting, he said:⁴ All wars and contentions came from the temptations of the great adversary; hence they should, if possible, be avoided, not only in times of fasting, but always. But in cases of necessity, when men are called upon to prepare for

¹ L. c. c. 11.

² L. c. c. 74.

³ L. c. c. 34.

⁴ L. c. c. 45.

war, in defence of their country or of its laws, it would, doubtless, be improper to lay aside these preparations, even in times of fasting ; for to do so would be tempting God by neglecting to do all that lies in our power, for our own good and that of others, or for preventing any injury which might be done to religion. Having explained to them,¹ that with the baptismal vow they renounced all arts of divination and sorcery, and all that superstitious observance of days and hours, to which they had formerly been accustomed to resort, in preparing for war, he wrote them, that the preparation for fighting a battle on the side of religion should consist in repairing to the church, offering up prayer, celebrating the mass, forgiving those who had injured them, opening the prisons and setting the prisoners free, restoring freedom to the slaves, especially to the sick and the feeble, and distributing alms to the needy. The pope, it is true, carefully avoided intermeddling with the civil legislation of the country ; but he took every opportunity to remonstrate against the barbarous severity which prevailed in the existing code of laws. He objected to the frequent employment of the punishment of death, recommending the greater mildness which Christianity enjoins.² Far be it—says he to them in this connection—that after having come to the knowledge of so merciful a God and Saviour, they should still proceed to indulge in the same severity as before in the administration of justice. Rather ought they now to be as much inclined to preserve the lives of others, as they had formerly been to take them. “As the apostle Paul, who once breathed threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, was ready, after he had obtained mercy, to be banished or to give up his life for his brethren, so should they also, after having been called by God’s election, and illuminated by his light, not only no longer thirst, as before, after the shedding of blood, but seek, on every occasion, to restore life to all, and as well the life of the body as that of the soul. And since Christ has restored you from eternal death to eternal life, so ought you to seek to deliver from the ruin of death, not only the innocent but the guilty.” The pope earnestly protested against the employment of the rack, which was commonly resorted to by the Bulgarians, for the con-

¹ L. c. c. 35.

² L. c. c. 25.

viction of such as were accused of theft.¹ This mode of procedure, he writes to them, is against all law, both human and divine. "And suppose you fail, by all the tortures you employ, to extort from the accused a confession of guilt, must you not then, at least, feel ashamed of yourselves, and perceive the godless manner in which you administer justice? Again, suppose a man forced by torture to confess himself guilty of a crime which he never committed, will not the guilt fall on the one who compelled him to make the false confession? Detest, then, with your whole heart, that which you have hitherto been accustomed to do in your ignorance." He exhorted them to be just and gentle in the treatment of their slaves, and to keep constantly before their minds those passages of the New Testament, which taught them that they had one and the same Master in heaven, Col. iv. and Ephes. iv.² The pope had been asked how it was proper to treat freemen, apprehended in the act of fleeing from their country.³ To this he answered, first, that they should treat them according to the existing laws. But he added, that many holy men, as Abraham, had left their native country, without being considered, for this reason alone, as having done anything criminal. He who cannot be allowed to leave his country, is not a freeman. It was a custom among the Bulgarians, in the spirit of oriental despotism, to allow no person to sit and eat at the same table with the king, not even his own wife; while his nobles were obliged to sit at a distance, on separate stools, and eat from the ground. The pope having been requested to give his commands with respect to the observance of this custom, replied, that although this practice must be considered a violation of good manners, yet as it stood in no direct contradiction to right faith, he had no commands to give on the subject; he only exhorted and advised them to follow the example of Christian princes, and dismiss all idle and arrogant pretensions. Christian princes, he said, paid respect to the words of our Lord in the gospel, Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart. Ancient kings, many of whom were deemed worthy of holding communion

¹ L. c. c. 86: quod iudex caput ejus verberibus tundat et aliis stimulis ferreis, donec veritatem depromat, ipsius latera pungat.

² L. c. c. 21.

³ L. c. c. 20.

with the saints, ate with their friends, nay even with their servants. Nay, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, the Saviour, ate not only with his servants and friends, the apostles, but also with publicans and sinners.¹

Though in other respects the pope endeavoured, by the spirit of Christianity, to infuse a better influence into the social institutions of this rude people, yet he knew how to keep distinct and separate from each other the principles of civil, and of religious, ecclesiastical legislation. He recognised the freedom which should be enjoyed by every nation within the pale of Christianity to shape and fashion its laws and social institutions, according to its own individuality of character, subject only to the demands of Christianity. Although many opportunities were offered him, by the questions which the Bulgarians proposed, to determine matters pertaining to secular relations, yet he never availed himself of them, unless led to do so by immediate interests of Christianity. When asked,² for example, whether they ought, as before, to give gold, silver, oxen, horses, etc., as dowries to their wives, he answered, that they might be allowed not only to do this, but everything else not sinful, which it had been their custom to do before their baptism. Peter had been a fisherman, and Matthew a toll-gatherer; after they were converted, Peter returned to his nets, but Matthew did not return to his former employment as a toll-gatherer. And as they had asked him about the propriety of their dress, he said:³ "We require no alteration of your outward garb, but only the change of your inward man;—that ye put on Christ; as the apostle says of all who have been baptised into Christ, that they have put on Christ. We inquire about nothing, except whether ye increase in faith and in good works." The cautious prudence of the pope, on all matters of this sort, is shown by his answer when solicited to give them a collection of civil laws. He said that he would be very glad to send them such books as might serve their purpose in this respect for the present, were he sure that there were any among them who would be able to interpret and expound them.⁴ And, for this reason, his delegates were charged not to leave behind them any of the books of this description, which they had taken along

¹ L. c. c. 42.

² L. c. c. 49.

³ L. c. c. 59.

⁴ L. c. c. 13.

with them, lest mischievous consequences might arise, either from wrong interpretations or from falsifications of the text.

On another point, however, the pope was prevented, by his church prejudices, or his misunderstanding of the Scriptures, from attempting to conciliate the spontaneous feelings of nature with those of the Christian. The Bulgarians had inquired of him concerning the fate of their ancestors, who had died without the faith. He answered,¹ that for them they ought not to pray; adducing in proof the passage in 1 John v. 16, respecting the sin which is unto death. Moreover, as the interest which he took in his idea of the papacy actuated him no less than his interest for the spread of Christianity—the two being inseparably connected together in his mind—he could not forbear inculcating it on the prince as an important principle, that though it would be necessary to appoint bishops over the new church, yet these should be held bound, in all dubious and weighty concerns, to ask counsel of the apostolic chair.²

From these transactions of pope Nicholas with the Bulgarians, it must appear quite evident, that he was far better qualified to provide for their religious wants, than a Greek patriarch had proved to be. Yet the Bulgarians still continued to waver, according to the sway of their political interests, between the Greek and the Latin church, till finally they decided once more wholly in favour of the first. The Greek emperor, Basilius the Macedonian, spared neither pains nor expense to bring about this result; and at length it was so arranged, that a Greek archbishop, and Greek bishops, chosen from among the monks, were admitted into the country, and set over the Bulgarian church.³

The conversion of the tribes bordering on the Greek empire was brought about chiefly through the exertions of two men from Constantinople, Constantine a monk,⁴ called a Philosopher, or, ac-

¹ L. c. c. 88.

² *Semper in rebus dubiis et negotiis majoribus sedem totius ecclesiæ more consulent apostolicam.*

³ Constantin. Porphyrogenit. *Life of Macedo*, considering the subject from the standing-point of the system of doctrine taught in the Greek church, represents the matter as if the Bulgarians were now, for the first time, rightly instructed in Christianity. See § 95.

⁴ Anastasius, in his preface to the fourth general council of Constantinople, notices him as a friend of the learned Photius, and a zealous defender of church

ording to his ecclesiastical name, Cyrillus, and his brother Methodius ; the latter being probably the same person whom we have already noticed in connection with Bulgaria.¹ When the Chazars, a powerful tribe, who inhabited the peninsula of Crimea, where Jews and Mohammedans were seeking to make proselytes, sent

orthodoxy.—Constantinus philosophus magnæ sanctitatis vir. Harduin. Concil. T. v. p. 752. The title "philosopher" was given to him, either on account of his learned education, or of his distinguished eminence as a monk.

¹ It is to be lamented that the accounts we have of these two remarkable men are so meagre and unauthentic. The oldest, in the *Actis sanct.* f. 19, at the 9th of March.

Some time after this section was printed, I succeeded in obtaining, through the particular kindness of H. Kopitar, of Vienna, a copy of a rare work, of which I would have been glad to avail myself before—the Greek biography of Clement, archbishop of Bulgaria, composed by his scholar the archbishop Theophylact, and published from a manuscript belonging to the monastery of St Maun, in Macedonia, *ἱστορία Ἀμβροσίου ἱεροναμάρχου τοῦ Παμπύριου*, together with a tract by Nicephorus Callistus, *αὐβ'* (1802). Though this biography is an authority of no great weight, in what it reports concerning the fortunes of Cyrill and Methodius, and the history of the Moravian church, yet the accounts it contains respecting the labours of Clement in Bulgaria, bear marks of special accuracy and truth. We are enabled by means of them, to form a nearer acquaintance with those missionaries, who did so much for the instruction and culture of a rude people ; and the spirit of Methodius is seen in his school, in a very advantageous point of light. We could wish that, in some one of the Slavonian languages, sources may yet be found to furnish still more contributions to the history of this remarkable man. It is said here, that when Clement, with other scholars of Methodius, were driven, after his death, through the influence of the Latin and German party, out of Moravia, they repaired to Bulgaria, and were received by the prince Bogoris *Βορίσης*, as he is here called), with the greater joy, because this country stood in great need of teachers. The author of this writing, who represents himself as a Bulgarian, describes, with enthusiastic love for his teacher, Clement, the zealous activity of the latter in everything which could advance the improvement of the people and the country. He had chosen out for himself a band of three thousand five hundred young men, on whose Christian instruction he bestowed his particular attention, and from among whom he endeavoured to train up teachers for the rest. He took pains to instruct the very children in reading and writing, and to make them understand what they read. He was never idle—says his biographer—sometimes he undertook to do two things at once,—he wrote, and at the same time taught the children. As the Bulgarian priests were too ignorant to instruct the people by preaching, as they had no homilies written in their own language, and could not understand Greek, he composed in the Bulgarian tongue a series of simple discourses, adapted to the condition of the rude people, for all the festivals of the year (*Λόγους οἴους μὴ διαφεύγειν μὴ δὲ τὸν ἡλιθιώτατον ἐν Βουλγαρίᾳ*). As no trees or herbs were to be found in Bulgaria, save the wild growth of the forests and the fields, to supply this deficiency, he procured from the Greek empire fruit-trees of every sort, and improved the wild trees by ingrafting. To excite a taste among the Bulgarians for the arts of cultivated life, he caused beautiful churches to be built, and sought by this means also to chain their affections to the house and worship of God. First a monastery was founded in the city of Achrida, the principal seat of his labours ; then an episcopal residence was erected for him at Drembritza, or Belitza, the first determinate episcopal see in this country. He died in the year 6424, according to the Byzantine era of the world, therefore in the year 916.

an embassy to the Greek emperor Michael, requesting him to provide for them a teacher of Christianity, the above-mentioned Cyrill was despatched on this mission. A part of the people embraced Christianity; yet as late as the 10th century, they were still divided between pagans, who constituted the minority, and Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians.¹

Cyrill, who was afterwards assisted by his brother Methodius, extended the sphere of his labours from this people to other pagan tribes.

The Slavonian nation of the Moravians had been made subject to the Frankish empire by Charlemagne; and by this connection, Christianity found its way to many parts of the tribe. The active sphere of Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, to whom Charlemagne had given the direction of a mission among these Slavonian tribes,² as also of his successors, had been extended to these parts; and the newly founded churches in the present provinces of Carinthia, Steiermark, and Hungary, were reckoned as belonging partly to the see of Salzburg, partly to that of the archbishops of Lorch. Thus the princes Moymar and Privinna, who stood in connection with the German empire, appear under the character of Christian princes. The latter of these resided at Mosburg on the lake of Platten (supposed to be the modern Salawar), and had founded in that place a Christian church.³ But the Moravian nation, as a whole, was still devoted to paganism; and its ruler, Radislav or Rastices, formed an alliance, from motives of political interest, with the Greek empire. This furnished the occasion on account of which the two brothers, already mentioned, came to be sent to him as teachers of Christianity. That which distinguishes Cyrill from all the other missionaries of this period is the fact, that he did not yield to the prejudice, which represented the languages of the rude nations as too profane to be employed for sacred uses, nor shrink from any toil which was necessary in order to become accurately acquainted with the language of the people among

¹ So relates Achmed Ibn Fozlani, who travelled as an ambassador of the caliphs through their country, in the year 921. Their king, at that time, was a Jew. See the Essay of Frähn, in the *Memoires de l'Academie de St Petersburg*. Tom. vii. 1820, p. 590.

² See vol. v. p. 106.

³ See the narrative of a Salzburgian priest of the year 873. *De Conversione Bajoariorum et Carenthorum*, in *Freher's Scriptores rerum Bohemicarum*, f. 19.

whom he laboured. Accordingly he resided for a long time at Chersonesus, in order to learn the language of the Chazars;¹ and in like manner he mastered the Slavonian tongue, when he was called to teach among Slavonian nations. On this occasion, he invented for it an alphabet, and translated the Holy Scriptures into the language. He also made use of it for liturgical purposes:—so much greater interest did he feel in enabling the people to appropriate Christianity with a clear sense of its import, than to introduce among them a bare ceremonial. But when afterwards it so happened, that the Moravian prince, induced by political changes, entered into a closer connection with the German empire and the Western church, this step, taken at a time when the schism between the Greek and Latin churches first broke out, was naturally followed by an entanglement of ecclesiastical relations. Cyrill and Methodius proved themselves to be men who placed a higher value on the interests of Christianity than on those of a particular church. They repaired to Rome, where they found no difficulty in entering into an understanding with pope Hadrian I. Cyrill resigned his office, and remained at Rome as a monk.² But Methodius, after having testified his submission to the Romish church, and laid down an oral as well as a written confession of faith, which satisfied the pope, was consecrated by the latter archbishop of the Moravian church.³ At a later period, however, the

¹ See the oldest report in the *Actis sanct.* § 2.

² This part of the history, as well as the first negotiations of Cyrill and Methodius with the pope, is enveloped in great obscurity. According to the later legends, though the oldest of the above cited narratives says nothing of the kind, Cyrill was summoned to Rome by pope Nicholas, to give an account of himself for using the Slavonian tongue in the liturgical services. But it is said he did not arrive at Rome until after the death of Nicholas in 868, when he removed all scruples respecting this use of the Slavonian tongue from the mind of his successor, pope Hadrian. But these accounts cannot be correct; for it is plain from the letter of pope John VIII. to Methodius, that no negotiations had as yet been held on this subject; and as, in the letters written by this pope to Moravia, the same remarks, and often expressed in the same language, occur, as those said to have been orally made by Cyrill to pope Hadrian, it may be conjectured that Cyrill's discourse was made up out of these remarks of the pope. This was already perceived by Asseman, *Kalendaria ecclesiæ universæ*, Tom. iii. p. 175, and by Dobrowsky in his *historico-critical Essay on Cyrill and Methodius*, Prague, 1823, p. 71. But it is manifest from this circumstance, how uncertain the later narratives must be, which are connected with this part of church history.

³ This may be gathered from the words of pope John to Methodius, ep. 90, *sicut verbis et literis te sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ credere promisisti*. Harduin. *Concil.* T. vi. p. i. p. 61.

activity of Methodius seems to have been interrupted or checked by political disturbances in the Moravian kingdom,—its wars with the German empire, the occurrences subsequent to the capture of Radislav, and the chequered fortunes of his successor Zwentibald or Swatopluk, in 870 and the following years. Whether it was, that the disturbances in Moravia induced him to take refuge in the adjacent Christian provinces connected with the German empire, over which Chozil, the son of Privinna, ruled; or that he extended the circle of his labours to these districts; suffice it to say, that his appearance in this field where Salzburgian priests were labouring, aroused the jealousy and suspicion of the German clergy. His attachment to the customs of the Greek church, his holding divine service in the Slavonian tongue, and the peculiar form in which he caused the creed to be chanted, with regard to the process of the Holy Spirit, all this would appear strange and foreign to the German ecclesiastics;¹ while the celebration of divine worship in the Slavonian tongue, which was understood by the people, would naturally be more edifying to the people than the same held in the to them unintelligible Latin language. This displeased the German clergy, who forfeited their good standing with the people; and the Salzburgian arch-priest, who presided over the ecclesiastical institutions in this district, withdrew for this reason to Salzburg.²

Thus complaints on the part of the German clergy against the

¹ The aversion felt towards Methodius betrays itself in the report of the above mentioned contemporary priests, in the narrative of the Salzburgian priest. *De conversione Bojor. et Carinth.* where he speaks of Methodius' arrival within the province of prince Chozil, and says that the archpriest Richbald, who had been sent there by the archbishop of Salzburg, was induced by that circumstance to return home again. "Qui multum tempus ibi demoratus est, exercens suum potestative officium, sicut illi injunxit archiepiscopus suus, usquedum quidam Græcus Methodius nomine noviter inventis Slavinis literis linguam Latinam doctrinamque Romanam atque literas auctorabiles latinas philosophice superducens."

That is, Methodius despises the Latin language and doctrine as a philosopher, —just as complaints were afterwards made about the *nova doctrina Methodii philosophi*. The name philosopher is certainly not applied to him here as an encomium; but to denote that he was unchurchlike. But this name, Methodius may have brought with him from his country, as his brother Constantine or Cyrill had done. See the continuation of the Latin words in the following note.

² The remarkable words of the above-mentioned priest, who related this, when it had just taken place: "*vilesce fecit cuncto populo ex parte missas et evangelia ecclesiasticumque officium illorum, qui hoc latine celebraverunt quod ille ferre non volens, sedem petiit Juvavensem.*"

archbishop Methodius, reached the ear of pope John VIII. He was accused of having infringed on the see of the archbishop of Salzburg; he was reproached with employing a different language from that of the church in divine worship, and doubtless also with the attachment which he showed to the Greek church, and with his deviations from the Romish in many other particulars. Though the pope was disposed to protect an archbishop ordained at Rome in his dignity and his rights, where he was dependent only on the pope himself, and not to give him up as a victim to the German bishops; yet by these accusations, his mind was filled with misgivings, as might naturally be expected, especially at that period of constant bickerings between the Latin and the Greek church.¹ For these reasons, he summoned the archbishop Methodius to Rome, at the same time forbidding him to hold mass in any other than the Greek or the Latin language, according to the universal practice of the churches scattered among the different nations. Yet he was allowed to preach in the language of the country, because in the 117th Psalm all the people are called upon to praise God; and the apostle Paul, Philip. ii. 11, says every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father. Methodius obeyed the call, and in the year 879 repaired to Rome, accompanied by an ambassador of the Moravian prince Swatopluk, and by a certain Wichin, whom that prince wished to have ordained as bishop of Neitra.² Methodius succeeded in coming to an understanding with the pope on all the contested points. He was completely satisfied with the explanation of his doctrinal views, and allowed him to retain his accustomed form of expressing the creed in re-

¹ The pope was informed, that the Moravians had fallen into doubts respecting the true faith; and he exhorts them (see the letter ad Tuventarum de Marauna, ep. 89) to adhere firmly in all things to the faith of the Romish Church. We may doubtless infer from this, that a suspicion had entered the mind of the pope that the Moravians were inclined to favour the doctrine of the Greek church. He says, in fact, concerning Methodius, *qui aliter docet, quam coram sede apostolica se credere verbis et literis professus est, valde miramur*. This prince Tuventar must have belonged to a Slavonian tribe converted long before this time; for the pope speaks as if his ancestors had received the Christian doctrine from the preceding popes. Dobrowsky in his work, *Moravian legends concerning Cyrill and Methodius*, Prague, 1826, p. 60, expresses the conjecture that Marauna was the city Morawa, situated near the extreme limits of Pannonia.

² *Ecclesia Nitrensis*.

spect to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.¹ Methodius succeeded in convincing the pope also that the use which he had hitherto made of the Slavonian language in divine worship was in no respect reprehensible, but altogether conducive to the edification of the people. The pope even stood forth as his defender on this point, and wrote as follows to the Moravian prince:² "The alphabet invented by a certain philosopher Constantine,³ to the end that God's praise may duly sound forth in it, we rightly commend; and we order that in this language the messages and works of our Lord Christ be declared; for we are exhorted by Holy Scripture to praise the Lord, not in three languages alone, but in all tongues and nations, Psal. cxvii. and Philip. ii. And the apostles, full of the Holy Ghost, proclaimed in all languages the great works of God. And the apostle Paul exhorts us, 1 Cor. xiv., that speaking in tongues we should edify the church. It stands not at all in contradiction with the faith, to celebrate the mass in this language, to read the gospel or lessons from the Scriptures properly translated into it, or to rehearse any of the church hymns in the same (aut alia horarum officia omnia psallere); for the God who is the author of the three principal languages, created the others also for his own glory. Only it is necessary, in order to greater solemnity, that in all the Moravian churches the gospel should in the first place be publicly read in Latin, and

¹ It is clear, that this had been a subject of controversy. The pope says of it in his letter to the Moravian princes, ep 107: "Igitur hunc Methodium venerabilem archiepiscopum vestrum interrogavimus coram positis fratribus nostris episcopis, si orthodoxæ fidei symbolum ita crederet et inter sacra missarum solennia caneret, sicuti sanctam Romanam ecclesiam tenere et in sanctis sex universalibus synodis a sanctis patribus secundum evangelicam Christi Dei nostri auctoritatem promulgatum est atque traditum constat. Ille autem professus est, se juxta evangelicam et apostolicam doctrinam sicuti sancta Romana ecclesia docet et a patribus traditum est, tenere et psallere." This has reference to the retaining of the creed in the unaltered ancient form which was conformable to the evangelica Christi auctoritas, the words of Christ, John xv. 26. See more on this point under the history of controversies.

² Ep. 107.

³ This expression deserves notice: "*Literas a Constantino quodam philosopho reperi-
tas.*" Thus it is customary to speak of a man, of whom little is known. How is it conceivable that, if the pope knew this Constantine to be the brother of Methodius, if this Constantine had been in the office of his predecessors recognised by the pope, if he had died as a monk at Rome, the pope should have so expressed himself concerning him; especially since it must have been pleasing to him to recommend the alphabet particularly on account of its inventor, a holy monk, a man who had died in true submission to St Peter's church at Rome, the founder of the Moravian church.

then repeated in the Slavonian language, so as to be understood by the people."¹

The pope consecrated the before named Wichin bishop of Neitra, and directed that, at some future time, another priest or deacon of the Moravians should be sent to him for the purpose of being ordained to the episcopal office; so that the archbishop, together with these two suffragan bishops could afterwards, according to the ancient rule, consecrate such bishops as might be needed for the new church. In 880, Methodius returned home to his diocese. The pope recommended him, in emphatic terms, to his sovereign, whose prejudices no doubt had already been excited against him. The pope also confirmed him as independent archbishop of the new church, responsible to no other person than himself for his administration of that church,² which was doubtless intended to shield him against the attacks he had to endure from the German prelates.

But Methodius could not fail to be involved, on his return, in new disputes with the German bishops and clergy; for these latter would not consent that the Moravians, who had been dependent on the German empire and on the German church, and received the first seeds of Christianity from German bishops, should now form an independent church under their own archbishop, and that a district should be withdrawn from the diocese of a German prelate which had once belonged to it.³ Added to

¹ To this the pope adds: "et si tibi et iudicibus tuis placet missas Latina Lingua magis audire, præcipimus, ut Latine missarum tibi solemnia celebrentur." Perhaps the solemnity of the mass, when celebrated in a sacred language, had been more agreeable to the Moravian princes.

² Nam populus Domini illi commissus est et pro animabus eorum hic redditurus est rationem.

³ This mode of viewing the matter is presented in the complaints, which Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, with his suffragans, offered in the year 900 to pope John IX. Harduin. Concil. T. vi. P. 1. p. 126. Terra Slavinorum, quis Moravi dicuntur, quæ regibus nostris et populo nostro, nobis quoque cum habitatoribus suis subacta fuerat tam in cultu Christianæ religionis, quam in tributo substantiæ secularis, quia exinde primum imbuti et ex paganis Christiani sunt facti. Archbishop Methodius is passed over in silence in this letter, as if no such man had ever existed, and only the bishop Wichin, ordained at Rome, is mentioned, and he as one who had been ordained for a country then for the first time subdued by the Moravian princes, and then for the first time made acquainted with Christianity by means of the Moravians (a country therefore whose case was quite different from that of the Moravians, who had before this been converted by missionaries from Germany). By the appointment of this bishop, the interests of the German church were not endangered.

this, was the particular aversion of the Germans to an archbishop coming from the Greek church, and their blind fanatical zeal against the peculiarities of that church, after the antagonism between the two churches¹ had once become publicly expressed. Before this time, the German clergy seem to have acquired some influence over the Moravian prince, which influence was now increased by the change of political relations, the close alliance of Swatopluk with duke Arnolph of Carinthia, afterwards emperor. Hence arose more serious misunderstandings between Methodius and his sovereign.² The bishop Wichin, who should have acted as his subordinate, attached himself to the German party, and appeared as his opponent. It should seem, that he affected the air of one who had been directed by the pope to keep a watch over Methodius, and see that he remained true to the principles of the Latin church, attempting to do nothing in contradiction to them. And he seems to have taken advantage of this, to injure the archbishop in various ways.³ Even Swatopluk

¹ See on a future page.

² The old legends, which speak of a misunderstanding between the two, of the excommunication which Methodius pronounced on the prince, of his journey to Rome and his recall, deserve but little credence, owing to their character in other respects, and particularly on account of the want of all connection in the narratives. Besides, the cause of the misunderstanding is still left in uncertainty. But by comparing the documents already cited, and the consolatory letter of the pope to Methodius, presently to be mentioned, and by considering the fact that Methodius soon disappears from the page of history, we may come to some clear conclusion with regard to the truth which lies at the bottom of these accounts. In the narrative, not now before me, of the life of the Bulgarian archbishop Clement, said to have been a disciple of Methodius, written at a much later period, from which a fragment was first published by Leo Allatius, and which was published complete at Vienna in 1802, the true cause of the quarrel is correctly stated by a zealous adherent of the Greek church, as having been the aversion of the German clergy to that church. See the passages drawn from this writing by Dobrowsky, in the essay already referred to, *Cyrril and Methodius*, p. 115.

According to the account in the above cited biography of Clement, Methodius died in Moravia, having administered the archiepiscopal office 24 years: and it was not until after his death, that the Frankish or German party obtained the ascendancy, and induced Swatopluk to persecute those who adhered to the doctrine of the Greek church. Methodius had fixed upon one of his scholars, Gorasd, a Moravian, acquainted with the Greek as well as the Slavonian language, for his successor; but this person was supplanted by bishop Wichin (*Βιχίνιος*), with whom Methodius himself had many contests, and who stood at the head of the German party. The scholars of Methodius, among whom Gorasd, Clement, Naum, Angelarius and Sabbas, are mentioned as the most distinguished, were expelled the country. The author of this writing complains of the ill-treatment which they suffered from the German soldiers: *Νεμιστσοί* (Slavonian name for the Germans) *φύσει τὸ ἀνήμερον ἔχοντες.*

³ We infer this from the fact that the pope, in his letter to Methodius, deemed

appealed to a letter of the pope; whether it was, that he misconstrued the language of the letter above cited, or that he pretended to have received another. Methodius had many difficulties to encounter;¹ and when his adversaries appealed to those plenary powers which they had received from the pope, he began doubtless to feel perplexed about this. He reported to the pope the whole matter; and begged for permission to appear himself once more in his presence. John VIII. granted him his request; and was desirous at the same time of hearing both sides. Meantime, he endeavoured to assure him, by a friendly letter,² of the sincerity of his intentions towards him;³ and exhorted him to persevere in prosecuting the work which he had begun, in the confidence that if God was for him, no man could prevail against him. Methodius availed himself of the permission given him by the pope. In 881, he went to Rome, and from that time he disappears from the records of history; whether it was, that he soon after died, or that the party so hostile to him in Moravia did not permit him again to enter his field of labour in that country. The German bishops continued still to oppose the founding of an independent Moravian archbishopric,⁴ till the Moravian kingdom was dissolved, and became a prey to the Germans, Hungarians, and Bohemians.

By occasion of the political dependence of Bohemia on the Moravian kingdom, at the time when Methodius was labouring in the latter country, duke Borziwoi of Bohemia became acquainted with Christianity at the court of his liege lord, and was baptised.⁵ For

it necessary to assure him, that he had never given any such commission to that bishop (who certainly can be no other than the Wichin also named in the Life of archbishop Clement), nor bound him by oath to any supervision of that nature. Neque episcopo illi palam vel secreto aliud faciendum injunximus et aliud a te peragendum decrevimus, quanto minus credendum est, ut sacramentum ab eodem episcopo exegerimus, quem saltem levi sermone super hoc negotio allocuti non fuimus.

¹ As the pope says in his letter: "Quidquid enormiter adversum te est commissum, quidquid jam dictus episcopus contra suum ministerium in te exercuit."

² Ep. 268, Mansi Concil. t. xvi. f. 199.

³ "Ideo cesset ista dubietas," he writes to him.

⁴ See the above mentioned letter of the archbishop of Salzburg to pope John IX, and the letter, written in the like spirit, of Hatto, archbishop of Mentz, and his suffragan bishops, to the same pope. Illi autem Moravenses in occasionem superbis assumunt, quia a vestra concessione dicunt se metropolitanum suscipere et singulariter degentes aliorum episcoporum consortia refutant. Mansi Concil. T. xviii. f. 205.

⁵ Dean Cosmos, of Prague, in his Bohemian Chronicles, makes mention of the baptism of Borziwoi in the year 994. Were this date correct, then, according to what we have above remarked respecting the life of Methodius, no immediate

a long time, however, the contest was maintained between Christianity and paganism in the afterwards independent kingdom of Bohemia. Borziwoi's son, duke Wratislav, left behind him, at his death in 925, two minor sons, the elder named Wenzeslav, and a younger Boleslav. The care of their education was entrusted to their grandmother Ludmilla, a devoted Christian, and she was at the head of the Christian party. Their mother, on the other hand, Drahomira or Dragomir, who became mistress of the kingdom, was devoted with a blind zeal to paganism, and doubtless feared also lest Ludmilla's influence might endanger her power. She procured her assassination. In the meantime, Wenzeslav had received into a susceptible mind the seeds of Christian piety imparted to him by his grandmother. The ardour of his Christian zeal, however, was marred by one defect. He had not been so educated and disciplined as to qualify him for acting to the greatest advantage as a sovereign, for the advancement of God's kingdom; but had received such training and direction as belonged rather, at that time, to the profession of a clergymen or a monk. On coming to the government, he exerted himself not only to suppress idolatry and to destroy its monuments, but also to introduce Christian discipline and a reformation of morals among his people, as well as to soften the rudeness of their manners. He abolished the frequent and cruel punishments of death, and founded monasteries, churches, and benevolent institutions.¹

share can be assigned to him in the conversion of Borziwoi. Dobrowsky, the learned investigator of the history of the Slavonian church, thought he must put the conversion of Borziwoi between the years 870 and 880; see his *Moravian Legends of Cyrill and Methodius*, p. 114. The contested Moravian-Bohemian legends relate that when Borziwoi betook himself to the court of his feudal lord, and, as a heathen, could not eat at the same table with him, but must eat with his own people, sitting upon the ground, Methodius testified sympathy for him, and improved the opportunity to direct his attention to what he would gain for this temporal life, as well as for the eternal, by the reception of Christianity. Moreover, what is here said of the relation of the vassal to his superior, is at least consistent with Slavonian customs. See above, p. 68.

What is said of the relation of Drahomira to Ludmilla, needed a more careful examination. The Russian legend, considered by those who are versed in the Slavonian literature as very ancient, and published by M. Wostokow, of St Petersburg, from a manuscript of the fifteenth century, represents the relation of Drahomira to Christianity in a far more favourable point of light. When I wrote what is found in the text, I could not avail myself of this legend, which has since been made known to me, in a translation, by a special kindness of a learned scholar in the Slavonian literature.

¹ See Memoir of his life by the monk Christian, in Balbini epitome hist. rerum Bohemicarum, f. 54.

Already, as it is said, he was on the eve of abdicating the sovereign authority, becoming a monk, and making a pilgrimage to Rome, when, at the instigation of his brother, Boleslav, a man fanatically devoted to paganism, he was murdered, in the year 938. With the accession of this prince, surnamed the Cruel, paganism again revived. Yet, by a treaty of peace, into which Boleslav was forced by his conqueror, the emperor Otho I., in the year 950, he was obliged to promise the restoration of the churches, and the re-establishment of the priests. He himself seems to have undergone some change of mind, under the suffering of his later reverses, and, from sincere conviction, to have professed Christianity at a later period. The foundation of the Bohemian church was completed by his son and successor, Boleslav the Mild, under whose reign this church was established with a fixed central point, in the archbishopric of Prague. Yet, for a long time, pagan barbarism maintained its sway in Bohemia, under the garb of Christianity.¹ Fierce and violent were the contests which Adalbert, a man sprung from a noble family of that land, and educated at Magdeburg, had to sustain, when, in 983, he became archbishop of Prague; and, impatient of the hitherto prevailing outbreaks of barbarism, endeavoured to compel submission from the people to all the ordinances of the church. He combatted, in particular, polygamy, the concubinage of the clergy, and the traffic in Christian slaves carried on by the Jews.² Had Adalbert been more free from fanatical extravagances, and had he failed less in point of Christian prudence and coolness, he would, no doubt, have been able to accomplish more than he did. He aspired to the death of a martyr. After having twice fled to Rome from the rude people who would not listen to his voice, and retired to the monastic life, and twice returned home to his see at the pope's command, and after having abandoned it again for the third time, in following his restless impulse to labour and suffer for the faith, he met the death he desired, in 997, among the Prussians. It was not till the year 1038, that Severus, archbishop of Prague, succeeded, under more favourable circumstances, to enforce the ecclesiastical laws respecting

¹ The biographer of archbishop Adalbert of Prague says of the Bohemians (see *Acta sanctor.* April, T. ii. f. 179): "Plerique nomine tenus Christiani ritu gentiliu vivunt."

² L. c. f. 181.

the contract and sacred observance of a Christian marriage, the keeping of festival days, and similar matters, to the promulgation of which he pretended to have been called in a vision, by the martyr Adalbert himself.¹ The use of the Slavonian language in divine worship, which had been derived by this church from the Moravians, and prevailed in scattered instances, was also fiercely opposed, and looked upon by many as heretical.²

From the times of Charlemagne, various attempts had been made to reduce certain populous tribes of Slavonian origin, bearing the name of Wends, and dwelling on the northern and eastern borders of Germany, between the Elbe, Oder, and Saale, to the Frankish empire, and bring them over to the Romish church. But that Christianity which had been imposed on them by constraint, and with the loss of their liberties and independent individuality as a nation, became odious to them. The devastating irruptions of the Normans, of which we have spoken on a former page, contributed to the revival of paganism in these districts. Too little pains had been bestowed on the business of giving religious instruction to this people, in a form adapted to their national peculiarities. Though individual bishops, to whose dioceses many people from these tribes belonged, laboured zealously for their conversion, yet there was a want of teachers for them, sufficiently well acquainted with the Slavonian tongue. And though it is evident, that individual bishops and monks,³ led on by their pious zeal, did really acquire a knowledge of the Slavonian, yet the number was too small, compared with the great mass of the people who were to be converted. Had the example of Cyrill and Methodius found more imitators, the planting of the Christian church among these populations would have been greatly facilitated. How great a hindrance was presented by the foreign liturgical language, appears, among others, from the following example. Among the persons zealously engaged in labouring for the con-

¹ See the Chronicle of Cosmas, book ii.

² See an example in the appendix to the Chronicle of Cosmas. See Menken *Script. rerum Germanicarum* T. iii. f. 1786.

³ Helmold, a parish priest belonging to the village Bosow, in the bishopric of Lubec, who in the twelfth century wrote a history of the conversion of the Slavonians, cites (l. i. c. vi. of his *Chronica Slavorum*) an old tradition, which states, that in the reign of the emperor Lewis II. monks from the monastery of Corvey—stimulated, perhaps, by the example of Anshar—had gone forth as missionaries among these Slavonian tribes.

version of the Slavonians, belonged, in the last half of the tenth century, a certain Boso, who resided first as a monk in the abbey of St Emmeran, at Regensburg, and was then employed as a clergyman in the service of the emperor Otho I. He learnt the Slavonian language, preached in it, converted and baptised many Slavonians; and the emperor rewarded his labours, by making him the first bishop over the see of Merseburg, founded by him for the Slavonians. He now wrote off for them the liturgical forms in Slavonian characters;¹ but in spite of all his pains to get them to sing the Kyrie Eleison, he could not succeed. They transformed the phrase into a combination of Slavonian words, with a somewhat similar sound, Kyrkujolsa, and amused themselves with the thought, that he wanted to have them sing "the alder stands in the hedge." It is a just remark, that a very different impression would, doubtless, have been made on these Slavonians, if Boso had taught them to sing the Slavonian Pomilui.

Excited anew by the oppressions they suffered, the Slavonian tribes repeatedly broke away from the yoke imposed on them; until at last it became possible, though not before a great portion of the people were exterminated, and their national existence destroyed, to bring about, in a way contradictory to the very essence of Christianity, the establishment of the church among them.²

The emperor Otho I. availed himself of the victories gained by his predecessor, Henry I., and by himself, over the Slavonian tribes in Germany, to give a firm shaping to the new Wend-German church, by founding several bishoprics; and, in so doing, he took pains to fill these bishoprics with men already distinguished

¹ Hic ut sibi commissos eo facilius instrueret, Slavonica scripserat verba. Ditmar Merseberg. Chronica l. ii. f. 24. ed. Raineccii. Francof. 1580. But the whole passage is more complete in the edition in Leibniz Script. rerum. Brunsvic. t. i.

² Adam of Bremen and Hermold agree in stating that the oppressions and extortions practised against the Slavonians, threw obstacles in the way of their conversion. Adam of Bremen cites the remark which he heard from the lips of the then king of Denmark: "Populos Slavorum jamdudum procul dubio facile converti posse ad Christianitatem, nisi Saxonum obstitisset avaritia. Quibus mens prior est ad pensiones vectigalium, quam ad conversionem gentilium. Nec attendunt miseri quantum suæ cupiditatis luan periculum, qui Christianitatem in Slavonia primo per avaritiam turbaverunt, deinde per crudelitatem subiecto ad rebellandum coegerunt et nunc salutem eorum, qui credere vellent, pecuniam solum exigendo contemnunt."

for their zeal in promoting the diffusion of Christianity among these tribes. In 946, he founded the bishopric at Havelberg, in 948 the bishopric at Altenburg, or Oldenburg, among the Obotrites, one of the principal seats of the Slavonian power in Germany. This last-named bishopric became extremely rich, and the bishops could make use of their wealth as a means of binding the Slavonian population, and their princes, to themselves. Furthermore, in 968 he founded the bishoprics of Meissen, Merseburg, Zeitz (which latter bishopric was transferred, in 1029, to the stronger city of Naumburg), and, in 968, he gave the new Slavonian church, with the concurrence of pope John XIII., a fixed central point, in the archbishopric founded at Magdeburg.¹ It was the emperor's design, that the bishopric of Oldenburg, like the other Slavonian bishoprics, should be subordinate to this common metropolis; but this plan was frustrated, by the opposition of the archbishops of Hamburg, who asserted the claims of the ecclesiastical province originally assigned to them.² The first archbishop of Magdeburg was Adalbert, from a monastery at Triers, who was ordained bishop with a view to preach the gospel to the Slavonians on the island of Rügen.³ Having found it impossible, however, to get any access to the minds of the people, he presided for some time over the abbey of Weissenburg, when a new and wider field of labour among the Slavonians was opened to him, as archbishop of Magdeburg.⁴

But new oppressions and insults led to a new and general insurrection of the Wends. One of their chiefs, by name Mistiwoi, who had become a Christian, and attached himself to the service of German sovereigns, was exasperated by a personal injury. In 983, he collected together his countrymen for a new contest, at Rethre, the principal seat of the Wendish worship, and hence also the central point of the nation; and soon Northern Germany was wasted by fire and sword. Every Christian foundation was destroyed with unsparing fury; and paganism stood erect again among these Slavonians. Yet Christianity must have left a more

¹ See Helmold, l. i. c. 12.

² L. c. c. 1.

³ Or the Russians. See further on.

⁴ See the old *Narratio de erectio ecclesie Magdeburgensis* in Meibom. *Scriptores rerum Germ.* T. i. f. 734.

enduring impression on the mind of the Wendish chief himself ; and when his passions had time to subside, he probably contemplated what he had lost, with repentance and regret. As his countrymen refused to tolerate him while he remained a Christian, he finally left them, to spend the remainder of his days as a Christian, at Bardewik.¹

A somewhat similar change in the course of his religious convictions was experienced by Gottschalk, an uncle of this Mistiwoi, whose life forms an important epoch in the history of the conversion of Slavonian tribes in Germany. Educated in a school at Luneburg, he received a Christian training, when the news of the murder of his father, the Wendish prince Udo, so wrought upon his mind, that he fled from Luneburg, determined to revenge his father's death on the enemies of his people.² The spirited and enterprising youth collected together his countrymen for a new and bloody war, and spread havoc and desolation over North-Albingia, in the district of Hamburg and Holstein. But the Christian feelings, instilled into him by his religious education, could not be wholly suppressed at once ; and it so happened, that on a certain occasion, while surveying the scene of desolation which he had created, and beholding a once populous and highly cultivated district, which had been sprinkled over with numerous churches, converted into a barren waste, he was seized with deep pangs of remorse at the reflection that all this misery was caused by himself ; his conscience was aroused, and he felt constrained to make restitution for the wrong, and once more consecrate his life to the religion in which he had been educated. This Gottschalk became, in 1047, the founder of a great Wendish kingdom. The whole aspect of things was now changed ; for a chief sprung from the people themselves, and animated by a sincere love of his countrymen, was striving to impart to them, out of a true regard for their well-being, Christianity and Christian culture. Gottschalk sent in every direction for clergymen to come and labour among his people ; which was attended, however, with this great disadvantage, that many of them were ignorant of the Slavonian language. Gottschalk contributed his own efforts to remedy this deficiency. In the church he often addressed exhortatory discourses to the people, and translated for them the forms

¹ Helmold, i. c. 16.

² Helmold, i. c. 19.

of the Latin liturgy, which the bishops and priests used, into the Slavonian tongue.¹ New churches and monasteries were founded at Lubec, Oldenburg, Ratzeburg, Lentzen (Leontium) Mecklenburg, a principal place of the Obotrites (not far from Wismar). Adalbert or Albrecht, archbishop of Bremen or Hamburg, encouraged him, in an interview at Hamburg, to steadfastness in defending the faith, and to perseverance in zeal for its diffusion. Bremen being at that time the central point for the missions of the North, where banished bishops, clergymen, and monks from all quarters gathered around him, for whom he had to provide the means of subsistence, Albrecht joyfully welcomed the opportunity which was now offered to him of assigning them elsewhere a field of labour ;² though it must be confessed that such persons were not always the best qualified to act as missionaries among the Slavonians. With his zeal for the diffusion of Christianity, this prelate united an ambition to appear as a patriarch of the North ; and this induced him, for the purpose of multiplying the number of bishoprics under his care, to divide one bishopric of Oldenburg into three, and to found two other bishoprics at Ratzeburg and Mecklenburg,³ which may have been a salutary thing for the new church among a rude people that needed careful oversight. Yet this new ecclesiastical creation was soon destroyed.

Though Gottschalk had converted a large portion of his people to Christianity, at least to all appearance, yet the heathen portion, whose fury he had roused against him by his zeal for the spread of Christianity, and by the alliances which he had formed with the Christian princes of Germany, was still too strong ; and the devout king fell a sacrifice to his zeal. On the 9th June, A.D. 1066, he perished as a martyr at Leutzen,⁴ toge-

¹ Princeps Godescalcus tanto religionis exarsit studio, ut ordinis sui oblitus, frequenter in ecclesia sermonem exhortationis ad populum fecerit, ea quæ mystice ab episcopis et presbyteris dicebantur, Slavonicis verbis cupiens reddere planiora. Adam. Bremens. hist. eccles. c. 138. Agreeing to a word, as generally in this section respecting Gottschalk, Hermold Chronica Slavor. l. i. c. 20.

² Adam of Bremen, c. 142. Ut parvula Brema ex illius virtute instar Romæ divulgata ab omnibus terrarum partibus devote peteretur, maxime ab aquilonalibus populis, and Hermold, l. i. c. 22. Confluebant ergo in curiam ejus multi sacerdotes et religiosi, plerique etiam episcopi, qui sedibus suis exturbati, mense ejus erant participes, quorum sarcina ipse alleviari cupiens, transmisit eos in latitudinem gentium.

³ Hermold, i. c. 22.

⁴ Adam of Bremen says : Passus est noster Maccabæus.

ther with the priest Ebbo (Eppo), who was sacrificed on the altar, and many ecclesiastics and laymen, who were made to suffer a variety of tortures. The monk Ansverus and others were stoned to death near Ratzeburg. This monk¹ is said to have besought the heathen, that they should first stone his companions for whose steadfastness he was afraid; and when they had suffered the martyr's death, he fell joyfully on his knees, and offered up his life. The old bishop, John of Mecklenburg, was first mercilessly beaten, then led in mockery through the separate cities of the Slavonians, and because he would not deny his faith, his hands and feet were first cut off; then his head was carried round in triumph upon a pole, and offered up to the Wendish idol Rade-gast, in the temple at Rethre. These cruelties formed the beginning of a general and violent revolt among the Slavonians. Those who remained steadfast in the faith were murdered. The Christian provinces in the neighbourhood became anew the scene of devastation.

In this period was laid also the foundation of the Russian church; indeed, the first seeds of Christianity are said to have been conveyed among the Russians about the time they began to be united in one monarchy under the foreign prince Rurik, sprung from the Norman race of the Waragians. In spreading themselves to the southern parts of the present Russia, on the borders of the Roman empire in the East, they were, like other nations in the like circumstances, made acquainted with Christianity; and Greek emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople were induced to make attempts for their conversion. In the circular letter, issued by the patriarch Photius, in 866, against the Latin church, he notices, among other things, that the people called Russians,² hitherto noted for their barbarism and cruelty, had forsaken idolatry, received Christianity, and allowed a bishop to be placed over them.³ Photius, without doubt, describes the change said to have been produced by means of the Greek church among the Russians, in a boastful and exaggerated style; but *some* truth no doubt lies at the bottom of this exaggerated re-

¹ See Adam of Bremen, c. 166 and the appendix, Helmold, l. c. 22.

² Τὸ ἴθνος τὸ καλούμενον Ρῶς.

³ Photii Epistolæ Ed. Montacut, f. 58.

presentation. These attempts to introduce Christianity among the Russians seem to have been continued also by the emperor Basilius the Macedonian, and the restored patriarch Ignatius, of Constantinople; though here also, the exaggerated accounts of Greek historians,¹ mixed with those fables which so easily sprung up and spread among the Greeks of this period, are not entitled to absolute confidence. The commercial intercourse, as well as the wars of the Russians with the Greek empire, the enlistment of the Waragians in the service of the Byzantine government, all this contributed to bring it about, that in the succeeding times of the ninth and tenth centuries, many seeds of Christianity were scattered anew among the Russians, without being followed, however, by conversions to any great extent. When in the year 945, the Russian grand prince Igor concluded a treaty of peace with the Greek empire, the baptised Russians in the army who swore by the God of the Christians, and the pagans who swore by their Slavonian god Perun,² were already distinguished in the articles of the treaty, and mention is made of a church dedicated to Elias at Kiew, the capital of the Russico-Waragian empire.³ This town seems to have been the most important centre for the diffusion of Christianity in these districts.⁴ The rulers of the Russian empire were more taken up with other concerns, than with those relating to the interests of religion; and the very difference itself between the religion of the Waragians, the stock out of which the ruling dynasty had sprung, and who by virtue of their Norman descent were given to the religion of Odin, and that of the people devoted to the Slavonian idolatry, may have served to promote the more liberal tolerance of a third religion.

By witnessing the forms of Christian worship at Kiew, and by what they here learnt concerning Christianity, opportunity was now given to the Russians of comparing the old rude service of

¹ *E. g.* Cedreni Annales ed. Basil. f. 484.

² See the treaty of peace in the Annals of the Russian Monk and Historian Nestor, who lived at the end of this period—in the translation of Schlözer—vol. iv. p. 95.

³ P. 99.

⁴ These three cities, Dorstede, Brenen, and Kiew, were the most important metropolitan places for European Missions at this period.

their idolatry with Christianity, and thus there might arise in the heart of the Russian princess Olga, the desire of passing over to Christianity. Perhaps it was chiefly on this account that she travelled in the year 955 to Constantinople, in order that she might receive baptism in the metropolis of Christian civilisation, if, indeed, she did not undertake this journey for other reasons; especially because of the impression which the Christian worship had made on her, and also because she might be induced to be baptised through the persuasion of the Greeks.¹ She took at baptism the name of Helena. She, however, by no means succeeded in bringing over her son Swätoslav and his people entirely to Christianity. It seems probable that she addressed herself to the Emperor Otto I., being drawn to him by the renown which had been spread concerning him on all sides, and by the accounts of his zeal for the conversion of the Slavonian tribes; and that she asked him by the ambassadors she despatched, to send her a bishop and a priest.² If this narrative truly applies to the

¹ Nestor's Annals, l. c. vol. v., p. 60. The Greek historians also relate this incident, and call the princess "Ελγα. See Cedren. Annal. 524, to the close. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetos, under whom this happened, has also described, in his work on the ceremonies of the Byzantine Court, the entry of Olga into Constantinople, and her reception. But he does not in this passage record her baptism, because this was foreign to his design as the author of this book. See this work here noticed, Edit. Niebuhr, vol. i. p. 594.

² The change of the name of the Rugi as the inhabitants of the island of Rügen, who were sometimes also called Russians, with the name of the Russi Russia gens. makes a matter of controversy concerning the reference of this narrative in the old German chronicles of the eleventh century. The question is, whether we are to apply them to the island Rügen or to Russia? If the chroniclers declared, that the Russian princess only desired time from the emperor under a false pretence, and that he was deceived by the Russians, still this could not speak directly against its reference to the Russian princess. For her son was truly the enemy of Christianity, and his people was also entirely devoted to heathenism. In this way, the bishop sent from Germany might be discouraged, in consequence of the unfavourable reception he met with at the hands of many; and reference might hence be unjustly made from the unfortunate issue of the mission to the evil intention of Olga herself. If, however, we apply the matter to the inhabitants of the island of Rügen, it is then easily explained how they, who continued violent heathens till the twelfth century, entertained an opinion different from that which they openly declared, and sent an embassy to the emperor for the express purpose of deceiving him. Still it remains worthy of notice, that if it is expressly said by many German chroniclers that this embassy was sent by the Russian Empress Helena, who was baptised at Constantinople, then such a narrative of fact could with difficulty appear to be utterly groundless. There remains, then, if we refuse to apply the whole matter to the Russians, this supposition alone that two embassies came to the emperor with different designs—the one sent by the inhabitants of Rügen, and the other by the Russians; and that these two narratives have been blended together. See the German records, in Schlözer's Nestor, v. p. 106.

Russians, than the above-mentioned Adalbert (p. 70), who afterwards became bishop of Magdeburg visited that country, but was soon induced, by the unfortunate issue of his mission, to return home again to Germany.

Vladimir, uncle to the grand duchess, who had before been a zealous pagan, was the first who began to waver in his religious opinions. Having rendered himself famous by his conquests far and wide, it is said that people of various nations, Bulgarians from the districts bordering on the Wolga, who, unlike those dwelling near the Danube, were not devoted to Christianity but to Mohammedanism,—the Chazars who were Jews, also Greek and Latin Christians, sought to gain him over to their respective religions. He resolved on sending embassies to different countries, to obtain more accurate information with regard to the character of the different religions and modes of worship; and then to make his selection according to the reports which he received. Those of his messengers who went to Constantinople were invited to attend the whole service, even the celebration of the eucharist, in the great church of St Sophia. The magnificence of the church, the solemn pomp of the worship according to the Greek rites, made a singular impression on the minds of these rude men, and the report of it which they sent back to their prince, determined him to embrace Christianity according to the Greek rites.¹ Vladimir was baptised in the year 980, in the old Christian

¹ Nestor's account, who lived partly in the same century with Vladimir (see Karansim's History of Russia, translated by Hauenschild, Bd. i. p. 169, and Strahl. History of the Russian Church, th. i. p. 61), agrees for the most part with the anonymous Greek accounts, which Bandurie has published Imperium Orient. T. ii. Animadvers. in Constantin. Porphyrogene. f 62. But the story published by Banduri from a Parisian manuscript is only a fragment. It presupposes many of the facts which occur in the Russian account. It begins by saying that the four messengers visited Rome. They are delighted with what they saw at Rome; but by what they beheld at Constantinople everything else is eclipsed. As they visited the church on a great festival, the multitude of lights, the melody of the music, then the preparation for the celebration of the eucharist, the hypo-deacons and deacons marching forth with torches and the flabellas, the solemn procession of the higher clergy, etc., filled them with astonishment. When, according to this Greek story, Cyrill and Athanasius (which without doubt should be Methodius) are said to have visited Russia, and introduced among the natives their Slavonian alphabet, the inaccuracy of the account here becomes evident. And so also Basilus II. may have been here confounded with Basilus the Macedonian, and a later with some earlier missionary enterprise of the Greeks among the Russians. So too the story of the miracle wrought among the Russians (see above), which certainly belongs to the time of Basilus the Macedonian, is interwoven

commercial city of Cherson (Kerssan, on the western bank of the Dnieper), conquered by himself, and received at his baptism the name Wassily.¹ He married the Greek princess Anna, and then took measures to introduce Christianity among his people. To effect this object, he made use of his authority as ruler; the idols were destroyed, and the people were commanded to submit to baptism. Vast bodies of men and women appeared with their children on the banks of the Dnieper, and were baptised at one and the same time. Yet no sooner had this outward conversion been forcibly effected, than schools were established at Kiew, and the Cyrillian alphabet and Cyrillian translation of the Bible used for Christian instruction.¹

Vladimir's successor Jaroslaw, 1019–1054, endeavoured to advance still further the Christian culture of the people by schools, churches, and monasteries, and by arrangements for the translation of religious and theological books from the Greek into the Slavonian language of the country. At Kiew was founded the first archbishopric of the Russian church, and Jaroslaw was desirous of making it, and with it the entire Russian church, independent of the patriarch at Constantinople. This independence, however, was but a transitory appearance.

From Bohemia the Christian church was transplanted to Poland. Duke Mjesko or Miecislaw of Poland, the first Polish king, was persuaded by his queen, the Christian Bohemian princess Dambrowska, in the year 966, to receive baptism. The old pagan worship was only suppressed by force; the adoption of Christian customs was effected in the same way: hence paganism resisted for a long time a Christianity thus imposed on the people. By the establishment of several bishoprics and of an archbishopric at Gnesen, the organisation of this church was afterwards completed.

The Hungarians, who emigrating from Asia, at the close of the ninth century and onwards, conquered Pannonia, destroyed the Moravian kingdom, and spread consternation over the south-eastern parts of Germany, settled down, it is true, in countries, where the Christian church had been long since established, and

with this tale. The chronological date, as fixed by Nestor, deserves, beyond all doubt, the preference.

¹ This doubtless gave origin to that Greek story, involving an anachronism, about the mission of Cyrill to the Russians, and the introduction of his Slavonian alphabet by himself.

where they were surrounded by Christian nations; but they remained untouched by the influence of Christianity, and proved themselves to be enemies to all Christian foundations, as nothing was spared in the destruction which they left behind them.¹

The connection of the Hungarians with the Greek empire, is said to have furnished the first occasion for missionary enterprise among that people. About the middle of the tenth century, it is reported that two Hungarian princes, Bulosudes and Gylas, were baptised at Constantinople; the latter of whom took back with him Hierotheos, a monk, as a bishop for his people.² But some question may arise with regard to the motives which induced these two princes, who were loaded with costly presents at Constantinople, to embrace Christianity. It is certain that Bulosudes soon fell away again from the Christianity which he may never have sincerely received, to his former paganism; and the conversion of Gylas was followed, at least, by no important results. Yet Christianity seems to have been preserved alive in the family of Gylas. His daughter, Sarolta, made profession of Christianity; and, being married to the Hungarian prince Geisa, she made him also favourably disposed towards the same religion. We may add to this, that when the power of the Hungarians was broken, by the severe defeat they experienced in the war with the emperor Otho I. in 955, and by other unsuccessful wars in succeeding years, they were compelled to renounce their thirst for conquest, and, in particular, to enter into more peaceful relations with the German empire. Thus for the first time, from about the year 970, the bishops on the south-eastern borders of the German empire found it in their power to establish missions for the benefit of this people.³ Pilgrim, bishop of Passau, drew up, in 974, for Pope Bene-

¹ So says pope Benedict VII., or rather VI., in a letter which in the year 974 he wrote to the German archbishops, after having spoken of the diocese of the archbishopric of Lorch in Pannonia: "Quæ (diocesis) jam multis retro actis temporibus ex viciniorum frequente populatione barbarorum deserta et in solitudinem redacta, nullum Christianæ professionis habitorem meminet, namely, till the conquest of Hungary by the emperor Otho I., usque dum genitor pii imperatoris nostri bellico trophæo eorum vires retundit." See Mansi Concil. T. xix. f. 53.

² See Cedren's Annals, f. 524.

³ So Pilgrim, bishop of Passau, in 974, writes to Pope Benedict VI.: "Neophyta Ungarorum gens, apud quam fœdere pacto sub occasione pacis fiduciam sumsimus operam exercere prædicationis."

dict VI., a remarkable report concerning the spread of Christianity in Hungary, which had been brought about under the influence of these new peaceful relations.¹ He writes to the pope, that he had been earnestly solicited by the Hungarians, either to come to them in person, or to send them missionaries. He had sent to them monks, priests, and other ecclesiastics, and about five hundred Hungarians of both sexes had been baptised. Particularly instructive, with respect to the diffusion of Christianity in Hungary, as well as supported by internal evidences of probability, is his report concerning the secret Christians in Hungary. Many Christians were to be found among them, who had been carried away captives from different nations. But these had not been allowed to observe the Christian forms of worship. They could only get their children baptised clandestinely. Now, for the first time, they enjoyed complete religious freedom; they could build churches, and provide themselves with clergymen. They hastened in crowds to the spot where their children could be baptised; and, according to the bishop's report, their joy was as great as if they had returned to their homes from a foreign land.² Pagans and Christians lived for a time peaceably together.³ These communities, consisting of foreign Christians, scattered among the pagan population, were certainly an important preparation for the further spread of Christianity. But when the bishop proceeds to say, that nearly all the people were ready to adopt the Christian faith, we must consider this, as well as many other of his sayings, as a somewhat exaggerated statement; since other accounts, which we shall presently cite, by no means confirm the supposition, that the state of feeling was so universally propitious. Probably Pilgrim was led, by some particular interest of his own, to set forth his report on the progress of the mission among the Hungarians in somewhat exaggerated colours. The truth was that, like his predecessors, he was striving to assert his independence of the archbishopric of Salzburg; and he

¹ This letter, afterwards received into Mansi's Collection of Councils (l. c.) was first published from a manuscript in the monastery of Reichersberg in Bavaria, by Gewold, in an appendix of diplomas to the *Chronicon Monasterii Reicherspergensis*. Monachii 1611, p. 24.

² *Gratulantur omnes tanquam de peregrinatione sua in patriam reducti.*

³ *Ita concordēs sunt pagani cum Christianis tantamque ad invicem habent familiaritatem, ut illic videatur Isaiaē impleri propheta: lupus et agnus pascuntur simul.*

defended the dignity and rights of that ancient metropolis, the long since dilapidated city of Lorch (Laureacum), whose diocese stretched onward to Pannonia.¹ And so we may suppose that, in his efforts to convince the pope (from whom, in fact, he obtained the fulfilment of his wishes) how necessary the restoration of this metropolis was to Pannonia, and to its subordinate bishoprics, he allowed himself to be betrayed into a somewhat exaggerated representation of this new sphere of labour in Hungary.²

Among the missionaries sent by this bishop to Hungary was Monk Wolfgang, from the monastery of Einsiedeln (Notre-Dame-des-Ermites), in Switzerland, who was afterwards made bishop of Regensburg. But the writer of his life relates, that he soon returned home again, having met with an indifferent reception from the people.³ No doubt it may have been the case that, owing to political events which soon afterwards occurred, whereby the quiet of these districts was again disturbed, to the war between Otho II. and Duke Henry of Bavaria, the successful progress of the mission commenced by bishop Pilgrim was interrupted; but if the enterprises of Pilgrim were really attended, in the beginning, with the favourable results he describes, and were only interrupted by these unhappy political disturbances, some intimation might be expected to be given of these independent disturbing influences, in the contemporaneous accounts; but these speak only of the general indifference and insensibility of the Hungarian people.

The banished archbishop, Adalbert of Prague (see above, p. 70), endeavoured to do something, also, toward promoting the spread of Christianity in Hungary. He repaired to that country himself, where he left his favourite and beloved disciple Radia. Both seem to have found access to the people, who were unwilling

¹ As pope Eugenius II., in his letter to Urolf archbishop of Lorch, had restored this metropolis, which is said to have had under it seven bishoprics. See the letter, first published in the above-mentioned Collection of Councils, p. 17.

² As he writes to the pope, "Et est ibi messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Inde quoque visum est jam necessarium esse, quatenus sanctitas vestra illic jubeat aliquos ordinari episcopos." And afterwards, "quod nimium grave ac valde onerosum est mihi, ut tot mei pontificii parochias solus prædicando circumeam."

³ Dolebat enim idem pontifex, bishop Pilgrim of Passau, tantum colonum in sulcis sterilibus expendere laborem. Mabillon Acta sanctorum. Sæc. v. c. 13. f. 817.

that Radia should leave the country ; which appears from the fact, that Adalbert had directed him, if he could do no better, to escape secretly, and find his way back to him.¹ From this it is at least evident, that the people were unwilling to lose their missionaries. But Adalbert himself, who, it must be confessed, wanted the true Christian patience necessary to endure the rudeness of a heathen people, was by no means satisfied with the effects of his preaching among the Hungarians. He seems to have found there a mixture of paganism and Christianity ; and Geisa, though he had received baptism, still favoured this mixture of religions. To the reproaches made to him on this account, he opposed his lordly authority ; and his wife, through whose influence he had first been led to favour Christianity, gave no evidence of a change produced by it, in her rude manners.²

Stephen, the son and successor of Geisa, who succeeded to the throne in 997, was far more deeply affected by the influence of Christianity than his father. The preaching of Adalbert and other pious men who visited Hungary, had probably made a stronger impression on him while a child.³ Immediately after he assumed

¹ He wrote to the princess Surolda : " Papatem meum (my nursling) si necessitas et usus postulat, tene, si non, propter Deum ad me mitte eum." But to Radia himself he wrote another note, to be handed to him in secret : " Si potes cum bona licentia, bene ; si non, vel fuga fugiens tenta venire ad eum, qui te desiderio concupiscit, Adalbertum tuum." See Life of Adalbert, at the 23d of April, § 22, f. 195.

² Concerning Adalbert's labours in Hungary, it is said in the above cited history of his life (c. vi. § 16, l. c. f. 192) : Quibus (Hungaris) ab errore suo parum mutatis umbram Christianitatis impressit ; and of the wife (c. v. § 22, f. 195) : Qua duce erat Christianitas coepta ; sed inter miscebatur eum paganismo polluta religio et coepit esse deterior barbarismo languidus ac tepidus Christianismus. With this agrees what Dismar of Merseburg, in the beginning of the eighth book of his work above referred to, says of Geisa : Hic Deo vero variisque deorum vanitatibus inserviens, cum ab antistite suo ab hoc argueretur, inquit ; divitiarum mihi abundant et ad hæc agenda libera facultas et ampla potestas est ; and then he speaks of the intemperance of his wife, who, in a paroxysm of anger, had stabbed a man.

³ By the narrative of the German chroniclers of this age, it would appear that the baptism of Stephen and his conversion to Christianity were first occasioned by his contracting a marriage with Gisela. The Hungarian bishop Carthwig, who many years afterwards wrote the life of Stephen (in Actis Sanct. 2 September) says on the other hand, that he was baptised and educated in Christianity by Adalbert. We might prefer the older reports to the later and more prejudiced, especially as these admit of being easily reconciled with the doubtful Christianity of Geisa. But the fact that Stephen, from the time he assumed, while yet a youth, the reins of government, came directly into opposition with paganism, would lead us rather to conjecture, that being filled with zeal for Christianity by his education from childhood, he was resolved, as soon as he had the power of so doing, to employ it for the purpose of establishing the Christian church. The German chroniclers seem indeed to have ascribed too much to German influence. But on

the reins of government, he had to sustain a struggle with the powerful heathen party. A Hungarian prince, by name Kupan, had placed himself at the head of it, and disputed the possession of the throne. Stephen, in this war, relied on divine assistance. He made a vow to St Martin, the patron-saint of Pannonia, which was to be fulfilled in case he should gain by his intercessions the victory over his enemies.¹ The victory being gained, for which he believed himself indebted to the assistance of God, whose worship he was determined to promote in every way throughout his kingdom, and to the intercession of St Martin, he was more strongly confirmed in his zeal for Christianity. His religious and his political interests were closely connected. He sought alliance with the political and the ecclesiastical² heads of Western Christendom. He married the Burgundian princess Gisela, widow of duke Henry of Bavaria, sister of St Henry II., and kinswoman to the emperor Otho III.; and with the latter he entered into a strict alliance, which procured for him the royal dignity. He invited monks and clergymen from all quarters into his kingdom;³ though it may be doubted whether most of them were capable of instructing the people in their spoken language. He invariably showed the greatest respect for ecclesiastics and monks, and sought in every way to promote their influence among the people. He endeavoured to soften their manners, by new laws imbued with a more Christian spirit. Yet certainly, many foreign means were also employed to effect the suppression of paganism and the introduction of Christianity; and the consequence of this

the question whether Stephen was baptised by bishop Adalbert or not, nothing certain can be said, in the absence of more distinct accounts concerning the repeated missionary labours of Adalbert in Hungary.

¹ He says himself, in the deed of privilege granted to the abbey of St Martin in fulfilment of this vow: *Singulare suffragium, quod per merita B. Martini in pueritia mea expertus sum, memoriæ posterorum tradere curavi.* See Ragnaldi *Annales* at the year 1232, No. 24, and in the *Actis Sanct.* at the 2 September, the *commentarius prævius* to his biography, § 15.

² The accounts respecting the latter, however, are exaggerated. In his exhortations to his son we find no indications of a peculiar devotion to the pope.

³ In the life of two Polish monks, composed by a contemporary, bishop Maurus of Fünfkirchen. These two monks were Zoerard and Benedict, who came to Hungary for the purpose of assisting in the establishment of the new church: *Tempore illo, quo sub Christianissimi Stephani regis nutu nomen et religio Deitatis in Pannonia rudis adhuc pullulabat, audita fama boni rectoris, multi ex terris aliis canonici et monachi ad ipsum, quasi ad patrem confluebant.* See *Acta Sanctorum mens. Jul. T. iv. f. 326.*

was, that the Christianity thus imposed was not seldom rejected again; hence laws must be enacted for the punishment of apostasy from Christianity, and for its neglect; and hence later reactions from paganism, which had been suppressed by force. When, in the year 1003, Stephen conquered Siebenbürgen, he enforced the adoption of Christianity in that district, as also in a part of Wallachia.¹

In the exhortations and maxims of government which he drew up for the use of his son and successor, Emmerich (Henry), he has left behind him a proof of his devout temper of mind, as well as of that peculiar form of piety which was determined by the ecclesiastical spirit of his age.²

By his pious zeal, and meritorious efforts for the extension of the Christian church, Stephen attained to the honours of a saint. But it was, as we have already intimated, in consequence of the manner in which the Christian church was planted by him in Hungary, that the way was prepared for a reaction by a pagan opposition-party, who had made some attempts at insurrection even under the reign of Stephen himself, and who continued them into the succeeding times,—a party opposed to the political, as well as the religious, principles by which Stephen aimed to change the condition of the people.³ Twice in the course of the eleventh

¹ The law of Stephen: *Si quis observatione Christianitatis neglecta et negligentia stoliditate elatus, quid in eam commiserit, juxta qualitatem offensionis ab episcopo suo per disciplinam canonum judicetur.* If he refused to submit to the penalty imposed on him, it should be made more severe. *Tandem si per omnia resistens inveniatur, regali judicio scilicet defensori Christianitatis tradatur.* See *Actis Sanct. mens. septr. T. i. f. 548.*

² He says among other things to him: *Observatio orationis maxima acquisitio est regalis salutis. Continua oratio est peccatorum ablutio et remissio.* He advises him, whenever he goes to church, to imitate the example of king Solomon, and pray to God for wisdom, 1 Kings, ch. iii. Well worthy of notice is the manner in which he speaks of the church, as the community of saints founded on Christ, the Rock; for this interpretation of Stephen's words is after all the most natural, judging from the connection; though it is not to be denied, as has been observed in opposition to this view, that in the latinity of this period, the reflexive pronoun is often used instead of the demonstrative. The words are as follows: *Ipse Dominus dixit Petro, quem custodem magistrumque eidem posuit sanctae ecclesiae; tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam. Se ipsum quidem nominabat petram, verum non ligneam vel lapideam super se aedificatam ecclesiam dixit; sed populum acquisitionis, gentem electam, divinam gregem fide doctum, baptisate lotum, chrismate unctum, sanctam super se aedificatam ecclesiam dixit.* See *Acta Sanct. l. c. f. 544.*

³ Yet even Stephen had exhorted his son to respect the ancient national spirit. *Quis Graecus regeret Latinos Graecis moribus? aut quis Latinus Graecos Latinis regeret moribus? nullus.*

century this party succeeded in re-establishing the pagan worship, to accomplish which they took advantage of the political revolutions in 1045 and 1060, under king Andrew and king Bela; yet these were but transient efforts; and by force or by craft the Christian monarchs contrived to defeat the opposition.¹

Such were the facts connected with the extension of Christianity in this period. We must now turn to the opposite side, and consider the checks and hindrances which it had to encounter. In the preceding period, we took notice of the check which was given to the progress of the Christian church in Spain by the supremacy of the Mohammedan Arabians. Still the Christians were allowed by the laws to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and on this score they suffered from the civil authorities no disturbance or restraint whatsoever. Thus they remained down to the year 850 in the full enjoyment of tranquillity and peace. Christians were employed at court, and in the administration of civil and military trusts, without a suspicion being excited that they were acting inconsistently with their religious convictions.² Clergymen and monks, who were skilled alike in the Arabic and Latin tongues, were preferred before all others as translators in the negotiations with Christian princes.³ Men who regarded the preservation of the ancient culture which had arisen from the study of Roman literature, and the scriptural knowledge drawn from the Latin versions of the Bible, as matters of supreme importance, complained that the youth neglected the Latin and Christian literature for the Arabian and Mohammedan.⁴ Marriages were not seldom contracted

¹ See Joh. de Thwroez *Chronica Hungarorum*, c. 42 and c. 46, in Schwandtner *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, T. i.

² See many examples in the *Memoriale Sanctorum* of the presbyter Eulogius of Cordova, which is an important source of information with regard to the condition of the Christian church at this time in Spain—to be found in the iv. vol. of Schott's *Hispania illustrata*, and in the *Bibliothecæ* of the church-fathers, and in another important work connected with this subject, the *Indiculus luminosus*, composed by Paulus Alvarus of Cordova, a friend of Eulogius;—also in the *España Sagrada* of Florez, T. xi. ed. iii. Madrid, 1772, p. 219, f. § 9. *Qui palatino officio illorum jussis inserviunt.*

³ The abbot Samson of Cordova says in his *Apologeticus*, l. ii. p. 385: *España Sagrada*, T. xi. *Appellatus ex regio decreto ego ipse, quatenus, ut pridem facere consueveram, ex Chaldæo sermone, in Latinum eloquium ipsas epistolas deberem transferre.*

⁴ With such a complaint, Paul Alvarus concludes his *Indiculus Luminosus*: *Nonne omnes juvenes Christiani gentiliã eruditione præclari, Arabico eloquio*

between Mohammedans and Christians; and in such cases it sometimes happened, that the husband converted the wife, or the wife the husband, to Christianity; that children, educated as Mohammedans, became Christians; and fierce contentions sprang up between brothers and sisters, when one followed the faith of the father, the other that of the mother. But under such circumstances, persecutions might easily be engendered; since, according to the Mohammedan laws, apostasy from that faith must be punished with death. And though the Christians were not otherwise oppressed by the civil authorities, than by being obliged to pay monthly a high poll-tax, and were not disturbed in the free exercise of their worship which was guaranteed to them by the laws, yet the signs of the Christian profession could hardly fail to expose them, in the midst of Mohammedan fanaticism, to various sorts of insult and abuse from the populace. Clergymen could not appear in public without being accosted by the fanatical multitude with jeers and scoffings. Boys cried after them in the streets, and stones were thrown at them. Whenever the dead were buried with the usual solemnities of the church, the infidels were followed by the populace with curses. The ringing of the church-bells afforded occasion for abusing the Christians and the objects of their faith.¹ By such insults, men might easily be excited,

sublimati volumina Chaldæorum avidissime tractant et ecclesiæ flumina de paradiso manantia quasi villissima contemnent. Heu prodolor! linguam suam nesciunt Christiani, et linguam propriam non advertunt latini, ita ut omni Christi collegio vix inveniatur unus in milleno hominum numero, qui salutaris fratri possit rationabiliter dirigere literas.

¹ This situation of the Christians is described by men who afterwards defended the martyrs from the reproach of having been the means of interrupting the relations which secured the Christians in the enjoyment of peace and quiet. Thus Paulus Alvarus says in opposition to those who boasted of the peace which had been enjoyed till that time (*Indiculus Luminosus*, p. 229): *Quotidie opprobriis et mille contumeliarum facibus obruti persecutionem non dicimus nos habere! Nam, ut alia taceam, certe dum defunctorum corpora a sacerdotibus vident humo dando portare, nonne apertissimis vocibus dicunt: Deus non miserearis illis, et lapidibus sacerdotes Domini impetentes, ignominiosis verbis populum Domini denotantes, etc. Sic itidem cum et sacerdotes lapides, ante vestigia eorum revolventes ac infami nomine derogantes, vulgari proverbio et cantico inhonesto suggillant, et fidei signum (the sign of the cross, which the Mohammedans, though they recognised Christ as a prophet, yet refused to respect, because, according to a story received into the Koran, they supposed some other person was crucified in the place of Christ), opprobrioso elogio decolorant. Sed cum basilicæ signum, hoc est tinnientis æris sonitum, qui pro conventu ecclesiæ adunando horis omnibus canonicis percutitur, audiunt, infanda iterando congeminant, et omnem sexum, universamque ætatem milleno contumeliarum infamio maledice impetunt. So Eulogius, in the *Memoriale Sanctorum*, l. i. l. c. f. 247: *Causa religionis eorum**

especially in this sultry climate, to retaliate wrong for wrong, and ridicule the prophet of the Arabians. From words, they would proceed to acts; and this perhaps proved the occasion of the first effusion of Christian blood; for in accordance with the principles of the Koran, a law had been enacted, that whosoever blasphemed the prophet, or offered to strike one of the faithful, should be punished with death. Whosoever insulted one of the faithful, should be scourged.¹

The Christians themselves, however, were not of one mind with regard to the principles of conduct which duty required them to observe under these difficult circumstances; but, as in earlier times,² they were divided into two parties, the rigid and the more liberal. The one party thanked God for the liberty allowed to Christians, even under the rule of unbelievers, to confess and to practise the principles of their faith. They thought everything ought to be done to preserve inviolate this liberty of conscience and security; that conformably to the scriptural precept, every act should be avoided which could furnish the unbelievers any occasion, real or apparent, for persecuting the Christians; that all abusive language should be carefully avoided. They considered it a duty to employ every means, not involving a denial of the faith, to preserve and foster the friendly relations subsisting between them and the Mohammedan magistrates. Nor would they hesitate to accept offices under them, and in so doing sought to avoid everything that might give offence. Others, on the contrary, looked upon such conduct as being already a violation of the duty to confess Christ before men, and not to be ashamed of

sævitiâ ubique perpetimur, adeo ut multi exiis tactu indumentorum suorum nos indignos dijudicent, propriusque sibimet accedere execrentur, magnam scilicet coinquinationem existimantes, si in aliquo rerum suarum admisceamur.

¹ That blasphemy of the prophet was to be punished with death, appears from the history of the martyrs; and when the abbot John of St Gorze, near Metz, visited Cordova as ambassador of the emperor Otho I., he heard this stated: *Eis in legibus primum dirumque est, ne quis in religionem eorum quid unquam audeat loqui, civis sit vel extraneus, nulla intercedente redemptione capita plectitur.* The king himself forfeited his life, in case he heard such blasphemy, and failed to punish it with death. See the *Vita Joannis Abbatis Gorziensis*, at the 27th of February, § 120, f. 712. In the *Indiculus Luminosus*, § 6, is cited the law: *Ut qui blasphemaverit, flagelletur, et qui per cusserit, occidatur.* That the blasphemy in this instance cannot refer to a blaspheming of Mohammed, may be gathered partly from the connection, and partly from the judicial mode of procedure already mentioned.

² Vol. i. p. 357.

him. Paul Alvarus, of Cordova, one of the fiercest representatives of this class, casts it as a reproach upon the Christians, that by accepting offices at court they became guilty of participating in infidelity, since they were afraid to pray and cross themselves before the unbelievers, and dared not openly confess the deity of Christ in their presence, but mentioned him only as the Word of God and the Spirit, titles which were also given to him in the Koran.¹ He styles them leopards, taking upon themselves every colour. He accuses them of adopting Christianity only by halves.² He says, that for the sake of the monarch's favour and of temporal aggrandisement, they were willing to take up the sword to defend unbelievers against their own brethren in the faith.³ "Day and night," says he, "is heard from the turret (the minaret), the voice which blasphemes the Lord, by extolling, at the same time with him, the lying prophet;⁴ and woe to our times, so poor in the wisdom of Christ, that no man can be found to erect, according to the command of the Lord, the banner of the cross over the mountains of Babylon and the dark towers of pride, and present to God an evening sacrifice."⁵

Both parties, by proceeding in these different directions, may

¹ In the *Indiculus Luminosus*, § 9: Cum palam coram ethnicis orationem non faciunt signo crucis oscitantes frontem non muniunt, Deum Christum non aperte coram eis, sed fugatis sermonibus proferunt, verbum Dei et Spiritum, ut illi asserunt, profitentes, suasque confessiones corde, quasi Deo omnia inspicienti servantes.

² Quid his omnibus, nisi varietatem pardi zelo Dei zelantibus sibi inesse ostendunt, dum non integre, sed medie Christianismum defendunt?

³ Contra fidei suæ socios pro regis gratia et pro vendibilibus muneribus et defensione gentilium præliantes.

⁴ This public proclamation: "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet," was a specially sore grievance to zealous Christians. They were wont, whenever they heard this cry, to pray God that he would deliver them from the sin they were obliged to hear, and repeated Ps. xcvi. 7, "Confounded be all they that serve graven images, that boast themselves of idols," words which certainly did not apply to the Mohammedans. Eulogius, of Cordova, who cites this in his *Apologeticus Martyrum*, f. 313, relates, that his grandfather, whenever he heard this cry from the minaret, was wont to sign the cross on his forehead, exclaiming with a sigh: "Keep not thou silence, O God, for lo, thine enemies make a tumult, and they that hate thee have lifted up the head." Ps. lxxxiii. 1, 2.

⁵ Ecce et quotidie horis diurnis et nocturnis in turribus suis et montibus caligosis Dominum maledicunt, dum vatem impudicum, perjurum, rabidum, et iniquum, una cum Domino, testimonii voce extollunt. Et heu et vae huic tempori nostro, sapientiæ Christi egeno, in quo nullus invenitur, qui juxta jussum Domini tonantis ætherii super montes Babylonæ caligosasque turres superbiæ crucis fidei attollat vexillam sacrificium Deo offerens vespertinum.

very possibly have missed the course which should have been pursued ; but in a case where such elements for violent collision already existed, and a religious tendency of the sort we have just described was lying at the bottom, it certainly needed but a slight occasion to provoke persecutions on one side, and a fanatical enthusiasm for martyrdom on the other.

Yet the first who suffered as a martyr in Spain by no means belonged to that fanatical class, but rather to the more prudent and temperate party. He was a priest by the name of Perfectus, attached to a monastery in Cordova, then the residential city of the Arabian caliphs. Sometime in the year 850, under the reign of Abderhamen II., Perfectus, while on his way to the city to make some purchases for his convent, fell into company with a party of Arabians. They asked him many questions about Christianity, and the views entertained by the Christians respecting Mohammed. The last inquiry he strove to evade, telling them he was loth to answer it, because he feared he might annoy them by what he would be obliged to say. Finally, however, he concluded to inform them, since they invited him to speak frankly, and promised him that whatever he said, it should not be taken amiss. He then proceeded to represent Mohammed, for reasons which he assigned in detail, as one of the false prophets foretold by Christ, among the signs of the last time. To all this the Arabians listened with ill-suppressed anger ; yet for the present they let the priest go unharmed, that they might not break their promise to him. But the next time he appeared in public, they seized and dragged him before the judge, where they accused him as a blasphemer of Mohammed. It was the season of the Mohammedan fast. He was therefore for the present loaded with chains, and thrown into prison. Some months afterwards, on the Mohammedan Easter, he was again brought forth ; and as he steadfastly confessed his faith, and instead of retracting only confirmed what he had said about Mohammed, he was condemned to death, and perished by the sword.¹ The long repressed rage of the Mohammedans against the enemies of their faith having once broke loose, it soon found a second occasion for manifesting itself. John, a Christian merchant, and a peculiar object of their hatred, was arraigned before the tribunal, where he was accused of having

¹ See *Eulogii Memoriale Sanctorum*, l. ii. c. 1.

often blasphemed the prophet while disposing of his goods in the Bazaar. As the charge could not be clearly proved, the judge attempted to force him to deny his faith by resorting to the scourge. After having been beaten till he was half dead, he was thrown into prison; then he was driven through the city, sitting backwards on an ass, with a herald proclaiming before him, "This is the punishment of the man who dares blaspheme the prophet." But as he firmly persisted in confessing his faith, he too was executed.¹ Next appeared before the judge a young man by the name of Isaac, from the monastery of Talanos, eight miles distant from Cordova, where an unusual degree of fanatical excitement prevailed. He pretended that he had come for the purpose of obtaining a better knowledge of the Mohammedan religion, with a view of embracing it. The judge, pleased with the idea of gaining so important a proselyte, took pains to expound to him the doctrine of the prophet. But great was his rage, when the monk, instead of being convinced, undertook to refute what he had advanced, at the same time vilifying Mohammed, whom he represented as a detestable impostor and seducer of mankind. The matter was reported to the caliph, who ordered the monk to be executed. A mistaken fanatical zeal of this sort, to confess Christ before the unbelievers, now spread abroad like an infection, seizing upon that tendency to extravagant asceticism which existed before. From the mountains, deserts, and forests, monks came forth to lay down their lives for the truth.² Among these crowds who, yielding to a fanatical impulse, sacrificed their lives without any reasonable object, were young men and women belonging to the first families of the land. Sometimes, however, they did not present themselves of their own accord as voluntary sacrifices; but Mohammedan relatives took advantage of their descent from Mohammedan families, whether on the father's or the mother's side, to complain of them as apostates. Thus Flora,³ for example, was a young unmarried woman descended from parents of mixed religion, her father be-

¹ Eulog. i. l. c. f. 242, and the *Indiculus luminosus*, § 5.

² Eulogius of Cordova says concerning the manner in which the example of martyrdom operated (*Memorial Sancto.* l. ii. c. i. near the end): *Multos otio securæ confessionis per deserta montium et nemora solitudinum in Dei contemplatione fruentes ad sponte et publice detestandum et maledicendum sceleratum vatem exilire coëgit.*

³ See Eulogius *Memoriale*, l. ii. c. 8.

EULGIUS AND ALVAR ENCOURAGE THE FANATICS.

ing an Arabian and a Mohammedan, her mother a zealous Christian. The mother had educated her in Christianity, and from childhood she manifested a temper of sincere and ardent piety. Her brother being a bigoted Mohammedan, disputes could hardly fail to arise between the two on the matter of their faith; and the fanatical brother, when he found that all the pains he took to convert his sister were unavailing, grew exasperated against her. He accused her as an apostate. She assured the judge, that on the contrary, she had never been a Mohammedan, but had been brought up from infancy as a Christian. The judge ordered her to be severely scourged, that she might be forced to a denial. But as she continued steadfast, and never uttered a syllable against Mohammed, he dismissed her. She spent some time in retirement; but finally felt constrained to present herself again before the judge, and not only confess her own faith, but testify against Mohammedanism and its prophet. She did so, and was executed.

There were not wanting both ecclesiastics and laymen, who disapproved altogether the conduct of those that were so ready to offer themselves as voluntary victims. These consisted partly of such as feared, and wished to avert the bad consequences which threatened the peace of the Christians; and in part of such as were convinced that this was not the right way to confess Christ, but directly at variance with the teaching and example of our Lord and of the apostles. They looked upon such conduct as the effect of pride, from which no good could result, and as manifesting a want of that Christian love, which ought to be shown even unto unbelievers. They knew that reviling and abuse formed no part of Christianity, and that by such means the kingdom of God could not be promoted.¹ But two men, who at that time stood high in the veneration of Spanish Christians, the priest Eulogius, afterwards bishop of Toledo, and Paul Alvarus, his friend, hurried on by a fervent but passionate zeal, which lacked the cool composure of good sense, laboured in opposition to these more prudent views; and their whole influence went continually to kindle and cherish the flame of enthusiasm. The caliph Abderhaman required the metropolitan Recafrid, archbishop of Seville, under whom the church of Cordova stood, to

¹ See the *Memoriale* of Eulogius, l. i. f. 245.

employ his ecclesiastical authority, which the caliph himself intended to back by that of the state, to restore the public tranquillity. The archbishop issued an ordinance, forbidding this uncalled for appearance before Mohammedan tribunals; and when Saul, bishop of Cordova, who was doubtless under the influence of Eulogius, stood forth in defence of the party attacked by the metropolitan, the latter caused all obstinate ecclesiastics, at the head of whom stood Eulogius, to be thrown in prison.¹ From his place of confinement, Eulogius addressed to the Flora above-mentioned, and to Mary, her friend and companion in suffering, a letter, exhorting them to confront martyrdom with firmness, and confirming them in the persuasion, that they had done right in abusing the false prophet. The young women had been informed how much injury this conduct had done to the church;—the communities had been deprived of their clergy, the priests lay in chains, no more offerings could be made at the altars. He told them, they should reply, a broken and contrite heart is a sacrifice well pleasing to God. Such a heart and a humble spirit would be accepted of God, even without any other offering. The Lord would not suffer his confessors to be put to shame. But that they had done wrong in abusing the false prophet whom men would persuade them to follow,—this they could not own, without denying the truth. As it is the peculiar method of enthusiasm to direct every feeling at a single point, leaving every other human interest, which Christianity holds sacred, to contemptuous neglect, so it was in the case of Eulogius. Following this peculiar bent, he exhorted those who aspired after the crown of martyrdom, but by many domestic ties were still reminded of the duty of self-preservation, to rise above all such subordinate considerations.

A young man, Aurelius, descended on his father's side from a Mohammedan, and on his mother's from a Christian family, but who had lost his parents in early life, went to live with his aunt, a pious Christian, under whose care he was brought up; and by the lessons of Christian piety with which she imbued his mind,

¹ See the Life of Eulogius, by Alvar, in Schott iv. f. 224, also in the *Actis Sanctorum*, in vol. ii. at the 11th of March, see c. ii. Eulogius was confined at first in one of the subterranean chambers, or caverns, which were first used by the Arabians of Spain as dungeons, and then were afterwards made to serve the same purpose.

he escaped the influence of his Mohammedan teachers, who, while they instructed him in Arabic literature, endeavoured at the same time to gain him over to their religion. He remained a zealous Christian. Next he married Sabigotha, a young woman of like Christian zeal, who also, by a particular providence, had been saved from the influence of Mohammedanism, and conducted to Christianity. Both her parents were Mohammedan; but her father having died early, her mother married a second husband, who was secretly a Christian. The latter took every pains to convert his wife to Christianity, as well as to train up his step-daughter in the same faith; and she received baptism. Aurelius was a witness of the transaction, when John the merchant, after enduring so much suffering, was exposed to the insults of the multitude. This spectacle led both him and his wife to resolve on preparing themselves, by a rigidly ascetic life, for the suffering of martyrdom. But the anxiety which he felt for his two young children, who, left behind as orphans, would be surrendered over to the influence of Mohammedanism, still kept him back. He made known his scruples to Eulogius. The latter exhorted him not to allow himself to be deterred by such considerations from following his call to wear the crown of martyrdom; but to place his trust in God, the Father of the fatherless, who, without his aid, could preserve his children in the faith; pointing him to children of Christian parents, who had apostatised from the faith, and to other children of unbelieving parents, who had been led to embrace it. Aurelius, together with his wife, afterwards found the martyrdom which they sought.¹ Two other Christians, one an old, the other a young man, repaired to a mosque where the people were assembled; and, as preachers of repentance, announced the wrath of God against unbelievers, while they reviled Mohammedanism and the false prophet.² The assembled multitude were excited to a frenzy of madness, and the two Christians would have been torn in pieces, had not the civil authorities interposed, and conveyed them off. As they had desecrated the holy place, they were sentenced, first to loose

¹ See Eulog. *Memoriale Sanctorum*. l. ii. c. 10. Eulogius states, that the daughter, left an orphan when eight years old, begged him to give an account of the life and sufferings of her parents. When Eulogius then asked her, what she would give him for it, she answered: Father, I will pray the Lord to reward thee with Paradise.

² L. c. l. ii. c. 13.

their hands and legs, and then to be beheaded. These incidents aroused the suspicions and anxiety of the caliph, and the Christians were threatened with a general persecution. Many were executed; many sought safety in flight, and wandered about without a home. Even such as partook at first in the enthusiasm of the martyrs, now declared against them; they imputed it to them, that the quiet of the church had been destroyed, and pronounced them the authors of all the evils which the Christians were now called to suffer. The caliph required the two Spanish metropolitans, the archbishops of Toledo and of Seville, to call an ecclesiastical assembly, for the purpose of devising measures to prevent the disturbances of the public tranquillity; and a council at Cordova, in the year 852, made an ordinance, that for the future no one should rush unbidden to make confession before the magistrate.¹ Soon after the caliph Abderhaman died, and his successor, Mohammed, dismissed every Christian from the places of trust at court and in the state. Under his reign, their situation became more unpleasant than ever; while there were individuals still who presented themselves before the tribunals, and courted martyrdom. Many were driven by fear to deny. Eulogius, who by his exhortations had stimulated numbers to confess and suffer martyrdom, was himself one of the very last victims. The occasion was as follows:² Leocritia, a young woman, belonging to a considerable family wholly given to Mohammedanism, had in early childhood been won over to Christianity, and induced to receive baptism, by the pious efforts of a relative who was a devoted Christian. In vain did her parents seek, by friendly words, then by threats, and finally by corporeal chastisement, to bring her off from Christianity; but, as Alvarus says, the flame which Christ had enkindled in the hearts of the faithful, could be subdued neither by fear nor by force. That she might not expose her faith, however, to constant jeopardy, but live in the free enjoyment of it, she resolved to flee from her parents' house, and contrived, by means of Eulogius, the main support of

¹ Eulogius says (l. ii. c. 15 l. c.), that out of fear they dared not openly express their convictions, that they resorted to dissimulation, to an equivocation which he thought inexcusable, non inculpabile simulationes inconsultum, in that they were still for holding in honour the memory of those martyrs. To be sure, Eulogius, with all his enthusiasm for those martyrs, can hardly be considered an unprejudiced witness.

² Alvar. vita c. 5.

all who suffered for the faith, that a secret place of refuge should be provided for her. But her exasperated parents succeeded in discovering the place of her retreat; and, with her, Eulogius was dragged before the tribunal. He steadfastly confessed his faith, vilifying Mohammed and his doctrine. In vain Mohammedans themselves, who respected him on account of his blameless life and extensive acquirements, told him that he was still at liberty to retract many things which he had said. He would not be shaken; and, condemned to death in the year 859, suffered the execution of his sentence with the utmost serenity and cheerfulness.

We have still to describe more fully the remarkable controversy which at that time was carried on in Spain respecting the veneration due to these martyrs. The two friends, Eulogius and Alvar, contended in their favour. The former wrote on this occasion his *Apology for the martyrs* (*Apologeticus martyrum*), the second his *Luminous Exhibition* (*Indiculus luminosus*.) Eulogius cites the following objections of his opponents to the veneration of these martyrs. "They were not worthy of comparison with the ancient martyrs; for they had not, like the latter, stood forth in the conflict with idolaters, but only with such as worshipped the same God as the Christians. They had not died like the latter a slow and painful, but a quick and easy death. They had not, like the latter, been signalised as saints by miracles. On the other hand, Eulogius maintained, that of none who refused to recognise Christ as being true God and true man, could it be said, that they worship the same true God in common with the Christians. On the different form of death nothing depended; everything on the sameness of disposition, which gives martyrdom its significance in the sight of God,—zeal for God's glory, and love for his kingdom, which disposition these confessors possessed in common with the older martyrs. In respect to miracles, they did not constitute the essential thing in faith, but were only given as the seal of faith to the church, when it was first about to be founded. As it was only by faith men could attain to the power of working miracles, so it was evident that faith had the precedence of miracles; and it remains even when miracles cease. Faith alone made martyrs: it was the root and foundation of all

the virtues; it helped the wrestler, it helped the conqueror."¹ Alvarus writes with more heat against his opponents. "The weak and timid may flee," says he, "but the strong and noble-hearted should fight." As the other side appealed to the words of Christ (Matt. x.) often quoted for the same purpose in the ancient church, where he bids those who are persecuted to flee from one city to another, he replied, Indeed they should flee, but not to keep the sacred treasure concealed, but to proclaim it everywhere. By their preaching, those ancient Christians had provoked the persecuting spirit of the heathen. Many of the ancient witnesses had voluntarily sacrificed themselves according to the example of our Lord; they had attacked governors and kings with many an opprobrious word.² You say the present is not a time of persecution; I say, on the contrary, it is not a time of the apostles, because the shepherds from whom a flame of light should go forth to pierce the darkness of the unbelievers, want the apostolic zeal; and he then proceeds to depict the shameful condition of the oppressed Christians. He next refutes the charge that the Christians had first provoked the persecution by their uncalled-for abuse of Mohammed. The two first martyrs, Perfectus the priest, and John the merchant, had not sought martyrdom, but had been forced to it by the unbelievers. Then after having endeavoured to show that the persecution had, in no sense whatever, been first excited by a voluntary self-offering of the Christians, he comes to speak of those whom he calls voluntary martyrs;³ and describes them as men who were actuated not by human passion, but purely by a divine zeal; men who could oppose no check to their own course, but must necessarily follow their divine vocation.⁴ If error, says he, must not be openly attacked, why did Christ come down to the earth? Why did he light up the eyes of the blind, without their asking, without their seeking their own conversion? Why have prophets

¹ Nihil est enim, quod sinceræ fidei denegetur, quia nec aliud a nobis Deus quam fidem exigit. Hanc diligit, hanc requirit, huic cuncta promittit et tribuit.

² Quod magis soliti estis reprehendere, multis contumeliis præsidet et principes fatigasse.

³ Spontanei martyres.

⁴ Cohibere non valuerunt cursum, quia conati sunt implere æterni sui Domini jussum.

and apostles been sent? But the proclamation of the gospel was not limited solely to the apostolic times; it was destined to reach through all ages, till all nations should be converted to the faith. Among the race of Ishmael, however, no preacher had as yet appeared, so that those confessors had first fulfilled for that race the apostolic calling?¹ He ridicules those who could not discern in the martyrs the spirit of humility, love, and meekness. In his zeal for the glory of God, he extols a holy cruelty, and holds up before them the example of Elijah, who slaughtered the priests of Baal, not with words, but with the sword.² He next considers the objection, that it was by means of those martyrs the communities were deprived of their priests, and the mass could not be celebrated. But he represents this as a divine judgment sent upon the despisers of the martyrs; and he proceeds to describe the manner in which it was customary to treat them. Those who ought to be pillars in the church, he says, appeared before the judges of their own accord, and accused these persons. Bishops, abbots, and nobles had combined to stigmatise them publicly as heretics; and martyrdom (that is, undoubtedly, voluntary self-offering) was forbidden to the people under pain of excommunication; men were bound under oaths not to do it, not to answer the revilings of the unbelievers by re-

¹ We must own, they laid down their testimony in a way which would necessarily confirm the unbelievers in their prejudice against Christianity, instead of bringing them nearer to the faith. They did just that which Christ describes as "casting pearls before swine." Occasionally, however, he so expresses himself as if the effect of this testimony was not to be taken into the account, as if it were not the spirit of love, which seeks the salvation of all, that spoke out of him; but he only meant, that the unbelievers, by having the opportunity of hearing the gospel proclaimed, should be left without any ground of excuse before the judgment-seat of God. *Et certe non aperte ut omnis creatura evangelii prædicationem dixit recipiat, sed ut prædicatio ecclesiæ omni mundo generaliter clareat, per quod ministerium et prædicatoribus inferatur debitum præmium et contemptoribus justissimum æternum sine fine supplicium, and of those martyrs: isti apostolatus vicem in eosdem impleverunt eosdemque debitores fidei reddiderunt.* What blindness of passion, to consider those unbelievers as debitores fidei, after such a preaching of the gospel.

² He says of his opponent, c. 11: *Qui in suis contumeliis elati, superbi sunt et inflexi et contra hostes Dei humiles, mansueti, simplices apparent et quieti; discant tamen a Christo, ab omnibus prophetis, apostolis seu patribus universis ad illata approbria existere humiles et dejecti et pro divinitatis ulciscendum contemptum fortes et rigidos esse debere et non pietate horum incongrua, sed crudilitate hac sancta utere.* We may surely discern already in this fiery Spaniard something of that spirit which, at a later period, kindled up in Spain the fires of the Auto-da-fé.



viling.¹ He concludes this work with a fierce attack on Mohammedanism, which he describes as a religion wholly subservient to sense, and of Mohammed, whom he represents as a forerunner of Antichrist.²

When the preponderant influence of the more thoughtful majority succeeded in putting a check on these fanatical extravagances, the Christians in Spain were permitted once more to enjoy their religious freedom. In the year 957, the monk John of the monastery of St Gorze, near Metz, came to Spain as envoy of the emperor Otho I. He was warned by the Christians of that country against doing anything which might exert an unfavourable influence on the relation of the Christians to their rulers, and cause them to lose the free exercise of their religion, and their present quiet and security. A bishop said to him: "Our sins have brought upon us this foreign domination; and the precept of the apostle Paul (Rom. xiii. 2) forbids us to resist the powers that are ordained of God. But amid these great evils, it is still a comfort that we are not prevented from living according to our own laws, that the Saracens esteem and love those whom they see observing conscientiously the Christian doctrines, that they gladly hold intercourse with them, while on the contrary they invariably avoid the society of the Jews. For the present, therefore, we consider it best, inasmuch as we are not molested in our religion, to obey them in everything which does not compromise our faith."³

¹ Cap. 15: Tuos ecclesiastice interdiximus et a quibus ne aliquando ad martyrii surgerent palmam juramentum extorsimus, quibus errores gentilium infringere vetuimus et maledictum ne maledictionibus impeterent, evangelio et cruce educta vi jurare improbitur fecimus. We may see from this, how much pains the ecclesiastical authorities took to repress these fanatical movements.

² He says of him (c. 33): Adversus Christum humilitatis magistrum erectus est et contra illius lenissima et jucunda præcepta contumacis, verbere et gladio usus est.

³ See Vita Joannis Abbatis Gorziensis, at the 27th of February, § 122, f. 713.

SECTION SECOND.

HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION.

I. PAPACY OF THE POPES.

THE most important thing in studying the history of the church constitution in this period, as well as in the middle ages generally, is to survey what was slowly and gradually done for the realisation of the church theocratical system, the full completion of which was steadily kept in view by the church, after the fundamental position had once been taken. And in order to the realisation of this system of the church theocracy, everything depended on the realisation of the idea, which required that the church should form one organic whole under *one visible head*, by which all the parts should be held together—in other words, on *the formation of the papacy*. For it was only *then* that the church could be expected to make itself independent of the influence of the secular power, and appear as God's instrument for remodelling and shaping all human relations, when it should proceed to develop itself under the guidance of an absolute head, not subject to the power of any individual monarch, and able to keep all the scattered members of the great whole united together. See vol. v. p. 144. For this reason, we must henceforth give the history of the papacy the precedence over all other matters relating to this subject. Taking this view of the matter, one phenomenon, most extensive and important in its influences, may well claim our attention in the first place—a phenomenon which proceeded from, and again powerfully reacted upon, the papal theocratic system so far advanced already towards its completion in the prevailing mode of thinking of this age; namely, the wide circulation of a new code of ecclesiastical laws, which, formed for the exclusive purpose of favouring this system, acquired great

authority by falsely assuming the names of ancient popes ; we mean the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*.

We observed in the second period, that the collection of ecclesiastical laws, drawn up by the Roman abbot Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, and containing the papal decretals from the time of Siricius downward, acquired the greatest influence in the Western church. This collection, which was widely circulated, and used in the churches of different countries, received many and various additions from the admission of other and later ecclesiastical ordinances, such as the needs of the churches of different countries would naturally call for. Such was the case in particular with the Gallic and Spanish recensions of this collection. Among these latter, there was one especially known by the venerated name of Isidore of Seville.¹ Another, however, appeared under the same name, in the ninth century, which contained a complete series of the decretals of the Roman bishops, from Clement downwards,—most of them pieces entirely unknown before, but some of them interpolated,² at an earlier period, with many alterations and inserted clauses. This fraud was so clumsily contrived, and ignorantly executed, that had the age been a little more fitted for, or less disinclined to critical investigations, and had the deception itself not fallen in with a predominant interest of the church, it might have been easily detected and exposed. Still its author did not invent and shape according to his own will the language attributed to those ancient bishops. The letters were for the most part made up of passages borrowed from far later ecclesiastical documents, which he took the liberty to alter and mutilate so as to suit his purpose and correspond with his notions, not even giving himself the trouble of removing from them things incongruous to the age in which the letters were said to have been written, and not seldom patching them together without any intelligible connection whatsoever. These ancient Roman bishops quote Scripture from a Latin translation, formed from the mixture of one made by Jerome with another that had been current in

¹ It was formed between the years 633 and 636 ; for it contains the canons of the fourth council of Toledo of the former year ; and a part of the preface to the collection, which has its natural and original place in the same, and must have been taken from it, occurs again in the Origines of Isidore, which could not have been produced after the latter year.

² As the first epistle of Clement to James, translated by Ruffinus.

earlier times. They refer to relations between the state and the church, which could not possibly have existed in the age when these letters purport to have been written.¹ We meet in them with the most extraordinary anachronisms; as, for example, that Victor, bishop of Rome, wrote concerning the contested celebration of the passover, to Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, who lived two centuries later.² The Scriptural passages cited as proofs are altered and mutilated with an effrontery and ignorance equally shameful.³

In these forged decretals, the papal theocratic system is set forth with a completeness, and pushed to an extreme, never before expressed, in any connected series of ecclesiastical laws.

The idea of an inviolable caste of priests, consecrated to God, the fundamental element out of which the entire hierarchial system was composed, and the basis on which it reposes, was here brought out and defended by employing and perverting scriptural texts, especially from the Old Testament, in a manner the most bold and the most directly at variance with the spirit of the gospel. The priests were represented as the apple of God's eye, the *familiares Dei*, the *spirituales*, as opposed to the *carnales*, the term which was applied to the laity. Whoever sinned against them, sinned against God himself, as they were the representatives of God and Christ. Men were to see Christ in them. The priests were subject to no secular tribunal; on the contrary, God had constituted them the judges over all. The passage in Ps. lxxxii. 1 was often applied to them, "God standeth in the congregation of the mighty, *he* judgeth among the gods." All who were oppressed

¹ To mention but one example, the Roman bishop Zephyrinus, in his ep. ii., at the close of the second century, *under pagan emperors*, speaks of the expulsion of the bishops, which was forbidden by the *præcepta imperatorum*.

² But he here doubtless was confounded with a bishop Theophilus of Cæsarea, in Palestine, mentioned in the church history of Ruffinus;—hence the anachronism.

³ Thus, for example, in the first letter of Anaclete, the words spoken by the Sodomites against Lot, Gen. xix. 9, are brought forward as evidence against peregrina judicia in ecclesiastical matters; but they are cited as the words of God. Unde et Dominus mentionem faciens Loth per Mosen loquitur, dicens. Again, what is said in Heb. ix. 13, of purification by the blood of Christ, as contrasted with the lustrations of the Old Testament, is applied to prove the magical purifying power of consecrated water, in the first letter of the bishop Alexander. Nam si cinis vitulæ adpersus sanguine populum sanctificabat (the words ad emendationem carnis, which did not suit the purpose, must of course be left out) atque mundabat, multo magis aqua sale adpersa divinisque præcipibus sacrata, populum sanctificat atque mundat.

should be able to look to the priests, and with them find protection. It is carefully inculcated, that bad priests, if they do not fall from the faith, must be tolerated, as sent by God; and that the laity could in no case be set as judges over them. Complaints against ecclesiastics are hedged round with the greatest possible number of difficulties. And in that state of the church, where a large portion of the clergy were so destitute of personal dignity, it was in truth necessary, in order to maintain the dignity of the priesthood, that it should be rendered as independent as possible of personal worth. If the priests should once come to be regarded as organs for the transmission of magical virtues—as it is made a prominent point in these decretals, that by the priest's words Christ's body is produced,—with this would easily be associated the idea that, although it was greatly to be wished the priests should by their personal character always prove to be worthy organs, yet, even independently of this personal worth, they must ever be regarded with reverence as the vehicles through whom these divine virtues are communicated to men. The inviolability of the church is sharply defined and strongly insisted upon, as well with reference to the property as to the persons consecrated to its service. A trespass against this inviolability is represented as sacrilegium, a sin against God, the most enormous of crimes.¹

The principles inculcated with regard to the objective importance of the priesthood generally, were now applied especially to the office of bishops, as those to whom the power to bind and to loose had been given by Christ. Men should respect even the unjust decision of a bishop; though the latter ought to be careful never to make such a decision. Thus the fear of the ecclesiastical sentence was alone to be strongly impressed on the laity.² The bishops were especially to be represented as inviolable persons, to be protected against both the arbitrary will of secular power, and also the attack of other ecclesiastical authorities, such as the metropolitans, with whom the bishops in the Frankish

¹ In the second letter of Pius, which characteristically marks the spirit of these decretals in reference to morals: *Non gravius peccatum est fornicatio quam sacrilegium; sed sicut majus est peccatum, quod in Deum committitur, quam quod in hominem, sic gravius sacrilegium agere quam fornicari.*

² In the letters of Urban: *Valde timenda est sententia episcopi licet, injuste liget aliquem, quod tamen summopere prævidere debet.*

empire were frequently in dispute. Both were closely connected in the church theocratical plan ; for the prince might be enabled, by employing dependent bishops as his instruments, to force from his station any one of them who had incurred the prince's displeasure. The only means for maintaining the independence and inviolability of the bishops, was for them to possess, in a head over the entire church, a secure refuge against every arbitrary procedure and oppressive measure, on the part of the secular power and of their ecclesiastical superiors and colleagues, to make the pope the judge over the bishops in the last resort, from whom there could be no appeal. Thus, then, was presented a coherent organism of ecclesiastical powers, evolved in a regular gradation. Over the metropolitans were placed the primates and patriarchs. But over *all* presided the bishop of Rome, as the successor of St Peter, on whom in particular Christ had conferred the power to bind and to loose. It was repeatedly inculcated, that the church of Rome was directly constituted head over all the others, by Christ himself. The episcopal chair of Peter, the princeps apostolorum, had been transferred on grounds of convenience from Antioch to Rome.¹ The church of Rome, which appoints and consecrates all bishops, is therefore the sole and sufficient judge, in the last resort, over the same, to which in all cases they may appeal.² Among the important affairs which could not be decided without the authority of the pope, belonged the cases of bishops. In one of the decretals,³ the condition is indeed expressed, that whenever an appeal is made, it should be reported to the pope. But in other places, it is expressly declared, as indeed it follows, as a matter of course, from the principle lying at the ground of these decretals, that a decisive sentence can in no case whatsoever be passed upon bishops, without the concurrence of the Romish church, as well as that no regular synod can be convoked without its authority.⁴ Hence it followed again, that the pope, whenever he thought proper, could bring the cause

¹ *Jubente Domino*, as is said in the first letter of Marcellus.

² In the first letter of Marcellus: *Ut inde accipiant tuitionem et liberationem, unde acceperunt informationem atque consecrationem.*

³ In the first letter of Anaclete.

⁴ In the first letter of Marcellus: *Ut nulla synodus fieret præter ejus sedis auctoritatem, nec ullus episcopus nisi in legitima synodo suo tempore apostolica auctoritate convocata super quibuslibet criminibus pulsatus audiatur vel judicetur.*

before his own tribunal, even where no appeal had been made, in case the bishop, as might indeed often happen under the circumstances of those times, had not dared to appeal; and the decision of the pope must be acknowledged and carried into effect without demur.¹ Moreover, it is already intimated in these decretals, that the emperor Constantine had transferred his sovereign authority in Rome to the Roman bishop.²

But whoever may have been the author of this forged collection,³ we assuredly cannot give him the credit, from anything which he exhibits in this work, of possessing the creative intellect, which would have been capable of producing, out of its own resources, a new system of ecclesiastical government, nor would any system, thus produced, have ever been able to gain such universal acceptance. He was, at all events, but the organ of a tendency of the religious and ecclesiastical spirit, which prevailed with the great mass of the men among whom he lived. He had no idea of introducing a new code; but only of presenting, in a connected form, the principles which must be recognised by every one as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the church; and it is easy to see how a man so little capable of going beyond his own narrow circle, and of rightly understanding the words of others, spoken under the circumstances and relations of other times, might conceive that he found a support for those principles in many declarations of the older fathers. In truth, even what had been said by a Leo the Great, concerning the pope's primacy over the whole church,⁴ involves the principle of all that is to be found in those decretals; though Leo could not realise, in his own age, those outlines of the ideal of a papacy which floated before his mind. But supposing that the author of

¹ Vid. Sixti ep. ii.

² Epistola Melchiadis. Ut sedem imperialem, quam Romani principes possederant, relinquerent et Petro suisque præsulibus profuturam concederet.

³ The deacon Benedictus Levita of Mentz, by adopting a great deal out of these decretals into a collection of Capitularies, compiled by him about the year 845, and at the same time, by his mode of speaking of them, exposed himself to the suspicion of having been concerned in their fabrication. It is foreign from our purpose to enter into a more full investigation respecting the origin and author of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. It was simply our endeavour to contemplate this collection as a product of the church spirit of the times, and on the side of its reacting influence on that spirit.

⁴ See vol. 100, p. 228.

the decretals was convinced it would be doing God service to bring these principles together in a compendious form, and introduce them more certainly into the practice of the church, by the use of names held in general veneration, then he might also consider a pious fraud allowable for so holy an end; for this erroneous principle, which was upheld by not a few authorities of ecclesiastical antiquity, had found admission with many, who had not been led by the influence of an Augustin to the opposite persuasion; and such an opinion must always find admission where a party-interest is confounded with the cause of God and the truth, and a party-conscience decides the course of study. Moreover, there were already to be found, in that period, many forged writings, composed in the interest of the hierarchy; for pope Hadrian himself had appealed to such, which were preserved in the Roman archives;¹ and it was by such forgeries already existing, that Alcuin was deceived, when he cited them in support of the position that the pope could judge over all, but could be judged by no man.²

Nor can it be supposed that the author of the decretals intended, by this collection, *merely* to diffuse abroad the above-mentioned principles concerning the power of the church, concerning the several grades of ecclesiastical power, and concerning the papal monarchy, and that all the rest was introduced only as occasional and subordinate matter, and to render the deception more attractive. We have no reason for denying that what he elsewhere says, concerning the external forms of the church, the magical, sanctifying effects of the sacraments, and other outward things,³ were considered by him equally important. At the bottom of all, lay the same mode of apprehending Christianity, with which this church-system was ever found to be connected. In a word, the author or authors of this collection were but the organ for expressing this rude and grossly Jewish mode of apprehending Christianity, for which many others might have served equally as well. And it is with this production, as with many others which have arisen in the

¹ See vol. v. p. 155.

² See Alcuin. ep. 92.

³ That of course being excepted, which, on the ground of those accounts contained in the *liber pontificalis*,—that untrustworthy collection of the lives of the

same manner ;¹ we see in it only the expression of a certain tendency of the ecclesiastical spirit of the age, where very little depends on the individual character of the agent employed, he being an accident, which in this relation vanishes to insignificance. But this product of the spirit of the times, by the way in which, and the authority with which, it diffused abroad the principles growing out of that spirit and opposed to the old ecclesiastical laws, reacted powerfully back again upon the spirit which gave birth to it. Nor could it fail to happen on the other hand, that the ancient tendency of the church laws should be aroused to a conflict with these new principles before they could be generally acknowledged. This conflict is the most important fact connected with the history of the papacy in the next succeeding times. But first of all it will be necessary to glance at the antecedent and preparatory circumstances of the times, that is, at the age of Lewis the Pious.

The legal order and the energy of the government under Charlemagne were not favourable to the exercise of such principles as were expressed in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. But following after the energetic reign of Charlemagne came the feeble one of the well-meaning, but, as an independent ruler, incapable, monarch, Lewis the Pious. This gave rise to many abuses, or allowed such as were repressed before to get the upper hand. Soon after followed those political disorders in the Frankish empire which grew out of the quarrels of Lewis with his sons. Distraction and weakness here gave many opportunities for the church to interfere in the political strifes. Wala, abbot of Corbie, a kinsman of the emperor, and Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, then stood at the head of the party which contended for the independence and sovereignty of the church ; and though it cannot be denied that by suffering themselves to be entangled in the interests of an excited party, these men may have been so far misled as to call that a good cause in which the most sacred duties were grossly violated, yet neither can it be concealed, that the mode of presenting to benefices, and the intrusion of rude lay-

Roman bishops,—he was obliged to say, in order to give his fictions some appearance of a historical foundation.

¹ *E. g.* the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, respecting which there are some excellent remarks in Vogt's latest work upon them.

men into the administration of the property of the church, gave occasion for much just complaint. When the reigning evils were first brought into discussion, in the year 829, the abbot Wala declared, that everything depended on keeping the line of demarcation clearly drawn between the ecclesiastical and the civil province, the king and the bishops concerning themselves only about the affairs which belonged to their respective callings.¹ But when pope Gregory IV. came to France as mediator, in the disputes between the emperor Lewis and his sons, and the rumour got abroad, that he would decide in favour of the latter, he met from the bishops belonging to the emperor's party a very unfavourable reception, and the stand which they took against him proves how far it was from being even yet a common thing in France to acknowledge the supreme judicial authority of the pope in all matters; and the consciousness of defending against the pope the cause of divine justice, contributed no doubt to render their language still more emphatic. They addressed him as a colleague; they called him brother;² they reminded him of his oath of allegiance to the emperor; they assured him that if he had come to excommunicate them, he might perhaps return home excommunicated himself; *they threatened him with deposition.*³ The pope was thrown by all this into the utmost consternation: but Wala proved to him by declarations of the old church-teachers, and of his own predecessors, that he had in no respect overstepped the limits of his authority, by interfering in these affairs, for it belonged to him, as St Peter's successor, to send his delegates to all nations to preach the faith, and to promote the peace of the church. He was judge over all, none could be judge over him. By these representations, the pope was reassured; he issued a circular letter to the bishops, reproaching them with

¹ See his Life of Paschasius Radbert. Mabillon Acta sanct. Sæc. iv. p. i. l. ii. f. 491. Habeat rex rempublicam libere in usibus militiæ suæ ad dispensandum, habeat et Christus res ecclesiarum, quasi alteram rempublicam, omnium indigentium et sibi servientium usibus suis commissam ministris fidelibus.

² The pope in his reply declares it a contradiction, to call him at once papa and frater.

³ Not only is this said by Paschasius Radbert, in the Life of Wala, l. c. f. 511, quod eundem apostolicum, quia non vocatus venerat, deponere deberent, but Gregory IV., in his letter in reply, intimates that such a threat had been expressed by them: quod minari vos cognoscimus periculum gradus. See the fragment of the letter in Agobard opp. ed. Baluz. T. ii. p. 60.

their want of respect for his authority. The bishops, seized with indignation that the pope should espouse so bad a cause, had made a distinction between the pope's person and the dignity of the apostolical chair, which they were careful to hold sacred; but the pope would not allow the validity of any such distinction, being of the opinion, that the respect due to the *cathedra pontificalis* was also due to the person who occupied it, in proof of which he alleged, that by virtue of his station, the gift of prophecy was ascribed even to a cruel and unbelieving Caiaphas. He repelled their threats, however, not merely on the ground that they had no right whatever to judge him, but because these threats were given on no sufficient cause of provocation.¹ Meantime, the authority of the pope prevailed to such a degree, that the unlawful proceedings of the sons of Lewis obtained a momentary appearance of justification in the eyes of the people, and the emperor was forsaken by the major part of his army.

A new epoch in the history of the papacy begins with pope Nicholas I. in the year 858. Not only did he with a clear consciousness of his aim, a firm consistency, and an unceremonious use of his power, attempt to realise the ideal of the papacy sketched forth in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, but he expressly cited these decretals in justification of his proceedings; and then for the first time they were introduced into the use of the church. Nicholas acted under the belief, which he also expressed, that to him was intrusted the oversight and governance of the whole church; that it was for him to see to the removal of all abuses, to the maintenance and observance of the laws, and to the punishment of injustice in the whole church; that he employed the bishops as his instruments, though entitled to do everything from the plenitude of his own power.² He conceived the plan of convoking synods in Rome, composed of bishops from different countries, so that by their collected reports the wants of the different churches might be known; of advising with these bishops, who

¹ Quantum sit absurdum et stultum, cum vestra comminatio non sit propter crimen, homicidium scilicet, sacrilegium aut furtum vel aliquid hujusmodi, sed nisi ita venerimus, sicut ipsi vultis. And: nullo nodo fieri potest, ut si is qui locum Petri tenet, exhonoratur, *sine crimine duntaxat*, cathedra ejus honorata permaneat.

² See ep. 18. to king Charles the Bald: Sedes hæc sancta atque præcipua in omnibus mundi partibus dispositione salubri cuncta ordinare proficereque divino freta procurat auxilio, et quod singulari pro auctoritate perficere valet, multorum sæpa sacerdotum decernit definire consilio. Harduin. T. v. f. 232.

could support him by their knowledge of particular nations and their circumstances, concerning the most suitable arrangements to meet these wants, and of providing by these means for the promulgation of the new ordinances in all countries.¹

It could not fail to make a salutary impression in favour of the papacy on public opinion, that the pope made his supreme judicial authority over monarchs and bishops respected in one case, where he appeared as the protector of oppressed innocence, and a punisher of prelates who had forgotten their duty; where he employed his spiritual power to compel even the mighty of the earth to respect a sacred law; where it was shown by example, how beneficially, in this rude state of society, such a power, placed at the head of the whole church governance, could operate as a check upon the immorality of arbitrary self-will. Lothaire ruled over the kingdom called after his own name, Lotharingia, accustomed to obey only his own sinful lusts, was determined to get rid of his lawful wife Thietberga, so as to open the way for his marrying the guilty Waldrade, the object of a criminal passion. To render this possible according to the laws, which made the sacrament of marriage an indissoluble contract, he took counsel of certain vile ecclesiastics, who set him upon inventing an accusation against Thietberga, to be industriously circulated in the form of a calumnious report, by means of which it was designed to procure a declaration, that the marriage-contract with her was rendered null and void. By threats and force the unfortunate woman was reduced to the necessity of resorting, as the only means of deliverance from these oppressions, and of securing for herself a peaceful retreat in a convent, to a confession, though under protest that it was extorted by force, that this calumnious report was true. A synod at Aix, composed of bishops wholly subservient to the guilty pleasures of their prince, declared Lothaire's first marriage invalid, and gave him permission to conclude the marriage with Waldrade. Thietberga afterwards made her escape, and took refuge with Lothaire's uncle, Charles the Bald, king of France, and under his protection appealed to the

¹ Si ex diversis provinciis fratres invicem convenissent, et nos consensu illorum quæ decernenda sunt decerneremus et ipsi necessitates suas referentes et nos nostras exponentes, quæ decreta fuissent melius in omnium notitiam facerent pervenire. Vid. ep. 27, ad Ludovicum Germ. et Carol. Calvum l. c. f. 245.

pope. Previously to this, Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, had protested against the proceedings of those bishops,¹ and had already declared, that the monarch, like every other man, must be strictly judged by the laws of the church. The pope brought the affair before his own tribunal. He convoked a synod at Metz for the purpose of entering into a new investigation of the whole matter, in which, however, that they might proceed more independently of the influence of Lothaire, not only Lotharingian but also French and German bishops were directed to assist; namely, two bishops from the kingdom of Charles the Bald, two from that of Lewis of Germany, his uncles; and two from the kingdom of his brother, Charles, king of Provence. Two bishops, sent by himself, were to be present as his legates; and he reserved to himself the power of confirming the proceedings of this synod, according to their report, which should be transmitted to him. He threatened Lothaire with excommunication, unless he appeared before the tribunal of this synod, afforded the satisfaction which it might require of him, and put away the sin of which he might be found guilty.² But without waiting for the pope's decision, Lothaire, in the year 862, celebrated his marriage with Waldrade, calculating that he should be able to make the synod convened by the pope at Metz for the new investigation of the matter, entirely subservient to his own will. He so arranged it by his intrigues that none but Lotharingian bishops, by presents or threats made dependent on himself,³ met at the council in 863; and the two archbishops, Thietgaud of Triers, and Gunther of Cologne, who from the first had been humble instruments of the king in the whole of this affair, had the direction of the assembly. The papal legates had also been won over to his interests by bribery. Thus the decision of the synod turned out according to the king's wishes. They drew up for the pope a respectful report of their decrees; and urged perhaps by some misgivings of conscience, these two archbishops repaired in person to Rome for the purpose of securing a favourable reception of their decision. But the object which Nicholas had in view

¹ See his tract written expressly on this subject.

² See ep. 22, ad episcopos Galliae et Germaniae, l. c. f. 237.

³ Quos vel beneficiis vel minis jam ad votum suum deflexerat, says the pope in his 55th letter to king Lewis of Germany. Harduin, T. v. f. 288.

was not simply to uphold the authority of his papal primacy, which indeed was in this case disputed by neither party, but to use this authority for the protection of a holy law, and in behalf of justice and innocence. At a synod held at Rome in the same year, he decided, after a careful investigation of all the facts, that the decrees of the synod convened at Metz, which council had presumed to anticipate the final sentence of the pope, and impertinently violated the ordinances of the apostolic chair, were null and void; that such an assembly, favouring the cause of adulterers, was not entitled to the name of a synod;¹ that the two archbishops, as men who had unrighteously trampled on the apostolical ordinances and the rules of justice, should be deposed from their episcopal offices, and rendered incapable of any priestly function. The rest of the bishops, who had subscribed their names to those foolish proceedings,² should be pardoned only on condition that, in their own persons or by their delegates, they testified their repentance³ and their submission to the decrees of the apostolical chair, from which they had received the episcopal dignity.⁴

The two archbishops, however, considered this sentence of the pope alone, without the concurrence of a larger synod composed of metropolitans, before which they should have been cited, and where their defence should have first been heard, as an act of despotic and arbitrary will. They inspired the mind of Lothaire's brother, the emperor Lewis, who was at that time in Italy at the head of an army, with violent indignation, by complaining of the grievous insult done to the envoys of that prince, in their own persons. He marched with his army to Rome, for the purpose of compelling the pope to retract his sentence, or at any rate of vindicating the injured honour of the imperial dignity. But the pope, conscious of the righteousness of his cause, and of the divine

¹ Nec vocari synodum, sed tanquam adulteris faventem prostibulum appellari decernimus.

² Gesta insania.

³ At a later period, he wrote to the bishops of Lotharingia (ep. 49, f. 263). Perhaps the evil would already have come to an end, if some of them had not looked to their own things more than to those of Jesus Christ. Quidam sibi peritura seu toxicata beneficia subtrahi metuunt, pro justitia quidem loqui renuunt, favere autem moechis tota virtute contendunt ac per hoc æternis beneficiis justo iudice decernente privantur.

⁴ Unde eos principium episcopatus sumpsisse manifestum est.

call in obedience to which he had acted, would neither allow himself to be terrified, nor consent to make the slightest concessions. He decreed a general fast and a penitential procession, that the Almighty might be entreated to inspire the emperor with a right disposition and respect for the authority of St Peter. The procession was disturbed by the rude soldiery, and the pope obliged to retire for safety to the church of St Peter, where he spent two days and two nights in fasting. Here he calmly awaited the issue. The unruffled dignity which he preserved, in the consciousness of maintaining a holy cause and of obeying a divine call, would naturally prove victorious over rude force, governed only by passion. The conscience of those who were acting, not by any fixed principles, but only by the impulse of momentary excitement, would easily be terrified by any concurrence of circumstances which they interpreted as tokens of the divine anger. A soldier, who, in the confusion which followed the disturbance of that religious procession, had dashed in pieces a cross borne by one of the priests, and held in peculiar veneration, suddenly died. The emperor himself was attacked with a fever. By these occurrences, he himself, or his wife, was thrown into great consternation. He sent her away to the pope, and became reconciled with him.

Although the emperor now dropped the cause of the two archbishops, yet the latter by no means gave up their resistance. They published a protest against the pope's sentence, and a circular letter addressed to the bishops, wherein they declared their cause to be one which involved the interests of the whole body.¹ They accused him of aiming to make himself lord over all. They declared that, satisfied themselves with the fellowship of the whole church, they would not admit the pope into theirs.² They moreover connected themselves afterwards with the patriarch Photius of Constantinople, the latter being involved in a quarrel with pope Nicholas.³ But although the two archbishops might

¹ *Nec nostræ vilitatis personam attendentes, sed omnem nostri ordinis universitatem, cui vim inferre conaris, præ oculis habentes.* See, respecting this whole event, the continuation of the *Annales Bertiniani* in *Pertz Monumentis Hist. Germ. T. i. f. 463.*

² *Te ipsum in communionem nostram recipere nolumus, contenti totius ecclesiæ communionem.*

³ See below.

adduce in their defence the principles of the older constitution of the church, yet, however much favoured by the *form* of right, the *matter* of it was too decidedly against them to enable them to succeed in contending with a power which the prevailing tendency of the times, by a principle inherent in it, was more and more determined to favour. When Gunther of Cologne, in defiance of the papal interdict, continued still to exercise the episcopal functions, this appeared to his contemporaries the impious act of a man who had forgotten there was a God.¹ The pope, on hearing of it, excluded him, and all who followed him, from the communion of the church. No intercession of princes and bishops could prevail on Nicholas to remit any part of the sentence which he had pronounced on the two prelates. The most he would allow them to hope, in case they should endeavour to retrieve the wrong they had done, and should manifest true repentance, was that he would then bestow on them other church benefices.² But he constantly insisted that they should never be restored to their episcopal rank, nor even be capable of administering again the sacerdotal office. The Lotharingian bishops humbly sued the pope for pardon, which he granted, severely reproving them at the same time for the neglect of their duty as pastors, and imputing it to their fault that Lothaire's impiety had proceeded to such an extreme. Lothaire sought in vain to win the pope by professions of submission. He offered to come himself to Rome for the purpose of justifying his conduct personally before him. But Nicholas declared, that he could not appear before him so stained as he was with sin. He ought not to attempt it; for he could neither be received with honour at Rome, nor return back with honour to his home.³ He required absolutely, that Lothaire should in the first place abstain from his criminal connection with Waldrade; that he should send her to Rome, that she might there be condemned to a suitable church penance, and that

¹ In the above cited Annals, f. 465: *Missas celebrare et sacrum chrisma conficere ut homo sine Deo præsumpsit.*

² See ep. 37, to Hinkmar of Rheims.

³ See ep. 27, to Lewis, king of the Germans, and Charles the Bald: *Cui interdiximus, et omnino interdicimus ut iter talis qualis nunc est noa arripiat, eo quod Romana ecclesia talem respuat et contemnat;* and ep. 55, to Lewis, king of the Germans: *Si contra propositum nostrum forte præsumerit, minime qua cupit honestate vel hic suscipietur vel hinc profecto regredietur.*

he should receive and treat Thietberga as his lawful wife. Nor did he suffer himself to be deceived by any pretended compliances, or rest, till in the year 865 Thietberga was given over by a papal legate to Lothaire, in the presence of the majority of his nobles, when he received her and promised on his oath, that he would treat her for the future as his lawful wife and queen. Waldrade was required to accompany the legate to Rome, but was seized and carried off during the journey. Lothaire's wickedness devised a new expedient for the gratification of his lust. By ill-treatment he reduced Thietberga to such a strait, that with her own hand, and, as she said, altogether of her own accord, she wrote to the pope, declaring that her marriage with Lothaire had never been a valid one; that Waldrade was Lothaire's lawful wife; and expressing her resolution to consecrate herself from thenceforth to a life of chastity. But even by this the pope did not suffer himself to be baulked. He replied to Thietberga in a letter written with much dignity,¹ "That he could not believe what she affirmed, since it was confuted by the reports which he had received from all pious men in Germany and France about the ill-treatment suffered by her; hence he had long foreseen that she would write to him thus." He admonished her not to suffer herself by any fear or force to be compelled to utter a falsehood, but to continue steadfast and unshaken in testifying the truth. Should she die for confessing that, it would be equivalent to martyrdom; for as Christ is the truth, it might be certainly affirmed, that whoever dies for the truth dies for Christ. For himself, he said he could not permit so great a crime to strike root, which, if it were not utterly extirpated, must redound to the ruin of many. If he let this thing go, it would come to that pass, that every husband, as soon as he began to dislike his lawful wife, would compel her by ill-treatment to declare the marriage contract invalid, and herself guilty of any crime, which might be conjured up against her.² But he also gave her to understand, that she need not have any fears for her life; for Lothaire would know for certainty, that if he dared commit so abominable a crime, or to plot against her life in any way whatsoever, he would

¹ Ep. 48.

² Sed nos, says the pope, tales fraudes præcavere debemus, et ne proficiant, in ipso novitatis eorum principio detruncare.

by so doing only prepare the way for his own ruin and that of his kingdom. But even should she die, Lothaire should never be allowed to marry the adulteress Waldrade. "Be sure of one thing," said he to her, "that in obedience to the will of that God, who is the judge of adulterers, neither will we endure, nor will the holy church allow it to happen, that Lothaire shall go unpunished, should he ever venture, after your decease, to take Waldrade again to himself.¹ Nor could he, according to the laws of the church, permit Thietberga to take the vow of chastity, except in case both the wives, of their own free accord, came to the same resolution." If, after all, the pope found it impossible to force Lothaire to the fulfilment of his duty towards his lawful wife, still it had an important influence on the moral condition of the age, that by his means a check was put to public scandals, and a just respect created for the sanctity of the laws. The same zeal for maintaining inviolate the marriage relation, was likewise shown by the pope in other cases.²

In still another contest, where the pope was brought into collision with the most important defender of the old ecclesiastical freedom, and of the old ecclesiastical laws, he came off victorious. This was an affair, in which he seems to have been more governed by the interests of the papal primacy, which inclined him to favour the appellants, than by the rights of justice and innocence; and he was here brought into conflict with a man of quite a different stamp from the wretched Lothaire, with a man who contended, and that, too, with great energy and firmness, for principles. This was Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims. Hinkmar, at a synod held in Soissons, A.D. 863, had pronounced sentence of deposition upon Bishop Rothad, with whom he had long been at variance. Rothad was accused of trespassing, in various ways, upon the metropolitan rights of his superior, and of many violations of pastoral duty. Here, however, it is necessary to bear in mind, that the accusations of Hinkmar, a passionate and ambitious man, cannot be regarded as unimpeachable evidence against a bishop who was his

¹ Unum tamen scito, quoniam nec nos nec eadem sancta ecclesia, Deo auctore, qui adulteros judicabit, Lotharium si Waldradam quandoque resumserit, etiam te decedente dimittet omnibus modis impunitum.

² As in the affair of Ingeltrud and of the count Boso.

subordinate. Rothad appealed, it is true, to the pope; and his appeal had been recognised; but it was affirmed, though not admitted by Rothad, that by a subsequent step he had taken back that appeal, and chosen the bishops themselves for his judges, so that, according to the laws of the church, respecting judges chosen by the defendant himself, no further appeal was admissible. The synod made report of their proceedings in a respectful manner to the pope, and requested him to confirm them. But Nicholas declined doing this, till he should have examined further into the matter, many other bishops having already interceded for Rothad. He insisted that either Hinkmar should at once restore Rothad to his office, upon his acknowledging that he had done wrong; or that Rothad, in pursuance of his appeal, should come to Rome, and Hinkmar personally, or by delegates, there present the charges he had against him. The pope carried his point so far as this, that Rothad, in the year 864, came to Rome and handed over to him his defence. There he remained nine months; and as no accuser, in compliance with the pope's invitation, appeared against him, the pope declared the sentence that had been passed against him invalid; and Rothad, who returned with an emphatic letter of the pope to the king and to the archbishop, was, without a word of opposition, reinstated in his office.

Still more important than the immediate object here gained, was the manner in which it was effected. That it would have been right in the pope to order a new investigation of Rothad's cause, in case the latter had persevered in his appeal, was a point on which Hinkmar and the French bishops certainly did not entertain a doubt. They simply maintained, that his appeal had been withdrawn by a later step which he had taken. This Rothad denied; and on this ground Nicholas may have considered himself justified, on a principle generally acknowledged, to bring the cause before his own tribunal. But it was upon other principles that he chiefly defended the legality of his procedure, and it was other principles which he purposely made prominent. He affirmed that, even if the supposition were correct, on which the bishops here proceeded; even if Rothad had not appealed, still they were not warranted, unless they had received plenary power for that purpose from the pope, to judge a bishop. Assu-

redly the affairs of the bishops, if any whatever, belonged to the class of *causæ majores*, reserved for the decision of the pope.¹ The principles on which Nicholas proceeded were the following, which flowed immediately out of his idea of the papacy. The care of the whole church, which is committed to the successors of St Peter, passes through all the divers organs, which form the members of the ecclesiastical body, back to the pope. Now in what way could this be applied to the case of the metropolitans, if they might act independently of the pope in a matter of so much importance, as pronouncing definitive sentence upon a bishop? The pope here stood forth as the champion of the episcopal dignity. Why should not their affairs belong to the class of *causæ majoris*, since they occupy the most important position in the church,—are pillars in the house of God? The metropolitans, in truth, did not constitute a distinct and separate order in the church; and as certainly, therefore, as it belonged to the pope alone to judge *them*, so certainly did it belong to him alone to judge bishops. The pope has to care for the whole church, hence also for all its *individual* members, even for the laity. This might suffice to show, that the pope was authorised to bring before his own judicature all affairs whatsoever, if he deemed it necessary or expedient. And we perceive here, how the bishops themselves, in things which seemed to them to be of no very great importance, contributed involuntarily and unwittingly, to lay the foundation of an unlimited papal monarchy, by occasioning or suffering that to be done in the course of ecclesiastical business, which could be made use of as an unanswerable authority to establish all its claims. The pope, for example, appealed to the fact, that almost every day, laymen, either of their own impulse, or sent by the bishops, came from different countries to Rome, to receive a definitive judgment from the highest spiritual tribunal, and that by this tribunal absolution was either given or denied them.² The pope then argued a *minori ad majus*; How absurd, that when you yourselves send the most trifling causes in

¹ *E. g.* in the letter to the French bishops, with which he sent Rothad back to France. *Etsi sedem apostolicam nullatenus appellasset, contra tot tamen, et tanta vos decretalia efferri statuta et episcopum in consultis nobis deponere nullo modo debuistis.* Harduin. T. v. f. 591.

² *Laici, quos pæne quotidie cum vestris et sine vestris epistolis ad discutiendos et judicandos suscipimus, et discussos, vel judicatos vel absolutos dimittimus.*

the church to the pope, for his decision, you should reserve the bishops, the most important members of the church, for your own courts alone.¹

To demonstrate the truth of these assertions respecting his jurisdiction, the pope, if he did not find more than they contained in the older records of the church (as undoubtedly he did), had only to cite the declarations of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, and these he cited abundantly. The French bishops, who would have concerned themselves no further about the matter, had the pope cited these decretals on any other occasion, now became suspicious, because these decretals were employed to establish that which was contrary to their own church interests. They looked into their *codex canonum* (their uncorrupted Dionysian Collection), and found in it no such laws. This difficulty they made known to the pope.² But the pope affirmed, on the other hand, that the decrees of the popes must be admitted, whether they were to be found in that collection or not. He here fell into the fallacy of reasoning in a circle, which the bishops might easily detect, since their difficulty related simply to the question,—though they may not have been so clearly aware of it themselves,—whether those decretals really proceeded from the popes, whose names they bore? Nicholas could turn to still better advantage their own logical inconsistency and incapacity for critical investigations, in matters not touching their own immediate interests; since he was able to say, that they themselves had oftentimes cited, in their letters, those very decretals, when they could make them subservient to their own purposes.³

Nicholas was possessed with the idea, that the papacy was to be the foundation pillar of the theocracy, on which the weal of the whole Christian community, in church and state, must repose: so that it must be the interest of all to defend the rights

1 Absurdum est enim, ut laicos quosque et minimos, qui sunt in ecclesiis vestris, nostro mittatis judicandos iudicio et addatis quotidiano labori, et episcopos, qui præcipua ecclesiæ membra sunt, vestræ subdatis deliberationis arbitrio.

2 Haud illa decretalia in tota codicis canonum corpore contineri descripta.

3 Cum ipsi, ubi suæ intentioni hæc suffragari conspiciunt, illis indifferenter utantur et solum nunc ad imminutionem potestatis sedis apostolicæ et ad suorum augmentum privilegiorum minus accepta esse perhibeant nam nonnulla eorum scripta penes nos habentur, quæ non solum quorumcunque Romanorum pontificum, verum etiam priorum decreta in suis causis præferre noscuntur.

of the apostolical see. "How could it be possible," he writes to king Charles the Bald of France,¹ "for us, if occasion required it, to do anything for the advancement of your kingdom, or of the churches of your kingdom, or to afford you any protection against your adversaries, if you, so far as it depends on your government, should suffer those privileges to be curtailed, by means of which your ancestors attained to every increase of their dignity, and to all their glory?"² An incidental remark of this sort gives us an insight into the connection of ideas in the pope's mind, and hints to us what extent of power he attributed to the popes, in reference to the determination of political matters. Perhaps he may have had in mind here the regal dignity of Pipin, the imperial dignity of Charlemagne. The privileges of the Roman church, says he, are the remedy against all the evils of the Catholic church;—they are the weapons against all the attacks of wickedness, the means of protection for the priests of the Lord, and for all who are in authority, as well as for all who are in any way oppressed by those in authority.³ As reference had been made to the principle of the Roman law, according to which there could be no appeal from judges chosen by the person accused; he declared, on the contrary, in perfect consistency with his theocratical standing-point, that the laws of the emperors, which the church had often employed against heretics and tyrants, were not, indeed, to be rejected; but they must be subordinated, however, to the ecclesiastical laws, and could in no case decide against them.⁴ He wrote to the bishops, that it was for their own interest to see that these privileges were maintained; for what happened to-day to Rothad, might happen to any other one of them to-morrow, and where then would they find protection?⁵

¹ Ep. 30.

² Quibus usi patres vestri omne suarum dignitatum incrementum omnemque gloriam perceperunt.

³ Privilegia Patri arma sunt contra omnes impetus pravitatum, et munimenta, atque documenta Domini, sacerdotum et omnium prorsus, qui in sublimitate consistunt, uno cunctorum, qui ab eisdem potestatibus diversis afficiuntur incommodis.

⁴ Ep. 32. Ad episcopos synod. Silvanectensis. Quod leges imperatorum evangelicis, apostolicis atque canonicis decreta quibus post ponenda sunt, nullum posse inferre præjudicium asseramus.

⁵ L. c. fol. 258.

When archbishop Hinkmar asked him to confirm their privileges to the Frank churches, he reminded him, that with the privileges of the Romish church, all others which proceeded from the latter must fall.¹ Thus, in fact, no branch of the papal theocratic monarchy, whether in relation to spiritual or secular matters, could unfold itself at any later period, which had not been already contained in the idea of the papacy, as it was apprehended by a Nicholas.

The successor of this pope, Hadrian II., who attained to the papal dignity in 867, zealously contended, it is true, for the same principles; but not with the same success. So much the louder, therefore, could that powerful defender of ecclesiastical freedom and of the old ecclesiastical laws, Hinkmar of Rheims, let his voice be heard. When, in the year 869, king Lothaire II. died, against whom, down to his death, Hadrian, like his predecessor, had maintained the rigid severity of the judge, his brother, the emperor Lewis II., ought to have been his legal heir. But his uncle, king Charles the Bald of France, took advantage of the unfavourable political situation of Lewis, to make himself master of the countries of the deceased Lothaire. He was acknowledged king by a number of Lotharingian bishops, and crowned by archbishop Hinkmar, in presence of a convocation held at Metz. Pope Hadrian declared strongly against this illegal proceeding, and threatened to resort to the authority of the church against the king, if he did not restore back to his nephew the kingdom of which he had been so wrongfully deprived. He called upon the nobles and bishops of France, particularly Hinkmar, to exhort him to make restitution. But king Charles paid as little respect as did his bishops to these representations. After dividing his kingdom with his brother Lewis of Germany, he was left still more secure in its possession. Incensed at this contempt shown to his papal authority, Hadrian repeated his representations in a still fiercer tone. He severely reprimanded the French bishops, and particularly archbishop Hinkmar. He bade the latter, if the king did not reform, to avoid all fellowship with him, on pain of an excommunication which should light upon himself. He threatened that he would himself come to

¹ Vid. ep. 28, fol. 248. Quomodo rogo privilegia tua stare poterunt, si ita privilegia illa cessentur, per quæ tua privilegia initium sumsisse noscuntur.

France. The archbishop Hinkmar upon this issued a letter to the pope, in which, under another name, he told him many bold truths. He quoted to the pope the remarks which had been made by the nobles of the spiritual and secular orders, who were assembled at Rheims, when he communicated to them the pope's declarations. This procedure, they said, was an unheard of thing. Quite differently had earlier popes and other eminent bishops acted. They had never renounced fellowship even with heretical, apostate, tyrannical princes, where it was still necessary to maintain it. But their prince was not such a person. He was a Catholic, desirous of remaining in peace with the church, and prepared to defend himself against every charge, according to the laws of the church and of the state. And to say nothing of what was due to a king, he had not even been accused and informed of his crime, according to the laws of the church and of the state, and as was required in the case of every freeman in these countries. They reminded him of that which had been done by the older French monarchs, not by apostolical fulminations, but by brave conduct in the church; how they had delivered the church of Rome from its enemies in Italy; but how, when Gregory IV. came into France, peace had thereby been disturbed, and the pope was forced to return back to Rome, not with becoming honour as his predecessors had done,¹—a hint, no doubt, at the kind of treatment which the pope had reason to expect, should he carry his project of visiting France into execution. They appealed to the testimonies of secular writings, that the kingdoms of this world were acquired and preserved by the power of the sword, and not by the fulminations of the pope or the bishops; and they appealed to holy writ, where it is said, Ps. xxii. 29, "The kingdom is the Lord's, and by him princes rule and nobles, even all the judges of the earth;" Prov. viii. 16, "And he giveth the kingdom to whomsoever he will;" Dan. iv. 17, "By the hands of angels and of men whom he employs as his ministers." And though we may object to them, says Hinkmar, that which is written in James iv.: "Your sinful passions are the causes of wars, which you wage for the sake of temporal glory; if ye prayed devoutly to the Lord, he

¹ Et ipse papa cum tali honore sicut decuerat, et sui antecessores fecerunt, Romanam non rediit.

would bestow on you all earthly goods needed for your use, and along with these everlasting blessings." For the very reason that it is the Lord who distributes kingdoms, there is need of praying to him ;—and when we appeal to the power to bind and to loose bestowed on the pope and the bishops, to all this they reply : then by your prayers, alone defend the kingdom against the Normans and other enemies, and seek not protection from us. But if *you* would have from us the protection of the sword, as *we* would have the help of your prayers, say to the pope, as he cannot be at once king and bishop, and as his predecessors regulated, as they were bound to do, the relations of the church and not those of the state, which is the business of princes,¹ so let him not order us to have for our king one who lives so remote that he could not defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagan nations, and let him not wish to make slaves of us Franks, since his predecessors laid no such yoke on our predecessors, nor could we bear it, we who hear it stands written in holy writ, that we must fight to the death for our freedom and birthright. And if a bishop excommunicates a Christian contrary to law, he deprives himself of the power to bind, but cannot deprive any man of eternal life, who is not already deprived of it by his sins. It becomes not a bishop to deny a Christian who has not shown himself incapable of reformation, his name of Christian, not on account of his sins, but on account of the investment of an earthly kingdom ; to give over to the devil one whom Christ came to redeem by his sufferings and his blood from the power of the devil.² We cannot possibly believe a pope, who declares we can participate in the kingdom of heaven on no other condition than that of receiving *the earthly* king whom he may please to give us. In his own name, Hinkmar said to the pope, that he did not see how he could refuse all fellowship with his prince, without injury both to his own soul and to his diocese.

¹ Quia rex et episcopus simul esse non potest, et sui antecessores ecclesiasticum ordinem, quod suum est, et non rempublicam, quod regum est, disposuerunt.

² Et si aliquis episcopus aliquem Christianum contra legem excommunicat, sibi potestatem ligandi tollit, et nulli vitam æternam potest tollere, si sua peccata illi eam non tollunt. Et non convenit uni episcopo dicere, ut Christianum, qui non est incorrigibilis, non propter propria crimina, sed pro terreno regno alicui tollendo vel acquirendo nomine Christianitatis debeat privare et eum cum diabolo collocare, quem Christus sua morte et suo sanguine de potestate diaboli venit redimere.

He reminded the pope of what was taught in the Scriptures and by the older church fathers, respecting the mixture of the bad and the good in the present earthly condition of the church, about the sifting process reserved for the judgment of the Lord, the obedience which every Christian owes to the powers ordained of God, the limits between the spiritual and the secular power—how even Christ paid the tribute-money, and commanded to give to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He therefore begged the pope not to bid him do that which must inevitably tend to engender a schism betwixt the episcopal authority and the regal power, betwixt the church and the state, which could not easily be removed again without injury to religion and to the church; and he concluded with expressing a wish that the pope would receive this humble representation with the same good will with which the first of the apostles not only suffered himself to be corrected for his dissimulation by a younger apostle, but even endeavoured to satisfy the doubts expressed by his subordinates, and to explain why he went to the uncircumcised Gentiles.¹ These words are aimed without doubt against the arrogant pretensions of the popes, who wanted to rule and decide alone.

Furthermore, Hadrian, like his predecessor, sought in his contest with archbishop Hinkmar, to establish *the principle*, that in the causes of bishops a definitive judicial sentence could come only from the pope.² When the nephew of this archbishop, the younger Hinkmar, bishop of Laon, had, by various acts of arrogant and wanton caprice, violated the laws of the church; when he had in the most insolent manner defied the authority of his king and of his metropolitan, and would not be persuaded by any representations to take the course of prudence and moderation, he was deposed from his office by a synod held at Douzi in 871. The younger Hinkmar, however, was buoyed up by the confidence that he need recognise no other than the pope as his judge. He had refused to acknowledge the synod as a legal tribunal, had ap-

¹ Et hanc meæ subjectionis humillimam suggestionem ea benignitate suscipite, quæ primus apostolorum non solum minoris sui apostoli redargutiorem pro simulatione suscepit verum et minorum suorum quæstionem, cur ad præputiatos intraverit, satisfacere ac lenire curavit. See this remarkable letter of Hinkmar in the second volume of his works.

² Opp. ii. Hincmar. f. 706.

pealed to the pope, and supported his protestations by various proofs taken from the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Yet the synod did not allow itself to be embarrassed by that circumstance ; they acted according to the old laws of the church, and they afterwards sent their proceedings to the pope, allowing him, conformably to the decrees of the council of Sardica, the right of reversion. But Hadrian pronounced that the sentence of the synod was rendered null by the younger Hinkmar's appeal ; he required that he, together with his accusers, should be sent to Rome, that the cause might be examined anew by a Roman synod. Thereupon, however, king Charles the Bald issued a letter couched in very strong language, in which we may plainly discern the pen of Hinkmar, against the pretensions and reproaches of the pope. "The pope should understand," he wrote, "that the French kings had ever been held the lords of the country, not the vicegerents of bishops. But what hell was that, which had nevertheless given birth to a law—a law that could not have proceeded from the Spirit of God, for it was such as no Christian and no pagan had ever expressed—that the king appointed of God, that he whom God had armed with the two-edged sword to punish the guilty and to protect the innocent, should not be allowed to judge a criminal in his own state, but must send him to Rome."¹ The pope now yielded so far as to send the king a new letter, composed in far gentler language, the whole drift and intention of which was to pacify him. This quarrel was of no slight importance, inasmuch as Hinkmar the archbishop was thereby led to expound and defend the principles of the older ecclesiastical law, against the new code grounded in the ecclesiastical monarchy of the papacy, and to make a sharp attack for the first time on the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals themselves. In his controversial writing against his nephew, Hinkmar distinguishes the universal and immutable laws given under the guidance of the Holy Spirit by the general councils, and valid for the entire church, from such as are valid only for particular times, and for particular and individual portions of the church. No individual, not even a pope, can determine anything in contradiction to the former. By them all other ordinances and determinations

¹ L. c. f. 709.

are to be tried. The latter may stand in contradiction with each other, and cannot all of them possibly be obeyed at once, for the very reason that they were passed with reference to different and changing circumstances. Hence those individual briefs of the older popes should be received indeed with especial respect, but ought not to be converted into an unchangeable rule of ecclesiastical prescription. Nothing can be derived from them to the prejudice of the universally valid immutable laws of the church. Nothing in the old constitution of the church can thereby be overturned; but the maxim must here be applied: Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.¹ He no doubt also detected the marks of unguineness in those decretals, in so far as things occurred in them, which did not correspond with the circumstances of the times from which they were said to have come; and he saw with indignation what they aimed at, and what they must bring about, if they were admitted. The whole church would be reduced to a servile dependence on an individual man. He called those *figmenta compilato* (compiled fictions), a poisoned cup besmeared with honey—because the ill-digested decretals bore on their front the venerable names of the old bishops of the apostolic chair. He compared this compilation with the forbidden fruit, which, promising our first parents independent equality with God, brought on them a miserable bondage. So, doubtless he would say, those decretals promise the bishops full freedom, and independence of the metropolitans, but make them slaves of an individual.² And addressing the bishops as if in the name of the younger Hinkmar,³ he says: “Cling only with me to this compilation, and defend it, and you shall owe obedience to no one but the pope;

¹ See the *Opusculum* 55, *capitulorum adv. Hincmar. Laudumensem*. T. ii. opp. f. 413, 420, 456, 483. *Salva reverentia sedis apostolicæ dico quia si illa, qua in eisdem epistolis continentur, et suis temporibus, congrua fuerunt, subsequentibus temporibus, ita ut in iis continentur, omnia et in simul custodiri valerent, patres nostri in conciliis leges mansuras usque in sæculi finem non conderent.*

² L. c. f. 559 and 560. *Hoc poculum, quod confecisti ex nominibus sanctorum apostolicæ sedes pontificum, quasi ad ora melle oblitum et indiscrete commixtum de quo tibi commissos clericos potionasti, et quod quibusdam episcopis obtulisti, et satanis primis parentibus nostris in paradiso obtulit, quando pomum bonum ad vescendum et pulcrum oculis ostendit, eisque dixit; quacunque comederetis ex eo, aperienter oculi vestri et eritis sicut Dii scientis bonum et malum, et quibus promisit divinitatem, tulit immortalitatem et pollicens liberam et nulli subjectam deitatis æqualitatem, captivitatibus iis intulit miseram servitutem, quos sibi complices fecerat ad iniquitatem.*

Et si forte non verbis, rebus tamen quibusdam episcopis persuadendo.

and you shall with me destroy the order of God in the community and the different grades in the episcopacy."¹ But an energetic opposition of this sort, which, however, was not carried by Hinkmar into critical details,² because this lay too remote from the bent of the age, could be of no avail against these decretals, after they had once gained a current authority in the church,³ and consistency in the application of these principles would necessarily lead continually onward from one step to another.

It was favourable for the popes who struggled for the realisation of those principles, that while they themselves were inspired by one interest, consistently pursued one idea, they seldom, on the other hand, had for their opponents men of the logical consistency and firm intellect of a Hinkmar. On the contrary, the princes and the major part of the bishops were governed entirely by their momentary interests. Thus king Charles the Bald of France, who had so decidedly supported archbishop Hinkmar in his contest for the liberty of the church, induced by a momentary political interest, yielded everything to pope John VIII., who, in the year 872, succeeded Hadrian. Desirous of having the voice of the pope on his side when aspiring after the imperial throne, against his brother king Lewis of Germany, he not only allowed the former to bestow it on him in a way which favoured the papal pretensions on this subject, but he made no objections to the step, when the pope nominated Ansegis, archbishop of Sens, primate over the French church, and apostolic vicar, whereby was conceded to him the right of convoking synods, of making known the papal ordinances to the other bishops, and of reporting ecclesiastical causes to Rome. As by this arrangement the rights of all metropolitans were invaded, Hinkmar protested against it in the strongest terms in a letter addressed to the bishops of France,⁴ where he strenuously defended the rights of the metropolitans,

¹ *Hanc tenete et evendicate mecum compilationem et nulli nisi Romano pontifici debetis subjectionem et dissipabitis mecum Dei ordinationem in communis episcopalis ordinis discretam sedibus dignitatem.*

² In direct contrast with this, is the critical skill subservient to a dogmatic interest, with which, in the time of the Gottschalkian controversies, the defenders of the strict Augustinian system disproved the genuineness of the Hypomnesicon attributed to Augustin.

³ Hinkmar (l. c. f. 476) says the country was full of those decretals.

⁴ *Opp. T. ii. f. 719.*

grounded in the universally current laws of the church; and led by his influence, the bishops declared, that they were ready to yield obedience to those decretals only so far as should be found compatible with the rights of the metropolitans, and with the ancient laws of the church. The king, however, persisted in maintaining the papal ordinance.

At the close of this, and in the first half of the tenth century, followed a very disgraceful period for the papacy. Rome became the seat of every species of corruption. The influence and rivalry of the most powerful parties attached to noble Italian families, produced in that city the greatest disturbances, where there was no power at hand to check the insolence of arbitrary will, and prevent inextricable confusion. The markgrave Adelbert, of Tuscany, combined with the vicious Roman women, Theodora and her daughter Moroza, acquired an influence which operated disastrously even on the election of the popes. The papal throne was stained with crimes,¹ which, had there been the least susceptibility for such an effect in the spiritual life of the nations, would have served beyond anything else to deprive the papal dignity of the sacred character with which it had been invested. The dominant party, grown more and more arrogant, dared, in the year

¹ That severe censor of the morals of the clergy, Ratherius, bishop of Verona, who in these times of corruption wrote from his own observation, speaks of the *generalis contemptus, ut neminem invenire eorum valeam curatorem, a vilissimo utique ecclesiæ usque præstantissimum, a laico usque ad pontificem profanas! summum!* See his tract de contemptu canonum d'Achery Spicileg. T. i. p. 347. And the same bishop now speaks, after this, of the fact, that such was the general contempt in which the ecclesiastical laws were held, that a person who, in spite of these laws, had attained to a spiritual office, and pursued the same vicious course of life when a clergyman, might be elevated to the papal dignity; and when such a pope would punish the violation of the ecclesiastical laws in any particular case, he might easily be reminded of his own greater sins, and thus be thrown into great embarrassment. "Pone quemlibet forte bigamum ante clericatum, forte in clericatu exstitisse lascivum, inde post sacerdotium multinubum, bellicosum, perjurum, venatibus, aucupiiis, aleæ vel ebriositate obnoxium, expeti qualibet occasione ad apostolatam Romanæ illius sedis. Iste igitur si illegalitate publica forte fuerit in apostolica sede locatus, quod utique patienter, ut plurima, permittere valet longanimis Deus, quem si ego adiero, veluti injuriatus ad juris ministrum, et ille nisus injurias vindicare meas, ei apostolicæ auctoritatis miserit literas, nonne ille, qui me tam sacrilege injuriavit, sed non adeo, ut iste, Deum et omnia jura tam divina quam humana,—si quidem ille me hominunculum unum, iste totum penitus mundum, ille unam adulteravit ecclesiam, iste eandem et omnes per universum orbem diffusas,—si mei causa aliquid ei (the violator of the ecclesiastical law) durius mandaverit, nonne illico ille poterit ei rescribere illud de evangelio: Quid autem vides festucam in oculo fratris tui, trabem autem, quæ in oculo tuo est non consideras?" L. c. f. 349.

956, to place on the papal throne Octavian, son of the patrician Alberic, a youth eighteen years old, who took the name of John XII.¹—the first among the popes that altered his name to a more ecclesiastical form. But he altered nothing in the vicious life which he had always pursued.² The imperial throne of Germany was the first to assist in delivering the Roman church from these abominations; and the unworthy John was himself compelled to serve as an instrument for the accomplishment of this purpose. He had invited the German king, Otho I., to assist him against his enemies, the Italian king Berengar II., and the markgrave Adelbert. He gave Otho, in the year 962, the imperial unction; but afterwards, contrary to his oath, formed an alliance with Otho's enemies. Otho, who heard complaints of him from many quarters, first remonstrated with him by means of an envoy. John offered his youth as an excuse, and promised amendment; which, however, never took place. Invited by the Romans themselves, the emperor now returned to Rome with an army, and the pope fled. The Romans having sworn that they would never elect another pope without the concurrence of the emperor and his son, he held a synod, in the year 963, in the church of St Peter, and here many grave charges were variously preferred against pope John. Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, who afterwards wrote the history of his times, acted as interpreter to the emperor, who could only express himself in the German language. The pope, instead of complying with the invitation to come and defend himself, insolently ventured to threaten the ban, which decided the course of the synod with regard to him. He was deposed; and an archdeacon of the Roman church, in good standing, was chosen pope under the name of Leo VIII.

If, after these occurrences, a new contest with the papal monarchy arose in any quarter, it would be seen, whether the abominations which had so long polluted the seat of the papal government and the papacy itself, had exerted any important in-

¹ The corrupt influence of female supremacy in Rome, and the name Joannes, which some of these unworthy popes bore, may perhaps have furnished some occasion for the fabulous legend about pope Joan in the ninth century (855.)

² An eye witness of the moral corruption in Rome, who, if we may judge from a comparison of his statements with other descriptions of the condition of Italy in these times, can hardly be accused of exaggeration, Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, says in his work *De rebus imperatorum et regum*, lib. vi. c. vi., that at that time *female pilgrims* ought to be afraid to visit Rome.

fluence on the public opinion with regard to it. Such a contest arose in France, in the time of pope John XV. In the French church, the principles of ecclesiastical freedom, so powerfully advocated by archbishop Hinkmar, always had an important party in their favour. Add to this, that at that time a new spiritual life began to emerge out of the darkness and barbarism of the tenth century. In particular, men like Gerbert, that zealous labourer for the advancement and diffusion of science, who was then secretary and president of the cathedral school attached to the church at Rheims, and Abbo, abbot of the monastery of Fleury, had united their efforts to excite a new scientific spirit and enthusiasm in France. Thus, through a small number of the clergy, of whom Gerbert formed the centre, was diffused a more liberal tone of ecclesiastical law, which would not suffer the condition in which the papacy stood at Rome in these last times to pass unnoticed. An occasion was soon presented for this party to appear on the public stage.

Hugo Capet, who had made himself master of the royal government in France, was involved in a quarrel with Charles, duke of Lotharingia, the last branch of the Carolingian family. He had bestowed on his opponent's nephew, the young Arnulph, the bishopric of Rheims, vacated by the death of the archbishop Adalbero, expecting thereby to gain him over to his political interests. But Arnulph was afterwards suspected of having treacherously opened the gates of the city to the troops of Duke Charles. Arnulph had now gained for himself a party; and as the new king, whose power was not yet fully confirmed, had so much the more cause to humour the public opinion, so in proceeding against Arnulph, he took care to conduct himself with the greatest prudence, and to bring it about, that the bishop should be sentenced by the voice of the pope himself. King Hugo, and the French bishops in his interest, applied, in the year 990, to pope John XV., and invited him, in the most respectful terms, implying an acknowledgment of his supreme jurisdiction over the whole church, to pass a definitive sentence of deposition on Arnulph, and to assist them in the appointment of a new archbishop. They went so far as to apologise in this letter for not having applied in any cause, for so long a time, to the Romish church.¹ But as the

¹ *Non sumus nescii, jamdudum oportuisse nos expetere consulta Romanæ*

other party was seeking also at the same time to gain over the pope, the matter was spun out at great length in Rome, as usually happens when men are trying to find their way out of a dubious and entangled affair. Meanwhile, the power of King Hugo had become sufficiently confirmed; and he revenged himself on the pope's authority, who refused to help him at the right moment, by proceeding in a way so much the more independent of him. To investigate this affair, the council of Rheims assembled in 991.¹ Gerbert's friend, Arnulph, archbishop of Orleans, was the soul of this remarkable assembly.

Several abbots here stood up for the principle, that the pope alone is the lawful judge of bishops, and as they cited in proof of this position passages from the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, the archbishop Arnulph hereupon took occasion to stand forth as the advocate of ecclesiastical freedom. "*We stand up for this,*" said he, "that the church of Rome must ever be honoured, on account of the memory of St Peter; and we would in nowise place ourselves in opposition to the pope's decrees. Yet she must be so honoured as not to injure the authority of the Nicene council,² which has ever been respected by this church of Rome;

ecclesiae pro ruina atque occasu sacerdotalis ordinis; sed multitudine tyrannorum pressi, longitudine terrarum semoti, desideria nostra hactenus implere nequivimus. Vid. Harduin. Concil. T. vi. p. i. f. 722.

¹ The transactions of this council were first published in full by Bongar, Frankfurt, 1600, reprinted in Mansi Concil. T. xix. f. 109. To be sure, a suspicion might arise about the authenticity of these records (and this is the argument against them on which the papal party has always insisted) from the circumstance that this account proceeds from a man who was himself a party in the case, from *Gerbert*; and he says in his preface, that he has not reported everything that was said in the council, word for word; while in his letter to the archbishop Wilderod of Strassburg, to whom he sent this report (Mansi Concil. T. xix. f. 166), he intimates that the representation was the product of his own art. It should be considered, however, that this refers rather to the style of the production than to the matter of the principles therein expressed; and Gerbert indeed intimates, that he had condensed a good deal which at the council had been more fully developed, and that he had softened in many cases the stern rigidity of the language. For he says: *Earum (sententiarum) amplificationes, digressiones, et si qua ejus modi sunt, quodam studio refringam, ne odio quarundam personarum potissimumque Arnulphi proditoris moveri videar, quasi ex ejus legitima depositione Remense episcopium legitime sortitas videri appetam.* After so frank a confession, his report on the whole is surely entitled to the greater confidence. It was in fact the spirit of Gerbert in his friends, which constituted the soul of this council; though we may believe the account given by Aimoin, that several or many were governed in their decisions by the authority of the king rather than by the influence of this spirit. See Aimoin, *De gestis Francorum*. L. v. c. 45.

² Probably in allusion to its sixth canon; see on this, vol. iii. p. 221.

and so that, at the same time, the ecclesiastical laws drawn up at different periods and in different places, under the guidance of the same divine Spirit, shall continue to preserve an unquestionable validity. It cannot stand within the power of the pope, to render null, by his silence or by new ordinances, all the existing laws of the church ; for thus *all* laws would be superfluous, and everything would depend on the arbitrary will of an individual. If the bishop of Rome is a man who recommends himself by his knowledge and his manner of life, we need fear from him neither the one nor the other. But if the pope is estranged from the right, by ignorance, fear, or worldly desires, or, as in these last times, fettered by the tyranny of another, we have so much the less reason to fear the silence or the new ordinances of the pope ; for he who in any way stands in contradiction to the laws himself, cannot thereby effect anything against the laws." He takes occasion from this to glance at the condition of the Romish church in these last times.¹ He holds up to scorn the monsters, who, in the time of a John XII., and after him, ruled in Rome ; and then remarks of such popes : " Is it a settled matter, then, that to such shameful brutes, utterly destitute of all knowledge of things human and divine, innumerable priests, distinguished throughout the world for their wisdom and for the purity of their lives, are to be subjected ? For what," says he, " do we hold him, who sits blazing with purple and gold, on a lofty throne ? If he wants love, and is only puffed up with knowledge, then is he Anti-Christ sitting in the temple of God. But if he is wanting in both alike, then he is in the temple of God like a statue, like an idol ; and to seek a decision from such an one, is like asking counsel of a block of marble.² Much better were it to apply where men might hope to find the fullest understanding of the divine word ; for example, to worthy bishops in Belgium and Germany,³ than to the city where everything at present is venal, and where judgment is distributed ac-

¹ *Lugenda Roma, quæ nostris temporibus monstruosas tenebras futuro sæculo famosas effudisti.*

² *Ni mirum si caritate destituitur solaque scientia inflatur, Antichristus est, in templo Dei sedens. Si autem nec caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tanquam statua, tanquam idolum est, a quo responsa patere marmora consulere est.*

³ *Certe in Belgica et Germania, quæ vicinæ nobis sunt, summos sacerdotes Dei in religione admodum præstantes inveniri in hoc sacro conventu testes quidam sunt.*

ording to the amount of the bribe.¹ With what face can one of the Roman clergy, among whom scarcely a man is to be found, who has learned to read and write, venture to teach what he has not learnt himself? But supposing the Romish church still possessed of her primitive dignity; what more could have been done to shew her respect? What more can be required, than that the *causæ majores*, the causes of the bishops, should first be reported at Rome? This has been done by the bishops and by the king. The bishop of Rome has been duly consulted, respecting the deposition of Arnulph, and the appointment of a worthy successor to the place which he vacates; but why he has not answered, let those explain whom it concerns. Since, then, he to whom we have applied keeps silent, we must now endeavour to supply the wants of the people; and the bishops here convened from the adjacent provinces, must depose Arnulph, if he deserves to be deposed, and, if a worthier man can be found, appoint that man his successor." The proposition of Arnulph triumphed, though from this we are not authorised to conclude that all the bishops of the council agreed, from free and independent conviction, in the principles here expressed. It may have been, that many allowed themselves to be determined partly by the superior influence of a few liberal-minded men, and in part by the authority of the king; and these might easily be made to waver again.² The hitherto archbishop of Rheims was deposed, and Gerbert chosen to fill his place.³

Pope John declared the sentence of this council an illegal and arbitrary act. He persisted in maintaining the principle, that in

¹ *Ea urbs, quæ nunc emptoribus venalis exposita, ad nummorum quantitatem judicia trutinat.* Even that adherent of the papacy, the abbot Abbo of Fleury, was compelled to find this true by experience, when, under pope John XV., he visited Rome, to get the privileges of his monastery confirmed anew. In the account of his Life in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. O. B. Sæc. vi. p. i. f. 47, § xi.*, it is said: "*Turpis lucri cupidum atque in omnibus suis actibus venalem Johannem reperit, quem exsecratus per lustratis orationis gratia sanctorum locis ad sua rediit.*"

² Aimoin (*Hist. Franc. l. v. c. 45*) says, the archbishop Saguin, of Sens, resisted this proceeding from the first, and also boldly told the king the truth; yet this is at variance with the tone in which Gerbert writes to him; from which we can only infer a want of firmness and constancy in the bold stand he had taken on the part of this archbishop.

³ It is worthy of remark, that in the confession of faith, which Gebert laid down before his ordination, he speaks only of a Catholic church, only of four general synods, but not of the Romish church; and that not a word occurs respecting the power conferred on the successors of St Peter. Harduin, *Concil. T. vi. p. i. f. 726.*

the Romish church alone was to be found the lawful tribunal by which bishops could be judged. He pronounced, in the meanwhile, on all the bishops who had taken part in the proceedings of that council, the sentence of suspension from their episcopal functions, and sent Leo, an abbot, to France, to carry his decrees into execution, and to press the deposition of Gerbert and the restoration of Arnulph. But Gerbert contended strenuously for the principles which had been expressed at the council of Rheims; in his letters, he spoke in the freest manner against the pretensions of the pope, and he represented to the bishops, how, by yielding ground under these circumstances, they would degrade their whole order and dignity, and entail the most dangerous consequences upon themselves and upon the church.¹ "The object aimed at," said he, in allusion to the arrival of the pope's legate, "is something greater than merely *my own person*. (He cited the proverb from Virgil: *Tunc tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*) It was an attack on the authority and the rights of the bishops and of the king. If this matter were carried through, without the concurrence of the bishops, then their power and dignity would be annihilated, since the right would be taken away from them of deposing any bishop, however *guilty*; and no one should flatter himself that it did not concern him personally, for the question here did not relate to the indulgence of the judge, but to that which should once be actually established as a principle of law."² To Saguin, archbishop of Sens, who was inclined to submit to the pope's authority, he wrote:³ "Your sagacity should have enabled you to escape the sly plots of cunning men, and to follow the precept of our Lord, 'If they say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or lo, he is there, go not after them.' How say our opponents, that in deposing Arnulph, we should have waited for the decision of the Roman bishop? Would they be able to shew, that the judgment of the Roman bishop is greater than the judgment of God? But the first Roman bishop, the first of the apostles, says: It is better to hearken unto God than unto men; and the apostle Paul declares: Though an angel from heaven

² See the epistola ad Constantinum Miciacensem abbatem. Harduin. l. c. f. 731.

¹ Nec sibi quisque blandiatur quolibet conquassato, se in columi nec falso nomine sponsonis decipiatur, cum res et facta non ex indulgentia iudicum, sed ex stabilitate pendeant causarum.

³ L. c.

preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed. Because pope Marcellinus sprinkled incense to Jupiter,¹ must all bishops do the same? I say, and persist in it, that if the Roman bishop has committed a sin against his brother, and, having been often reminded of it, does not listen to the church, such a Roman bishop is, by the command of God, to be considered as a heathen and a publican; for the more exalted the station which one occupies, the deeper is his fall." He then proceeds to attack the pope's sentence, suspending him, and the others who had taken part in the proceedings at Rheims, from the sacerdotal functions: "If the pope," says he, "holds us unworthy of his fellowship, because none of us would agree with him in that which is contrary to the gospel, yet he cannot, for any such reason, separate us from our fellowship with Christ." He quotes here Rom. viii. 35. "And what more grievous separation can there be than to keep away a believer from the body and blood of the Son of God, which is daily offered for our salvation? If he who deprives himself or another of his bodily life is a murderer, what name shall we apply to him, who deprives himself or another of the *eternal* life? We must give no occasion for our adversaries to make the priesthood, which is everywhere one and the same, as the Catholic church is one, so dependent on an individual, that if his judgment is perverted by money, by favour, by fear, or ignorance, no man can be a priest, but he who recommends himself to him by such virtues."²

¹ This story was probably taken from the forged records of the pretended synod held in a subterranean cavern, under the emperor Diocletian, near the Italian town Sinuessa. See Harduin. Concil. f. 217. These apocryphal records proceeded, on the one hand, from the same spirit which dictated the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, and on the other, connect themselves with some more ancient tradition. It was a report current even in the time of the Donatists, that the Roman bishop Marcellinus had consented to burn the sacred Scriptures, and to sprinkle incense to the gods, in the Diocletian persecution. See Augustin contra literas Peliliani l. ii. § 202. But Augustin asserts his innocence, De baptismo contra Pelilian. § 27. Now, as such a tradition existed, it was determined to render it harmless to the papal authority, or rather to take advantage of it, by inventing the story, which is the substance of the transactions of that council, that the assembled bishops did not venture to judge the *episcopum primæ sedis*, who could not be judged by any other authority; but that the pope could only then be deposed, when he confessed himself his own crime, and pronounced his own sentence.— Thus, this story could now be used both by the opponents and by the advocates of papal absolutism.

² Non est danda occasio nostris æmulis, ut sacerdotium, quod ubique unum est, ita uni subijci videatur, ut eo pecunia, gratia, metu vel ignorantia corrupto, nemo sacerdos esse possit, nisi quem sibi hæc virtutes commenderint.

That which should pass as the common law of the Catholic church was the gospel, the writings of the apostles and prophets, the ecclesiastical laws given by the Spirit of God, and current in all Christendom, and the decrees of the apostolic see not *standing in contradiction with these*; for to the latter he attributed only a conditional validity. His letter to Wilderod, bishop of Strassburg, in which he exposed at length the illegality of the pope's proceedings, he concluded with the following complaint:¹ "The whole French church is lying under the oppression of tyranny; yet the remedy is not sought among the French, but among these Romans. But thou, O Christ, art the only salvation of men. The church of Rome herself, which hitherto has been considered the mother of all the churches, must curse the good, bless the wicked, in that she abuses the power to bind and to loose, received from thee, notwithstanding that with thee it is not the sentence of the priest, but the conduct of the accused, that avails anything, and it stands in the power of no man to justify the godless, or to condemn the righteous!"

But this bold spirit was unable to present any effectual check to the power of the papacy, already too deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and which was promoted by the influential monks, and by motives of temporal interest, whereby many bishops were determined. The terror of the papal excommunication had acquired already too much weight from public opinion for the voice of free-minded individuals, however supported by arguments, to avail anything against it. Besides this, Arnulph found personal sympathy; and Gerbert was accused of having acted from impure motives, and of having aimed from the beginning at obtaining possession of the archbishopric, and for this reason, of having laboured to procure the fall of Arnulph.² Leo, the pope's

¹ Mansi concil. T. xix. f. 166.

² Gerbert defends himself against this charge in a letter to the pope, ep. 38, in Du Chesne *Scriptores hist. Franc.* T. ii. f. 839. *Non Arnulfi peccata prodidi, sed publice peccantem reliqui, non spe, ut mei æmuli dicunt, capessendi ejus honoris, testis est Deus et qui me noverunt, sed ne communicarem peccatis allenis.* He affirms in his speech in defence of himself before the council at Muson (*Harduin. Concil. T. vi. p. i. f. 735*) that the archbishop Adelbero, who, contrary to his own plans, had ordained him a priest, intended on his death to make him his successor; but Arnulph had contrived to obtain the office by simony. *In ejus decessu ad Dominum coram illustribus viris futurus ecclesiæ pastor designatus. Sed simonica hæresis Arnulfum prætulit.* In evidence of the truth lying at the bottom of this testimony, we have also what Gerbert says in a confidential letter (ep. 152, f. 824), in Du Chesne *Pater Adalbero me successorem sibi designa-*

legate, appeared in 955 before a council at Muson, where he made known the papal decision. Gerbert still remained true to his principles, and made a powerful defence, in which he expressed them. He said, that all possible marks of respect had been shown to the apostolic chair. Eighteen months the pope's decision had been patiently waited for. But when no counsel was to be obtained from man, they had resorted themselves to the far higher word of the Son of God, and decided according to that. After the proceedings of the council had been brought to a close, Gerbert was invited by several bishops in the name of the pope's legate, to cease performing the priestly functions until the meeting of a greater French ecclesiastical assembly to be held at Rheims. But he refused; and declared in presence of the legate himself, it stood not in the power of any bishop, any patriarch, any apostolic prelate, to exclude any believer whatsoever from the communion of the church, except after voluntary confession, or when convicted of a crime, or when he refused to make his appearance before a council. Nothing of all this was to be applied to him, and therefore he would not pronounce on himself the sentence of condemnation. At length he suffered himself to be persuaded by his friend, Ludolph, bishop of Triers, that he would, out of obedience, omit the celebration of mass until the next council at Rheims.¹ But Gerbert found himself in no condition to maintain his stand against the fanaticism and fury of the multitude, excited by the influence of the papal legate. Knights and ecclesiastics not only avoided taking any part in the divine worship held under the direction of Gerbert, but even shunned all intercourse with him as an object of abhorrence.² Yielding therefore

verat cum totius Cleri et omnium episcoporum ac quorundorum militum favore. It is, in itself considered, not improbable, that Adalbero would have been very glad to have the distinguished man, who stood so near him, for his successor; and the literary merits of Gerbert would recommend him above all others to those who were chiefly governed by the spiritual interest. But a man descended from so respectable a family, should he attain to one of the highest ecclesiastical stations in France, would naturally excite the jealousy of many against him; the knights, barons, and all those who were chiefly governed by secular considerations would naturally prefer for their bishop a person of exalted rank like Arnulph; and hence it is easy to see how it was that this party, which at first had favoured Arnulph, was also at a later period the more inclined to attach themselves to the papal interest.

¹ Ne occasionem scandali suis æmulis daret, quæ jussionibus domini apostolici resultare vellet, said the archbishop of Triers.

² Memini meos conspirasse non solum milites, sed et clericos, ut nemo mecum

to the dictates of prudence, he withdrew for a while to a secret place of refuge, determined, however, still to maintain the justice of his cause against this arbitrary exercise of papal power. "The churches," he wrote to Queen Adelaide of France, "which by the judgment of the bishops were committed to my guidance, shall not be otherwise abandoned by me than by the judgment of the bishops; nor against the judgment of the bishops, if no higher authority exists, shall they be forcibly retained."¹ He was for having the decision depend, therefore, upon a more numerous assembly of bishops. The contest between the party of Gerbert and that of the pope lasted until the time of this pope's successor, Gregory V. The latter threatened to put the whole French church under the ban.² Hugo Capet's successor, king Robert, sought by yielding a little here to obtain the pope's recognition of the validity of his marriage with Bertha, notwithstanding the canonical objections.³ This led on to new negotiations by the mediation of the venerated abbot, Abbo of Fleury, one of the representatives of the papal party. The latter conducted them in a personal interview with the pope, and the reconciliation was effected on terms satisfactory in all respects to the papal authority. At a second council, held at Rheims in 996, the decrees of the first were completely reversed, Gerbert was deposed, and Arnulph restored. So in this case also the principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals triumphed, and everything that had been done in contradiction to them, appeared as an act of arbitrary will. Gerbert himself must have been constrained at last to yield to the superior power of the papal system; for he was afterwards appointed, through the influence of his pupil, the emperor Otho III., to the archbishopric of Ravenna; and pope Gregory V. would beyond a doubt have refused to sanction this choice, and give him the pall,⁴ if Gerbert had not in some way or other become reconciled with the papal see.

comederet, nemo sacris interesset, in the letter to Queen Adelaide of France in Harduin. l. c. f. 734.

¹ L. c. f. 733.

² See the Life of the abbot Abbo of Fleury, § xi. Acta sanct. O. B. of Mabillon, f. 47, Sæc. vi. p. 1.

³ As Gerbert says, in the letter to Queen Adelaide, cited above, Leo Romanus abbas ut absolvatur Arnulfus obtinuit, ob confirmandum regis Roberti novum conjugium. Yet even by this means the king could not prevent the pope from commanding him afterwards, on pain of the ban, to separate from Bertha.

⁴ See the documents on this point in Harduin. l. c. f. 740.

It is remarkable, that in the year 999, Gerbert, the same man who had so strenuously contended against the papal power, was, by the influence of Otho III., chosen pope. He took the name of Pope Silvester II. As it is evident from what we have already remarked, that he must have given up those principles of ecclesiastical law which he at first maintained, so it was not necessary for him, when pope, to assume any new ground of action. But in his adjudging to Arnulph, archbishop of Rheims, all the rights and privileges connected with this dignity, and securing him against all detriment which might accrue to him on account of former offences, we perceive his design of uniting the justification of his own earlier line of conduct, with the maintenance of the papal authority.¹ His reign, which lasted only till the year 1003, was too short to allow him any opportunity of exerting the influence which might have been expected from the character of his mind; yet with him probably originated the idea of a crusade to liberate the holy cities from the dominion of the Turks, an idea which found a benignant soil not till long afterwards.²

After the death of Otho III., the haughty Italian nobles were no longer kept in restraint by dread of the imperial power, and the same disturbances and disorders arose again which had sprung from like causes in the tenth century. The two contending parties of Toscana and of Tuscoli had the most corrupting influence on the Romish church. The counts of Tuscoli became continually more powerful, and with their power rose their pride. In the year 1033, they had the boldness to elevate to the papal dignity Theophylact, a boy twelve years old belonging to their own family. He called himself Benedict IX.³ He gave himself

¹ Harduin. l. c. f. 760. Considered in this light, this letter, which could only have been written by a person in the position of Silvester, to whom the superscription attributes it, explains itself. It delicately hints, that though Arnulph had deserved to be deposed, yet his deposition was not formally valid, quia Romana assensu caruit. And so the plenary power of Peter is shown in this, that he could, notwithstanding his guilt, be again restored to that dignity, as if nothing had been done. Est enim Petro ea summa facultas, ad quam nulla mortaliū æquiparari valeat felicitas. Nostra te ubique auctoritas muniat, etiamsi conscientie reatus occurrat.

² The complaint of the desolated Jerusalem or of the universal church, composed by him, if indeed that tract is genuine: *Enitere ergo miles Christi, esto signifer et compugnator et quod armis nequis, consilii et opum auxilio subveni.*

³ Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, whose youth falls in a period when all this was still in lively remembrance (who was afterwards pope under the name of Victor III.), says in the third book of his Dialogues, containing wonderful tales of his own times:

up to every species of vicious excess ; and of course this enthronement of mean profligacy on the chair of St Peter, had, by reason of the relation of the papacy at that time to the Western church, the most baneful influence on the condition of Christian life, especially in Italy. But at the very time when such corruption prevailed in this country, the counteracting influence of a Christian spirit, which both required and promoted holiness of heart, was felt in the life and labours of the younger Nilus, a pious monk of Grecian descent, who first made his appearance among the Greeks of Calabria. Exhibiting, in the midst of a corrupt generation, the example of a life wholly consecrated to Christian love,¹ he had been the means of calling many to repentance, and had boldly rebuked transgression even in high places. The same spirit animated his disciple, the abbot Bartholomew of Crypta (Grotto) Ferrata. In a paroxysm of alarm from his troubled conscience, the young pope is said to have applied to this venerated monk, and asked him what he must do in order to make his peace with God. Bartholomew, as it is reported, frankly told him, that stained with such crimes, he could no longer minister as a priest. No other course remained for him but to lay down his office, and spend a life devoted wholly to penitence in solitude. But Benedict, although touched perhaps for a moment by the voice of truth echoed from his own conscience, felt the rebuke only as a transient impression, which soon vanished away under the influence of his profligate family and chosen associates.² The unfavourable light,

" Dum per aliquot annos nonnulli solo nomine pontificum cathedram obtinerent, Benedictus quidam nomine, non tamen opere, cujusdam Alberici consulis filius, magi potius Simonis, quam Simonis Petri vestigia sectatus, non parva a patre in populum profligata pecunia summum sibi sacerdotium vendicavit, cujus quidem post adeptum sacerdotium vita quam turpis, quam fœda, quamque execranda extiterit, horresco referre,"—and he names among his acts rapinas, cædes aliaque nefanda. See *Bibl. patr. Lugdunens.* T. xviii. f. 853. Another older contemporary, Glaberius Rudolph, monk of Cluny, says of him near the close of his history of the times: " Fœrat Romanæ sedi ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum duodecim. Horrendum referre, turpitudine illius conversationis et vitæ."

¹ See below, the further development.

² In the Greek Life of Bartholomæus of Crypta Ferrata, which was published by the Jesuit Petrus Passinus in his *Thesaurus asceticus*, Paris, 1684, it is narrated (see p. 440) that Benedict was actually induced by these words to abdicate the papal dignity. But we assuredly cannot prefer this single, untrustworthy authority, where not even the *name* of the pope is mentioned, to the various and credible accounts of the manner in which Benedict resigned his station ; nor can this single testimony from an obscure source, furnish sufficient grounds for the hypothesis of another earlier or later abdication of Benedict. At

however, in which his public conduct was viewed, could be turned to more account by the party opposed to him. They succeeded, A.D. 1044, in ejecting Benedict, and making John, bishop of Sabina, pope, under the name of Sylvester III.¹ Benedict was enabled, it is true, by means of his powerful connections, to drive this rival from Rome, and compel him to return home to his bishopric. But satisfied that he could not maintain his seat on the papal throne in spite of the abhorrence and detestation of mankind; and placing a higher value on the means of gratifying his pleasures than on any dignity of station;² he resolved to follow the traffic in benefices at that time so common in Italy, and disposing of the papal office at a bargain, to retire with the avails to the quiet enjoyments of his castle. The bargain was made with John Gratian, an arch-priest belonging to the better class of the clergy, who perhaps flattered himself that he should be able to sanctify the wicked means by the good end he had in view, which was to put a stop to this scandalous state of things at Rome, and to use the papal power as a means of checking the progress of corruption in the church, that had been making such rapid strides under the influence of the bad example of a degenerate papacy. We see from the language addressed to him by a Peter Damiani—that earnest labourer for the restoration of ecclesiastical order—what hopes the party of the more seriously disposed clergy, the party which longed for a reformation of the church, believed they might repose in him.³ Damiani ex-

the same time, however, the story about the conversation between the pope and the monk may be true, and the biographer did but erroneously connect the pope's abdication, which was known to him, with the impression which that monk had made on the pope's mind.

¹ Non tam vacua manua, says the abbot Desiderius; for that a sum of money proportionate to its value had to be paid for every spiritual office, was once, especially in these districts, a ruling principle.

² Desiderius says of him: "Quia durum est in corde veteri nova meditari, in eisdem pravis et perversis operibus, ut ante, perseverabat. Cumque se a clero simul et populo propter nequitias suas contemni respiceret, et fama suorum facinorum omnium aures impleri cerneret, tandem reperto consilio, qui voluptati deditus ut Epicurus magis quam pontifex vivere malebat, cuidam Joanni archipresbytero, qui tunc in urbe religiosior cæteris clericis videbatur, non parva ab eo accepta pecunia, summum sacerdotium relinquens tradidit.

³ Glaber Rudolph, who concluded his history of the times when Gregory had attained to the papal chair, and when all well disposed persons were placing their hopes on him, ends his history with the following words: Tunc vero (Benedictus) cum consensu totius Romani populi atque ex præcepto imperatoris ejectus est a

presses the hope, that he would at last put a stop to crying abuses, to the practice of simony in appointments to benefices; that he would provide for the better distribution of these benefices, and bring back the church to its former splendour.¹ But Benedict afterwards concluded not to give up the papal dignity, and so there were three popes at once. Henry III., the emperor elect, was called upon by the well-disposed of all parties, to put an end to this inextricable confusion. In the year 1046 he entered Italy at the head of an army, with the intention of being crowned emperor in Rome. Gregory VI., the purest of the three popes, and who considered himself the rightful one, conceiving that he had no cause to fear, came to meet the emperor at Piacenza.² Yet what he had to offer in justification of himself was not found satisfactory; and all the three popes were deposed at a council held at Sutri.³ Soon after this, another council was held in Rome, where the pope was chosen; not, however, from the Roman clergy, for there no individual of their body was considered fit for the

sede et in loco ejus subrogatus est vir religiosissimus ac sanctitate perspicuus Gregorius natione Romanus, cujus videlicet bona fama, quicquid prior fœdaverat, in melius reformavit. Du Chesne Script. Hist. Franc. T. iv. f. 58. Also another contemporary writer, the author of a short biography of Halinardus, archbishop of Lyons, designates John Gratian as the then acknowledged pope: "Johannes cognomento Gratianus tunc residebat in sede apostolica." And we see from what is there related, how much pains he took to induce a pious man, who was desired by the clergy and the community of Lyons, as their archbishop, to accept that office. See the Chronicon S. Benigni Divionensis in D'Achery Spicileg. T. ii. f. 392.

¹ See his first letter to this pope, with which his collection of letters begins: *Lætentur cœli et exsultet terra et antiquum sui juris privilegium se recepisse sancta gratuletur ecclesia. Conteratur jam milleforme caput venenati serpentis, cesset commercium perversæ negotiationis, nullam jam monetam falsarius Simon in ecclesia fabricet.*

² According to the report of Desiderius, the emperor himself summoned Gregory by bishops sent to him for that purpose, to a council to be held under his presidency, at which the affairs of the church, and particularly the matter of the three claimants to the title of pope, were to be discussed. *Joannem missis ad eum episcopis, ut de ecclesiasticis negotiis maximeque de Romana tunc ecclesia, quæ tres simul habere pontifices videbatur, ipso præside tractaretur, venire rogavit.*

³ According to the report of Desiderius, Gregory, feeling the weight of the arguments brought against him, voluntarily laid down his office, and sued for pardon. *Agnosens se non posse juste honorem tanti sacerdotii administrare, ex pontificali sella exiliens ac semet ipsum pontificalia indumenta exuens, postulata venia, summi sacerdotii dignitatem deposuit.* The contemporaneous writer of the Life of archbishop Halinardus, of Lyons, says of the emperor: *Fecit deponi Joannem, qui tum Cathedræ præsidebat et Benedictum atque Silvestrum, qui in concilio tunc habito examinata eorum culpa inventi sunt non solum simoniaci, sed etiam perversores ecclesiæ Christi.* D'Achery, l. c. f. 308.

office ; but the office fell on a German of more undoubted worth, Suigder, bishop of Bamberg, who called himself Clement II.

A new spirit of reform now began in the Romish church,¹ evoked by the boundless corruption² which had hitherto prevailed. The party who took an interest in this movement of reform, was, for the most part, the same as had wished to make the church independent of the secular power, and cherished the idea of the papal theocracy. This party was profoundly impressed with a sense of the contrast between what the papacy and the church *then were*, and what the papacy *should be*, and the church, through the papacy, *should become*. They desired a reformation, which, beginning at the head, should spread through all the members of the church. But as it was impossible in Italy, for the present, to stay the corrupting influence of the Italian secular parties on the papal elections, and on the church of Rome, except by the power of the emperor,³ who, as all were forced to acknowledge, was animated by a sincere regard for the weal of the church, so it became necessary, for the present, to side with him, in order to secure the election of popes devoted to the reforming interest ; for of course there were many in Italy and Rome, both ecclesiastics and laymen, who had found their account in the old disorders and abuses, and who, therefore, would have preferred that there should be no popes of that character. Thus, through the influence of the emperor, German bishops, not infected with the corruption of the Italian clergy, were raised to the apostolic chair. Poppo, bishop of Brixen, who by this influence had been created pope, under the name of Damasius II., having died a few weeks afterwards, the Roman clerus again sent delegates⁴ to the emperor, who met them in the diet at Worms, where he conferred the papal dignity on

¹ Desiderius says : *qui in Romana ecclesia non erat tunc talis reperta persona, quæ digne posset ad tanti honorem sufficere sacerdotii.*

² The bishop Bruno of Segni (Bruno Segniensis, or Astensis), a man belonging to the age of Hildebrand, says, in his *Life of Leo IX.*, after describing the corruption of the church, which called forth this tendency to reform : "*Talis erat ecclesia, tales erant episcopi et sacerdotes, tales et epsi Romani pontifices, qui omnes alios illuminare debebant, omne sal erat infatuatum neque erat aliquid, in quo condireretur.*"

³ Desiderius regards it as a work of God, brought about by the hands of the emperor : *qualiter omnipotens Deus in faciem ecclesiæ sit dignatus respicere.*

⁴ The contemporaneous writer of the *Life of Archbishop Halinard*, says : *Hoc namque a Romanis imperator data pecunia non parva exegerat, ut sine ejus permissu papa non eligeretur.* L. c. f. 393.

one of his kinsmen, Bruno, bishop of Toul, a man distinguished for his monkish austerities, his zealous devotion to the external and internal affairs of the church, and his activity in the discharge of such secular business as devolved on him, in his political capacity ; while, no doubt, he must have already acquired a good reputation among the Romans, by his practice of making a yearly pilgrimage to Rome.¹ With this pope Leo IX., in the year 1049, begins a new epoch in the history of the papacy, in which the reforming interest already spoken of, and the effort to make the papacy and the church wholly independent of the secular power, were chiefly prominent. Neither Leo IX.,² nor his successors, down to the end of this period, were men of so much importance, that a new epoch of ecclesiastical development could have been introduced by their sole agency.

¹ See his *Life of Wibert*, lib. ii. cap. i.

² Worthy of notice, as serving to characterise Leo, are several traits incidentally mentioned by Berenger of Tours, which, though some allowance should be made on account of the hostile feelings of the reporter, yet mark him as a man extremely dependent on the influence of those around him, one who could easily be led and deceived by others. The pope, who was so zealous for the strict moral discipline of the clergy, on coming to Vercelli, in the year 1050, took up his residence with a bishop of that city who had seduced the betrothed wife of his uncle, a nobleman, and lived with her on terms of unlawful intercourse ; and this nobleman could obtain no hearing for his complaints, against the bishop, either from the council or from the pope. There was a division, at that time, among the adherents of the principles of reform, some going so far in their zeal against the heresy of simony, that, as none of the bishops who had obtained their places by simony were, in their opinion, true bishops, they declared the ordinations also performed by them to be invalid. The other more prudent party held fast, even here, to the principle of the objective validity of the sacramental acts. Pope Leo was in the beginning inclined to the principles of the former party, at the head of which stood Cardinal Humbert, until it was represented to him, that if all such ordinations should be considered null, the churches in Rome would be left without priests, and no mass could be celebrated : See Peter Damiani *liber gratissimus*, or *Opusc. vi. § 35*, (in which book he combats this view). But at Vercelli he was once more induced to consider these ordinations as null, and to ordain over again those who had been so ordained. It being again represented to him, that such a proceeding was at variance with the principle of the objective validity of the sacraments, he rose up in the council from his papal chair, and begged the assembled bishops to pray the Lord that he might be forgiven. But on his return to Rome, the influence of Humbert again prevailed, and he continued to reordain in the same manner. Berenger says, it was easy to see from this, *quanta laboraret indigentia pleni, quanta agereter levitate, quam omni circumferretur vento doctrinæ*. Vid. Berenger *de cœna sacra* ed. Vischer, p. 40. Nor does it exactly impress us with a favourable opinion of his inward worth, to be told that Leo, amid the severe labours and cares of his office, sought relaxation from a parrot, the present of some king, which had learned to repeat "Papa Leo," which was afterwards related as a marvel by those who honoured him as a saint. See *Wibert*, c. ii.

The personal character and talents of the popes are, in the present case, matters of small account. *They* were but the instruments of that system of reformation, which had sprung up among a portion of the stricter clergy and monks in Rome, in opposition to the hitherto prevailing corruption, and as the necessary reaction of a more serious Christian spirit, against the same. As the representative of this tendency to reform necessarily proceeding from the development of the church, we may consider Cardinal Peter Damiani, bishop of Ostia, a man distinguished for his earnest, though narrow and bigoted, zeal for the restoration of the dignity of the priesthood, and of a stricter church discipline. But the man who, by the superiority of his intellect, and by the firmness and energy of his character, did most for the establishment and carrying out of this system, and who may be justly styled the soul of this new epoch of the papacy, was the monk *Hildebrand*. It was by his activity, down to the close of this period, that the way was prepared for a work, which, in the commencement of the following, he himself, placed at the head of the papal government, carried to a full completion. On this individual we must from the present fix our eye, as the founder of a new period introduced by the historical development of the church.

Hildebrand received his first training in the monastic life, under the direction of an uncle, who presided as abbot over a monastery in Rome. A mind of more than ordinary seriousness, such as we recognise in his case, could not be otherwise than disgusted at the corruption then prevailing in Rome, and roused to opposition against it. When Hildebrand observed the wide mischief which had sprung out of the confounding together of ecclesiastical and secular affairs, the idea would naturally be suggested to him of a necessary reformation of the church; and when he saw two parties in contention, of which one fought for the interest of the secular power, the other for the interest of the papal Theocracy, he would be led of course in tracing, as he did, the corruption of the church to the influence of a rude secular power subordinating everything to itself, to regard the interest of ecclesiastical reformation as identical with that of the church Theocracy. And it was indeed precisely on these views, that all those persons in Rome were acting, who, like Damiani, were

filled with pious zeal against the abomination in the sanctuary. Hildebrand would of course soon become connected with them by the tie of a common interest. His education in the monastic life, as well as the revulsion of his moral feelings against the corruptions around him, may possibly have nurtured within him a certain stoicism which repressed the gentler sentiments of human nature; and hence Christianity may not have so penetrated, softened, and ennobled his inward life and character, as it might otherwise have done. Hildebrand, while yet a youth, was a friend of Gregory VI.; for even the latter, as we have already remarked, was for undertaking and administering the papacy in accordance with the views of the stricter party, of which a Damiani was representative. Hildebrand might no doubt also, from *his own* ethical point of view, approve the principle followed by Gregory VI. in obtaining possession of the papal dignity,—the principle that the end sanctifies the means. He remained faithful to that pope¹ even in his change of fortune, and accompanied him to France, to which country he retired. That he still regarded him as being the lawful pope, after he had been deposed by the influence of an emperor, seems evident from his choosing to name himself after his friend, Gregory VII.² Next, he repaired to Germany,³ and probably fell in with Leo

¹ Hence the passionate enemy of Hildebrand under Henry IV., Cardinal Benno, represents him in his fierce invective, which in other respects certainly is entitled to no credence, a disciple of Gregory VI. He also confirms the account of his residence in Germany, and of his return from that country to Rome in the suite of Leo IX. But the story that Hildebrand with his teacher was banished by the emperor from Germany, is doubtless to be attributed simply to the blind passion of Benno. He says of him: *Hildebrandus Tenelicto monastino prædicto arch-presbytero (that Joannes Gratianus) adhæsit —; he says of the emperor Henry III.: Sextum Gregorium cum Hildebrando discipulo suo in Tueticas partes deportatione damnavit.* It is characteristic of the man, that he complains of the injury done by the emperor by his too great clemency. Had he ordered Hildebrand to be confined for life, a Gregory VII. would never have been the author of so much mischief. *Nimia tamen pietate deceptus nec ecclesia Romanæ nec sibi nec generi humano prospiciens, novos idololâtros nimis laxè habuit, quorum memoriâ æterno carcere a contagione hominum removere debuit.* Vid. in Orthvini Gratii fasciculus rerum expetendarum ac fugiendarum, f. 42. We may perhaps compare with this judgment of Benno another pronounced from an entirely different point of view, that if Charles V. had but ordered the death of Luther at the Diet of Worms, the whole mischief of the reformation would have been prevented.

² The German historian, Otto of Freisingen, to mark the Cato-like character of Gregory in his relation to Gregory VI., applies to him the passage in Luca: "*Victrix causa diis placuit sed victa Catoni.*"

³ Here a contradiction exists among the ancient accounts. According to the report of Otto of Freisingen, who wrote, however, a century later, Leo met with

at Worms itself. Hildebrand, who possessed that within him which enabled him to exercise an extraordinary power over the minds of others, seems thus to have soon acquired great influence over Leo, who was easily led by his advisers. He made him repent that he had been appointed pope by a layman, an emperor ; and, to make some atonement for this false step, as well as to avoid establishing a precedent for the future, recommended that, throwing aside all pomp, he should travel to Rome in the habit of a pilgrim, and not consider himself as invested with the sacred office, until he should have been there chosen pope in the customary form. Leo followed this advice ; and perceiving the great benefit which might accrue to the church of Rome from having devoted to her interests a person possessed of the zeal and energy

Hildebrand in the monastery of Cluny, received from him here the advice which he followed, and took him along with him to Rome. To the report of this later historian we ought doubtless to prefer the earlier reports, according to which Leo first met with the monk Hildebrand in Germany. Bruno, bishop of Segni, who had received many accounts from the mouth of his friend pope Gregory VII. himself, states, in his life of Leo IX., that the latter had from the first accepted the papal dignity only under the condition, that he should be voluntarily chosen by the clergy and community. Then he remarks : *Illis autem diebus erat ibi monachus quidam Romanus, Hildebrandus nomine, nobilis indolis adolescens, clari ingenii sanctæque religionis. Is erat autem illic tum discendi gratia (he was seeking therefore more knowledge than could be acquired at that time in Italy, the seat of moral corruption and ignorance), tum etiam, ut in aliquo religioso loco sub Benedicti regula militaret (therefore not in a French monastery).* This person attracted the notice of Leo, *cujus propositum, voluntatem et religionem mox ut cognovit, he requested him to go with him to Rome. But Hildebrand declined, as he said to him : Quia non secundum canonicam institutionem, sed per sæcularem et regiam potestatem Romanam ecclesiam arripere vadis.* The pope now submitted, as Bruno intimates, to be governed by the young man, who was still so superior to him in intellect and power. *Ille autem, ut erat natura simplex atque mitissimus, patienter ei satisfacit, reddita de omnibus sicut ille voluerat ratione.* According to the narrative of the canonical priest, Paul Bernrieder of Regensburg, a contemporary, in his *Life of Gregory VII.*, § 11, in *Mabillon Acta Sanctor. O. B. Sæc. vi. p. ii.* or in the *Bollandists*, at the 25th of May of the vi. Tom.—Hildebrand betook himself first to a French monastery ; he then visited the court of the emperor Henry III., whence he returned to Rome ; and then went back again to Germany. Now it might be during his last residence in Germany that he fell in with Leo IX. Another contemporary, Wibert, who had been archdeacon of the bishop Bruno at Toul, in his *Life of Leo IX.* says nothing indeed of his connection with the monk Hildebrand ; but he reports (*l. ii. c. i. vid. Acta Sanctor.* at the 19th April), that the bishop Bruno, when the choice fell on him, requested in the first place a delay of three days, to decide whether he would accept of the papal dignity ; and, having spent these three days in fasting and prayer, finally declared that he was ready to accept of it, under the condition, *si audiret totius cleri ac Romani populi communem esse sine dissidio consensum.* Here we may easily bring it in, that Leo had, in the meantime, spoken with Hildebrand, who confirmed him in his resolution of accepting the papal dignity, only on condition it could be done without infraction of the canonical form of the papal election.

of the young Hildebrand, he took him along with him to Rome, where he consecrated him to the office of sub-deacon. Here the influence of Hildebrand continued to grow from day to day, and he was often employed also on important missions to foreign countries.

There were two things in particular, at which it appeared that the plan for a reformation and emancipation of the church must aim—the introduction of a stricter moral discipline among the clergy, by reviving the ancient laws concerning celibacy, and the abolition of simony in the disposing of the offices of the church, so as to cut off from the secular power its often abused influence in the dispensation of benefices. In both respects, men might be contending simply for the restoration of that order which was required by the laws of the church, feeling themselves bound to put an end to existing irregularities. In respect to the last, the words of an unprejudiced and liberal-minded man of this age, Berenger of Tours, may suffice to show what corruption had come upon the church from the arbitrary modes of disposing of church benefices, and how imperative was the call for a decided change in this particular, to prevent everything from going to ruin. His opponent, Lanfrick, having spoken of a *holy council* in these times, Berenger replied to him: “You must know yourself, that you speak falsely; for I know the bishops and abbots of our times, and am certain that you also must know them. I speak of a fact, which no man can deny, when I say that in these times no cities receive bishops by ecclesiastical appointment.”¹ As to the other particular, the laws respecting the celibacy of ecclesiastics remained valid *in theory*, from times very remote, but they were nowhere observed; and there was a reluctance to apply the strict letter of the law in cases of this sort, lest the clergy should be brought into contempt with the laity, by the exposure of their immoralities.²

¹ *Novi nostrorum temporum episcopos et abbates, quam nullæ urbes hoc tempore ecclesiastica institutione episcopos accipiant.* Berenger de sacra cœna ed. Vischer. Berolin. 1834. pag 63.

² Damiani says, in his *Opusculum 17. De cœlibatu sacerdotum*, which is addressed to pope Nicholas II. (T. iii. opp. fol. 188): *Nostris temporibus genuina quodammodo Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudo servatur, ut de cæteris quidem ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ studiis, prout dignum est, moneat, de clericorum vero libidine propter insultationem secularium dispensatorie conticescat.*

Meantime, it was impossible to prevent illicit connections among the clergy, and every marriage connection of an ecclesiastic was so regarded, from becoming known to the people, or to put a stop to the contempt and ridicule to which they exposed themselves, by their notoriously immoral lives.¹ No doubt, the best means for counteracting the corruption of morals among the clergy, would have been to yield to the want which could not be repressed, and provide a way for its being satisfied in conformity with law; as, on the other hand, the imposed restraint of the unmarried life, unless where these laws were directly braved, only served to superinduce still more disastrous effects.² The former means were resorted to at that time by Cunibert, bishop of Turin. He gave all his clergy permission to marry,³ without doubt, on the principle, that by so doing he should preserve his own see from the immorality which prevailed in other portions of the church; for he himself led a strictly unmarried life;⁴ and Peter Damiani, the zealous advocate of the celibacy of the clergy, was forced to acknowledge, that the clergy of this church were markedly distinguished by the purity of their lives, and by their knowledge, from the clergy of other churches. In this case it would have been natural to inquire, how far the ordinances of this bishop had operated on the condition of his clergy; but zealots like Damiani were too much blinded by their prejudices, to see the truth on this subject.

¹ Damiani says to pope Nicholas II. in the place above cited, representing to him that it was absurd to fear the publication of that which was already publicly known: *Omni pudore postposito pestis hæc in tantam prorupit audaciam, ut per ora populi volitent loca scortantium, nomina concubinarum.* Ratherius says, that in no Christian land were the clergy so despised as in Italy, owing to their debauched and immoral lives. *Quærat aliquis, cur præ cæteris gentibus baptismo renatis contemptores canonicæ legis et vilipensores clericorum sint magis Italici.* And he attributes this solely to the bad example which the clergy set by their own lives, for they were to be distinguished from the laity only by their tonsure, their dress, and the rites which, negligently enough, they performed in the churches. *Inde illi eos contemnunt et execrationi, ut dignum est, habent de contemptu canonum.* P. ii. f. 354, D'Achery Spicileg. T. i.

² Ratherius says: *Quam perditâ tonsuratorum universitas, si nemo in iis, qui non aut adulter aut sit arsenokoita. Adulter enim nobis est, qui contra canones uxorius.* Vid. *Discordia inter ipsum et clericos.* l. c. f. 363.

³ Vid. Damiani in the *Opusculum*, addressed to the same (18): *Permittis, ut ecclesiæ tuæ clerici, cujuscunque sit ordinis, velut jure matrimonii confœderentur uxoribus.*

⁴ The opposite of that which was practised in other places. Vid. Damiani *Opusc.* 17, ad Nicol. II. c. 1. *Contra divina mandata personarum acceptores in minoribus quidem sacerdotibus luxuriæ inquinamenta persequimur, in episcopis autem, quod nimis absurdum est, per silentium, tolerantium veneramur.*

In fact, the idea of the necessary celibacy of priests was closely connected with the whole idea of the priesthood, the idea of a priestly caste, separated from the world, and destined to guide its social relations; just as this notion of the priesthood stood closely connected with the whole churchly theocratic system. From this point of view, at which marriage in ecclesiastics appeared an illicit connection, the strict execution of the laws of celibacy appeared to be the only means of checking the progress of corruption among the clerical order. But the popes favouring the system of reform, in their attempts to enforce obedience to the law, met with a most determined resistance. Peter Damiani had to contend, not only with such as acted rather from the impulse of their inclinations than from settled principles, but also with such as attempted to justify their concubinage as a lawful thing, and who wished to obtain from some pope the abrogation of the laws of celibacy in a lawful way. They argued that St Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 2, had made no exception whatsoever, and probably appealed to other similar passages also;¹ they cited the ancient canons of the council of Gangra, according to which, whoever refused to attend divine service performed by a married priest, should be excommunicated from the church,² and a canon, drawn up by a synod at Tribur, whereby the marriage of priests was permitted,³ which canon Damiani declared to be spurious. As whatever is said concerning the priesthood in the Old Testament was often applied to the Christian priesthood, so the defenders of priestly marriage adduced also, in defence of their principles, the fact, that in the Old Testament priests were by no means bound to celibacy.⁴ Many of the clergy excused themselves, on the ground of their peculiar circumstances; they could not possibly dispense with domestic help.⁵ The enforcement of the laws of

¹ See l. v. ep. 13, to the chaplains of Duke Godfrid, who defended the marriage of priests.

² Damiani resorted here to the arbitrary interpretation, that the reference is only to such as had lived in marriage before their entrance into the spiritual order.

³ Opusc. 18, c. 3, T. 3, f. 200.

⁴ See sacerdotes nubere peccatum esset, nequaquam hoc in lege veteri Dominus præcepissit. Opusc. 18, Diss. ii. c. ii. f. 199. Damiani affirms, on the contrary, this was otherwise ordered under the Old Testament, because the priesthood was confined to a particular race, and therefore provision must be made for its continuance.

⁵ Opusc. 18, Diss. i. f. 195. Muliebris sedulitatis auxilio carere non possumus, quia rei familiaris inopiam sustenemus.

celibacy being opposed, then, to the interests and to the inclinations of so many, and the defenders of priestly marriage being in part conscious to themselves of having so much right on their side, it was natural that the papal legislation on this subject should not be able to push its way through, until after a long and difficult contest.¹ Pope Leo. IX. not only held synods for the reformation of the clergy in Rome, but his frequent journeys to France and Germany, and even to Hungary, by occasion of ecclesiastical and political affairs, where his mediation was solicited, gave him opportunity, at ecclesiastical assemblies which were held under his direction, to spread and to inculcate everywhere, in person, those laws against simony, and immoral excesses, as well as the illicit connections of the clergy, and also to carry them into execution on ecclesiastics found guilty. Many stories were circulated of remarkable judgments inflicted by the divine hand on such unworthy ecclesiastics, and which ought to serve as a warning for others.²

¹ Damiani, in his *Opusculum ad Nicolaum II.*, calls the defenders of the law of celibacy *a secta, cui ubique contradicitur*; and he says, concerning the obligation of obedience to these papal ordinances, *Aliud quidem quodcunque vestrae constitutionis imperium sub spe perficiendi fidentur indicimus. Hujus autem capituli nudam saltem promissionem tremulis prolatam labiis difficiliter extorqueamus.*

² The bishop Bruno of Segni, in his *Life of Leo IX.*, among other statements received from the mouth of Gregory VII., cites the following: That while Leo was holding his synods of reform in France, where many bishops were accused of simony, one of these appeared particularly liable to suspicion, but still the evidence was not sufficient to convict him. The pope was therefore disposed to try him by the judgment of God, and imposed on him as the trial, that he should repeat the *Gloria Patria, et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*. But when he came to the name of the Holy Spirit, he began to stammer, his conscience not permitting him to utter these words; thus he betrayed his guilt. This example made such an impression, that many were constrained to confess themselves guilty. *Vid opp. Brunonis ed Marchesi Venet. 1651, T. ii. f. 148.* Peter Damiani relates the same thing in his *Opusculum ad pap. Nicolaum II. xix. de abdicatione episcopatus c. iv.*, and he too reports it as having been received from the mouth of the then archdeacon Hildebrand; but, according to his account, this occurred at another time, and on a different occasion; namely, when pope Victor II. had sent the then subdeacon Hildebrand to France, and the latter removed from their stations six bishops accused of various misdemeanours. Among these was also the one above-mentioned, of whom Damiani says: *Ad Spiritum Sanctum vero cum venisset, mox lingua balbutiens tandem rigida remanebat; merito si quidem Spiritum Sanctum, dum emit, amisit, ut qui exclusus erat ab anima, procul esset etiam consequenter a lingua.* As the account given by Damiani is drawn up more freshly according to the event, it may be considered the more credible account: Bruno perhaps, by a slip of memory, transferred the anecdote to Leo IX. With this story agrees also the testimony of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who moreover affirms, that he had often heard it repeated by Gregory himself. He quotes Hildebrand's language as follows: *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus*

But when the pope, on returning from his journeys, in the year 1052, assembled a council at Mantua, with a view to exercise there his highest spiritual jurisdiction, for the maintenance of those laws, a fierce uproar was excited against him, by those bishops who had reason to dread his severity, and whose cause was blended with the interests of powerful families,¹ so that he was under the necessity of dissolving the assembly. Yet this was but a momentary effervescence of passion, having no connection whatever with fixed principles; for on the very next day the guilty bishops begged him for absolution, which he bestowed on them.

This pope, who was so very zealous against the abuses which had crept into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs in these last times, himself however set an example of violating the laws of the church, when, in the year 1053, he in person led an army against the neighbouring Normans,² who had laid waste the territories of the church. Though his sympathy in the fate of so many who had cruelly suffered, might serve as some excuse for him, yet by the men of the more strict and serious party, who were earnest for the restoration of church discipline, it was disapproved and regretted that the head of the church should fight with the secular sword.³ Cardinal Damiani remained firm in maintain-

Sancti, cujus donum gratiæ te comparasse audivimus, ut hujus rei nobis veritatem edisseras, adjuramus. Quod si amplius, ut cœpisti, negare tentaveris, Spiritum Sanctum, donec quæ vera sunt, confitearis, nominare non valeas. Dialog. l. iii. Bibl. patr. Lugdunens. T. xviii. f. 856 It seems very much like Hildebrand, the favourer of the judgment of God, that he should impose on the bishop such trial of his innocence. If we connect with this the look and the words of so uncommon a man as Hildebrand, accustomed to exercise so great a power over the minds of others, it will be still more easy to conceive how his suggestion may have made such an impression on the mind of the bishop. And here we are presented with a not unimportant trait in the character of Hildebrand. Many others are also to be found among the anecdotes of Damiani and of Desiderius, from which we see that Hildebrand took special delight in the marvellous. This was in perfect consistency with his Old Testament theocratical principle.

¹ Wibert, in his *Life of Leo*, says (§ 21); *Familiæ eorum faultrices scelerum subitaneum contra domini apostolici familiam moverunt tumultum.*

² Already, when deacon to bishop Hermann of Toul, he had undertaken to lead the troops, which his bishop was compelled to send as a contribution to the Heerbann of the emperor Conrad,—in noticing which, to be sure, his biographer adds, *salvo tamen per omnia proprii gradus sacramento*, which means, doubtless, that he ordered the whole arrangement of his troops—Wibert boasts of his skill in such matters, but did not himself fight with them; see the *Life* above cited, l. i. c. ii. § 12.

³ Bruno, bishop of Segni, says, in relating this, fol. 147: *Zelum quidem Dei habens, sed non fortasse secundum scientiam, utinam non ipse per se illuc ivisset: sed solum modo illuc exercitum pro justitia defendenda mississet.*

ing that the priest ought in no case to contend with the sword, not even in defence of the faith, much less in defence of the goods and rights of the church ; for it behooved the priest to make the life no less than the doctrines of Christ his own rule of living, and accordingly he should follow the example of Christ in subduing the wrath of the world only by the might of an invincible patience. He reckoned it as belonging to the principle which required the secular and the spiritual power to be kept distinctly apart, that the priest must contend only with the sword of the Spirit, only with the Word of God. If king Uzziah was covered with leprosy because he arrogated to himself a priestly function, what punishment does not a priest deserve, who grasps—what certainly belongs only to the laity—the weapons of war? In setting forth this doctrine, he put it as an objection, that Leo IX., though a holy man, often busied himself with the affairs of war ; to which he answers, that the good and bad must not be judged by any standard of human merit, in which we find both, but by the quality of the things themselves. Peter did not arrive at the apostolic primacy by his denial.¹ Did Gregory the great, who had so much to suffer from the Longobards, either act thus, or teach that it was proper to act thus?"² The unfortunate issue of the war, when the pope was conquered and taken captive, appeared to many in the light of a divine judgment.³ And even in the Christian consciousness of many a layman, the disadvantageous impression which this expedition of his had made, seems to have raised objections against paying him the honours of a saint at whose tomb miraculous cures could be wrought.⁴ On the other hand, however, the story got abroad, that in a vision of the night

¹ Dico quod sentio, quod quoniam nec Petrus ob hoc apostolicum obtinet principatum, quia negavit, nec David id circo prophetiæ meretur oraculum, quia torum alieni viri invasit, cum mala vel bona non pro meritis considerenter habentium. Sed ex propriis debeant qualitatibus judicari.

² Damiani, l. iv. ep. 9.

³ Hermann Contract. at the year 1053: Occulto Dei judicio, sive quia tantum sacerdotum spiritualia potius quam pro caducis rebus carnalis pugna decebat sive quod nefarios homines secum ducebat.

⁴ Bruno of Segni relates, that when, after Leo's death, it was reported that persons possessed of evil spirits were healed at his tomb, a certain woman exclaimed. Pope Leo, who caused so many men to shed their blood, drive out evil spirits! When Leo can expel evil spirits, then I shall be a queen, and all those whom he killed by his impiety will be restored to life again.

the slain in that battle had presented themselves to Leo as martyrs, and that miracles would be performed at their graves.¹ This report was eagerly seized upon to guard and protect the sanctity of Leo against a step which threatened to be injurious to his memory. To secure him this reverential respect, would be an object of so much the greater importance to the advocates of the theocratical system of reform, because he was the first in the line of the popes who laboured to carry these principles into full effect ; and men related, that shortly before his death, in the year 1054, he spoke words of exhortation and rebuke against simony and the concubinage or unchastity of the clergy.

Hildebrand, who under Leo IX. became a subdeacon of the Roman church, had meantime been continually rising to still greater influence. He was the head and the soul of the stricter party. It was he by whose craft and sagacity the new choice of a pope was determined. Among the Roman clergy he could find no one who seemed to him calculated to prosecute with vigour the already begun work of reformation in the church. On the other hand, he had reason to hope that Gebhardt, bishop of Eichstadt, at that time the most eminent and the most wealthy prelate of Germany, the most influential counsellor of the emperor, who had been hitherto the most zealous promoter of the imperial interests, would prove as pope a no less zealous champion of the papal interests.² He got himself appointed plenipotentiary of the Roman clerus, and of the Roman community, for the purpose of effecting in the name of both the choice of a pope. In this character he proceeded to the court of the emperor, where he accomplished his object, and this bishop became pope (Victor II.) Upon his death, in the year 1057, Hildebrand, then absent, was already proposed as a candidate for the papal dignity. Others demanded, that the papal election should be deferred until his return.³ But it turned out, that a man devoted to the interests of Hildebrand's party, Frederic, abbot of Monte Cassino, was chosen to the office, Stephen IX. When the latter, in 1058, sent the subdeacon Hildebrand to Germany on certain public business

¹ See the two Lives above cited.

² See the *Chronicon Casinense*, l. ii. c. 89 in *Muratorii script. rer. Italicar. T. iv. f. 403.*

³ L. c. c. 97.

at the court of the widowed empress Agnes, the Romans were obliged, on penalty of the ban, to bind themselves by oath, that if he should die during Hildebrand's absence, the papal election should be deferred till his return.¹ The death of Stephen actually occurred during Hildebrand's absence; and the party to whose inclinations and interests the reforming tendency was opposed, hastened to forestall the influence of Hildebrand, and to set up by force a pope according to their own mind. It came about, perhaps by a craftily concerted plan, that they made choice of a man who had at least some pretensions in his favour, since he did not belong to the class of ecclesiastics notorious for their bad morals, while at the same time he was so ignorant and spiritually incompetent, that they might hope to be able to make use of him as their tool.² This was John, bishop of Veletri. It is true, the party of Cardinal Damiani protested against the proceeding, but they could effect nothing against superior force. They were obliged to seek safety in concealment,³ and a cardinal priest, of whom Damiana says that he could not even fluently read,⁴ consecrated him pope. He named himself Benedict X. Hildebrand, on his return to Rome, however, soon obtained the upper-hand by his superior energy, and a man devoted to his own principles, bishop Gerhard of Florence, was, with the concurrence of the imperial court, consecrated pope Nicholas II.⁵ He pronounced the ban upon his opponent; but Benedict soon submitted, and received absolution. To prevent for the future disputes and disturbances similar to those which had arisen after the death of the last pope, Nicholas, at the Lateran council in 1059, enacted a special law on the subject of papal elections, by which it was

¹ L. c. c. 100.

² Benedict excused himself on the ground that he was forced to accept the papal dignity, and his opponent Damiani does not venture to assert the contrary, but writes to Henry, archbishop of Ravenna (l. iii. ep. iv.): *Ita est homo stolidus, deses ac nullius ingenii, ut credi possit nescisse, per se talia machinari*, and he says he was ready to acknowledge him as pope, *si unum non dicam psalmi, sed vel homiliae quidem versiculum plene mihi valeat exponere.*

³ *Nobis episcopis per diversa latibula fugientibus*, says Damiani in the letter above cited.

⁴ *Presbyter Ostiensis, qui utinam syllabatim nosset vel unam paginam rite percurrere.*

⁵ Of his personal qualities, Berenger gives an unfavourable account: "*De cujus ineruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere.*" *De cena sacra*, p. 71.

provided that the pope should be chosen by the cardinal¹ bishops and priests, with the concurrence of the rest of the Roman clergy and of the Roman people, and with a certain participation of the emperor,² and that none other than a person so chosen should be considered pope. Thus was laid the foundation of the college of cardinals.

Under this pope, the party of Hildebrand and Damiani laboured still more strenuously for the reformation of the clergy, the suppression of simony, and of unchastity among ecclesiastics. The defenders of simony, as well as of the married life of ecclesiastics, were represented in direct terms as heretics. At the Lateran council already mentioned, in 1059, the pope forbade, on penalty of excommunication, all ecclesiastics who lived in wedlock to celebrate mass or hold divine worship. They were to receive no portion of the church revenues.³ The laity

¹ From the eleventh century, it had gradually become customary to confer the title "cardinal" on the Romish church in particular. The epithet *Cardinalis præcipuus* was at first applied to all the churches, in which sense it frequently occurs in the letters of Gregory the Great. *Cardinalis sacerdos*, the title of a bishop; *cardinales presbyteri, diaconi*, were names given to those who held an office in the church, not provisorily, but as a fixed appointment. Hence *incardinare, cardinare*, to denote the bestowment of such an appointment. In the tenth century, the canonicals of the cathedral churches, in contradistinction from the clergy of the parochial churches, were denominated *cardinales*. Vid. *Ratherii Itinerarium D'Achery Spicileg.* T. i. f. 381. In this eleventh century, however, the name was conferred on the seven *episcopos collaterales* of the pope, who belonged to his more immediate diocese, and on the priests and deacons of the Romish clergy—*cardinales episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi*;—and now another meaning was introduced into the title; it was referred to the Romish church as the *cardo totius ecclesiæ*, as Leo IX. gives it in his letter to Michael Cellularius, patriarch of Constantinople. The *cardo immobilis* in the *ecclesia Petri, unde clerici ejus cardinales dicuntur, cardini utique illi, quo cætera moventur, vicinius adhærentes*. *Harduin. Concil. T. vi. p. i. f. 944.* This interpretation of the term must have become widely spread at a later period; for the Byzantine historian, George Pachymeres, assumes it as a settled point. He thus explains the term *καρδινάλιοις*: *στέφηνος ἡ Ἰλλυνη ἐπισκοπὴ, ὡς ἕως, εὐσην τοῦ πάπα κατὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ μίμησιν.* *Hist. l. v. c. 8. ed. Bekker. p. 360.* From a comparison which Berenger employs, it may be gathered that the cardinals were regarded as standing in the place of the popes, as their representatives: *Si dicat quis, magno dedecore apostolicum officium in cardinali suo, etc.* Vid. *Berenger, De sacra cœna, ed. Vischer, p. 273.*

² The editions of these enactments vary from one another, especially in reference to the share which was in this case conceded to the emperor. Compare, on the subject of these variations, Gieseler's *Kirchengeschichte*, Bd. ii. *Iste Abtheilung*, s. 187, and Pertz *Italienische Reise*, or *Archiv der Gesellschaft für altere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*. Bd. v. s. 83.

³ The ordinance of this council: *Quicumque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum papæ Leonis de castitate clericorum concubinam*

were called upon not to be present at any act of worship performed by such ecclesiastics.¹ This was a well-contrived means for enforcing obedience on such of the clergy as were not disposed to comply with the papal ordinances, by immediately addressing their interests, and their fear of the indignation and abhorrence of the people, who would refuse to have fellowship with such men. Thus the cause of the papacy was made the cause of the people; the popes entered into a league with the people against the higher orders, to which the more eminent ecclesiastics belonged, and which in various ways were identified with them in interests. Thus it happened, that from the bosom of the lower clergy and of the monks, came forth men of more serious aims and purposes, who, disgusted with the depravation of morals among the clergy, and the traffic carried on with spiritual things, attached themselves to the papal interest as noisy zealots for the reformation of the church. These might easily form a popular party, which would be used at Rome as an instrument against the corrupt and haughty ecclesiastics to force them into obedience to the popes. But it was a dangerous means here resorted to by the popes; for they called forth, with the intention of using their own ends, a popular movement, which might easily take also another direction;—they gave the impulse to a force which it was not always in their power to guide, and which, when once aroused, might sometime or other become dangerous to the interests of the dominant church itself. Easily might a separatism,² directed, in the first place, against a corrupt clergy, and the offices of public worship administered by them, become a

palam duxerit vel ductam non reliquerit, ut missam non cantet, neque evangelium vel epistolam ac missam legat, neque in presbyterio ad divina officia cum iis, qui præfata constitutioni obedientes fuerint, maneat, neque partem ab ecclesia suscipiat.

¹ Peter Damiani says, *Opusc. 18 Diss. ii. c. ii.*: Nos plane quilibet nimirum apostolicæ sedis æditui hoc per omnes publice concionamur ecclesias, ut nemo missas a presbytero, non evangelium a diacono, non denique epistolam a subdiacono prorsus audiat, quos misceri feminis non ignorat.

² A spirit of this sort manifested itself at Florence, where violent contests arose between the higher clergy on the one side, and a portion of the monks and laity on the other, which Peter Damiani was sent to appease. The monks and their adherents affirmed that the unworthy clergy could perform no true and real sacramental act “per hujusmodi temporis sacerdotes nullam in sacramentis posse fieri veritatem.” Thus, as Damiana relates, thousands of men in Florence had died without communion, because they would not receive it from the hands of these ecclesiastics. Many churches were looked upon by them as utterly polluted; they

hostile opposition to a corrupt church generally, and its entire authority, and furnish a foot-hold for many heretical tendencies, as the case really turned out from the eleventh century onwards; and even at the present time many stood forth, who maintained that the universal prevalence of simony in the church had destroyed all genuine priesthood,—a position from which the inference might readily be drawn, that the sacramental acts could no longer be performed even in the dominant church after a valid manner.¹

The most violent commotions arose in the important church of Milan, distinguished by the memory of an Ambrose, which, mindful of its ancient dignity, asserted a sort of independence, and was by no means inclined to submit to the new papal monarchy. Here the practice of simony had reached such an extreme, that for every spiritual office a sum was paid proportionate to its value, the bishop Guido himself having arrived at his office in this way; and hence too by this traffic in benefices many unworthy men, of altogether worldly lives, had made their way to important stations in the church.² There came to Milan a young clergyman by the name of Ariald, born in the village of Euzago, between Como and

despised all ecclesiastics and monks who did not belong to their party, vident monachum incedentem, aspice, inquit, unum scapulare, presbyterum vel episcopum abire prospiciunt, barbirasos se videre fatentur. We might in fact infer from Damiani's language, that they did not even spare the pope himself. Non est, inquit, papa, non rex, non archiepiscopus neque sacerdos. Vide Damiani opusc. 30, c. iii.

¹ Bishop Bruno of Segni says in his *Life of Leo*, after having spoken of the simony which universally prevailed till the time of pope Leo IX.: "unde etiam usque hodi inveniuntur quidam, qui ab illo jam tempore sacerdotium in ecclesia defecisse contendunt."

² In the *Life of Ariald*, written by his scholar Andrew, the condition of the clergy is thus described: *Alii cum canibus et accipitribus huc illucque pervagantes, alii vero tabernarii, alii usurarii existebant, cuncti fere cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiose ducebant vitam. Vid. cap. i. in the Actis Sanctor. at the 27th of June, f. 282.* In another *Life of Ariald*, also composed by a contemporary and eye-witness, Landulph de St Paulo, which Puricelli has published along with several other records relating to this epoch in the history of the Milanese church (Milan, 1675), the following is said (c. ii.), *Istis temporibus inter clericos tanta erat dissolutio, ut alii, uxores, alii meretrices publice tenerent, alii venationibus, alii aucupio vacabant, partim fenerabantur in publico, partim in vicis tabernas exercebant cunctaque ecclesiastica beneficia more pecudum vendebant.* And as this is said of the then condition of the clergy generally, it is added with regard to Milan in particular; *quanto urbs ipsa populosior est, tanto iniquitas copiosior erat.* And even the Milanese historian Arnulph, interested as he was in favour of the Ambrosian Clerus and against Ariald and the Hildebrand party, still cannot wholly deny the guilt of the Milanese clergy. He says (l. iii. c. 12. in *Muratori Script. hist. Ital. T. iv f. 29*); *ut caveatur mendacium, non ex toto. fuerunt omnes ab objectis immunes.*

Milan,¹ who from his childhood following the bent given him by a religious education, had led a pious and strictly moral life. He felt impelled to present himself before the people,—a people who followed the example of their corrupt clergy, and by a clergy as ignorant as they were immoral had never been made to understand the Christian vocation and its duties,—as a preacher of repentance. He felt impelled to attack rudely the corruption of a clergy who set so bad an example to the people.² He at first preached in his own country village against the worldly life and vices of the clergy. These, however, replied to him, that as they were ignorant people, he could soon finish the business with them. If he was sure of his cause, he had better attack the clergy in Milan; there he would find men who were learned enough to answer him.³ During the reign of pope Stephen II., in the year 1056, Ariald first made his appearance in Milan, and was able to prosecute his labours for ten years. He first applied to the clergy; and, being repelled by them with contempt, he turned to the laity.⁴ “Christ,” said he, “has left behind him too lights, the *word* of God and the *life of its teachers*. One of these lights he gave to the clergy, who were to possess the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures. But to the unlearned, he appointed the life of their teachers to be a doctrine. Yet through the power of Satan and of sin, and by the negligence of the clergy, it had come to pass that the laity had lost their light. The clergy were lacking in the knowledge of the divine word, and to the laity the life of the clergy no longer shined. And to deceive the more effectually, Satan had suffered those whom he had robbed of holiness, to re-

¹ The aristocratic spirit of those who estimated the clergy by their ancestry is shown in a passage of Arnulph, l. iii. c. 8: *modicæ auctoritatis, humiliter utpote natus.*

² We have, to be sure, no wholly impartial account of these events; on the one hand the partisan accounts of the life of Ariald, written in a rhetorical style of eulogy (which applies, however, still more to Andrew's than to Landulph's) and of Erlembald, which was first published by Puricelli, at Milan, 1657; on the other hand, the narrative of Arnulph written in the interest of the opposite party. A comparison of the two representations teaches us that neither is free from all partiality.

³ See the *Life of Landulph de St Paulo*, published by Puricelli, c. iii. *Nobis hæc ideo loqueris, quia ineruditos nos esse cognocis, sed urbanis hæc prædica, qui tibi suis scientiis respondere poterunt.*

⁴ The words attributed by his biographer to Ariald, in his address to the people, allude to this (c. i. § xi.): *Conatus sum reos reducere ad suam lucem, sed nequivi.*

tain the outward show of it. This he said with sorrow, not to insult them, but for the purpose of warning them and others. Christ says, Whosoever would be my disciple let him follow me; but the life of the clergy at the present time was directly the opposite to the life of Christ." He then contrasted the example of humility which Christ had given with the worldly pride of the clergy, with their luxurious palaces; his poverty, with their eagerness to amass riches; his purity, with their illicit connections. How could *they*, then, be imitators of Christ? Such ecclesiastics were to be regarded rather as enemies than as disciples of Christ. He called upon them to repent; "he had come," he said, "to bring them to this or to die."¹ We see called forth here, by the antagonism to the secular spirit of the church, the idea of the clergy as appointed to follow Christ in poverty, purity, and humility,—which idea, in the next succeeding centuries, came forth, under various appearances, in opposition to the prevailing corruption; sometimes siding with the papacy, sometimes attacking it as well as the whole church fabric erected thereupon. Ariald's discourses met with a favourable reception from the multitude. Those who were susceptible to religious impressions gladly heard him, because so earnest a piety, which insisted on the imitation of Christ in the affections of the heart, had not been witnessed for a long time in this city, and such as were conscious of a deeper religious need, would hence feel themselves the more strongly attracted by his fervent zeal. Novelty enticed the many who are ever eager after some new thing,² and the populace willingly listened to reproofs and censures administered against the higher class of citizens. Thus the clergy, who in spite of their personal worthlessness, had, by virtue of the reverence felt for the dignity of the priestly office, been hitherto the objects of general respect, became gradually objects of detestation and abhorrence.³ In addition to this, by the preaching of Ariald, the deacon Landulph, a young man of high birth, belonging to the family of De Cotta, one of the most distinguished in Milan, and—an important consideration in that city—a member of its own clerus, was won

¹ See his Life of Landulph, l. c. c. vi.

² Landulph says, in the account of his life. c. vi : Nunciantur novæ prædicationes, ad quas populus semper novorum avidus cumulatur.

³ In verbis ejus plebs fere universa sic est accensa, ut quos catenus venerata erat ut Christi ministros, damnans proclamaret Dei hostes animarumque deceptores.

over to the spirit of reform, and converted into a zealous champion for the cause.¹ Landulph spoke with a still greater vehemence than Ariald; and he was better fitted to act the part of a demagogue. He is said to have been a powerful popular speaker. Before this change, he was a great favourite with the people as a preacher,² and perhaps even before Ariald's appearance in Milan, he had been inclined to some such views of reform. Various means were now employed to operate upon the people. They were called together to hear the new sermons by cards of invitation scattered through the city, and by the ringing of little bells.³ Next appeared a man out of the very midst of the laity, who took hold of this movement of reform with great zeal. Nazarius, a man connected with the mint, the pious head of a family, who had hitherto been accustomed, even in the corrupt clergy, to honour their calling, listened with enthusiasm to men who were seeking to bring back the clergy to a life corresponding to their exalted station. He was ready to devote himself, with his family and his entire substance, to the service of a cause which appeared to him so holy.⁴

Ariald and Landulph exhorted the people to shun all intercourse with the clergy who would not come off from the heresy of the Nicolaitans,⁵ and of simony; and to refuse from the hands of such the administration of the sacraments. They declared that,

¹ Arnulph, the violent enemy of this party, seems indeed to intimate, that he was a layman, and finds something irregular in his putting on the preacher when a layman, and setting himself up as a censor of the clergy. But even Landulph designates him as a Levite, a deacon. It is characteristic of Arnulph to say of the man who required of the clergy a strictly unmarried life: *Hic quum nullis esset ecclesiasticis gradibus alteratus, grave jugum sacratorum imponebat cervicibus, quum Christi jugum suave et ejus leve sit onus*, L. iii. c. 8.

² See Landulph de St Paulo, c. iii.

³ Landulph, c. vi: *Per urbem mittuntur chartulæ, tinniunt tintinnabula, nunciantur novæ prædicationes.*

⁴ In the above cited Life of Andreas, c. ii., the following language is put into the mouth of Nazarius, to show the contrast between that which the clergy actually were and what they were designed to be: "*Quis tam insipiens est, qui non lucide perpendere possit, quod eorum vita esse altius debet a mea dissimilis? Quos ego in domum meam ad benedicendam voco, juxta meum posse reficio et post hæc manus deosculans munus meum offerro, et a quibus mysteria, pro quibus æternam vitam expecto, omnia suscipio. Sed, ut omnes inspiciamus, non solum non mundior, verum etiam sordidior perspicue cernitur.*"

⁵ The marriage of ecclesiastics being placed without hesitation in the same category with whoredom, to its defenders was applied the heretical name Nicolaitans.

by consenting to receive the sacraments from the unworthy hands of these heretical ecclesiastics, men only became partakers of their condemnation, but could experience no saving benefit from the sacred rites themselves. In exhorting the people not to be present at the administration of holy rites by such unworthy ecclesiastics, they in truth did but follow the principles publicly expressed by the pope ; but it might easily happen, that hurried on by a fiery zeal, they might venture to use expressions which were at variance with the doctrine of the church, concerning the objective validity of the sacraments.¹ Still less could the people understand those nice distinctions in the theory of the sacraments ; it was impossible for them to receive it any otherwise, than that the ceremonies performed by these unworthy priests were not to be regarded as sacraments at all. But when now the followers of this party asked, What, then, are we to do without sacraments and priests ? Ariald answered them : they had nothing to do but their own duty,—to go out from the midst of the unclean, and trust in God, who would not forsake them. He who had bestowed on them the greater blessing, giving himself for their salvation, *he* would not deny them the lesser, faithful shepherds. They might, therefore, confidently withdraw themselves from all fellowship with the heretics ; and so praying in perfect faith for good and faithful shepherds, they would assuredly obtain such.² Soon the clergy were forced by the people either to separate from their concubines, or to withdraw from the altar.³ Ariald was ready to stake his all upon the cause of working out a reformation of the clergy, according to his own views. He had so wrought upon the conscience of one clergyman, who had acquired his office by simony, that he repented of it, and was desirous of making restitution. But to lose the money which he had disbursed, and could not recover, was not to be thought of by one in his circumstances. Ariald made up the sum for him, when he resigned his office, and

¹ If we might place any reliance on the report of the hostile Arnulph (l. c. l. iii. c. 9), Landulph had made use of such expressions against the unworthy clergy : *eorum sacrificia idem est ac si canina sint stercora, eorumque basilicæ jumentorum præsepia.*

² See *Life of Ariald* by Andreas, c. 8.

³ Andreas, in his *Life of Ariald*, c. 2, says on this point : *Stupra clericorum nefanda sic ab eodem populo intra aliquanta tempora sunt persecuta et deleta, ut nullus existeret, quin aut cogeret tantum nefas dimittere vel ad altare non accedere ;* and the same is remarked by Landulph of St Paulo.

the place was filled again in the canonical manner.¹ Under his direction was formed a society of clergymen and laymen, who lived together in the form of a canonical community.

The whole population of Milan was separated into two hotly contending parties. This controversy divided families; it was the one object which commanded universal participation.² The popular party, devoted to Ariald and Landulph, was nick-named *Pataria*, which, in the dialect of Milan, signified a popular faction;³ and as a heretical tendency might easily grow out of, or attach itself to, this spirit of separatism, so zealously opposed to the corruption of the clergy, it came about that, in the following centuries, the name Patarenes was applied in Italy as a general appellation to denote sects contending against the dominant church and clergy, —sects which, for the most part, met with great favour from the people. But it was not strange, that the fanatical zeal of the people being once aroused, violent outbreaks should ensue, and that many impure motives should mix in with the rest.⁴

In the meantime, both parties lodged complaints against each other with Pope Nicholas II., and the latter sent the cardinal Peter Damiani, and the archbishop Anselm of Lucca,⁵ to Milan, for the purpose of investigating the affair;⁶ the former of whom

¹ See Ariald's Life, c. 15.

² In the Life of Ariald by Andreas, c. 3: In his diebus si per illam urbem incederes, præter hujus rei contentionem undique vix aliquid audires.

³ Arnulph l. iii. c. xi.: Hos tales cætera vulgaritas ironice patarinos appellat.

⁴ We cannot decide whether any truth lies at the foundation of Arnulph's report (l. iii. c. ix.), that Landulph, in a passionate declamation, stimulated the populace to rob and plunder the corrupted clergy.

⁵ If the report of Landulph de St Paulo is correct, the selection of archbishop Anselm of Lucca for this embassy was not calculated to make a very favourable impression upon the Milanese clergy; for, according to his story, Anselm was the first who persecuted such a reforming spirit in the Milanese church. This Anselm, descended from the Milanese family de Bandagio, belonged to the clergy of Milan. He was a favourite preacher, and declaimed against the vices of the corrupt clergy. In vain did Guido, archbishop of Milan, admonish him not to make such things public. To get rid of him, he persuaded the emperor to bestow on him the archbishopric of Lucca. But he found himself deceived in his expectations. For when Anselm could no longer himself operate immediately in Milan, he was the more busy with his agents, Landulph and Ariald. Sic hæc proclamatio contra clericos lascivos et simoniacos, per Arialdum et Landulphum diutius continuata, a præfato Anselmo de Bandagio sumsit exordium. See c. 16.

⁶ The cardinal Hildebrand cannot, as the Milanese historian Arnulph says, have been one of these legates; for Damiani, in the *Opusculum V.*, which is addressed to him, and which contains the *Actus Mediolanenses*, relates to him these incidents in such a way as presupposes that he was not present at the time of their occurrence.

convoked a synod there for this object. But when he here asserted the authority of a papal legate, claiming in this character the presidency in the synod, and placing the associates of his mission, archbishop Anselm and archbishop Guido of Milan, the one on his right hand and the other on his left, the pride of the Milanese nobility, of the spiritual and secular orders, was greatly offended. This proceeding appeared to them derogatory to the ancient dignity of the independent Ambrosian church.¹ The excitable populace, who had before been inflamed by the zeal of Ariald and Landulph against the clergy, were at present quite as easily hurried to excess by their zeal for the dignity and freedom of the Ambrosian church. A violent uproar arose, the tocsin was sounded. But the prudent compliance of archbishop Guido restored tranquillity; and as Damiani acted in the consciousness of the authority of the Romish church resting on a divine foundation, he was neither intimidated nor disturbed by any contradiction. To the excited multitude he addressed a discourse, exhorting them to obedience to the church of Rome, the common mother, by whom the dignity of her daughter, the Ambrosian, was by no means denied or injured.² The confidence with which he spoke could not fail of its effect on a multitude, acting without any clear knowledge of their aim; but *he* regarded it as a proof of the power of this undeniable elevation, by divine right, of the Romish church upon the minds of men. Thus he was enabled to hold his spiritual court without further disturbance.

¹ Damiani says: *Factione clericorum repente in populo murmur exoritur, non debere Ambrosianam ecclesiam Romanis legibus subjacere nullumque judicandi vel disponendi jus Romano pontificii in illa sede competere.* The Milanese historian Arnulph, who was actuated by this spirit of church freedom among the Milanese, says, in speaking of the Roman thirst for power: *Qui quum principari appetant jure apostolico, videntur velle dominari omnium et cuncta suæ subdeditioni quum doctor evangelicus suos doceat humilitatem apostolos; whereupon he cites Luke, xxii. 25.*

² In the words here spoken by Damiani, as he cites them himself, is contained the entire Hildebrandian system of the papacy. The power conferred on St Peter's successors alone is immediately from God; on the other hand, patriarchates, metropolitan sees, bishoprics, are of human origin, founded by emperors or kings. *Romanum autem ecclesiam solus ipse fundavit, qui beato vitæ æternæ clavifero terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit. Non ergo quælibet terrena sententia, sed illud verbum, quo constructum est cœlum et terra Romanam fundavit ecclesiam.* Hence he concludes that he who deprives other churches of their rights does a wrong indeed, but he who attacks the rights of the Romish church incurs the guilt of heresy, since he contends against the divine right.

Simony being so dominant an evil in the Milanese church, he deemed it necessary to allow of some mitigation of the severity of the ecclesiastical law towards such a multitude of the guilty. Pardon was to be secured to all on condition that downwards from the archbishop, who undertook to perform a pilgrimage to St Jago de Cómpostella in Spain, they should bind themselves to undergo a penance proportionate to their sin, and should subscribe an oath, in which they agreed to renounce altogether the heresy of simony and of the Nicolaitans. Yet only that part of the clergy who were found qualified for their duties by their mode of life and their knowledge, should continue to retain their places.¹ And those who retained their places, should be indebted for them, not to the illegal manner in which they had obtained them, but to the special interposition of the pope's plenary power. This was for the present a mighty triumph of the Romish church over the spirit of independence before so strongly expressed by the Ambrosian clerus, and would of course be extremely humiliating to Milanese pride.²

It was natural, that after the death of pope Nicholas II. in 1061, the contest between the two parties, which continued through this whole period of time, should burst forth again in some more violent outbreak at the new papal election. Thus far, the party in favour of reform had attached itself to the imperial interest, and used the emperor's power as a counterpoise to the arrogance of the Italian nobles. Still, however, the tendency of the Hildebrandian party would necessarily lead in the end to the making the election of the pope independent of the imperial power, as Hildebrand himself had long before distinctly intimated; and Hildebrand's opponents now sought on their side to attach themselves to the interests of the emperor; hoping, perhaps, that by professing to stand up for the rights of the emperor, they might succeed, with his assistance, in accomplishing their objects. The party led by archdeacon Hildebrand intended at first to avail themselves of the minority of Henry

¹ Qui et literas eruditi et casti et morum gravitate viderentur honesti.

² Hence Arnulph mournfully exclaims (l. iii. c. 13): O insensati Mediolanenses! Quis vos fascinavit? Heri (in the quarrel of the archbishop with Damiani) clamastis unius sellæ primatum. Hodie confunditis totius ecclesiæ statum, vere culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes.

IV. as a suitable opportunity for establishing again the example of a papal election carried through without the concurrence of the emperor ; but then again they were obliged to hasten forward the election, and to forestall their opponents, in order to secure a pope devoted to Hildebrand's principles.¹ The other party sent delegates with the imperial crown to the court of Henry IV., and endeavoured to effect the election of a new pope there. The Hildebrandian party also despatched, it is true, the cardinal Stephen to the court of Henry IV.; but he was not even admitted to an audience. Hildebrand meantime turned the election of the pope on a man of the stricter party, Anselm, archbishop of Lucca, of whom we have already spoken. He named himself Alexander II. Thus was elevated to the papal throne a man who was known from the first as a zealous friend of the principles of reform, and who had already laboured in the same cause at Milan, without standing in any outward connection with Hildebrand, having become first connected with the latter by identity of principles. By the imperial party in Germany, however, he was not acknowledged ; but this party chose for their pope, at a council held at Basle, Cadalous, bishop of Parma, under the name of Honorius II. The contest between these two popes was undoubtedly a contest between two opposite tendencies of ecclesiastical law. The opponents of the Hildebrandian system flattered themselves at

¹ The imperial party could appeal to the fact that even after the order for the election of pope passed at the Lateran council under Nicholas II., no such order could be carried into execution without the emperor's concurrence. And in the *disceptatio synodalis inter Romanæ ecclesiæ defensorem et regis advocatum*, which Damiani composed in behalf of the council of Osborn in Germany, in which he employed all the sophistical arts of an advocate in defence of the papal interest, he did not himself venture to deny the right grounded thereupon, but on the contrary affirms, that men were forced by the necessity of the case to deviate from this rule, in order to prevent the dissension, uproar, and bloodshed which threatened to ensue in case the election were hastened. "Ad hoc nos invitos traxit imminens periculum." He then seeks to prove, by a variety of examples taken from Holy Writ, whose meaning he perverts with the most unconscionable sophistry, that it was impossible to have here any invariable rule of proceeding, but that it was necessary to do what was best according to discretion, looking at all the circumstances. Everything depended on the disposition. The Roman church, the common mother, which was the mother of the emperor in a much higher sense than his bodily mother, the empress Agnes, had exercised as guardian the right which belonged to her. "Quid ergo mali fecit Romana ecclesia, si filio suo, quum adhuc impubis esset, quum adhuc tutela egeret, ipsa tutoris officium subiit, et jus quod illi competeat, implevit?" It is here seen, as in the whole of his written vindication, how much dishonesty could flow from that party interest which kept down the sense of truth.

least with the hope, that, if Cadalous triumphed, he would abolish the ordinances respecting the celibacy of the clergy.¹ Had Cadalous therefore been able to maintain himself, a reaction would have ensued against the Hildebrandian system of church government. The present, then, was one of those critical epochs in history, when a decisive turn must be given one side or the other to the ecclesiastical development of the middle ages. But from this it may be gathered, that although a single event—that Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, succeeded in wresting the tutorship of Henry IV. out of the hands of the empress Agnes—had especial influence in bringing about a more speedy decision of this contest, yet the decision of it generally rested on a deeper and more necessary ground, in the progressive development of humanity and of the church. A momentary triumph which Cadalous obtained by resorting to force, could never have served, however, to advance a cause which had the worthiest portion of the church against it. Alexander was first acknowledged at the synod of Osborn in 1062, then more generally at the synod of Mantua in 1064.² Pope Alexander laboured on after the same plan with his predecessors,³ stimulated by the zeal of a

¹ Damiani (T. iii. Opusc. 18. contra clericos intemperantes, diss. ii. f. 206) says: *Sperant Nicolaitæ, quia, si Cadalous universali ecclesia antichristi vice præsiderit, ad eorum votum luxuriæ frena laxabit.* It is to be lamented, that we have no accurate account of the synod held at Basle, by the Lombardian and imperial party. Though we can place implicit confidence in the report of Damiani, in the above cited *disceptatio synodalis*, yet there is probably some foundation of truth in what he says respecting the actions of this synod in relation to the abrogation of the ordinances made under pope Nicholas: *Conspirantes contra Romanam ecclesiam consilium collegistis, papam (Nicolaum) quasi per synodalem sententiam condemnastis et omnia, quæ ab eo fuerant statuta, cessare incredibili prosumus audacia præsumsistis.*

² The fierce opponent of Cadalous, Cardinal Damiani, had predicted to him that he would die in that same year, *non ego te fallo, cœpto morieris in anno.* As this prediction was not fulfilled, the opposite party triumphed over the false prophet; but Damiani got off by explaining that the prophecy was fulfilled, if not by the temporal, yet by the spiritual demise of Cadalous, alluding to the sentence of condemnation passed upon him by the synod at Osborn. See T. iii. opp. Damiani, f. 206.

³ The letters of Damiani to this pope show how much the former had at heart the purification of the church from wicked abuses, the appointment of worthy men to the ecclesiastical offices, and the improvement of the spiritual order; and how earnestly he was bent on making the papal power subservient to these objects. Nor for the sake of promoting them did he fear to attack the pride of the hierarchy itself. There was a law, that no ecclesiastic or layman should appear as an accuser against his bishop. Damiani earnestly demanded of the pope that this law might be abolished, since it secured the bishops against punishment in all their criminal and arbitrary proceedings: *Quæ tanta superbia, ut liceat epis-*

Damiani, and a Hildebrand, and supported by the energy of the latter.

The disturbances in the Milanese church, which had been quelled in the time of pope Nicholas, broke out again more violently under Alexander. The archbishop and the rest of the clergy did not long suffer themselves to be bound by the engagements into which they had entered. Some of the learned among the clergy there now stood forth, who confidently believed they could prove from Holy Writ, and from the older fathers and ecclesiastical laws, the legality of the marriage of priests.² But

copum per fas et nefas ad propriæ voluntatis arbitrium vivere, et quod insolenter excessum est, a subjectis suis dedignetur audire?—Ecce dicitur: ego sum episcopus, ego sum pastor ecclesiæ, etenim in causa fidei dignus sum, etiam in pravis moribus, æquanimitèr ferri. To this he opposes the precept in Matt. xviii., and says: Si ecclesiæ ergo referenda est causa quorum libet fratrum, quomodo non etiam sacerdotum? We see here how Damiani was drawn by his purer regard for Christianity into an antagonism even with the principles expressed in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals. Furthermore, he was scandalised at the custom of affixing to all papal ordinances the anathema against such as refused to comply with them, thus applying it indiscriminately to all transgressions, even in matters of the least importance. Delinquit itaque, quisquis ille est, in illud apostolicæ constitutionis edictum, et aliquando levi quadam et perexigua offensione transgreditur, et continuo velut hæreticus et tanquam cunctis criminibus teneatur obnoxius, anathematis sententia condemnatur. "It should be considered," he said, "how much this word imported; it related not to the deprivation of civil liberty, not to the confiscation of worldly goods, but to the exclusion of the individual from the highest of all blessings: Sed deo potius, omnium scilicet honorum auctore, privatur." In the ancient decretals, such a threatening was never to be found, except where the question related to the faith. Therefore, in decretals relating to other matters, other penalties should be threatened; such, for example, as pecuniary mulcts, ne quod aliis est ad tuitionis munimenta provisum, aliis ad perniciem proveniat animarum. See lib. i. ep. xii. Truly, we may here discern quite a different spirit, on the ethical and religious side, from that which reigns in the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals.

¹ Respecting the prevalence of simony, as it had existed up to this time, the pope (ep. 35) says to the clergy and community of Lucca: fiebat ecclesia et res ejus ita venalis, veluti quædam terrena et vilis merx a negotiatoribus ad vendendum exposita.

² A contemporary of Milan, the elder Landulph, a zealous advocate of the marriage of ecclesiastics, and a violent opponent of the Hildebrandian principles, says, concerning the most eminent and learned speakers of the other party: Hi autem quum diu per apostoli Pauli et canonum auctoritatem altercarentur; Arialduus et Landulphus proclamare cœperunt; vetera transierunt et facta sunt omnia nova. Quod olim in primitiva ecclesia a patribus sanctis concessum est, modo indubitanter prohibetur. They would admit only the decisions of Ambrose, who, to be sure, spoke plainly enough against priestly wedlock. Their opponents did not venture, indeed, to impugn his authority; but they cited only those passages of Ambrose, which spoke of the sacredness of marriage, which described the chastity of the unmarried life as a charisma, a thing which no person could bestow on himself; and from this they argued, that what was a gift of grace, ought not to be made a law for all. Imposing a yoke on the clergy, which they were unable to bear, was only laying the foundation for greater evils. Natura humana dum magis constringitur, amplius illicitis ascenditur. Vetando unam et propriam uxerom cen-

the contest was not waged merely with spiritual weapons, especially after a warlike knight had joined himself to Ariald, as a popular leader against the aristocratical party. For, on the death of Landulph, his place was filled by his brother Erlembald, a knight, and captain. This person had just returned from a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, and was intending to retire from the world to monastic life. But Ariald dissuaded him from this step, telling him, that he would better serve God by uniting with him in defending the faith and fighting against the heretics. He invited him to leave his vocation as a secular knight, and become a knight of God and of the Catholic church. "Let us deliver the church, which for so long a time has been languishing in bondage," said he to him, "thou by the law of the sword, we by the law of God."¹ He first undertook a pilgrimage to Rome,² where he accused the archbishop before pope Alexander, as a recusant and a perjured man, who was again promoting Nicolaitanism and simony : and as the pope had in his youth been among the first instigators of these movements in Milan, he was the more inclined to favour them now. He exhorted Erlembald to defend without wavering the cause of the faith. He presented him with the consecrated banner of St Peter, which he was to unfurl in case of necessity, as a champion for the apostolical chair, and for the faith. He appointed him vexillifer Romanæ et universalis ecclesiæ³ (standard-bearer of the Roman and of the uni-

tum fornicatrices ac adulteria multa concedis. Vid. l. iii. c. 23, etc., in Muratori *Scriptores rer. Italicar.* T. iv. Though the discourses which the historian here introduces are not composed by himself, yet we perceive from them, that there were still those who knew how to defend the marriage of ecclesiastics on good grounds, and who valued more highly the decisions of the sacred oracles, and of the common Christian consciousness, than the papal decretals. This Landulph complains, that the clergy, through indolence, neglected the means of defending themselves, by the sacred Scriptures, against the false priests. *Ecclesiastici ordinis multos quodam fastidio nequissimæ pigritiæ tædiatos cognosco, qui in posteris multa sacrarum scripturarum rudimenta ostendendo tradere potuissent, quibus sese a pseudo-sacerdotibus defendere ac liberare potuissent minime operam dederunt, qui dum falsas prædicationes per simulatam castitatem ac ficta jejunia, caritatem habere sese omnino simulantes donis, privatis divitiis, in domibus viduarum aut in angulis platearum prædicantes, gladios acute subministrant acutissimos.* See c. i.

¹ See the Life of Ariald, by Landulph de St Paulo, c. 16.

² According to the report of Landulph de St Paulo, Ariald and Erlembald travelled in company to Rome, and Ariald was received by Alexander II. as an old friend.

³ See Landulph de S. P. c. 16, and the other Life by Andreas, T. iv. § 34. Respecting this banner of St Peter presented to Erlembald, Arnulph, however,

versal church.) Erlembald brought back with him also a declaration of the pope, by which the archbishop was excommunicated. This was the signal for bloody quarrels in Milan. The people, fickle in their favour, in their zeal, and in their passions, sometimes allowed themselves to be inflamed by the speeches of Ariald, against the corruptions of the clergy, sometimes by declamation about the liberty and dignity of the Ambrosian church, and against the disgrace brought upon them by Roman arrogance. Ariald, after ten years of toil, fell himself a victim, in the year 1067, to the cruel vengeance of the exasperated aristocratical party. Upon this, plenipotentiaries were sent from Rome to Milan, for the purpose of healing these schisms in the church. By these, the former ordinances against simony and Nicolaitanism were renewed; but, at the same time, it was forbidden the laity to set themselves up, under the pretext of zeal for the ecclesiastical laws, as judges over the clergy, or to use violence against them.

In Florence, also, through the influence of monks fired with zeal against the corrupted clergy,¹ and led on by the venerable abbot John Gualbert, of Vallombrosa, near Florence, divisions ending in bloodshed had been created between the party of the archbishop, who was accused of simony, and a portion of the clergy and of the people. In vain had Peter Damiani sought, by personal negotiation and by letters, to heal the divisions and to put a stop to separatism. But when Peter, a monk, delegated by the abbot John Gualbert, was supposed to have proved by the judgment of God, having passed between the flames of two lighted pyres placed near each other,² that the charges laid against the archbishop were true, and had thus gained over to his side of the question the enthusiasm of the whole populace, the archbishop was compelled to resign his office, and thus quiet was restored.

Hildebrand, who already for a long time past had been the

says: *Quod appensum lanceæ homicidiorum videtur indicium, quum profecto nefas sit, tale aliquid suspicari de Petro aut aliud habuisse vexillum præter quod datum est in evangelio; qui vult venire post me, abneget semet ipsum et tollat crucem suam et sequatur me.*

¹ See above, p. 165.

² See the report of the party opposed to the archbishop, concerning this incident. Life of Johannes Gualbert, c. 64. Mabillon *Acta Sanc. O. B. Sæc. vi.* p. ii. f. 283, and Victor III. or Desiderii Casinens. *Dialog.* iii. f. 856. *Bibliothec. patr. Lugd. T.* xviii

soul of the papacy, was now more so than ever, when at length, as archdeacon and chancellor of the Romish Church, he stood at the head of all its affairs. He whose superior understanding all acknowledged and followed; whom his enthusiastic friend Damiana, because he was forced to serve him often in spite of himself, was wont to call his St Satan,¹ he, as Damiani says of him, ruled at Rome more than the pope himself.² He was considered the founder of a new empire of Rome over the world.³ Accordingly, on the death of Alexander II., in the year 1073, he had sufficiently prepared the way by his labours and efforts, extending through more than twenty years, to enter into the contest under his own name, for the full realisation of the system of church government, the grand features of which we have already seen clearly defined in this last epoch.

¹ Sanctum Satanum meum. Ep. l. i. ep. 16. T. i. f. 16.

² Damiani's verses upon him :

Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce ;
Plus domino papæ, quam domino pareo papæ.

And on Hildebrand's relation to the pope, who was raised by him to the summit of power :

Papam rite colo ; sed te prostratus adoro,
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit iste Deum.

On Hildebrand's short stature, whence he was called by his enemies Hildebrandellus :

Hunc qui cuncta domat Sisyphe mensura coarctat,
Quemque tremunt multi, nolens mihi subditur uni.

³ This is expressed in a remarkable way, in a poem by Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno, written on Hildebrand after Alexander II. had by his means gained the victory,—published by Baronius at the year 1061, N. 32. It contains a characteristic comparison of the old and the new Rome, of her political and her spiritual sovereignty over the world. Concerning the artibus Hildebrandi :

Ex quibus caput urbium
Roma justior et prope
Totus orbis eas timet.—
Quanta vis anathematis ?
Quicquid et Marius prius
Quodque Julius egerant
Maxima nece militum
Voce tu modica facis.

II. HISTORY OF THE CHURCH CONSTITUTION IN ITS OTHER RELATIONS.

1. RELATION OF THE CHURCH TO THE STATE.

The plan which, in the history of the popes since the time of Leo IX., we saw continually becoming more distinctly defined, the plan of making the church wholly independent of the secular power, had still to contend with obstacles which passed over from the preceding period into this. The fact that the abuses springing out of the influence of a rude secular power on the church had reached such a pitch, was the very one which, as we have shown in the preceding remarks, called forth the opposite efforts of the party in favour of reform. Among the most pernicious influences of this kind, was the influence in *disposing of church benefices*. We noticed in the preceding period what had been done in the Carolingian age to put a check to the abuses thence arising by the revival of the regular mode of ecclesiastical elections; and the effort was so far successful, as that the ancient form in the election of bishops was again introduced. Synods of the ninth century endeavoured by new laws to preserve this custom in force. Thus the third council of Valence in 855 decreed in its seventh canon, that on the death of a bishop, the monarch should be requested to allow the clergy and the community of the place to make a canonical choice; and then a worthy person should be sought for within the diocese itself, or at least, if that were not possible, in its neighbourhood. But even should the king send along one taken from the clergy of his court, still his qualifications in respect to moral character and knowledge should be carefully inquired into, as well as the fact whether or no he had attempted to procure the office for himself by simony, and only when no objection could be brought against him in these respects, should he be accepted. It was made the duty of metropolitans

to see that these denominations were exactly observed. Yet the law made by this synod proves it to be the fact also, that encroachments of various kinds were to be apprehended from the monarchs, and it is presupposed by the law, that their permission was needed to institute such an election. There was a standing formula, for expressing the permission granted by the prince to proceed to an ecclesiastical election of this sort.¹ This, in the design of the church, was to be nothing more, it is true, than a mere formality ; but it might easily fall in with the humour of the monarch, to make more out of it, to consider himself entitled to refuse the permission for holding such an election, or to refuse the confirmation of it, to appoint some other person in place of the one elected in canonical form. There were those, who said to the monarchs, " In your giving permission to hold a church election, it is implied that such a person must be chosen as *you* would have him to be."² " The property of the church," said they, " is in the monarch's power so far as that he may bestow it on whom he pleases ;" and much was now depending on the fact, how the bishops would demean themselves with respect to these claims of the sovereign power. Very far was it from being the case, that all could show the energy and firmness which a Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, displayed in defending the liberties and rights of the church against the aggressions of monarchs and no less of popes. Lewis III., king of France, refused to recognise the election of a bishop of Beauvais, made by a provincial synod, held under the presidency of archbishop Hinkmar, but appointed a person bishop, who was chosen, it is true, by the clergy and the community of Beauvais, but had been found by the bishops of the province unfit for the office both in respect to mental capacity and knowledge, and in respect to moral qualifications. But Hinkmar protested against this sort of proceeding ; and the language above described, with which flattering courtiers justified the conduct of their sovereign, he compared to

¹ *Petitam electionem concedere* ; see Hincmar. opuscul. xii. c. 3. T. ii. f. 190, and as we see from that passage, it was from this customary formula, the right of the monarchs to intermeddle with the election itself was drawn by others.

² *Illum debent episcopi et clerus ac plebs eligere, quem vos vultis et quem jubetis.* See archbishop Hincmar's letter to King Lewis III. l. c.

³ *Vid. l. c. c. iv. : Res ecclesiasticæ episcoporum in vestra sunt potestate, ut cuicumque volueritis eas donetis, l. c.*

that of the seducer of our first parents, language spewed from hell.¹ Yet in the majority of cases, where the princes had not to do with such firm and consistent defenders of church freedom, they could succeed without difficulty in deriving from the right once conceded to them of exercising an influence in the choice of bishops more than was thereby intended to be conceded.² Accordingly it became a common thing in France for the kings to appoint men from among the clergy of their own court to the more important episcopal stations.³ Bishops, who found it for their interest so to do, themselves contributed to make the churches thus dependent on the monarchs. In addition to this, the universal custom of feudal relations, caused these to be transferred to the property and right of the church, as in fact the bishops and abbots sustained a peculiar character as political orders in the state. Now as the symbols of feudal tenure differed in such a way as to indicate the different official relations of vassals, so to express the feudal tenure of bishops a symbol was employed corresponding to their official character. This symbol was the presentation of a bishop's staff and ring, the scandalous thing about which was, that the symbol referred directly to the spiritual authority of the bishops, and it might therefore seem as if monarchs who were laymen were wishing to interfere with the spiritual province.⁴ The monarchs and the

¹ Ille malignus spiritus,—he writes to King Lewis,—qui per serpentem primos parentes nostros in paradiso decepit et inde illos eiecit, per tales in aures vestras hæc sibilat.

² Among the letters of Servatus Lupus, ep. 79. ad Ratramnum monachum, we find the nomination of a French bishop by the king cited with the formula; quem rex esse episcopum jussit, and in the 81st letter it is said, pope Zacharias conceded to king Pipin, out of respect to the bad times, the right to provide for the supplying of vacant bishoprics with suitable men, ut acerbitati temporis industria sibi probatissimorum decedentibus episcopis mederetur.

³ Vid. l. c. ep. 81: Non esse novitium aut temerarium quod ex palatio honorabilioribus maxime ecclesiis (rex) procurat antistites.

⁴ Cardinal Humbert, one of the fiercest zealots for the principles of the Hildebrandian church-reform, in his work: *Adversus Simoniacos*, which has been published by Martene and Durand in the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, T. v. seeks to show (l. iii. c. xi.) how through the fault of the bishops, the influence of the monarchs had increased in appointing to church benefices. Nam (potestas sæcularis) primo ambitiosis ecclesiasticarum dignitatum vel possessionem cupidis favebat prece, dein minis, deinceps verbis concessivis, in quibus omnibus cernens contradictorem sibi neminem nec qui moverit pennam vel aperiret os, ad majora progreditur et jam sub nomine investituræ dare primò tabellas vel qualescunque porrigere virgulas, dein baculos. Quod maximum nefas sic jam inolevit, ut id solum canonicum credatur nec quæ sit ecclesiastica regula sciatur aut attendatur. We here then recognise already the principle, for which Hildebrand afterwards so stoutly

defenders of their sovereign prerogatives appealed to the fact, that bishops and abbots, as vassals, stood in precisely the same relation with all other subjects to the secular power; that the latter had to determine respecting the disposition of that which was its own, and that bishops and abbots, as vassals, acknowledged their relation of dependence on it, and like all others were obliged to take the feudal oath according to ancient usage. It was in this sense the archbishop Hincmar, in his letter already referred to, addressed to Pope Adrian II., represented the king as having replied to his threat that he, the archbishop, would withdraw fellowship from him if he did not hearken to the pope: "In that case, you may be at liberty to perform the ecclesiastical ceremonies, but you shall lose all your power over the country and the people."¹ On the other hand, it was maintained by the other party, that property once consecrated to the church had become thereby sacred to God, a holy, inalienable possession of the church, and that monarchs incurred the guilt of sacrilege, whenever they presumed arbitrarily to determine anything about it;² and by stretching this point a little farther, it was found that bishops, as persons consecrated to God, as the organs of union between heaven and earth, must be distinguished from secular vassals; and it was deemed scandalous that hands made sacred by the priestly character and worthy of producing the Lord's body, should be bound to render so secular a service as the oath of vassalage.³

contended, that the lay investiture must be done away with as a thing utterly impious. *Et quidem memini*—he says next—*me vidisse a sæcularibus principibus aliquos pastoralibus baculis et annulis investiri de episcopatibus et abbatibus metropolitanosque eorum et primates, quamvis præsentibus essent, nec inde requisitos nec aliquid contra hiscere ausos.*

¹ *Quoniam si in mea sententia permanerem, ad altare ecclesiæ meæ cantare possem, de rebus vero et hominibus nullam potestatem haberem.* Vid. Hincmar. Opp. T. ii. f. 697.

² See *e.g.* Hincmar in the above cited letter concerning the arrogated election of a bishop,—addressed to King Lewis III.: *Res et facultates ecclesiasticæ oblationes appellantur, quia domino offeruntur*, T. ii. f. 191, and in his letter to king Lewis of Germany, Hincmar, Opp. T. ii. f. 140, says he: *Ecclesiæ nobis a Deo commissæ non talia sunt beneficia et hujusmodi regis proprietas, ut pro libitu suo inconsulte illas posset dare vel tollere, quoniam omnia, quæ ecclesiæ sunt, Deo consecrata sunt, unde qui ecclesiæ aliquid fraudatur aut tollit, sacrilegium facere noscitur.*

³ Vid. Hincmar. l. c. f. 140: *Et nos episcopi Domino consecrata non sumus hujus modi homines sæculares, ut in vassalatico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica et apostolica auctoritas*

Midway between the two parties thus diametrically opposed to each other, of which the one defended the interests of the secular sovereign; the other that of the hierarchy, both in a one-sided manner, sprung up still a third and moderate party of a conciliating tendency, consisting of such pious bishops as clearly distinguished and separated spiritual things from secular, in reference to the latter acknowledging and endeavouring faithfully to fulfil their duties towards the ruling powers, while they aimed on the other hand to fulfil their *spiritual* calling in a manner so much the more independent, and free from all disturbing influences—men whose principle it was to follow the directions laid down in the New Testament concerning obedience to magistrates—to give to God the things that are God's, and to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.¹

That right of investiture which the monarchs claimed in respect to bishoprics, was continually abused by them more and more; either by capriciously bestowing them as benefices on their favourites, or in making them a matter of traffic and sale. Among the political disturbances of the tenth century, and among the detestable scenes of confusion and disorder which at that time proceeded from the very seat of the popes, the abuse of simony went on with gigantic strides, as has already been made sufficiently manifest by what we have remarked in the history of the papacy. Already, at the commencement of the eleventh century, before the papacy had become stained anew in so disgraceful a manner, the venerable abbot William of Dijon wrote a very bold letter to pope John XVIII., calling upon him in the most decided and emphatic language to repress the plague of simony, which was now spread-

vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere; manis enim chrismate sancto peruncta, quæ de pane et vino aqua mixto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corporis Christi et sanguinis sacramentum, abominabile est, quicquid ante ordinationem fecerit, ut post ordinationem episcopatus sæculare tangat ullo modo sacramentum.

¹ Among such belonged Adalbero, bishop of Metz, who administered this office from A.D. 984 to A.D. 1005. Of him, an anonymous biographer, his contemporary, says: Noverat et sapienti ingenio præviderat, quoniam quidem licet esse genere et sanguine nulli mortalium inferior, licet posset, non debere resistere potestati, dicente domino ac jubente, reddere quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, videlicet Cæsari tributum, vectigal, censum, Deo autem pietatis opera, orationum munera, eleemosynarum fructum. He deemed it better sua quam se pessundare, terrena distrahere quam spiritualia. See Labbe Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum, T. i. f. 678. This also was the principle of Bernhard, bishop of Hildesheim, in the beginning of the eleventh century. Vid. Mabillon Acta Sanct. O.B. p. i., the account of his life, † 37, f. 223.

ing on all sides. "They who should be styled the salt of the earth, and the light of the world, ought at least to have pity on Christendom. Enough, that Christ has been *once* sold for the salvation of the world. How offensive must the water of the fountain-head become at the extremes, if the brooks near by it are so foul! The pastors and the priests, yea all should remember the judge, who, with the axe in his hand, stands before the door."¹

It was attempted to palliate this simony, by resorting to the distinction already mentioned between matters spiritual and secular. The money, it was said, is given only for the property, not for the spiritual office. The consecration to the spiritual office is bestowed for nothing.² The bishops followed the example of the princes, when after having obtained their own places by simony, they sought to indemnify themselves for what they had been obliged to pay, by sales of benefices which they made themselves.³ This abuse had for its natural consequence, that the most incompetent and the most unworthy men might aspire and could attain to episcopal and other spiritual offices, and in the churches the most enormous deprivations were committed.⁴

¹ See the Life of abbot Wilhelm, § 19, 1 Januar. or Mabillon Acta Sanct. O.B., vol. vi. p. i. f. 330.

² The famous abbot, Abbo of Fleury, in the tenth century, said on the contrary: Hujus modi emtores quasdam velut telas aranearum texunt, quibus se defendunt, quod non benedictionem, sed res ecclesie possessuri emunt. Cujus vero possessio est ecclesia, nisi solius Dei? See Aimoin's Life of Abbo, Mabillon Acta Sanct. O.B. sacr. vi. p. i. f. 45. Thus we find this species of traffic prevailing in the tenth century, and it extended into the eleventh; for in the measures proposed for the reform of the church under Henry III., it was necessary to combat in particular this pretext in defence of simony. See Damiani Epp. i. 13: Nonnulli clericorum vitam per exterioris habitus speciem mentientes hoc pertinaciter dogmatizant, non ad simoniacam hæresin pertinere, si quis episcopatum a rege vel quolibet mundi principe per interventionem coemptionis acquirat, si tantum modo consecrationem gratis accipiat: and Cardinal Humbert compares those who supposed they could justify their simony in this way with the Pharisees, Matt. xxiii. 16. Ac si præpostero vestigio callem Pharisæorum terentes, astruere contendant solum sanctificatorem honorari debere, sanctificata autem nihil esse. See his Work Adversus Simoniacos, l. iii. c. 1.

³ That zealous labourer for the interests of the church, archbishop Gerhard, of Arras and Cambray, wrote to bishop Adalbero of Laon, in the beginning of the eleventh century, in reference to this: Nihil defuturum arbitramur, si hujusmodi usus increverit, ut non sedes ecclesie venales existant, et summa sacerdoti mercaturæ compendiis venundetur sicque pecuniosus quisque ad culmen pastoralis regiminis aspiret.

⁴ Humbert describes (in l. ii. c. 35) the ruin of the churches which proceeded from the bishops and abbots seeking to indemnify themselves for what they had paid or promised for their benefices, at the expense of the churches. He says that many churches and monasteries, especially in Italy, were in this way plundered and desolated.

Among the state burdens, from which the churches were not exempted, belonged the obligation of the bishops and abbots to furnish their respective contributions to the general Heerban, or fine for the army. True, the clergy were, in the preceding period, declared exempt from the obligation to do military service in person, and they were forbidden to engage in war by the laws of the church;¹ but owing to the twofold spiritual and secular vocation of the bishops, and to the wars and desolating incursions of barbarians in those agitated times which followed the Carolingian period, it came about, that these ancient and ever and anon freshly inculcated laws were often violated, while the violation of them failed to attract notice. In the ninth and tenth centuries, when Germany and France were given up to the devastations of pagan tribes, the Slavonians, Normans, and Hungarians, even those pious bishops, who would gladly have lived exclusively devoted to their spiritual vocation as pastors, were moved by concern for their communities, to direct the measures for defence, and by their personal influence, which was most efficient, to stimulate the zeal and courage of the combatants. Thus about the middle of the ninth century, when the Hungarians, after having committed enormous depredations in a wide circle of country, threatened the city of Cambrai, the bishop Fulbert not only provided for the fortification of the town, but appeared himself on the bulwarks, running from place to place, and exhorting his soldiers to fight manfully, for God would give them the victory over the heathen foreigners.² So, when in the year 955, the Hungarians deluged Bavaria, and threatened the unfortified town of Augsburg, Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, who cheerfully sacrificed himself for the good of his community, mounted on horseback, in his priestly robes, without shield or buckler, and, amid flights of javelins and stones hurled into the city, directed the defence of it at the first pressure of danger, and then, after the termination of the first engagement, gave orders for the erection of fortifications until

¹ Yet Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, a man of piety and a zealous promoter of learning, had not only to complain that his monastery was impoverished by contributions levied for military service, but that he was obliged to sacrifice his all to obtain from king Charles the Bald exemption from personal service. He says of this monarch, in allusion to this circumstance (ep 18): *Ut quoniam studia mea non magnificat, vel dignetur considerare propositum et alia mihi injungere, quæ ab illo penitus non abhorreant.*

² See the *Chronique d'Arras et de Cambrai* par Balderic. ed Paris, 1834, l. i. p. 114.

night-fall, spending the rest of the night, a few hours for repose excepted, in prayer. Then after matins, he distributed the holy supper to the combatants, who were about to return to the fight, exhorting them to put their trust in the Lord, who would be with them, so that they had nothing to fear, even in the shadow of death. So Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim, in the beginning of the eleventh century, provided for the defence of the people committed to his guidance against the incursions of the Normans.² Yet even where such extremities were not urging, it was reckoned by many as part of the duty of giving to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, that they should personally lead their troops to the Heerban,³ while others endeavoured to unite both together, giving to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, in such way, as that they might contribute to the war in all that duty required, without doing military service in person.⁴ And many influential voices spoke also decidedly against uniting the spiritual vocation with the secular sword. Thus Radbod, archbishop of Utrecht, in the tenth century, declared to his prince, "We are bound indeed to obey magistrates, but it becomes not a bishop to intermeddle in secular concerns. Their only business is to contend with spiritual weapons for the weal of the king and of the people, and with persevering prayer to seek for the conquest of souls."⁵ We have already remarked on a former page, how energetically, not sparing even a pope, a Damiani protested against this unspiritual behaviour. He speaks, in the letter referred to,⁶ very strongly against those bishops who, when the possessions of their own church were attacked, forthwith appealed to the force of arms in their defence, and perhaps retaliated the wrong they had suffered, with another still greater. "With what face," says he, "can the priest, as his duty requires, undertake to reconcile contending parties with each other, while he himself strives to recompense evil with evil? Among all the jewel virtues which

¹ Life of bishop Ulrich in Mabillon l. c. Sæc. V. f. 440. § 42, or in the Actis S. Bolland. iv. Jul.

² See his Life, Mabillon l. c. Sæc. vi. p. i f. 206.

³ Like the above mentioned Bernward, l. c. 223.

⁴ Like the above mentioned bishop Adalbero of Metz. Labbe Bibliotheca Ms. T. i. f. 678.

⁵ See his Life. Mabillon, l. c. Sæc. v. f. 30.

⁶ Lib. iv. ep. 9, f. 56, T. i.

our Saviour brought from heaven, there were two which shone with the greatest brilliancy, which he first exhibited in his own life, and then taught his people to exhibit in theirs, love and patience. It was love that moved the Son of God to come down from heaven ; by patience he overcame the devil. Armed with these virtues, the apostles had founded the church, and its defenders, the martyrs, had triumphantly endured many kinds of death. If, then, it is nowhere allowed to grasp the sword for the faith in which the universal church lives, how should this be permitted for the temporal and perishable goods of the church ?” Following out these principles, he declared, that in like manner there was no authority for resorting to force against idolaters and heretics, and that the pious should prefer rather to be slain by them, than to be compelled to this.¹ He cites an example to show how much more could be effected in these times when religious impressions were strong, by such means, than by violence. A French abbot, with whom a powerful man had a dispute about some property, having been attacked by the latter with force of arms, forbade his subjects to seize their weapons in his defence. With a band of unarmed monks, dressed in monkish habits, and marching under the banner of the cross, he went out to meet the armed force. But the knight and his followers were seized with such awe at this spectacle, that they dismounted from their horses, threw away their weapons, and sued for pardon.² After the same manner with Damiani spoke another eminent bishop of the eleventh century, Fulbert, of Chartres, against bishops who had recourse to the sword. He would not allow such persons to be called bishops ; for this would be a desecration of that venerable name.³ “ They should follow,” he said, “ the example of Christ, and conquer their enemies only by patience and meekness.” Nor would he allow any weight whatever to the authority of any person, however exalted in rank or influence, which was brought

¹ Sancti viri, quum prævalent, hæreticos idolorumque cultores nequaquam perimunt ; sed potius ab eis pro fide catholica perimi non refugiunt. Quomodo ergo pro rerum vilium detrimento fidelis fidelem gladiis impetat, quem secum utique redemptum Christi sanguine non ignorat ?

² Also in his letter to Pope Alexander II. (l. i Ep. 15) Damiani, speaking of the corruption of the clergy, complains of the employment of the clergy in military service, “ferro contra nostri ordinis regulam dimicamus.”

³ Sane nequaquam audeo illos episcopos nominare, ne religioso nomini injuriam faciam. Vid. Martene et Durand Thesaur. nov. anecdotor. T. i. f. 130.

against him in justification of this abuse ; appealing to the words of St Paul, that not even an angel from heaven could preach any other gospel.

We noticed in the preceding period the influence which the church gradually acquired over the administration of justice, as opposed to arbitrary will and violence. To this point belongs the spiritual judicature of the pope and of the bishops, which was indeed recognised even by the laity, and which could punish many species of immorality that could not be reached by any other judicial power. Already was the principle established in theory, that persons excluded from the communion of the church were rendered incompetent also for all civil offices and occupations. From the church proceeded the first attempts to place a check, at least for the moment, on the general right of private war, and to introduce cessations of hostilities for certain periods. Thus in France, when after several years of severe famine, the people were delivered from great suffering and distress by an unlooked for year of plenty, and the public mind was thereby disposed to gratitude to God, and susceptible to feelings of contrition, the bishops and abbots, in the year 1032, availed themselves of the opportunity at several ecclesiastical assemblies, to exhort the people to peace.¹ The circumstances of the times procured a ready admission for their counsels into the minds of the people, and with hands outstretched to heaven, all ranks and classes exclaimed, "Peace, peace." The bishops required that the weapons of war should be laid aside, and all injuries mutually forgiven. Every Friday, the people should restrict themselves to a diet of bread and water ; on Saturday they should abstain from flesh and from all food in which there was fat ; and in undertaking this, all should bind themselves under oath, and in recompense for it all should be freed from every other species of church penance. But whoever refused to bind himself in this way, should be excluded from the communion of the church, should be

¹ According to the Chronicle of Baldrich (c. 47), one of the bishops resorted to a "pious fraud," pretending he had received a letter from heaven, which contained an invitation to peace on earth. Similar frauds may have contributed to the wonderful works performed, as the story went, before the assembly of bishops, though a good deal may be referred to the strong excitement which then prevailed. See Glaber Rudolph *Histor. sui temporis*, l. iv. c. v.

debarred from the sacraments in the article of death, and refused burial according to the rites of the church. These measures were opposed by Gerhard, bishop of Arras and Cambray, who maintained that the bishops had no right to bind such burdens on the people, and no authority to prescribe as law what the gospel left to the free choice of all. Owing to the diversity of the physical powers of endurance, as well as of moral condition, it was impossible to impose the same kind of fasting on all, nor could this one species of penance be sufficient for all. These representations of Gerhard made, it is true, no sort of impression; nor did that purposed universal peace really go into effect; for this high excitement of feeling passed away quite as suddenly as it had arisen, and the great number of bad ecclesiastics did not know how to throw themselves into the crisis so as to derive enduring effects from this awakening. On the contrary, the wicked lives of many bishops, who obtained their places by simony, had the opposite influence.¹ Ten years later, however, the requisitions were let down at several French synods, and men were content to settle the matter thus: that in remembrance of the time of preparation for Christ's passion to the resurrection, that is, from Thursday evening till Monday morning, no person should be arraigned before a tribunal, and no person use violence towards another. These intervals of peace were styled *treugæ* or *treviæ Dei* (the truces of God); and it was the church which ordained them, and saw that they were sacredly observed.²

2. INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE CHURCH.

The church in its internal organisation presents to view the same causes of corruption, in the mixing in of the secular with spiritual matters, which we have had occasion to observe in what has gone before; and we perceive that the great mass of abuses of the grossest description would of necessity call forth the effort after a radical reformation, unless the church had become thoroughly secularised, and deprived of all power of healthy action.

¹ See the complaints of Glaber Rudolph, l. c.

² See the Chronicle of Glaber Rudolph, l. c., and Harduin's Concil. T. vi. p. i. f. 919.

Undoubtedly, pious bishops might avail themselves of their twofold character, as spiritual shepherds, and as political orders and secular lords, to introduce many improvements in the relations of civil society, to operate in manifold ways for alleviating the distress of the people,¹ and for the promotion of trades, arts, and sciences; and many pious and active men, especially in Germany, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, as, for example, a Bernward,² and a Godehard³ of Hildesheim, an Ulric of Augsburg, particu-

¹ Fulbert of Chartres demands of the bishops, in the above cited letter: "Pas-cant pauperas ecclesiæ, causa viduarum et pupillorum ingrediatur ad eos, vestiant nudos, et cætera paternitatis officia filiis suis impendant." And pious bishops of these times responded to this demand by true works of holy love. It is related of Radbod, bishop of Triers, that he renounced all the pomp of the episcopal office, so as to have it in his power to devote his whole income to the support of the poor and sick. It was his daily task to visit the sick and provide for the indigent. See his life Mabillon *Acta Sanctor.* O. B. T. v. f. 28. When Etherwold, bishop of Winchester, had in a time of great scarcity exhausted his whole treasury to alleviate the distress, he, in order to give further assistance, converted all the ornaments and silver vessels of the church into money, saying he could not endure it, that dead metal should remain unconsumed, while men created after God's image, and redeemed by the precious blood of Christ, were dying with hunger. He purchased up provisions, and supported a very large body of poor people, who from every quarter took refuge with him. He rescued from starvation those whom he found lying half dead in the public highways, and he daily distributed means of subsistence to all, as long as this time of distress lasted. Mabillon, l. c. f. 617. The same prelate took great pains to provide for the instruction of the youth; he taught the young men to translate Latin books into English; he instructed them in music and metre, scattering among them as he taught friendly and wholesome words of advice. Priests, abbots, and bishops were among his scholars. Adalbero, bishop of Metz, concerning whom we have spoken already, displayed a Christian love that overcame all feelings of disgust, when that terrible pestilence of the middle ages, the St Anthony's fire (*ignis sacer* or *St Antonii*), made such ravages. *Manibus pedibusque ardentibus, hic perditio uno, hic utroque truncatus pede, hic medio adustus, aliquis tunc primum aduri incipiens undecunque confluebant*; every day he devoted himself personally to eighty or a hundred of these sick persons. See Labbe *Bibliotheca nov.* Ms. T. i. f. 673.

² The daily employments of bishop Bernward, of Hildesheim, till noon, are thus described by priest Tangmar, his teacher, who wrote his *Life*: "After having celebrated mass, he first examined the suits and difficulties which were brought before him; then he attended to the settling of accounts with his clergy, whom he had commissioned to distribute alms and to look after the poor; then went round the workshops, and inspected all the labours, in order to encourage industry. He himself had learned something of the useful arts and occupations, and he endeavoured to promote them with great zeal within his own diocese. He constantly took with him many sprightly young men, whom he stimulated on the spot to imitate everything which he saw beautiful and new in the arts. See Mabillon *Act. Sanct.* O. B. T. vi. p. i. f. 205, or in Leibnitz *Script. rerum Brunsvic.* T. i.

³ Bishop Godehard, Bernward's successor, prosecuted these labours. As there was a marshy district of country near the city, the scene of many ghost stories, and a terror to the populace, he founded on the spot a chapel dedicated to St

larly distinguished themselves by such labours for the good of Germany. But the advantages to be derived by pious bishops from this union were also accompanied by great evils. Many entirely forgot in the secular, the spiritual character. In candidates for the episcopal office, men looked rather at the fact whether the person was of noble descent, whether he had powerful connections and a talent for worldly business, than whether he was possessed of the true spiritual qualifications. And the external advantages connected with these offices, made them coveted the more by such as were aiming only after power and gain; and thus the ancient laws of the church respecting the qualifications requisite for such offices, and respecting the canonical age, fell more and more into desuetude, so that even children could be promoted to episcopal posts, in whose case the customary forms for the installation of a bishop according to the ecclesiastical laws, could only be gone through with in mummery, as that zealous advocate for the reformation of the church, Atto, bishop of Vercelli, bitterly complains.¹

As with the bishoprics, so was it also with the other subordinate offices of the church, which allured men by the revenues and honours attached to them; and the well disposed bishops must have felt themselves embarrassed, when they could find among their clergy no men actuated by a like spirit with their own, no willing and competent organs.

We saw springing up in the preceding period an attempt at a reformation of the clergy, which, for a beginning, had salutary effects—viz. the canonical constitution of the clergy. But the best laws and forms could avail nothing, without the true animating spirit; and the thing turned by degrees into a mere show. Nobles, attracted by the property and income of the canonicates, intruded into them; the ancient rule was every day less observed, and one body after another fell back into the ancient forms of the society. Finally, nothing was left but community of residence.

Bartholomew, and a hospital for the poor, and so put an end to the fear of ghosts and to superstition. See the account of his life at the iv. May, c. iv.

¹ See his tract *De pressuris ecclesiasticis*. Vid. D'Achery *Spicilegia*, T. i. f. 423: *Quidam autem adeo mente et corpore obcœcantur, ut ipsos etiam parvulos ad pastorem promovere curam non dubitent, quos nec mente nec corpore idoneos esse constet.* And Glaber Rudolph complains bitterly of the fact, that as a boy was chosen pope (Benedict IX.) so too there were bishops in the age of boyhood. *Hist.* iv. c. v.

They availed themselves of their collegial union only in the chapter of the cathedral, for the purpose of rendering themselves more independent in the administration of the church funds, and of withdrawing themselves entirely from the bishop's oversight. They tolerated none but the nobly born in their midst ; and if a bishop who would reduce them to order, was not a man of particular descent, they thought themselves the more entitled to despise him.¹ Those nobles, who had managed to procure for themselves the first places, distributed among themselves all the revenues ; and often for the clergy of lower grade, educated in the schools, so as not to be on the same level with their predecessors in ignorance, nothing was left but the reversion. Men appealed to usage in defence of this abuse.² Those often enriched themselves the most, who cared little or nothing for the service of the church, to the injury of those who laboured hardest, but who received little or nothing at all from the revenues, and had to be content with the expectancy.³

If people taken from the then rude order of knights, men who sought in the revenues of the church only the means of comfortable or luxurious living, could acquire church benefices without any further preparation, it may be readily inferred what ignorance and rudeness must have prevailed among the clergy. A Ratherius must exhort his clergy not to frequent the public houses, for the

¹ Thus the clergy who were dissatisfied with the zeal for reform manifested by Ratherius, bishop of Verona, inferred from the circumstance that he made no great parade, that he surely must have been of low origin ; and they reproached him with this. Ratherius represents them as saying of him : *Forsitan in patria sua fuerat bacularis* (a magistrate's servant) ; *ideo illi tam honor omnis est vilis, filius carpentarii, ideo tam gnarus tamque voluntarius est basilicus struendi vel restuendi*. See his *qualitatis conjectura opera* ed. Ballerin. f. 376, or D'Achery *Spicilegia* T. i. f. 358.

² The bishop Ratherius, who failed in all his attempts to have the income of the church benefices divided more equally, and in a manner more conducive to the benefit of the church, among the haughty and intractable clergy, who were combined against him, says, on this subject : *Quod generaliter omnibus est Clericis delegatum, ita inæqualiter et per massaritas* (by the single estates apportioned as benefices) *dividere, ut quidam illorum inde fiant, ex pauperrimis locupletissimi, quidam mediocriter, quidam pæne nihil ex eo accipiant omnino per usum et consuetudinem illorum quos jamdiu tenet barathrum ; i. e. those from whom this dissolution of the canonical life had originally proceeded, whom he describes as being in hell*. See his tract *De discordia inter ipsum et Clericos*. D'Achery l. c. f. 364. opp. Ballerin. f. 487.

³ Ratherius says : *Qui majus Deo in ecclesia exhibent servitium, aut nihil aut modicum accipiant, qui pæne nihil de famulatio unquam actitant domini, locupletes de rebus ecclesiasticis fiant*

purpose of drinking, not to get drunk, not to appear with the marks of intoxication at the altar, not to keep dogs and falcons for the chase, not to wear weapons, not to come to the altar with side-swords and in spurs. To be sure Ratherius laboured in a country where the corruption of the church had reached its highest pitch.¹

The influence of a secular family interest could not be prevented from insinuating itself, in the appointments to church offices, by the laws of celibacy; for as Boniface had already met with much resistance in introducing these laws, so the disregard to them became continually more common.² Ratherius found it to be a custom for the clergymen to live in wedlock, and to leave their property to their children; in which way property of the church, wrongfully inherited, became private property. He found it customary for the sons of clergymen to become clergymen again, for children from the families of clergymen to marry into them again; so that he must entreat them, at least, not to allow their sons to become clergymen again, nor their daughters to marry clergymen, lest this criminal, unspiritual mode of life, should be propagated without end.³ And Atto, bishop of Vercelli, in a letter to the clergy of his diocese, complains of the manner in which the church funds thus became alienated and dissipated.⁴ In order to prevent this, and to discountenance the marriage of the clergy, such laws were passed, as that no son of a priest, deacon, or subdeacon, should be ordained to the clerical office.⁵ The pious Adelbero of Metz considered it unjust, however, to expose the sons of the clergy to a disgrace not incurred

¹ Vid. Rather. synodica ad presbyteros, f. 377 and 378. D'Achery l. c. In order to accustom his clergy to do without the common game of dice, the archbishop Wibold of Cambray invented for his diocese an ingenious game of dice, with stones named after the Christian virtues, clericis aleam amatoribus regularem ludum artificiose composuit, quo in scholis se exercentes sæcularem et jurgiosam aleam refugerene. See Balderick's Chronicle of Cambray, l. i. c. 88.

² In Normandy the marriage of bishops was, in truth, a common thing: Sacerdotes ac summi pontifices libere conjugata et arma portantes ut laici erant. See the Life of Herluin, abbot of Bec, in the eleventh century. Mabillon Acta Sanct. O. B. Sæc. vi. p. ii. f. 344.

³ See D'Achery l. c. f. 371: Quia prohiberi a mulieribus nullo modo valetis, says he to his clergy.

⁴ Unde meretrices ornantur, ecclesiæ vastantur, pauperes tribulantur. D'Achery l. c. f. 439.

⁵ See the council of Bourges, Bituricense a 1031, c. xi.

by any fault of their own, as with God there was no respect of persons, and he who feared God, and wrought righteousness, was accepted of him.

The efforts directed against the licentiousness of the clergy by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,² by Ratherius of Verona, and by Atto of Vercelli, in the tenth century, grew out of the same wants, and had the same tendency, with the great plan of reformation constituting the epoch of Hildebrand. The effort to reclaim the clergy to a mode of life better becoming their sacred vocation, went hand in hand with the effort to procure obedience to the laws of celibacy. It was the struggle to support culture against barbarism, the dignity of the priesthood against its desecration; and as the requisition of celibacy was closely connected with the prevailing conception of the idea of the priesthood, hence but few could defend, with a purely Christian interest and on principle, the marriage of the clergy; though this may have been done, perhaps, by the Scottish clergy, who had inherited from their ancestors a more liberal spirit, and who were challenged by the opponents of the strict church discipline of archbishop Dunstan,³ to defend their cause; and though it must have been done by Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, in the ninth century, if we may consider as genuine the letter to pope Nicholas I., which is ascribed to a person of that name.⁴ Archbishop Dunstan, by a

¹ The abbot Adalbero's contemporary, who wrote his life, says in relation to this: *Episcopi sui temporis aliqui fastu superbiæ, aliqui simplicitate cordis filios sacerdotum ad sacros ordines admittere dedignabantur.* Labbe, *Bibliothec. Ms. T. i. f. 677.*

² Comp. respecting him the admirable exposition in Lappenberg's *History of England*, bd. i. p. 400, etc.

³ See Osborn, *Life of Dunstan*, l. i. c. 8, § 47, at the 19th of May.

⁴ This tract (published by Martene and Durand, in the *collectio amplissima*, T. i. f. 449), bears altogether the stamp of a party opposed to the Hildebrandian plan of reform, a party which, no doubt, took the liberty to forge records against the law of celibacy, like the above cited (p. 151) decrees of the council of Tribur; and most probably this letter is to be referred to this last Hildebrandian epoch. In this tract, the arguments derived from the Old and New Testaments are arrayed against the law of celibacy, which arguments (see above, p. 151) were adduced by the defenders of priestly marriage in the age of Hildebrand. The author points to the melancholy consequences arising from forced celibacy. He by no means absolutely rejects the celibacy of the clergy; but is of the opinion, that the pope should simply exhort to the observance of celibacy, not lay down a common law for all. He should leave it free for each individual to take upon himself the vow of celibacy or not, as he pleased, and he should have no authority to require the observance of such a vow, except from those who had voluntarily undertaken it. *Christ says: Qui potest capere, capiat. Isti nescio unde insti-*

firmness of will and energy of character, before which even the secular power submissively bowed, was enabled to carry his point in the English church; but bishop Ratherius, under less favourable circumstances, addressing himself to the work with less coolness and wisdom, and hurried by his pious zeal into the indulgence of passion, proved inferior to the task of contending successfully with a barbarised clergy. So much the more was he reproached with his devotion to books, a habit so utterly repugnant to the tastes and inclinations of such a clergy.¹ When he was intending to resume the oversight over the management of the church property, with a view to check the arbitrary proceedings which had come to his notice, the clergy, who had no wish to surrender their independence in this respect, affected the utmost concern lest their bishop should forfeit something of his dignity. "It is beneath the dignity of the bishop," said they, "to measure out corn and wine, and to distribute the avails to the clergy." To this Ratherius replied: "It is very true, that the bishops might commit such business to presbyters and deacons, could they find any that might be trusted. But when a bishop is necessitated to do this by his own hands, no feeling of pride should deter him; for with such a course He is by no means displeased, who said: 'He who would be greatest among you, let him be your minister.'"²

Though in the preceding period many laws had been passed against the abuse of the practice of absolute ordinations,³ and against the evils arising from a vagrant clergy (*clericos vagos et acephalos*) who made themselves independent of the oversight of the bishops; yet in the ninth century these abuses reached their

gati dicunt: Qui non potest capere, feriat anathemate. Many suffered themselves to be misled, by the one-sided interest of their hierarchical standing-ground, to say it was better for the clergy to maintain unlawful connections, provided they were unknown to the laity, than to confess before the laity to a regular marriage. Against such sentiments, the interest of Christian morality here beautifully expresses itself: *Quod profecto non dicerent, si ex illo vel in illo essent, qui dicit per prophetam; vae vobis Pharisei qui omnia propter homines facitis, Matth. xxiii. 5. Præposteri, homines, qui nobis prius deberent persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cujus nuda omnia et aperta sunt conspectui, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum homines esse.*

¹ They said of him, as D'Achery cites: *Solus si liceret tota die sederet, libros versaret vel reversaret.* Vid. *qualitatis conjectura* in D'Achery, f. 359.

² L. c. f. 347, beginning.

³ The ordinationes absolutæ. See vol. v. p. 140.

highest pitch, and so long as simony prevailed in the church, neither could this evil be repressed. An Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, had surely good cause to be zealous for the dignity of the spiritual order and calling, and to lament over its degradation, when many of the nobles procured the most unsuitable men, sometimes their own slaves, to be ordained as priests, and employed these, their own bondsmen, sometimes mechanically to perform the rites of worship in the chapels of their castles, sometimes to discharge at the same time the most menial services, to feed their hounds, and to wait upon their tables.¹ The bishops assembled at Pavia,² in the year 853, who by the invitation of the emperor Lewis came together to deliberate on the best means for reforming the church, complained that the multiplication of chapels in castles contributed greatly to the decline of the parochial worship and to the neglect of preaching, the nobles being satisfied with the mechanical performance of mass by their priests, and taking no further concern in the public worship of God;³ whence it happened, that the parish churches were frequented only by the poor, while the rich and noble had no opportunity of hearing sermons calculated to recall their thoughts from the earthly concerns in which they were absorbed, and to remind them of the oppressions suffered by the poor.⁴ The council of

¹ See Agobard's book *De privilegio et jure sacerdotii*, which book, taking for its point of departure the then existing notion of the priesthood, was opposed to this degradation of it, c. xi.: *Fœditas nostri temporis omni lachrymarum fonte ploranda, quando increbuit consuetudo impia, ut pæne nullus inveniatur quantumcunque proficiens ad honores et gloriam temporalem, qui non domesticum habeat sacerdotem, non cui obediat, sed a quo incessanter exigat licitam simul atque illicitam obedientiam, ita ut plerique inveniuntur, qui aut ad mensas ministrent aut saccata vina misceant, aut canes ducant, aut caballos quibus feminae sedent, regant aut agellos provideant.* The contemptuous words are quoted, with which a person of this class applied for the ordination of one of his servants: *Habeo unum clericionem, quem mihi nutrivi de servis meis, volo ut ordines eum mihi presbyterum.*

² Ticinum.

³ Agobard: *Tantum, ut habeant presbyteros proprios, quorum occasione deserant ecclesias seniores et officia publica.*

⁴ *Quidam laici et maxime potentes ac nobiles, quos studiosius ad prædicationem venire oportebat, juxta domos suas basilicas habent, in quibus divinum audientes officium ad majores ecclesias rarius venire consueverunt. Et dum soli afflictis et pauperibus veniunt, quid aliud, quam ut mala patienter ferunt, illis prædicandum est? Si autem divites, qui pauperibus injuriam facere soliti sunt, venire non renuerint, admoneri utique possent, ut eleemosynis peccata sua redimerent, ut a fluxu rerum temporalium se abstinerent. Admonendi sunt igitur potentes, ut ad*

Pavia also, in the year 850, issued a canon¹ against those vagrant clergy (*clerici acephali*). It was indeed a praiseworthy thing—the council declared—that the laity should be desirous of having the mass celebrated continually in their houses; but they should employ for this purpose none but ecclesiastics duly approved by the bishops.² The people were warned against ecclesiastics and monks roving about from one district to another, who disseminated many errors.³

The abuse of the right of patronage, which we already noticed as existing in the preceding period, made continual and rapid strides also amid the confusions of the ninth and tenth centuries; so that the descendants of church-founders carried on a certain traffic with the churches,⁴ or exercised an oppressive lordship, with arbitrary extortions, over the parish priests appointed over the churches built by their ancestors.⁵ To put a stop to the arbitrary exercise of the right of patronage, the council of Seligenstadt,⁶ in 1020, decreed, that no laymen should confer a church on a priest without the concurrence of the bishop, who, or his representative, must first examine and ascertain whether the candidate were of such an age, and of such manners and knowledge, as that a community could be safely committed to his care.

In general, the contemplation of ecclesiastical relations in this period teaches us, that the multitude of abuses in them was well calculated to elicit the plan for a thorough reformation, such as was proposed on the basis of their own papistico-theocratical system by the Hildebrandian party.

Having thus considered the constitution of the clergy, we now proceed to the constitution of the monastic life, which in the

majores ecclesias, ubi prædicationem audire possunt, convenient, et quantum dono omnipotentis Dei divitiis et honoribus cæteros antecedunt, tanto ad audienda præcepta conditoris sui alacrius festinent. Harduin. Concil T. v. f. 98.

¹ C. 18.

² C. 23.

³ In the Life of Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, it is stated (c. iv. § 26): *Illos, qui vel monachico vel canonico vel etiam Graeco habitu per regiones et regna discurrunt, prorsus execrabatur.*

⁴ As Agobard complains, *De dispensatione rerum ecclesiasticarum*, c. 15.

⁵ See the work of bishop Jonas of Orleans: *De Institutione laicali*, l. ii. c. 18. *D'Achery spicil. T. ii. f. 293.* *Solent dicere; ille presbyter multa de mea acquirit ecclesia, quapropter volo, ut de eo, quod de mea acquirit, ad votum meum mihi serviat, sin alius meam ultra non habebit ecclesiam.*

⁶ C. 13.

church history of the middle ages must from the present time become for us a special object of attention.

III. THE MONASTIC LIFE.

Monachism, which in the beginning, by its austerity of life and zealous activity in the service of God, had presented a marked contrast to the corruption which prevailed among the clergy, was finally drawn itself also into the current of barbarism. The rich possessions which they owed to the deprivations and toils of their original founders, brought corruption into the monasteries. The austere virtues of the monks, that had sprung up and thrived in poverty and in want, perished in the midst of abundance; besides, the wealth of the monasteries excited the covetous longings of noble laymen and worldly-minded ecclesiastics,¹ who contrived to get possession of them, and then disposed of their funds, according to their pleasure. At the same time, however, the degeneracy of monachism operated to call forth new attempts at reformation and new efforts to restore the ancient severity—as indeed had often happened before in earlier times.

Such a reformer of the monastic life was the abbot Benedict of Aniane, in the first half of the ninth century. He sprang from a respectable family in Languedoc, not far from Montpellier, where he was born about the year 750. He served first in the court of king Pipin, and next in that of his successor, Charlemagne. Disgusted, while yet a youth, with the life at court and in the world, he resolved to forsake it, and to begin a life of entire consecration to God. The only difficulty now remaining in his mind was to determine what mode of life he should pursue, whether to travel as a pilgrim, or, in partnership with another, to pasture for nothing the flocks of the people, or whether to plant himself down in some city as a shoemaker, and distribute the avails of his labour in alms to the poor. He finally decided in favour of the monastic life; and his deliverance in a case where his life was endangered, hastened him in the execution of his plan.

¹ The abbot Benedict of Aniane, presently to be mentioned, was obliged to complain before the emperor Lewis the Pious, *monasteria fugatis monachis a secularibus obtineri clericis*. See the Life of Benedict, by his scholar Ardo, at the 12th February, c 9.

In the year 774, when diving into a well to rescue a drowning brother, he came near losing his own life. But having saved his brother and escaped himself, he made a vow thenceforth to renounce the world. Becoming a monk, he disciplined himself by the most rigid austerities. The rule of Benedict itself seemed to him too lax in its requisitions, to be suited only for beginners and weaklings; he aspired rather after that higher ideal of monachism presented in the ancient rules of the East. He soon found, however, that those oriental rules were not calculated for these districts and men, while the Benedictine rule was better suited to form the many for the spiritual life, and proposed a mark which could more certainly be reached under the given circumstances. And he now made it his object to reform the degenerate monasticism of his age according to the model of this ancient rule of the West. He was joined by continually increasing numbers, who caught his own enthusiasm for the old monastic life; and at Aniane, in Languedoc, he founded the first famous monastery answering to his idea, whence as a centre his activity as a reformer extended in a continually widening compass. By him the monks were brought back again both to habits of industry and to zeal for doing good with their earnings. In a time of severe famine, he assembled multitudes of the starving poor around the monastery. Their haggard looks moved his compassion, and he would fain have helped them all, but was at a loss where to find means of sustenance sufficient for so many. Trusting in God, he cheerfully went to work.¹ He first directed so much of the grain in store to be laid aside, as would be required to support the monks until the next harvest, and then all the rest to be daily distributed, by monks appointed for that purpose, among the poor. Also meat and milk were dealt out to them daily, and the poor that flocked hither from all quarters built themselves huts around the monastery, intending to reside there until the next harvest. Thrice when the store of grain set apart for the poor was found to be exhausted, he allowed a portion to be taken from that reserved for the monks. Such was the influence of his example, that every one of the monks spared all he could from his own rations of food, and conveyed it secretly to these poor people. At the same time, he made the monasteries seats of religious culture

¹ Quia nihil deest timentibus Deum, says his biographer of him.

and study, to promote which he collected together a library in his convent.¹ Among the marks of the genuinely Christian spirit which governed him, we may observe that when bondsmen were given to the monastery, he declined to receive them, but demanded their manumission.² After many convents had already been reformed by the efforts of this abbot, the emperor Lewis the Pious, who had a high respect for him, placed all the West-Frank monasteries under his supervision; and at the diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 817, he published a monastic rule drawn up by himself after the model of the Benedictine rule, for all the monasteries of the Frank empire.

Though Benedict set an example to his monks of strict self-control, and laboured earnestly to form them to it, still an outward asceticism was not to him the highest of all aims. He not only confessed, but showed by his conduct and teaching, that humility and love constitute the essence of the Christian life. Chastity without humility, he was accustomed to say, is not acceptable to God.³ Thus he laboured till he was seventy years old. The day before his death, which happened on the 11th of Feb. 821, he took leave of his monks in a short letter of exhortation,⁴ and also of Nebridius, archbishop of Lyons. To the latter he writes: "Know, dearest father, that I am in my last struggle; I hasten to the end; already my soul is parting from the body, and in this life I can never hope to see you again with the eye of sense. May He who is able to make a clean thing out of an unclean, a righteous man out of a sinner, grant to us, that we may together attain to the blessedness of the everlasting kingdom, there to sing

¹ See his Life, c. v. § 25: *Instituit cantores, docuit lectores, habuit grammaticos, et scientia scripturarum peritos, librorum multitudinem congregavit.*

² L. c. c. iii. § 13. *Si quis de possessionibus aliquid conferre monasterio vellet, suscipiebat. Si vero servos ancillasque copulari niteretur, refugiebat, nec passus est quemquam per idem tempus per chartam monasterio tradi, sed ut fierent liberi imperabat.*

³ *Esto casto corpore et humilis corde, quoniam Deo accepta non est superba castitas aut humilitas inquinata, and to many he was wont to say: "If it seem to you impossible to observe many commandments, then keep only this one little commandment: Depart from evil and do good, Ps. xxxvii. 27."* See § 30 according to the edition of Mabillon *Sæc. iv. p. i.* This belongs to the portion which is wanting in the Bollandist edition.

⁴ He wrote to these: *In ultimis constitutus ignoro, utrum jam vos videre queam. Nostis, qualiter totis, quantum valui, nisibus, quamdiu potui, vitæ exhortationis exempla monstravi sollicitus vestrum.*

a new song with all the saints."¹ While engaged, on the morning of the 12th of February, in repeating the church breviary, he felt his powers fail, and exclaiming, "I can go no further," he added, "Lord, deal with thy servant according to thy mercy," breathing out his spirit in prayer.

This reformer of monachism left behind him, then, the first example of a larger society, uniting together many monks in several monasteries under one common head. But this single experiment was still insufficient to stay the destruction which, in these times, was seizing monachism, no less than the clergy. The monasteries fell a prey to worldly-minded bishops and greedy barons, and in the absence of spiritual oversight, discipline among the monks became relaxed. Thus we find a synod at Trosley, in the year 909, lamenting over the universal decay of monachism, now fallen into contempt with the laity;² and they traced it to the circumstance, that nearly all the Frank monasteries were then in the hands of lay-abbots. This corruption of monachism would necessarily awaken the effort after a new and thorough-going reformation in all such as sought, in the monastic life, a refuge from the world, a school for the cultivation of the spiritual life, and habits of rigid self discipline.

Such an institution was founded by Count Berno, of Burgundy, who, dissatisfied with the effeminacy of the majority of the monks of his time, sought to restore, in a number of monasteries, the ancient severity. He died in the year 927. Still more conspicuous was his successor Odo. He was the son of a man of rank, who, by a singular departure from the habits of the noble laity of his times, had given himself to studies, and was also distinguished for his piety. He dedicated his son, born in the year 879, to St Martin, and the remembrance of this dedication produced afterwards a deep impression on the mind of the young man. In the service of a prince, in the occupations of the chase, and amid other amusements of the knightly order, he had forgotten the books, a relish for which had been given him by his education,

¹ Ille qui potest facere de immundo mundum, de peccatore justum, de impio castum, faciat nos pariter regno perfrui sempiterno ibique cum omnibus sanctis cantare canticum novum.

² The synod says of the monks, who were forced even by the want of the means of sustenance, as no one provided for them, to wander from one place to another (c. iii.): Quia non solum a vulgo nullo distare videntur vitæ merito; sed etiam propter infima quæ sectantur opera, despectionis expositi sunt ludibrio.

and he had been led away from the devotional bent received by him in childhood ; but the deeply impressed images of his earlier years made their power felt in his soul. In frightful dreams, he heard himself accused for these frivolous pursuits ; he felt dissatisfied with his present occupations, and could not repress the longing after a higher life.¹ A disorder which seemed incurable, long continued and violent turns of headache, induced him to seek relief of St Martin, and at the age of nineteen he joined the foundation of the canonical priests of St Martin, to whom his childhood was dedicated, at Tours. He afterwards became eminent for his piety and knowledge, awakened many from a worldly life to penitence, and became their guide in the spiritual life. Long had he travelled in vain through France, with one of his disciples, in quest of a monastery suited to his wishes, until they heard of the convent founded by Berno at Cluny, in Burgundy ; and here he found all that he desired. His attainments in knowledge were here brought to good account, and the school was placed under his direction. Berno bequeathed to him, by will, the oversight of the greatest portion of the monasteries founded or reformed by him ; and the abbey of Cluny, in particular, was made the seat from which a new reformation of monachism proceeded. Odo was a man, as his writings testify, and as we shall more fully shew, when we come to speak of his character in the history of Christian life, deeply penetrated with the consciousness of the corruption of the church among clergy, monks, and laity ; a man full of zeal for the renovation of the Christian life, while at the same time he was very far from placing the essence of Christian perfection in a rigid practice of asceticism, though he endeavoured to oppose the severity of monachism to the secularised life of the clergy and monks of his time, and to awaken an enthusiasm in its favour.² As contrasted with this prevailing corruption, the example of his pious zeal and of his severity of life was so much the more powerful, and he acquired great authority. The pope sent for him to come to Rome for the purpose of restoring peace

¹ Odo stated to the monk Johannes, who wrote his life, what he experienced at that time : *Quanto amplius me ingerebam hujus cæmodi lusibus, tanto rediebam mœrens sine omni effectu et fatigatione confossus.* L. i. § 8, in Mabillon *Sæc. v.*, and in the *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*.

² In his *Collationes* l. ii. c. vi., f. 191, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, he says : *Ipsi per quos sæculares corrigi debuerant, eos ad contemptum mandatorum Dei per sua mala exempla instigant.*

between princes, and he was frequently invited by the nobles to reform monasteries.

At his death, in 942, he left behind him a worthy successor in the abbot Aymar, and this new association of monks continually acquired greater influence, in producing a reformation of monachism.¹ More conspicuous still was his successor, the abbot Majolus. When amid the disturbances in Rome, by which the papal dignity was so deeply degraded, application was made to the young emperor Otho II., in 975, to secure the election of a suitable pope, this prince called the abbot Majolus to Germany, for the purpose of consulting him on the subject, and, by the most influential men around the emperor's person, Majolus himself was demanded for the office. The latter, however, did not consider himself competent to manage the multitude of secular affairs in Rome, and preferred his allotted calling.² He was followed by the abbot Odilo, who obtained deserved praise, on account of his charitable works, especially among the poor people, during a severe famine in France. After all the granaries and magazines of the monasteries had been emptied, he ordered the precious ecclesiastical vessels to be melted up, and sold the ornaments of the church, to alleviate the extreme distress.³ And it was he, too, by whose influence the truce of God, already mentioned, was instituted. Another influential man, abbot Hugo, the friend of Hildebrand, concludes the series of the presidents of this association of monks during the present period; and his activity extended into the next period. By means of these societies, growing out of the reformation of monachism, a new impulse was given to the zeal in favour of this mode of life; and such a union of the scattered monasteries under one head, would gradually prepare them for being made still more independent of the bishops.

¹ In the Life of abbot Majolus, by his scholar Nalgod, it is said concerning the monastery of Cluny, under abbot Aymar (c. i. § 10): *Virtus monasticæ professionis, quæ in negligentiam toto deciderat, et in ecclesiis Gallicanis præcipue frigebat, sic per eos est ad suum reformatam principium, ut fere totus orbis religionis inde et ordinis veritatem se gaudeat consequutum.*

² In the above cited Life, § 29, at the eleventh of May, it is stated that Majolus, when this proposal was made to him, consulted the New Testament for a divine oracle, and first opening upon the text Coloss. ii. 8, he looked upon this as a warning, that he ought to regard the proposal as a temptation to be avoided.

³ See his Life by Damiani, c. ii.

Many examples in the ancient church shewed, that where the moral corruption was most excessive, appeared also the worst extravagances of a fanatical monkish asceticism, called forth in antagonism to such corruption. So it was in the eleventh century in Italy. Eremites planted themselves in the forests, where, in imitation of the Eastern monks, they inured themselves to the severest deprivations, favoured by the climate, which made such deprivations more practicable here than in other countries. Their simple habits of life often enabled them to reach a good old age, sometimes more than a hundred years.¹ The contrast which they presented to the moral corruption in the spiritual and secular orders, procured for them so much the greater and more universal respect. Disciples in vast numbers collected around them ; and, availing themselves of the respect still paid to religion, by the rude and depraved, and of the veneration in which they were held themselves, they often had it in their power to reach the consciences of the proud knights and barons, who feared nothing else. To this class belonged Romuald, sprung from the stock of the dukes of Ravenna. Of him it was said, by one of the mighty lords of the earth, that "No look of an emperor, nor of any other mortal, filled him with such terror as the look of Romuald. He was at a loss what to say, or how to excuse himself."² His rebukes procured redress for many under oppression. Those who trembled in fear of the vengeance of their rulers, were shielded by his potent intercessions, which even the emperor Otho III. treated with respect. From his own lips, along with many other sayings, which betray a fanatical, ascetic, and morose view of life, we have also this better word : "A single hymn, sung from the heart and with true contrition, is better than a hundred sung with a wandering mind. Let only the bent and disposition of the heart be right,³ and no fears are to be apprehended from involuntary thoughts."⁴ He settled in different countries ; because the multitude of disciples brought around him by the flood of corruption in Italy, forced him to leave the growing numbers, when too great for his own management, under the

¹ Damiani. Opusc. 61, ad Penzonem.

² See Damiani's Life of Romuald, § 66.

³ The *intentio recta*.

⁴ Vid. *vita* l. c. § 16.

direction of priors, and seek elsewhere another solitude.¹ But especially renowned was the assemblage of hermitages founded by him at Camaldoli,² in the Florentine province, a short day's journey from the city of Arezzo. It was from this establishment the whole society derived its name, Camaldulensians. Romuald died in the year 1027, a hundred and twenty years old.³

Futhermore, in the age of the Hildebrandian reformation of the church, in a valley of the Appennines, called Vallombrosa, distant half a day's journey from Florence, began to flourish the congregation of Vallombrosa, under the abbot John, a society which took a zealous part in contending against the corruption of the clergy.

Distinguished, also, among the reformers of monachism in the first half of the eleventh century, by his activity and influence, was the abbot William, from the congregation of Cluny, head over the monastery of Benignus, near Dijon,⁴ who had forty convents under his supervision. As there was a great want at that time of schools for the people, he founded a number of such schools, and placed them under the direction of monks. In these schools gratuitous instruction was given in reading and in church music. All who wished, bond and free, poor and rich, were admitted to them, and the poor were besides furnished with the means of sustenance.⁵

Another eminent abbot of this century, Gervin, head of a monastery at Centulum,⁶ laboured earnestly to supply the religious wants of the people, neglected by their worldly-minded clergy, and their bishop, Fulco of Amiens, who cared more for the chase than for the souls of his flock. This abbot had a cell devoted to the express purpose of receiving all who were disposed to come to him, to confess their sins, and seek counsel with regard to the state of their souls. Here he prayed with them. The multitude of the going and coming sometimes left him scarcely time enough in the whole day to take food. To promote the same object, he

¹ L. c. § 75.

² Campus Maldoli.

³ Damiani wrote his Life fifteen years after he left the world.

⁴ Gulielmus Divionensis.

⁵ Acta S. Boland. i. Januar. Vitta c. vi. Januar. T. i f. 61.

⁶ St Ricquier, in the department of Somme.



travelled over France ; thus taking up the cause of the forsaken people. But the clergy, who were not disposed to fulfil the duties which devolved on them, became jealous of his influence, and instituted against him the complaint, that, intruding into other men's fields of labour, he presumed to exercise the office of preacher and pastor, without being a bishop, or having received full powers for so doing from the pope.¹ The complaint came to Rome ; but the abbot succeeded in clearing up his conduct before the pope, and the full powers were granted him which he before wanted.²

Amid the general darkness in Italy, in the tenth century, a monk of Greek origin acquired for himself a great influence, which he faithfully turned to the advantage of both Greeks and Latins. This was Nilus (the Younger), born at Rossano,³ in Calabria, and founder of several monasteries in Italy. His pious parents had dedicated him from his birth to the sole service of God ; and they educated him in conformity to this destination. From his childhood and onward, he read the accounts of the lives of the old venerated monks, Anthony, Hilarion, and others. Thus was awakened in him a spirit of piety, which led him in early life to keep aloof from the corruption of morals in the houses of the great, while he scorned the amulets, the forms of incantation, and other kindred superstitions, so universally prevalent in those times.⁴ He had to pass through many inward conflicts, which left behind them a rich harvest of spiritual experiences. He learnt in his own soul, how easily fanaticism may grow out of spiritual pride. While engaged in prayer, or in singing, the thought often occurred to him, " Look towards the altar ; perhaps thou wilt behold there an angel, or a flame of fire, or the Holy Ghost ; for such sights many others have seen." But to avoid these tempting thoughts, he shut his eyes, and gave himself up the more to penitential feelings. He wrestled with

¹ The writer of his Life says : Non considerantes, quia lege non stringitur sancti Spiritus donum.

² See in the Actis Sanctor. iii. March, or Mabillon. Sæc. vi. p. ii. f. 330.

³ Ρουσιανον.

⁴ "Ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὸ μισοπόνηρου καὶ ἀποστρεφίσθαι τὰς ἐν ταῖς οἰκαῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων διατριβὰς, μισῶν τε καὶ ἀποβδελύττεισθαι πᾶσαν περιεργίαν καὶ ἰξουθενεῖν τὰ λιγόμενα φυλακτὰ καὶ τοὺς λιγομένους ἰξορκαισμούς καὶ τοίγχι οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπορησας βιβλίαν. Acta Sanctor. xxvi Septemb. § 2.

himself, till the sweat trickled from his forehead.¹ On one occasion, finding it impossible to get rid of a temptation that troubled him in a sensuous form, he threw himself with contrition to the ground, and, addressing the Saviour, said: "Lord, thou knowest that I am weak; have compassion on me, and ease me of my conflict." Thus lying on the earth, he fell asleep, when in a dream he saw before him a crucifix, and prayed: "Have pity on me, Lord, and bless thy servant." Then Christ, standing at his right hand, made over him thrice the sign of the cross. The vision vanished, and with it he was delivered from all his conflicts. And he saw clearly, that by humiliation of heart before God, and coming to the knowledge of his own weakness, he had attained a condition which he could not have reached by much fasting and many vigils. Being entreated to heal a demoniac, he declared he was quite willing it should be believed he had never prayed to God to bestow on him the gift of healing the sick, or of casting out evil spirits, would God but grant him the forgiveness of sins, and deliverance from wicked thoughts. He endeavoured to comfort the father, who presented this request in behalf of his son, by his representing to him, that this kind of possession by one evil spirit, was a far less evil than the readiness to serve them all expressed in a wicked life. "Thy son" said he, "has but *one* evil spirit, and *this* involuntarily; perhaps this very thing will result in his soul's salvation." He was not seldom visited by eminent men of the secular and spiritual orders, who had various questions to propose to him. He never failed to make the most of such opportunities, to bring home the claims of Christianity on the heart and life; to warn against the false confidence in a dead faith, or any form of outward works, and to lead away the frivolous mind from curious questions, to the one thing needful. It was on some such occasion as this, that he gave to an officer of the imperial household (Domesticus) the Life of monk Simeon, in which he had marked a certain passage, where it was affirmed, that scarcely one out of ten thousand souls attained to salvation. The Domesticus having read it, all exclaimed, with one voice: "God forbid; whoever says that is a heretic. If

¹ L. c. § 19.

that be so, we have all been baptised in vain,—in vain we adore the cross; in vain we partake of the eucharist; in vain we call ourselves Christians.” Upon this he mildly remarked: “Suppose I should prove to you, that Basil, Chrysostom, Theodorus Studita, the apostle Paul, and the gospel, all express the same thing, what would *you* say, who, by reason of your own wicked lives, pronounce what holy men have said, heretical? But I tell you, that by every particular you have just enumerated, you gain nothing in the sight of God. Be persuaded, that unless you become virtuous—and truly virtuous—no one of you can be saved from punishment.”¹ Then all, sighing, exclaimed: Woe unto us sinners!” Nicholas the protospatharius (captain of the emperor’s guard), a man who trusted in his almsgiving, now spoke: “Yet Christ said, He who gives the poor but a cup of cold water, shall not lose his reward.” To this he replied: “That was said to the poor, that none might offer as an excuse, his having no wood wherewith to prepare warm water. But what will *you* do, who rob the poor even of the cup of cold water?” Then one of the nobles, a man of immoral life, appealed to the example of Solomon, so approved in the Bible. He would like to know, he said, whether the wonderful Solomon was not saved? To this Nilus replied: “What concern of ours is it to know whether Solomon was saved or lost? not to him, but to us, it is said, that whoever looks at a woman to lust after her, has committed adultery in his heart with her already. But of Solomon we do not read, as we do of Manasseh, that after having sinned, he repented.” Here one of the priests asked, What was the forbidden fruit in paradise? He answered: “A crab-apple.” All laughed, and he added: “Such a question deserved such an answer. Moses did not give the name of that fruit; and why would we know what Moses has concealed from us? You ask not how you were formed; how, like Adam, you were placed in paradise, and what commands you received and transgressed; why you were expelled from paradise, or rather from God’s kingdom, and how you may once more rise to your former dignity; but you ask me after the name of a

¹ Λίγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐκ πάντων ὧν ἐψηφίσασθε οὐδεμία ὑμῖν χάρις παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. Πληροφορήθητε, ὅτι εἴη μὴ ἐνάριτοι γίνεσθε καὶ σφόδρα ἐνάριτοι, οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἔξαιρήσεται τῆς κολάσεως.

tree, where one is just as good as another?" The wife of a prince, Pandulf of Capua,¹ had procured the murder of a powerful count, for which she was afterwards tormented with remorse. She had sought relief from her bishops, who had prescribed to her, as a penance, to repeat the Psalter thrice a week, and give alms. But failing still to find peace of conscience, she applied to the venerated Nilus. He was very far from making so light a matter of it.² By his intercessions, he was the means of saving whole cities; often to save some persecuted person, he undertook long journeys on foot, during violent rains and in the roughest weather, arriving at his journey's end wet to the skin and with stiffened limbs.³

When his countryman Philagothus or John, archbishop of Placenza, who was too much inclined to intermeddle in politics, got entangled in an alliance with the Roman usurper Crescentius, who, after expelling Gregory V., set him up as a pope in Rome, Nilus warned him by letter of the consequences of his ambition, and called upon him to renounce the worldly honours which he had enjoyed to superfluity, and to retire from the world. But his words found no hearing. In the year 998, Gregory was restored to his place by the arms of the emperor Otto III., and cruel revenge taken on the archbishop. His eyes were first put out, his tongue and his nose cut off, and then he was thrown into a dungeon.⁴

When Nilus, who was now eighty-eight years old, heard of this at his monastery near Gaeta, forgetting that he was sick and infirm, forgetting that it was the season of Lent, when he was most loth to be disturbed in his penitential and devotional exercises, he repaired immediately to Rome. He requested the

¹ Vid. l. c. c. 12.

² The scholar, who wrote his life, says of his labours (§ 84) : He delivered many from evil spirits, but more from impure passions and sinful habits ; and the latter work was greater than the former.

³ He wrote many letters on the subject of such intercessions, which, if they could be recovered, would throw great light on his labours, his character, and the ecclesiastical and political circumstances of his times.

⁴ The writer of Nilus' Life charges this cruelty on the pope and the emperor, while Ditmar of Merseburg, in Leibnitz *Scriptores rerum Brunsvicens.* T. i. f. 354, attributes it to the *fidelibus Christi et Cæsaris* ; which, to be sure, may be considered as applying to the same persons ; and even the biographer of Nilus gives it to be understood, that the whole had not, properly speaking, been done according to the will of the emperor, *ού γὰρ ἦν ἀληθῶς τὸ πᾶν τῆς αὐτοῦ βουλῆς.*

emperor to put him with the archbishop, that he might live with him thenceforth, and that they might do penance together for their sins. The emperor promised to comply with his request. But instead of this, the archbishop was soon after exposed to new and more public ignominy. Nilus then declared to the pope and the emperor, that they had not offended him, but God. From love to God, they had promised to pardon the unfortunate man. But as they had shewn no mercy to the poor being whom the heavenly Father had put into their hands, neither could they expect any mercy from the heavenly Father for their own sins. The young emperor, who was flattered by his teacher Gerbert, was compelled to hear the voice of truth from the poor monk. When the emperor afterwards invited him to ask for any favour he pleased, he is said to have answered: "I have nothing to ask of you but the salvation of your own soul: for though you are emperor, yet you must die like other men. You will appear before the judgment seat of God, where you must give up an account of all your deeds, good and bad."¹ It is reported that the emperor, upon this, bursting into tears, took the crown from his head, and begged the man of God to give him his blessing, which he did.

When Nilus heard that the governor of Gaeta intended to bring his body into the city, and give it a public burial, in order that the bones of the saint might serve as a protection for the town, his humility was revolted at the prospect of one day receiving such veneration as was then paid to saints. He preferred that no one should know where he was buried.² He mounted his horse and turned his face towards Rome, saying to the monks as he took leave of them: "Sorrow not. I go to prepare a place and a monastery, where I will assemble all the brethren, and all my scattered children," probably meaning heaven. On arriving at Tusculum (Frascati), he rode into a small convent of St Agatha, saying, "Here is my resting-place for ever." He was requested by many friends and by nobles in Rome, to come there, at least to perform his devotions at the tombs of the two first apostles. But he would not again leave this place of his last repose, saying: "He who has faith like a grain of mustard seed, may from this

¹ L. c. c. 13.

² His biographer says of him: 'Υπερβάλλον πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ γινιᾷ ἀνθρώπους, ἂν τι σημεῖα ποιῆσῃ, ἂν τι μὴ.

spot also adore the apostles." He begged the monks,¹ that after his death, his burial might not be delayed; that they would not bury him in a church, nor build an arch or any other monument over his grave; but if they wished to set up some mark in order to distinguish his grave, he requested that it might be a resting-place for pilgrims, for he also had constantly lived as a wayfarer. He died in 1005, a tranquil, easy death, corresponding to his life.² Pupils and disciples of Nilus continued to labour in these districts, as, for example, the already mentioned Bartholomew, abbot of Grotta Ferrata.³

¹ Μῆτι ἐν οἴκῳ κυριακῷ καταβῆσθε, μηδὲ θελήσητε ποιῆσαι καμάραν ἐπάνω μου ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ κόσμον οἷον δῆποσι. Ἐὶ δὲ ἕλως βούλισθε ποιῆσαι τι σημεῖον διὰ τὸ γνωρίζειν, ποῦ τιθεῖσθε ἐμὴν, ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὼ ἐπάνωθεν, ἵνα οἱ ξένοι ἐκὶ ἐπιαναπαύωνται· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ξένος ἐγγύμνη πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου.

² For two days he was seen lying asleep: during which time, no other signs of life were observed in him than a slight motion of the lips, and of his hands making the sign of the cross. One of the monks, on holding his ear to his mouth, heard him repeat the following words: "Then shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect unto all thy commandments" Gregorius, governor of Frascati, a hard tempered man, on learning this, hastened to the convent with his physician. Kissing his hands, he moistened them with tears, saying, "Alas! why dost thou leave us so soon? Behold! thou no longer holdest out thy hand for me to kiss, as thou were wont, saying, 'I am no bishop, no priest, no deacon, only a poor old man; why do you want to kiss my hand?'" L. c. c. 14.

³ See above, p. 141.

SECTION THIRD.

CHRISTIAN LIFE AND CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

We find still existing in the ninth century the later effects of those plans and operations instituted during the Carolingian age for the promotion of the general religious instruction and Christian culture of the people. But the seed thus scattered was hindered from springing up by the political distractions immediately following upon that age. The synods of the ninth century were very decided in resolving, that the increase and prosperity of Christianity depended in great part on the right discharge of the predicatorial office ; but they must have been aware also how little could be expected in this way, from the major part of the clergy of these times ; and hence they would naturally be led to insist on the necessity of establishing special schools for the education of religious teachers. The council of Mentz, in 847, decreed¹ that the bishops should do such preaching as was necessary for the instruction of the communities. They were to expound the catholic faith in such a way as should be adapted to the comprehension of the people ; they were to treat of the eternal rewards of the righteous, and of the everlasting punishment of the wicked ; of the resurrection, the final judgment ; of the works by which men might become partakers of, and by which they would be excluded from, eternal life ; and in order that these discourses might be understood by all, each bishop should translate them into the Roman or German dialect of the country.² During these times appeared, probably as a *German preacher*, the monk Otfried, from the monastery of Weissenburgh, in the Elſace, aman

¹ C. 2.

² Et ut easdem homilias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intelligere, quæ dicuntur.

who distinguished himself by his efforts to christianise the popular literature.¹ He wrote a *poetical* paraphrase of the gospels, with a view to make the people familiar with God's word in the German tongue. It was his wish, he said, that the praise of Christ might be sung in German,² that the Franks might learn to sing by heart what the Bible taught, and also be constantly reminded to reduce it to practice. He thought it a shame, that the Franks, a people not inferior in other respects to the Greeks and Romans ; a people who had conquered so many nations, should not possess God's word in their own language. He described it as the peculiar and distinguishing characteristic of his people, that they began everything with God, that they would never engage in an enterprise without consulting Him.³ The words of Christ and of his disciples were valued by him as the most precious of possessions.⁴ Thus we find the same spirit already existing which was destined in later times to bring about among the German people the purification of the church by means of the word of God, and to make Christ the central-point of doctrine.

The third council of Valence in 855, decreed in its 16th canon, that every bishop should, either in person, or by the agency of well instructed ministers of the church, so administer the word of preaching, both in the city and in the country churches, that there should be no want of wholesome exhortation for the people ; for when God's word is not furnished to the faithful, the soul is deprived of the element of its life. Herard, bishop of Tours, in his pastoral instructions,⁵ written in the year 858, directed that the priests should expound before all the faithful the doctrines of the incarnation of the Son of God ; of his passion, his resurrection, and ascension ; of the effusion of the Holy Spirit, and the forgiveness of sins to be obtained through the same spirit, and of baptism into the bosom of the church ; that they should warn the

¹ The fragments of sermons published under his name by Lambecius, in the catalogue of the imperial library in Vienna, contain simple, practical exhortations. Schilter, who published these again, doubts, however, whether they belong to him. See his *Thesaurus antiquitatum Teutonicarum*, T. i.

² As he expresses himself: *Thaz wir Christus sungun in unsera Zungun.*

³ *Al mit Gote wirkent.*

⁴ See the beautiful first chapter, in which he himself describes the object of his tract. Schilter, T. i.

⁵ His *Capitula.*

people against sins, particularly sins of the grosser sort, and instruct them in the nature of the virtues.¹ This spiritual care was, moreover, extended to all classes of the people ;—on which point especially, the 14th canon of the synod at Rouen,² in 879, well deserves notice, on account of the genuinely Christian spirit with which it recognises the equal dignity and worth of the human soul in all. It is here said : “ The priest should exhort their communities to bid or permit the shepherds and ploughmen who constantly dwell in the fields or in the forest, living like the herds they tend, to come to mass at least on Sundays and feast-days ; since Christ has redeemed these also by his precious blood. If they neglect this, let them be assured that by so doing, they render themselves accountable for these souls ; for when our Lord came into the world, he chose not orators and nobles, but fishermen and ignorant persons for his disciples, and to shew, by a practical example, as he himself declares (Luke, xvi. 15) that ‘ what is highly esteemed among men is an abomination in the sight of God ;’ and without excluding a still deeper meaning, we may here remark, too, that our Saviour’s birth was first announced by an angel to shepherds.” The necessity of establishing schools for the promotion of religious instruction and of the pre-requisite culture, was also acknowledged. In the year 859, the council of Langres,³ and the council of Savonnières decreed,⁴ that wherever God raised up able men for teachers, all suitable efforts should be made to found public schools, so that the fruits of both kinds of knowledge, spiritual and secular, might grow in the church ; for it is a lamentable fact, and a most disastrous evil, that the true understanding of Scripture has already become so far lost, that the lingering remains of it are now scarcely to be found. Riculf, bishop of Soissons, in the year 899, exhorted his country priests to pay attention to the schools.⁵ He advised them to provide themselves with as many books of the

¹ C. 9.

² *Synodis generalis Rodomi.* Harduin. T. vi. p. i. f. 207.

³ *Lingonense.*

⁴ *Apud Saponarias,* c. 10.

⁵ C. 16. We see from this canon, that schools were also opened for girls ; for the bishop forbids his priests to allow boys and girls to mix together in their schools, *puellas ad discendum cum scholaribus suis in schola sua nequaquam recipiant.*

holy Scriptures, and as many religious works as they were able, "since out of them they could draw nourishment for souls, as our Lord says, Man liveth not by bread alone." But he who could not obtain every book of the Old Testament, should at least be careful to provide himself with a correct copy of Genesis.¹ Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, did much, it is true, by his work *De institutione clericorum* to disseminate the instructions which Augustin and Gregory the Great had already given, on the right discharge of the spiritual office, and on the previous training necessary thereto; by this means the clergy might at least come to some knowledge of what they were bound to do as religious teachers. But the defects we have already noticed in the constitution of the church were the true reason why a sufficient number of clergy were never to be found capable or inclined to study and apply these instructions. The majority of the clergy who came in immediate contact with the people, possessed no other qualification for their office than a certain skill and expertness in performing the ceremonies of the church. The liturgical element of worship would thus of necessity tend continually to acquire an undue predominance, suiting as it did the prevalent idea of the priesthood; while the didactic element, an element so important for promoting the religious knowledge which was so neglected among the people, would, on the other hand, retreat more and more into the background. From the Pastoral Instructions of Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, to his parochial clergy,² we may see how little could be expected, even in the times next succeeding the Carolingian age, from most of the clergy, in the way of giving religious instruction to the people. "Each priest," he says, "should have perfectly committed to memory the exposition of the creed, and the Lord's prayer, according to the tradition of the orthodox fathers. Next, he should diligently instruct by preaching to the people committed to his care. He should have by heart the canon of the mass, with all that pertains to it, and be able to repeat the whole distinctly. He should be able to read fluently the mass, the commandments, the epistles and gospels. He should know by heart the Athanasian creed, understand its meaning, and be capable of explaining it in the vernacular dialect." In conse-

¹ Harduin. Concil. vi. i. f. 415.

² Capitula ad presbyteros parochiæ suæ.

quence of this want of a direct influence of religious truth on the minds of the rude people, but recently torn from paganism, and whose conversion, which was by masses, consisted more in show than in any real change, a sensual bent of religious spirit, and a superstition hanging upon the forms of Christianity, would be sure to thrive. Yet among the other phenomena which arose out of the theological culture of the Carolingian age, was a strong reaction against this whole tendency; and several individuals may be mentioned who stood prominent as the representatives of a Christian spirit of reform.

Let us in the first place glance at these few light spots in the general history of the period we are considering. Among them we may notice especially the archbishop Agobard of Lyons. He found the liturgy of his church corrupted and disfigured by the ignorance of the preceding times, and felt it incumbent on him to amend it by expurgating everything which was not conformed to pure doctrine and to the dignity of liturgical expression. In executing this task, he went on the principle of confining himself as much as possible to scriptural expression.¹ Being attacked for so doing, as an innovator,² he composed two works in defence of what he had done.³ In these works, he declared himself opposed to the too artificial character of the church music, and to the excessive and one-sided zeal which led many to devote themselves, from their youth upward, exclusively to psalmody, to the neglect of the more important studies of their calling, particularly the study of God's word.⁴

In the preceding period, we observed that the moderate use of images, as opposed to the superstition of image-worship on the one hand, and to the fanatical heat of iconoclasm on the other, was defended in the Frank church. These principles had continued ever since to be propagated in that church, as will be seen when we come to speak of the renewed controversies about images

¹ Non cujuscunque figmentis, sed spiritus sancti eloquiis majestas divina laudanda est. De correctione antiphonarii, c. ii.

² By the liturgical author Amalarius, of Metz.

³ De divina psalmodia, and de correctione antiphonarii.

⁴ Vid. De correctione antiphonarii, c. 18: Quamplurimi ab ineunte pueritia usque ad senectutis canitiem omnes dies vitæ suæ in parando et confirmando cantu expendunt et totum tempus utilium et spiritualium studiorum, legendi videlicet et divina eloquia perscrutandi in istiusmodi occupatione consumunt.

in the period before us. It could hardly fail of being the case, however, owing to the want of religious instruction among the people, the prevailing sensuous bent of the religious spirit, and the exaggerated veneration which under these circumstances was paid to the saints, that there would be a gradual but certain transition to the superstitious worship of images. Warmly zealous for the essence of the pure Christian worship of God, Agobard was led by these abuses to write his book concerning images. In this he brings up the great argument used by the defenders of image worship—viz. that nobody believed that anything divine dwelt in the images themselves;—the reverence shewn to the images was really paid to the objects represented by them. To which he replies, that we have no authority for paying even to the saints that worship which is due to God alone, and which they were ever found to decline. It was a cunning device of Satan, to bring back idolatry, and under pretext of shewing honour to the saints, to draw men away from that which is spiritual, and to degrade them to that which is sensual. “We may regard images,” he says, “for just what they are, things without life, sense, or reason. The eye may take pleasure in looking at them; but the soul should worship God, who bestows on his saints the crown of victory, and on us the help of their intercessions.” “God alone,” says he, “must be adored and worshipped by the faithful; to him alone must be presented the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. Angels and holy men may be loved, honoured; but not worshipped. Not on men, but on God alone must we place our hope, lest that prophetic word be accomplished in us, ‘Cursed be the man that trusteth in man.’ Jer. xvii.” He praises the times when men made images of the cross, but not of the human face, so as to cut off all occasion for idolatry. He approves the proceedings of the council of Elvira, which, in order to banish such superstition, forbade images altogether.¹ From this we may infer, that he would have been willing to see that decree enforced also in the Frank church; for he complains that men were again sunk in idolatry, and in the heresy of the Anthropomorphites. Faith had disappeared from the heart, and men had begun to place all their trust in sensible things. He concludes his book with the following re-

¹ See Vol. i. p. 399.

marks: "Since no man is essentially God save Jesus, our Saviour, so we, as Holy Scripture commands, should bow our knees to his name alone, lest, by our giving this honour to another, God may consider us estranged from him, and leave us to follow the doctrines and traditions of men according to the inclinations of our hearts." With the same pious warmth, Agobard, while bitterly complaining of the tendency to relapse into paganism,¹ attacked the common superstition that there were wizards who had it in their power to raise at pleasure storms of wind and hail,² and others again who knew how to avert such destructive phenomena of nature. He himself, as he relates, had saved the lives of many, and restored them to freedom, whom superstition threatened with death for the imaginary crime of witchcraft. He took the same decided stand against the trial by the judgment of God;³ declaring it a folly to suppose that the more innocent party must always prevail by force, when the contrary had so often happened. God oftentimes reserved the decision between a just and an unjust cause to the final judgment; and it only remained for earthly tribunals to explore the truth by *rational investigation*. With unwavering faith, with earnest prayer and study, the needful wisdom should be sought of God.

Another who manifested his zeal for reform, with even greater freedom and boldness than Agobard, was Claudius of Turin. He was born and received his first education in Spain.⁴ His opponents called him a disciple of Felix of Urgellis: from which circumstance we might draw important conclusions with regard to the character of his theological training and direction. In what he says against the worship of the cross, we find some indication of a tendency in him to separate too widely asunder the divine and human elements in the character of Christ, and we might refer this to some influence of Adoptianism on his dogmatical mode of

¹ Tanta jam stultitia oppressit miserum mundum, ut nunc sic absurde res credantur a Christianis, quales nunquam antea ad credendum poterat quisquam suadere paganis creatorem omnium ignorantibus.

² Tempestarios, which reminds us of the African rain-makers.

³ As well against the law of Gundobald, whereby the duel was introduced into the administration of justice, as against the judgments of God generally.

⁴ To this is doubtless to be traced the barbarisms of his Latin style, with which he is reproached by his opponents, Jonas and Dungal. The Spanish Latin of that period was unquestionably, as appears evident from the records of these times, extremely corrupt,—on the point of a gradual transition to the later Spanish language.

thinking. We remarked, indeed,¹ in the general character of Felix as a theologian, the indications of a freer and more independent mode of thinking, than was common to the age; and this seems to have been propagated for a longer time, and to have been further developed in Spain—cut off as she was from the narrowing influence of the Roman hierarchy, under the dominion of the Arabs—than it could be in other countries.² But from what Claudius, in the heat of polemical controversy, says against the superstition attached to the sign of the cross, we cannot with any good reason infer that he had a doctrinal theory peculiar to himself respecting the person of Christ; and as his opponents spare no pains to represent him as a heretic, as Jonas of Orleans even charges him with propagating Arianism—a charge which certainly was altogether groundless³—it appears quite evident that no great weight can be laid upon anything

¹ See Vol. v. p. 206.

² Deserving notice on this point is the complaint about certain heretics scattered about in Spain, which is to be found in a letter of Paul Alvarus to the abbot Speraindeo, in Florez, *España Sagrada*, T. xi. p. 148. Of these nequissimis hæreticis, he says: "Quod trinum in unitate et unum in trinitate non credunt, prophetarum dicta renuunt, doctorum dogma rejiciunt, evangelium se suscipere dicunt, et illud quod scriptum est. Jo. xx. 17. Adscendo ad patrem meum et ad patrem vestrum, ad Deum meum et ad Deum vestrum, male utique sentiunt, Christum Deum ac Dominum nostrum hominem tantum asserunt propter illud, quod de eo in evangelio legunt: De die autem illa et hora nemo scit, neque angeli cœlorum neque filius, nisi pater solus." Everything surely in this report, where the stamp of the polemical fanaticism then prevailing in Spain, plainly discovers itself, is not to be taken according to the letter. Since these false teachers are accused of denying Christ's divinity, and of calling him a mere man, simply because they referred to such passages in the gospels as the Adoptianists appealed to in defence of their theory, it was probably their manner of more exactly discriminating the divine and the human elements in Christ, which led to this accusation; accordingly the charge of their having denied the doctrine of the Trinity, was grounded solely on the consequences which their opponents were pleased to derive from their doctrines. But when it is said of them, that they rejected the dogma of the church teachers, and received nothing but the gospel, we may probably infer from this that they opposed the teachings of the gospel, to the authority of the older church teachers; and that it was their aim to purge Christianity from later foreign elements—a kindred tendency therefore to that of Claudius. From the mouth of such opponents it cannot of course be received as absolutely true, that they rejected *the prophets generally*, though with the little testimony we have it is impossible to determine how much truth may be lying at the bottom of this statement. Perhaps they may have simply combatted the arbitrary mode in which the prophets were usually explained: and if Adoptianism (see Vol. v. p. 204) is to be traced to an impulse first given by the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, then this *heresy* too might be referred back to the influence of Theodore's hermeneutical principles.

³ As every fragment we possess of his commentaries proves, and as may be gathered also from his mode of combatting the idolatry of the image worshippers.

that is said concerning his relation to Felix. In his commentaries we find no trace of Adoptianism, but rather the contrary.¹ Besides, as the Mohammedans often made the worship of saints, and of images, a great matter of reproach against the Christians, taking occasion from it to accuse them of apostasy from the pure worship of God, so it is not unreasonable to suppose, that under these circumstances the apologetic interest may have called forth the effort to purge the Christian church from those foreign elements. It may be said, however, of all these attempts at explanation, that they are neither necessary, nor sufficiently well grounded;—on the contrary, everything is explained in the most natural manner, by referring to the spirit of pure Christian piety, which he had imbibed from the study of the New Testament and of the writings of St Paul in particular, constantly employed as he was on the exposition of the sacred Scriptures. We have, moreover, in Claudius the example of a case—afterwards more frequently occurring—where, in consequence of the great tendencies called forth by Augustin in opposition to Pelagianism, and in connection with the doctrines of grace and of inward justification, an antagonism of the Christian consciousness was awakened against the Jewish element, which in the life of the church had become mingled and blended with Christianity. It is clearly evident from the commentaries of Claudius, and from the remarks of his opponents, that he was more attached to Augustin than to any other one of the church fathers. Indeed, he is accused of despising the other church teachers.² It is not to be mistaken, that his mind had been deeply influenced by the study of Augustin; that the religious disputes into which he was drawn, grew out of the peculiar bias he had thus received. The evidence of this may be seen particularly in the concluding remarks of the preface to his commentary on Leviticus.³ He praises God, as the fountain of

¹ In his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, *Bibl. patr.* T. xiv. f. 155. Col. i. c. he says expressly that the idea of adoption as children of God can be applied only to the faithful.

² See *Dungal's Responsa adv. Claud. Taurinens.* *Bibl. patr.* Lugdun. f. 204. Col. ii. Augustinum adsumit, alios præter eum solum pæne omnes abjicit; yet before he had only said of him, that he had the audacity to set himself up as a judge over the older church teachers, praising and censuring them according to his own liking. After the same manner we are probably to understand also what we have just cited, that he did not acknowledge the church teachers as any decisive authority, but subjected their explanations of Scripture to a free examination.

³ *Informationes literæ et spiritus.*

all truth, goodness and blessedness, from whom created beings derive all they possess, and whom they should only serve as obedient instruments; and here he quotes passages in point from Augustin's work, *De vera religione*. Then, in allusion to the fierce attacks with which, at the time of his writing this, he was assailed in Italy, he says: "This is the firmest and loftiest sanctuary of our faith. This is the seal deeply stamped on our heart.¹ In asserting and defending this truth, I am become an object of scorn to my neighbours, a frightful spectre to my acquaintance, so that those who see me not only mock at me, but point me out with the finger as an object to be shunned."² Here Claudius himself designates the starting point from which all his controversies proceeded, and shews how closely they were connected with the elements of his Augustinian theology. The interest of practical Christianity stands foremost in all his scriptural commentaries. Grace, the source of genuine sanctification; the temper and disposition, the main thing to be regarded in the estimation of moral worth; a disposition of love to God, purified from all reference to reward, the essence of the genuinely Christian temper;³ worship of God in the spirit, the characteristic of true piety;—these are the ideas to which he assigns the first importance. And it is easy to understand therefore in what sort of relation he must of course have been placed to the reigning sensuous element in the religious tendency of his age. Hence, too, another thing which characterises him in his more profound apprehension of the nature of sin, leading him to combat the opinion that it consisted merely in the domination of sense; and to assert that what the sacred Scriptures designate as the "flesh," refers to the entire human nature in its condition of estrangement from God; including, therefore, selfishness.⁵ From this ethical point of view, he would necessarily be led to dispute many

¹ *Hæc fidei nostræ munitissimum atque altissimum sacramentum et cordi nostro firmissimus character impressus.*

² *Hanc adstruendo et defendendo veritatem opprobrium factus sum vicinis meis in tantum, ut qui videbant nos, non solum deridebant; sed etiam digito unus alteri ostendebant.* T. i. Mabillon *Analecta*, p. 38.

³ On Galat. iii. 6, he says, and in his own words, at least in words not borrowed from Augustin or Jerome: *Recte talis reputatur fides ad justitiam (ejus) qui legis opera supergressus, Deum non metu, sed dilectione promeruit*; and also peculiar to him is the description of true love to God, as such; *si propter Deum etiam salutem nostram et ipsas animas contemnamus.* Vid. *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xiv. f. 150.*

⁴ See his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians, l. c. f. 162. Col. ii.

of the marks by which his contemporaries were accustomed to judge respecting good works. Thus to the merit of good works according to monkery, he opposed St Paul's doctrine of grace.¹

Claudius was one, also, of the number of men distinguished for their science and piety, who were brought together from all countries by the Frank church. While the emperor Charles was still reigning, and his successor, Lewis, was as yet only king, he resided at the court of the latter, and was one of his household clergy.² Here, in compliance with the wishes of his friends, he began his scriptural commentaries, for the benefit of those ecclesiastics who were unable to go back to the sources of the older church teachers.³ When this king became emperor, he thought he could do nothing which would be more likely to improve the condition of the church in Italy, a church so far sunk in worldly views, ignorance, and superstition,⁴ than by nominating him, as he did in the year 814, bishop of Turin. Here Claudius entered a field of labour, where his pious zeal found work enough to do, but where that same zeal in a person of his fiery temperament, might easily lead on to immoderate invective. He saw with extreme pain how the essence of Christianity was here placed in making pilgrimages to Rome, in adoring images and relics, in various species of outward works; how men were taught to trust in the intercession of the saints, to the neglect of all earnest moral efforts of their own. He beheld a superstition which bordered closely on paganism, obtaining in the worship of saints, of images, of the cross, and of relics. No doubt, in surrendering himself entirely to the impulses of his pious zeal for the purity of the Christian worship of God, he failed of that wisdom and prudence in managing the minds of men, which would have led him to prepare the way by slow and gra-

¹ In the preface to his commentary on the epistle to the Romans: Nullam admonitionem meliorem potui invenire, quia tota (epistola) inde agitur, ut merita hominum tollat, unde maxime nunc monachi gloriuntur, et gratiam Dei commendat.

² Claudius himself, in his dedication of his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians to the abbot Dructeram, speaks of his three years' residence near the court of king Lewis, in Auvergne; and this residence of Claudius, when a priest, at the court of Lewis, is mentioned also by Jonas of Orleans, in the preface to his work against Claudius.

³ His enemies objected to him, it is true, that he had done nothing but to compile from earlier writings, without naming the authors whom he made use of. But as Claudius *says himself* that he proceeded according to this method, he is thus vindicated from this charge. His work contains besides many original remarks.

⁴ Jonas says: Ut Italicæ plebi, quæ magna ex parte a scanctorum evangelistarum sensibus procul aberat, sacræ doctrinæ consultum ferret.

dual steps, for an improvement of the life in the church. He declaimed vehemently against superstition; he banished from the churches the images and crosses, which seemed to him to have become objects of religious adoration. He says himself on this subject: ¹ "When I was induced to undertake the office of pastor, and came to Italy, I found, contrary to true doctrine, all the churches full of the lumber of consecrated gifts; ² and because I alone began pulling down what all adored, I was calumniated by all, and unless the Lord had helped me, they would perhaps have swallowed me up alive." Pope Paschalis I. (who ruled from 817 to 824) expressed, as might be expected from the course pursued by the popes during the controversies about images, displeasure at his conduct. ³ But it is remarkable that, although the popes countenanced the fanaticism of the multitude, this expression of displeasure had no further injurious effect on Claudius; perhaps because in the Frank emperor, who valued him on account of his pious zeal, he possessed too powerful a protector. Since in the Frankish church generally there was the same aversion to the superstition of image-worship which prevailed in Italy, and Claudius had been sent there for the express purpose of counteracting it, perhaps there was a more decided disposition to favour him on this point, till it became known how far he had suffered himself to be carried by his zeal for reform. After having maintained this contest for several years, he dedicated, in the year 823, to his old friend Theodemir, abbot of the monastery of Psalmody, in the diocese of Nismes, his commentary on Leviticus; and in speaking at the conclusion of the preface, in the place above cited, concerning that zeal for the fundamental truths of the gospel, whereby he had been drawn into these disputes, he says: ⁴

¹ In the Apologeticus against the abbot Theodemir, l. c. f. 197.

² Inveni omnes basilicas contra ordinem veritatis, sordibus anathematum (Jonas here understands the term *anathema* in the common sense, curse of images. But should it not, perhaps, be understood of the votive offerings, figures of recovered limbs, which were hung up in the churches, in gratitude for the cures which were supposed to have come from the saints? These gifts may have appeared to Claudius as a sign of the superstitious worship of the saints) imaginibus plenas.

³ We know this only as a general fact, without a specification of the particulars, from the words of Claudius, in his Apologeticus against the abbot Theodemir, T. xiv. f. 199, col. i.: Displicere tibi dicis, eo quod Dominus apostolicus indignatus sit mihi. Hoc dixisti de Paschali, ecclesie Romanæ episcopo, quæ præsentî jam caruit vita.

⁴ Mabillon Analecta T. i. p. 39.

“ But the Father of mercies and God of all grace comforts us in all our sufferings, so that we also can comfort those who suffer in any way. Since our trust is in him, and it is through him who protects us with the sword of justice and the helmet of salvation, we are not cast down in all our temptations.” In the midst of these controversies, he continued still to work on his scriptural commentaries, though liable to constant interruption from the manifold foreign and secular business connected with the episcopal office, and from his controversial disputes.¹ These commentaries gave him also frequent occasion for unfolding polemically his peculiar principles ; but of this he availed himself with great moderation. The first epistle of Paul to the Corinthians would, from the nature of its contents, furnish him with a better opportunity than other epistles of St Paul, for combatting the Jewish element in the shaping of the Christianity of his age ; and hence this book might naturally give offence to some, who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with him. So it actually happened, in the case of the above mentioned abbot Theodemir, a man who, by propounding to him various questions of theology, had been the means of engaging him in the composition of many of his works. This abbot lodged, before an assembly of bishops and nobles, a complaint against the last named work, on account of the heresies contained in it, when Claudius supposed that he was still on friendly terms with him. To judge rightly of the motives which dictated this procedure, and of the honourable or dishonourable character of the act, we should possess more definite information respecting the whole process of the affair. It seems, however, that he was unable to carry the process through ; on the contrary, the friends of Claudius undertook the defence of his book, and gave him an account of what had been done.² He wrote to

¹ He alludes to this, when, dedicating his commentary on the epistle to the Galatians to the abbot Dructerm, by whose invitation he had composed it, he writes to him : *Sed quia laboribus et turbinibus mundi depressus hactenus parere jussioni tuæ nequivi, modo largiente Deo in isto quadragesimæ tempore, etc.*

² We see this from the letter of Claudius to the abbot Theodemir, attached to his commentary on the fourth book of Kings, which Zacharia first published in his *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*. T. i. p. 64. He says there : *Pervenit ad manus meas epistola ex aquis regio dicto palatio, qualiter tu librum tractatus mei, quem tibi ante biennium præstiti, in epistolis ad Corinthios episcoporum judicio atque optimatam damnandum ad eundem jam dictum palatium præsentari feceris, quem tractatum ibidem non damandum, sed scribendum amici mei non solum humiliter, sed amabiliter susceperunt.*

Theodemir, complaining of his conduct: "May the Lord forgive you," said he, "who is the witness of my life, and who gave me this work to do."

We know not whether it was during or after the time of these transactions that Theodemir himself wrote him a letter, in which he expressed the sorrow he felt to find the report of his erroneous doctrines, and of a new sect which he had founded, had spread from Italy through France, and even to Spain,¹ and in which he laid before him those points which he supposed to contain heresy. He doubtless exhorted him to abandon such errors. Claudius, upon this, composed a work, in defence of his conduct and of his doctrines against these charges, wherein he unfolded his principles with great boldness and the most violent zeal. He declared that on no point had he set forth erroneous doctrines, or been a schismatic; but that he held firmly to the unity of the church, preached the truth, and defended the church; that he had always hitherto combatted superstition and error, and would with God's help always continue to combat them.² He attacked in this work every mode and form of image-worship; he exposed, as Agobard had done, every false plea which could be employed in its palliation. "If those," said he, "who have forsaken idolatry, worship the images of the saints, then they have not forsaken idols, but changed their names. Whether thou paintest thy walls with figures of St Peter and St Paul, or of Jupiter and Saturn, neither the latter are gods, nor the former apostles. If men must be worshipped, it were much better to pay that worship to the living than to the dead; that is, to that wherein they bear the image of God, than to that wherein they are like to the brute, or rather to lifeless wood and stone. If the work of God's hands (the stars of heaven) ought not to be worshipped, much less ought the work of human hands to be worshipped; even the worship of saints will not bear to be excused, for these never arrogated divine honours to themselves. Whoever seeks from any creature

¹ The words of Claudius, in his vindication: *Quod rumor abierit ex Italia de me per omnes Gallias usque ad fines Hispaniæ, quasi ego sectam quandam novam prædicaverim contra regulam fidei Catholicæ. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xiv.*

² *Sectas et schismata et superstitiones atque hæreses in quantum valui compressi, et pugnavi et expugnavi et expugnare, in quantum valeo, prorsus Deo adjuvante non cesso.*

in heaven or on earth the salvation which he should seek from God alone, is an idolater."

Here Claudius appears only as an opponent of *image-worship*, though the manner in which he speaks of it would lead us to conjecture, that he was no friend to religious symbols generally. But though his Frankish opponent complains of him particularly for unconditionally condemning religious images, and for not distinguishing the right use from the abuse of them, yet it is by no means clear from the declarations of Claudius lying before us, that he would forbid the making and using of such images in themselves. Only in the heat of his zeal against the superstition of image-worship he made use of expressions which might seem directed against religious images generally; for it is evident that he banished them from the churches only because he thought he could see no other way of getting rid of the superstition. Hence then his zeal also against the sign of the cross, which elsewhere was approved by all parties. And his mode of expressing himself in this zeal to lead away the mind from *all* sensuous symbols to spiritual communion with the Redeemer, was certainly liable to misconception, and might well expose him to many suspicions of heresy. He said of those who by the sign of the cross pretended to honour the memory of Christ's passion, "like the godless, they take pleasure in nothing that belongs to the Saviour but the shame of his sufferings. Like the Jews and pagans, who knew nothing of his resurrection, they would have only a suffering Christ, and understand not what the apostle says, 'though we have once known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no more.'"¹ If one must worship every piece of wood bearing the shape of a cross, because Christ hung on the cross; for the same reason one should worship also many other things with which Christ came in contact while living in the flesh, where he adduces many absurd and trivial examples. "Thus one should worship all virgins, because he was born of a virgin; one should worship the manger, because at his birth he was laid in a manger. For the same reason, ships might be worshipped, be-

¹ These seem to have been favourite words with Claudius, marking the spiritual tendency of his views of Christianity; as in fact he referred everything to spiritual union with Christ, and opposed this to ceremonial rites. Comp. the fragments of Claudius, published by Dr Rudelbach. Havniæ, 1824, p. 44.

cause he spent much of his time in ships, and from ships taught the multitude,"¹ etc. We might indeed be led to infer from such declarations, that Claudius had no presentiment of the significance of the cross for the Christian consciousness, and that he did not even recognise the fact which it symbolises, the redemptive sufferings of Christ in their significance for the Christian consciousness.² But other declarations in his writings prove the contrary; and doubtless it was only his zeal against the fleshly mode of apprehending Christianity, and for the spiritual and moral appropriation of it which misled him into such violent expressions. To point men away from the sensuous worship of the cross to the spiritual following after Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and in self-renunciation, was to him the principal thing; and hence the vehemence of his zeal against everything which tended to draw men away from this. Thus he says against the fleshly worshippers of the cross, "What *they do*, is quite a different thing from what *God has commanded*. God has commanded us to bear the cross, not to adore it; they are for adoring it, because they are unwilling to bear it either spiritually or bodily."³ To worship God after this manner, means to turn away from him; for he has said: 'Whoever will come after me, let him deny himself and take up his cross and follow me;' for he who does not break away from himself, cannot draw near to him who is higher than himself; no man can grasp that which is above him, but by self-sacrifice."⁴ Again, he says, "To fools we are compelled to speak that which is foolish, and cast stones at stony hearts. Return to reason,

¹ Adorentur agni, quia de illo scriptum est: ecce agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi, sed isti perversorum dogmatum cultores agnos vivos volunt vorare et in pariete pictos adorare. Perhaps an allusion to the custom of keeping the feast of the passover.

² From a passage in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, it might be inferred that he regarded Christ's death on the cross, as if he endured it as a penalty for the violation of the Mosaic ceremonial law, and thereby delivered the faithful from the binding power of that law: Itaque illa carnaliter non observando carnali conflagravit invidia et suscepit quidem poenam propositam illis, qui eam non observassent, sed ut credentes in se talis poenae timore omnino liberaret. In what follows, however, he apprehends the redemptive sufferings of Christ in a higher sense. Vid. Commentar. ep. ad. Galat. fol. 151.

³ Deus jussit crucem portare, non adorare, isti volunt adorare, quam nolunt nec spiritaliter nec corporaliter secum portare. It is not clear what he meant by this antithesis of spiritaliter and corporaliter. Perhaps spiritual self-denial and bodily suffering.

⁴ Quia videlicet nisi qui a semetipso deficiat, ad eum, qui super ipsum est non adpropinquat nec valet apprehendere, quod ultra ipsum est, si nescierit mactare quod est.

ye who have fallen from the truth and love vanity ; ye have become vain, ye who crucify the Son of God afresh and put him to an open shame, and have thereby made the souls of poor men in thousands companions of evil spirits. By the shameful sacrilege of images, you estrange them from their Creator, and plunge them in everlasting ruin." He invites men to seek after inward fellowship with Christ, when he says, "Ye blind, return to the true light, which enlightens every man that cometh into the world ; which light shineth into the darkness and the darkness comprehendeth it not ; ye who, not beholding that light, walk in darkness, and know not whither you go, because the darkness hath blinded your eyes." Claudius, in this sense, combatted everything else which, as an object of false confidence, was substituted in the place of one's own moral efforts, no less than he combatted saint-worship. He held up as opposed to this the passage in Ezekiel, xiv. 14 : "This is said," he observed, "to warn us against trusting to the merits or to the intercession of saints ; because no one who has not the same faith, the same righteousness and truth, whereby the saints obtained the divine approbation, can be saved."¹ He had contended against the frequent pilgrimages to Rome, and especially against the confidence reposed in them at the expense of practical religion, as he himself says : "The foolish men, to the undervaluing of all spiritual instruction, are for going to Rome, in order to attain everlasting life." Nor did he by any means contradict himself, as he is accused of doing by Jonas of Orleans, when he spoke so strongly against the pilgrimages, and still would not own to Theodemir, that he absolutely condemned them ; for it was not making the pilgrimage to Rome in itself which he condemned, but only the opinion which supported the practice, the opinion that there was something meritorious in this act ; that true penance consisted in this, that a man thereby made himself sure of enjoying the intercession of St Peter. Disputing the high value ascribed to these holy pilgrimages, he says : "One gets no nearer to St Peter by

¹ Also in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians an allusion is found of this kind ; for in comparing Galat. vi. 2 with 5, he remarks : *Obscure licet docemur per hanc sententiam novum dogma, quod latitat, dum in præsentis sæculo sumus, sive orationibus sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari. Cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job nec Daniel nec Noë rogare posse pro quoquam sed unumquemque portare onus suum.* L. c. fol. 164. Col. ii.

finding himself on the spot where his body was buried, for the soul is the real man."

In general, he denied that St Peter possessed any continuous power to bind and to loose;¹ "Christ in fact did not say to Peter, 'What thou loosest *in heaven*, shall be loosed also upon earth, and what thou bindest *in heaven*, shall be bound also on earth,' as he must have said, if a power to bind and loose still belonging to Peter at the present time, had really been meant; but Christ employed the opposite mode of expression. The power of acting as spiritual judges was intrusted to bishops only during the period of their natural lives." Turning upon the abbot himself, he said to him: "If to do penance and to make the pilgrimage to Rome be one and the same thing, why for so long a time hast thou received so many souls into thy monastery for the purpose of doing penance, and, retaining them there instead of sending them to Rome, made them rather serve thyself? For as thou sayest, thou hast a congregation of a hundred and forty monks, all of whom came to thee and gave themselves to the monastery for the sake of penance, and not one of whom thou sufferest to go to Rome. By so doing, he must call down on himself that sentence of our Lord against those who gave offence to the least. There was no greater offence than to hinder a man from taking the course which would lead him to eternal blessedness. We perceive here the aversion of Claudius to the monastic life, and to the rule of the abbots. Theodemir had reproached him with incurring the displeasure of the Dominus apostolicus." He replied, "The title of apostolicus does not belong to him who administers a bishopric founded by an apostle, but to him who truly fulfils the apostolical vocation:² to those who occupy the place without fulfilling the vocation, should be applied the passage in Matthew, xxiii. 12." Doubtless he meant to say that he felt in nowise bound to obey the pope, where, as in this matter, the pope stood opposed to the apostolical doctrine.³

¹ Worthy of remark, too, is what he says in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians concerning the relation of Peter and Paul: *Petrum solum nominat et sibi comparat, quia primatum ipse accepit ad fundandam ecclesiam (inter Judæos), se quoque pari modo electum, ut primatum habeat in fundandis gentium ecclesiis.* Vid. fol. 147.

² Non ille, qui in cathedra sedet apostoli, sed qui apostolicum implet officium.

³ Also the distinction of a visible and invisible church is found hinted at in ep. ad Galat. f. 142. *Dupliciter ecclesiam posse dici, et eam quæ non habeat macu-*

Theodemir hereupon wrote an apology in opposition to Claudius, in which, so far as we can judge from the fragments that have been preserved,¹ he made a good defence of himself on the fundamental principles inculcated within the pale of the Frankish church. "If the monks," says he, "are bound by their special calling to a quiet residence in one spot, and hence cannot for special reasons undertake the journey to Rome, it is still by no means inconsistent with this, to consider it a praiseworthy thing for men to undertake, out of love for the heavenly land, so toilsome a journey, and visit the churches of those apostles, with whose souls it is impossible for them here to mingle." Although the passage in 1 Tim. ii. might be rightly applied against such as suppose that men can pray only where an altar has been erected, or relics are to be found, yet though permitted and bound to pray in every place, men may still choose to visit one particular spot for the purposes of devotion, as Paul made a journey to the temple in Jerusalem. He utterly repelled the assertion of Claudius that the monks had come to him for the sake of penance, and that they *were to serve him*. To say this of one's self would be presumptuous arrogance in any man. It was not to take refuge in *him*, but in the mercy of the Lord, and to seek salvation from Him, that they had come to the monastery.

As may be inferred from the language of one of his opponents, Claudius was cited before an assembly of bishops; but he did not present himself, as he could easily foresee that it would be impossible for him to come to any understanding with the bishops of this country; and perhaps in the contempt which he expressed for them, he yielded too much to his indignation against superstition.² But it is remarkable,³ that the bishops took no further steps against him, whether they were deterred by the favour in which Claudius stood with the emperor, or whether they were

lam aut rugam et vere corpus Christi sit, et eam, quæ in Christi nomine absque plenis perfectisque virtutibus congregetur. Therefore the community of those who only confess Christ outwardly, without the right disposition—the church in an improper sense.

¹ In the work of Jonas of Orleans, l. iii. De cultu imag f. 190. T. xiv. Bibl. patr. Lugd.

² Dungal remarks in his tract against Claudius (l. c. f. 223): Renuit ad conventum occurrere episcoporum, vocans illorum synodum congregationem asinorum.

³ For this Dungal accuses them: Illi nimium patientes hæc diutius dissimulare non debuerant.

drawn away from this matter by other outward affairs which they considered of greater moment. Meanwhile, however, the tract of Claudius in defence of his opinions furnished abundant occasion for charging him with heresy; it was complained of before the emperor Lewis,¹ as a work containing heretical views, and so it was regarded by men of note. A number of propositions were extracted from it which were pronounced heretical;² and a certain Dungal, probably from Scotland or Ireland, undertook, in the year 827,³ to refute it, and called upon the Frank princes to take measures for preventing the spread of these errors. The emperor Lewis himself gave it in charge to Jonas, bishop of Orleans, to write a refutation of the above mentioned propositions. But as in the meanwhile, about the year 839, Claudius died, Jonas suffered the matter to lie.⁴ But when he was informed that Claudius had succeeded in gaining admission for his principles in those districts, and had left behind him a party which followed them, he felt himself called upon to resume and complete the work he had undertaken.

Jonas approved the zeal of Claudius against the image-worship of Italy; but he found fault with him for not having proceeded with more forbearance and caution, and distinguished the right use of images from the abuse of them;⁵ for arrogantly asserting that he alone taught the truth; for confounding the moderate use of images in the Frank and German church with the Italian image-worship; for not sparing even the sign of the cross; and for attacking the worship of the saints and pilgrimages. In defence of the veneration paid to the sign of the cross he gives a reason, which he might have applied indeed with equal propriety to the worship of images, "The whole act," he said, "was not an expression of reverence for the cross, but a mark of reverence and love to him, who by the cross destroyed the power of death." He spoke of the custom of bowing the head and kissing the

¹ See the preface to the work of the bishop Jonas against Claudius.

² The same which we here avail ourselves of, as the work of Claudius himself no longer remains.

³ As he himself says, two years after the Parisian synod on images.

⁴ As he himself says in the above cited preface.

⁵ *Immoderatus et indiscretus zelus. Quia errorem gregis sui ratione dirigere neglexit, et eorum animis scandalum generavit et in sui detestationem eos quodam modo prorumpere coëgit.* L. c. f. 168.

books of the sacred Scriptures, alluding particularly to that custom in the church where the clergy, after the lesson from the gospels had been read, kissed one after another the holy evangelists, "an act," he said, "intended to show reverence and love to Him whose word had just been read—not to the parchment and ink, but to the author of the law."¹ As to the pilgrimages, Jonas agreed with Claudius, that they could not be regarded as anything good in themselves, aside from the disposition and motives of those who made them; but the same, he supposed, might be said of all good works. To fast, to give alms, was no good thing when done with pride and vanity. Claudius ought therefore to have judged of pilgrimages also according to the different motives with which they were undertaken.² He himself ascribes to pilgrimages to Rome, undertaken for the purpose of obtaining the intercessions of the apostle Peter, so much worth as this, that they had an influence to awaken zeal for the worship of God, and that works undertaken from love to God were sure to have their reward. Moreover, it was a principle implanted in the human mind, that the actual beholding of a thing operated more strongly on the feelings than hearing the reports of others.³ After the same manner Walafrid Strabo expressed himself on this subject,⁴ in his liturgical work written about the year 840, and entitled *De exordiis et incrementis rerum ecclesiasticarum*. He too declared himself⁵ opposed to both the erroneous extremes, the unconditional rejection of images, and that veneration of them which bordered on idolatry. "If the arts of the painter and sculptor," says he, "must be censured, because their works mislead the uncultivated to adoration, then God might be blamed for having formed creatures which, by the impression they produce, mislead erring mortals to pay them divine honours. If we ought to destroy images on account of this abuse of them, so, on the same

¹ He defends, it is true, the *adoratio crucis* attacked by Claudius, but he softens this expression by the added explanation: *Volumus more ecclesiastico ob recordationem passionis dominicæ crucem adorare, i. e. salutare*. T. ii. f. 183.

² *Satius itaque erat, te hoc opus ex mentis pensasse iudicio, et sicut alia media bona, ita et hoc quoque aut cordis devotione iudicasse utile vel certe ob indevolutionem minus profuturum sanxisse*. L. iii. f. 189.

³ *Sane est etiam proprium humanæ menti, non à deo compungi ex auditis, sicut ex visis*.

⁴ From A. D. 842, abbot of Reichenau (Augia), not far from Constance.

⁵ C. 8.

principle, we ought to destroy churches, lest some might be led to suppose that the omnipresent God is limited to a particular place. Thus it might happen, that in attempting to avoid everything which might furnish occasion of error to the simple, nothing would be left to us as a means of exercising our devotion, or of elevating the simple and ignorant to the love of invisible things." Archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims,¹ also still advocated the same principles, as may be seen from the fact that he describes the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts among the Greeks as two parties who erred on opposite extremes; that he set over against both extremes the tradition of the fathers and the doctrine of Scripture, and that he speaks with approbation of the Carolinian books, which he had read in his youth.² Nevertheless, at such a time when the tendency of the religious spirit was so strongly directed to sense, when there was such a lack of educated clergymen, and the influence of the Romish church, in which image-worship reigned supreme, was so great, this superstition could not fail eventually to pass over also to the church of the Franks. Especially as the dark times of the tenth century were now commencing, times so inauspicious to pure religion, that already at the synod of Trosley in the beginning of this century, we find the bishops complaining thus: "It is to be charged to our negligence and ignorance, and to that of our fellow-labourers, that in the churches many are to be found sunk in the lowest vice, and multitudes almost without number of every sex and order, who to the years of old age have never obtained so much correct knowledge of the simple faith, as to be able to repeat the words of the confession of faith, or of the Lord's prayer."

Yet even in these times of gross darkness, individual instances were not wanting of a countervailing influence, proceeding from organs of a purer Christian spirit. We see shining forth in the midst of all this darkness a man, for example, like Nilus, who, at any period, might justly be esteemed a clear light of the Holy

¹ It is to be lamented that Hinkmar's tract, probably occasioned by the controversies then existing on this subject, which Flodoard quotes in his history of Rheims, has not come down to our times. *Scriptis etiam librum flagitantibus coepiscopis fratribus suis, qualiter imagines salvatoris vel sanctorum ipsius venerandæ sint cum epilogo quodam metricè digesto.* L. iii. c. 29.

² See the opusculum contra Hinem. Laudunensem, c. 20, T. ii. opp. f. 457.

Spirit. And in the same country, which was at that time the seat of the worst superstition, in Italy, stood forth an individual not to be compared indeed with Nilus for purity of disposition and zeal, sanctified and ennobled by the spirit of love and gentleness, but still manfully earnest in contending with the fleshly Christianity of the times, and the immorality which served as its prop,—Ratherius, bishop of Verona. He attacked with boldness and vigour the conduct of the wicked clergy, who by encouraging men to rely on absolution and indulgences, without impressing on their hearts the nature and the conditions of true penitence, did but confirm them in their sinful propensities. Such clergymen he styled *murderers of souls*.¹ The same bishop also enjoins it on his parochial priests, as a duty, not to bestow absolution on any man for any reasons whatsoever, unless he gave signs of true penitence.² It is a fact which serves to characterise both him and his clergy, that the latter found fault with him because he made the way of salvation too hard for the people, and promised the kingdom of heaven to none but the suffering.³ In particular, he distinguished himself in his fast sermons by the boldness and decision with which he attacked every species of mock penitence, and all the props of a false security joined to a sinful life. Thus he inveighs against those,⁴ who would indemnify themselves for fasting at some particular season, by drunkenness and gluttony at other times. “*They* have not rightly fasted,” said he, “who save what they have abstracted from their bodies, as an offering either for their appetites or for their avarice. Nor is there anything which can please God in the fasts of those who in the season of fasting are still busy with calumnies, contentions, and other evil works. It were better, as St Jerome says, to put up daily with a less amount of food, than to fast severely all at one time. It were better, if for no other reason, because the latter

¹ He speaks of ecclesiastics, who observed the church laws so far as to refrain from beating sinners with the fist or with rods; but who did them a fouler wrong, in that they murdered them spiritually. *Si non percutiat fideles delinquentes (quod et canonibus interdicatur) pugno vel baculo, et adulterinæ absolutionis, largitionis vel certe benedictionis flagello aut pessimorum actuum interficiat illos exemplo. De contemptu canonum p. i. § 17. ed. Ballerin. f. 355; or D'Achery spicileg. T. i. f. 350.*

² *Nullus vestrum, minus digne pœnitentem cujuscunque rei gratia ad reconciliationem adducat.* In his *Synodica*, § 8.

³ *Calamitosis iste solum regnum Dei promittit*, l. c. D'Achery, f. 358.

⁴ D'Achery, f. 384 et seq.

may be done out of mere vanity." Again, he says, " We ought not to suppose, that good can be balanced off against evil ; that one may fast, for instance, give alms, forgive injuries, pray, and then be allowed to commit adultery or other crimes with impunity ; for the forgiveness of sin is promised to none but those who repent of it and forsake it."¹ He spoke against those, who ascribed undue importance to a dead and unproductive faith, and to a participation in the outward fellowship of the church ; who promised all baptised and orthodox Christians final salvation, though they might have to endure the pains of purgatory ; who said, God is too merciful to suffer any man who is a Christian to be lost in hell, though they would have said the truth, had they understood, that no man is a Christian but he who does the will of Christ. So far was such a dead faith without works from being of any avail, that on the contrary they are the more deserving of punishment, who possess the means of grace so far beyond others, and yet make no use of them for their own improvement. He exposed the folly of relying on any species of good works whatever, to which a false value was ascribed when isolated as an *opus operatum* and considered apart from the temper of the heart ; as, for example, when property wrongly acquired was given as alms. The essential thing was, to seek to do good, not for the sake of the idle fame of it, but for the honour of God's law, and from sympathy with all that is human. Everything depended on the disposition of the heart ; and he who was so poor as to have nothing to give, could still give himself, that is, his heart, in a sympathising love.² In exhorting to prayer, he also speaks against the *opus operatum*, and points to the inward temper as the essential thing. " They," says he, " do not rightly pray, who ask of the Lord, not that which he has commanded us to ask, but rather that which he has forbidden ; for he bids us to long and seek after heavenly things, while we seek after the things of earth. He

¹ So also *præloquiorum*, l. vi. Martene et Durand, *monumentor, et scriptor. vet. collectio*, T. ix. f. 948 : *Pœnitentiam vero nec iste nec ille digne agere convincitur, si dum unum quodlibet vitium sese macerando insequitur, aliud simile aut forsitan gravius aut certe plura alia committere non veretur.*

² Vid. l. c. f. 386. So also in the vi. book of his *Præloquia* Martene et Durand. T. ix. f. 943 : *Quodlibet bonum quanquam minimum, si propter caritatem facis, securus esto, cum fructu facis. Si propter aliud facis, ne erres, inaniter facis. A quolibet malo si caritatis amore comperceris, mercede non carebis. Si ob aliud agis, nec venia nedum gratia dignus haberis.*

bids us pray for those who persecute us ; but we think impious prayers against them." He spoke against the seemingly devout, who spent the night in spiritual prayer and songs, but the day in idleness and uncharitableness, though the day was meant for labour, and the night for repose. True prayer, he said, is that which springs from worshipping God in spirit and in truth. The opinion which RATHERIUS entertained of pilgrimages, may be gathered from the record of his own meditations on a certain occasion. In the year 966, when on the eve of a journey to Rome on matters of business, he proposed the question to himself, *why am I going to Rome?*¹ "Not," he answered, "for the sake of prayer," arguing from John iv. 21, that every man can worship God in spirit and in truth even in his own house. "Nor is it to learn what is good and well-pleasing to God, Micah vi. 8, "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good ; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?—not merely when we go to Rome, but in whatever other place we may find ourselves. But he walks constantly with God, who never departs from His commandments. In this consists the law and the prophets, that we at all times, in thought, word, and deed, follow Christ."

The earnest desire of RATHERIUS to promote spiritual views of Christianity, led him to use his influence against a species of sensuous anthropomorphism, which through the fault of ignorant and uncultivated ecclesiastics, had again become widely diffused.² But in this case it was certainly not less evident than in the case of the earlier Anthropomorphites, that it was a tendency which could be grappled with and subdued, not by any negative process, not by attacking the single errors, which were connected with this mode of thinking, but only by operating, through the spirit of Christianity itself on the very ground-work of this mode of thinking and spiritualising it, from the inmost centre of the Christian consciousness. He was informed that the priests of the see of Vicenza entertained altogether sensuous and anthropomorphic notions of God, taking the figurative representations of the Old Testament simply in their literal sense. This led him in one of

¹ *Itinerarium Ratherii Romam euntis*, at the beginning.

² Berenger calls them *infinittissimos ad eorum comparationem*, qui circa hoc recte sentiunt, ed. Vischer. pag. 116.

his sermons to attack these fleshly vices, and to speak of the divine being as a spirit. But he thus gave offence to the great mass, who had never been used to represent anything to themselves except under some form of sense, and who therefore supposed they must lose the whole, if they gave up the sensuous form under which they conceived it. Even some of his own priests imagined, like those ancient Anthropomorphites, that their God had been taken away from them since it was only under the form of such images they could behold him.¹ In like manner he objected to the sensuous notions which the rude multitude and uneducated clergy framed to themselves, of a God seated on a golden throne, and surrounded by a throng of winged angels. A story had been circulated that on a certain Monday, mass would be celebrated by the angel Michael. As might be expected, a vast multitude flocked to the church where such an extraordinary mass was to be held, which was a source of no small gain to the priests. But Ratherius took great pains to introduce and foster more spiritual views, and to destroy those idols, as he called them, which men had formed out of their own imagination.² He attacked the superstition which pretended to cure diseases by the use of amulets and charms, and to raise or hush storms by forms of incantation.³ "The miracles wrought by the holy men of the Old and New Testaments," said he, "were not *their own* work, but the work of God through their instrumentality. Their faith, the faith to which our Lord ascribes such power, Matt. xvii. 19, accomplished this. Neither the devil nor any evil-minded man could produce such effects, to the injury of others; but God produces them whenever he pleases, by the hands of his servants; and being infinitely good, produces them only for the benefit of mankind."⁴

Among these organs of a right Christian spirit, who fought against superstition, and the worldly temper dressed out in the garb of Christianity, we may place also Odo, the abbot of Cluny.

¹ Quid modo faciemus. Usque nunc aliquid visum est nobis de Deo scire, modo videtur nobis, quod nihil omnino sit Deus, si caput non habet, etc. Vid. D'Achery, l. c. fol. 388.

² Quoquomodo idola tibi in corde cœpisti stultissime fabricare.

³ Præloquior, l. i. fol. 15 et 21 ed. Ballerin.

⁴ Facit hoc per servos suos, cum ei placuerit Deus, et cum sit summe bonus, benigne ut bonus. Sermo ii. de ascensione, D'Achery, f. 400.

In the introduction to his biographical notice of count Gerald of Aurilly, a pious layman, he notices as among the particular marks of a holy man, the Christian virtues and deeds of mercy, these being the more acceptable qualities in the sight of God, though miracles are valued at a much higher rate by the multitude;¹ "for," says he, assigning his reasons, "our Lord in the final judgment will say to many, who had prophesied and performed wonders, I never knew you. But to those who have led a righteous life, he will say, Come, ye blessed of my Father." And in his preface to the second book he said of those, who refused to allow to this Gerald the title of saint, because he was neither martyr nor confessor, nor had ever wrought a miracle,² "They ought to know, that the name martyr and confessor might be applied not only to him, but to every one, who in the conflict with sin, has borne his cross, or by good works glorified God; for men confess or deny God by their works, as the sacred Scriptures teach, 1 John ii. 3; Rom. ii. 23. But what would they, who like the Jews demand miracles, say of John the Baptist, who never performed a miracle in his life? For although miracles were not wholly wanting in the life and works of the individual of whom we are speaking, yet to those who ask for them we shall content ourselves with this *one* reply, that the great miracle of his life was his contempt of earthly goods." This correct appreciation of miracles from the properly Christian point of view, this inclination to set a higher value upon the moral power of Christianity, is a trait which everywhere distinguishes the abbot of Cluny. Thus, after having related how Gerald forgave a man who attempted to rob him, and how he made the man a present of that which he intended to steal, he adds, in reference to this trial of patience and love: "His conduct in this case seems to me a greater wonder than if he had turned the thief into a stone."³ We discern here the tradition of the genuinely Christian spirit, a tradition whose current

¹ The witnesses of his life, qui signa quidem, quæ vulgus magni pendit, non multa retulerunt, sed disciplinatum vivendi modum et opera misericordiæ, quæ Deo magis placent, non pauca. De vita S. Geraldii l. i. præf. Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, f. 67.

² Thus strongly he expresses himself in his zeal for the recognition of the common worth and dignity of Christians: illi qui delirant, quod nec martyr nec confessor valeat dici.

³ Certe mihi videtur, quod id magis admiratione dignum sit, quam si furem rigere in saxi duritiam fecisset, l. i. c. 26.

flowed steadily through every century, and which enabled many even in these times of darkness, to apprehend the miracle according to its true Christian sense, for we find like views entertained also by others of this period.¹ To show that it was possible even for one who was a layman to lead a pious life, Odo composed his biographical account of count Gerald of Aurilly, a man distinguished above those of his own order, by his diligent and faithful study of the Scriptures,² by his devotional habits, his lively sympathy in all Christian objects, his beneficence and his gentle treatments of his tenants.³ "As this man," says he, in the preface to his Life, "lived like Noah among his contemporaries according to the law of God, so God has set him apart as a witness to all, that beholding in him an example near at hand of a pious life, others may be awakened to emulation, and that it may not be thought a difficult or impossible thing to observe the divine precepts, when they are seen to be observed by a layman, and a great man of the world."⁴

Such solitary examples and organs of the genuinely Christian

¹ So writes the abbot Arnulph of Metz, in the last times of the tenth century: "Perseverance in good works to the end is more than all miracles." *Nec signorum vel miraculorum novitatem plerumque differentiam facere sanctitatis, vel inde patenter ostenditur, quod per malos hæc aliquando fiant, multosque ecclesia summo honore colit, de quibus an uno saltem signo claruerint, reticetur.* Vid. *Vita Joannis Gorziensis*, c. i. § 4. *Acta sanctor.* 27 Februar. In the letter, in which Poppo, archbishop of Triers, in the year 1042, proposed to pope Benedict IX. the canonisation of a certain hermit Simeon, he wrote to him: *Non tam signa, quæ fidelibus et infidelibus communia sunt, quam fidei virtus, qua fideles ab infidelibus sequestrati sunt, qua ipsi dum adhuc in corpore maneret, plurimum viguit, de ejus sanctitate nos certos reddit.* Vid. *Mabillon Acta sanctor. Sæc. vi. p. i. f. 370.* And in the life of Herluin, abbot of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, who lived in the latter times of this century, it is said: *Referimus miracula, sed eis, unde vulgus fert sententiam, multum pauciora, quanquam non defuerunt et ipsa.* Then we find extolled as above all miracles, his perseverance and constancy, amid every trial, in the good resolutions he had once formed: *Quid enim gloriosius, quod victus ab eo ubique hostis, Deo vincente succubrit?* *Mabillon acta sanctor. O. B. Sæc. vi. p. ii. f. 346.*

² Owing to the feebleness of his health when a child, his parents doubted whether he would be fit to enter the order of knights, and hence gave his education such a direction that in case of necessity he might enter the spiritual order. Thus he may have acquired more learning, as well as occupied himself a longer time in study than was customary for persons of his class. *Unde factum est, ut propemodum pleniter scripturarum seriem disceret utque multos clericorum quantumlibet sciolos in ejus cognitione præiret.*

³ He was opposed to the cruel punishments, which were still in practice at that time, such as maimings. Odo says of him, l. i. c. 20: *Nunquam auditum est, ut se præsentem quilibet aut morte punitus sit aut truncatus membris.*

⁴ *Nec observantia mandatorum Dei gravis aut impossibilis æstimetur, quoniam quidem hæc a laico et potente homine observata videntur.*

spirit, as those just described, could not, however, oppose any effectual check to the superstition which had fastened itself upon the worship of saints and relics, and other corrupt elements in the doctrine of the church, and which was promoted rather than fought down by the multitude of incompetent ecclesiastics.

But while, on the one hand, the superstition which attached itself to the worship of saints and relics bordered nearly on paganism,¹ we may trace on the other the signs of such a reaction against the worship of saints as seems to betray a misapprehension or entire disregard of the Christian element at bottom, in

¹ One characteristic example of pagan superstition is the following: While the above-mentioned Romuald was residing in France, the report got abroad that he was about to leave that country, when the people proposed, if they could not prevent the execution of his purpose in any other way, to kill him; so that at least they might have the body of the saint as a protection from evil; which Damiani, in his account of his life, calls an *impia pietas*, c. iv. § 20. Whenever a person died, who had been particularly venerated and loved on account of his piety, the people soon gathered about his grave to pay him the honour of a saint—see the account of the Life of Bardo, archbishop of Mentz, c. vii. § 69, 10th June—and very soon stories began to be circulated of wonderful cures performed on the spot. This was done, not only in the case of ecclesiastics and monks, but also of laymen who stood in high repute for piety; such, for example, as the parents of the above-mentioned Bardo. See the Life just cited, § 1. But these stories about miracles were also circulated by intentional fraud. Vagrants afflicted, as they gave out, with sore diseases, came to the grave of some individual who had died in the odour of sanctity, and throwing themselves down on it, declared themselves cured, expecting thus to receive a more bountiful alms from the people, who would rejoice to behold such miracles wrought by their saint. In the Life of Godehard, archbishop of Hildesheim, it is related, c. vii. § 50: *Propter quasdam vanæ mentis personas, quæ in nostra patria usitato more per sacra loca discurrentes, se aut cæcos aut debiles vel elingues vel certe obsessos temere simulant et ante altaria vel sepulcra sanctorum se coram populo volutantes pugnisque tundentes sanatos se illico proclamant, ea scilicet sola vesana voluptate, ut sic tantum majorem stipem vel quæstum a plebe percipiant.* The writer of this Life mentions the example of an old woman, who threw herself down, with her head and face veiled, before the tomb of this archbishop Godehard of Hildesheim, who was already reputed a saint, and rolling herself about, suddenly stood up, saying she had been cured of a blindness of many years. When the report of this wonderful event had spread far and wide, the people and the clergy hastened to the spot, among whom was the bishop himself. Already it was proposed to hold a public thanksgiving in the church, when certain villagers from the same town with the old woman, who knew her to be a cheat, testified that she had often been in the practice of playing such tricks. Bishop Godehard used to remark of such cases, that owing to the number of deceivers, even those were not believed who told the truth. *Acta sanctor. Mai. T. i. f. 517.* As the sale of relics could be made a profitable business, and the news of their arrival in any place immediately brought out the sick in crowds (see the Life of Rabanus Maurus, by his scholar Rudolph, c. ii. *Acta sanctor. Bolland. Februar. T. i. f. 513*), so this circumstance also was a strong temptation to fraud. Glaber Rudolph gives a remarkable example of a cheat, who roved about the country under different names, with dead men's bones. These, as he pretended, were wonder-working relics, which he had discovered by a revelation from angels. And he made a profitable business of it. *Vid. Hist. l. iv. c. iii.*

the consciousness of the ennoblement of man's nature by being raised to the fellowship of a divine life—as seems to betray some approach to an abstract Deism. In opposition to this tendency, RATHERIUS the antagonist of superstition defended the worship of saints. Some one had taken offence at the hymn sung on the festival of All-saints, particularly at an expression there used concerning the reign of the saints,¹ as if it ascribed too much dignity to the saints, and detracted from the honour due to God alone. “It would have been the more proper expression to say,—the saints are blessed with God, not that they reigned with him.” “As if,” said RATHERIUS, “to be blessed, to reign, to live with God, were not all one and the same thing. The objector might be right, provided only he so understood the sole dominion and sovereignty of God, as to place no limits to the free grace of God, which converts vessels of wrath into vessels of mercy, and not only elevates them to the rank of kings, but even makes them partakers of the divine nature.”²

But in this period the worship of saints underwent a change, occasioned by the new system of the church constitution. Originally, each church had her particular saints, men who had sprung from her own bosom, distinguished for their pious manner of life and death, and for what they had done and suffered for the church, and therefore the objects of her special veneration. In course of time, it so happened of its own accord, that many of these, owing to their important position in the development of the church, or to the fame of the miraculous cures performed at their tombs, became the objects of a more general veneration, and that the festivals consecrated to their memory were observed, by degrees, through a wider circle of churches. But it was only in this period, and under the ecclesiastical monarchy of the popes, now completely organised, that the worship of a saint could be introduced

¹ The words were—

Quicumque in alta siderum
Regnatis aula principes.

² Quod quidem recte faceret, si singularem Deitatem ejus, regnatum, et potentiam ita pie venerando intelligeret, ut gratuitæ miserationi, quæ ex vasis iræ vasa facta misericordiæ tanto didat munere, quo non reges tantum modo esse et vocari, sed insuper Deos esse et dici ineffabili concedat benignitate, impie invidendo contraire timeret: Præloquior. l. iv. f. 892 ed. Ballerin. We recognise here, in RATHERIUS'S obscure and awkward style, the antagonism of a deep-felt Christian Theism to an abstract Deism.

at once into the practice of the entire church. Pope John XV. set the precedent for this, by a bull issued in the year 973, which conferred this distinction on bishop Ulrich of Augsburg, who had died twenty years before, and whose pious and active zeal in the performance of every part of his official duty, assuredly deserved the enduring remembrance of veneration and love. It was done at the motion of Liutolf, bishop of Augsburg, after a report had been read of the life and miracles of Ulrich.¹ The worship of the saints was defined in this bull, as a worship to be paid through them to the Lord, of whom they had testified, as an honour to the servants redounding to the glory of their Master, by rendering which, men conscious of the imperfection of their own righteousness might hope to be assisted by the merits and intercession of those whom they adored.² Thus, in the present case, saint-worship was, on the one hand, referred back to its ground in the Christian consciousness, the conviction, that Christ himself is represented in the organs which are sanctified by his spirit; while, on the other hand, the immediate reference of the religious consciousness to Christ was hindered, by the intervention of another mediation, supposed to be necessary for men filled with the sense of their own sinfulness. For the most part, however, the worship of saints began in the first place with the people, on whom the life of some pious man had made a profound impression, and among whom the fame of the miracles performed at his tomb was generally diffused. If now the bishop sympathised with the enthusiasm of the people for the memory of such an individual, then, by drawing up a report to the pope of his life, his manner of death, and of his miracles, the bishop brought it about, that the worship of the saint should be no longer confined to one community, but that his name should be introduced into the list of saints to be honoured and worshipped by the whole church.³

¹ The words: *Quatenus memoria Udalrici divino cultui dicata existat et in laudibus Dei diutissime persolvendis semper valeat proficere.*

² *Decrevimus memoriam illius affectu piissimo et devotione fidelissima venerandum, quoniam sic adoramus et colimus reliquias martyrum et confessorum, ut cum ejus martyres et confessores sunt, adoremus, honoramus servos, ut honor redundet in Dominum, qui dixit: Qui vos recipit, me recipit ac perinde nos, qui fiduciam nostræ justitiæ non habemus, illorum precibus et meritis apud clementissimum Deum jugiter adjuvemur. Vid. Mabillon. acta sanctor. Sæc. v. f. 471.*

³ Thus it was ordered, for example, by pope Benedict IX., after hearing a report by Poppo, archbishop of Triers, in the year 1042, respecting the hermit

Among the religious customs universally observed in this period, was the use of the consecrated oil on the sick. The first occasion of this custom had been given already in the sixth and seventh centuries, by the method adopted to counteract a superstition which prevailed among new converts, and which was spread by their means. As a substitute for the amulets and forms of incantation resorted to by the sick, was introduced the anointing of the sick with consecrated oil, accompanied with prayer, according to the direction in James v. 14, 15, Mark vi. Thus, in a sermon ascribed to Augustin,¹ but belonging perhaps to Cæsarius of Arles, speaking against amulets for the sick, the writer says: "How much better, that mothers should hasten to the church, should receive the body and blood of Christ, and anointing herself and hers, in faith, with the consecrated oil, obtain, according to the words of the apostle James, not merely health of body, but also the forgiveness of sins."² This unction was applied, then, in the first place, in all cases of sickness, and not merely in the last extremity; even the laity performed it on themselves, and on the members of their household. At a later period, this anointing was made a particular function of the sacerdotal office.³ Jonas, bishop

Simeon, who died in 1035: Eundem virum Dei Symeonem, quem Dominus commendat significatione tantarum virtutum sanctitatis ac gratiæ plenum ab omnibus populis, tribus et linguis sanctum procul dubio esse nominandum ejusque natalem singulis annis recurrentem sollemniter observandum ad instar diei festi, nomen quoque ipsius martyrologio sanctorum nominibus suo loco inserendum. This Simeon was the son of a Greek of Syracuse. He became monk in a monastery on mount Sinai. He became known in the West, during a tour on which he was sent by his monastery to collect alms. In his travels, he had acquired a ready power of expressing himself in five languages—Coptic, Syrian, Arabic, Greek, and Latin. Poppo, archbishop of Triers, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, took him home with him, and he became a hermit near Triers. While he was honoured by some as a saint and a worker of miracles, he was looked upon by others as a wizard. During an inundation caused by rains, the populace suspected him of having brought this calamity on the country, and were for storming his cell. Vid. Mabillon acta sanctor. Sæc. vi. p. i. f. 371 et seq.

¹ In the appendix to Augustin's Works, T. v. f. 279. § 5

² So also in a sermon of Eligius of Noyon (see vol. v. p. 52): Quoties aliqua infirmitas supervenerit, non quærantur præconatores, non diviui, non sortilegi, non coragi nec per fontes aut arbores vel bivios diabolica phylacteria exerceantur, sed qui ægrotat in sola misericordia Dei confidat et eucharistiam cum fide ac devotione accipiat oleumque benedictum fideliter ab ecclesia petat, unde corpus suum in nomine Christi ungit et secundum apostolum oratio fidei salvabit infirmum et non solum corporis, sed etiam animæ sanitatem recipiet. Vid. D'Achery Spicileg. T. ii. f. 97.

³ As in the ordinances of Boniface: Omnes Presbyteri oleum infirmorum ab episcopo expetant secumque habeant et admoneant fideles infirmos, illud exquirere, ut eodem oleo peruncti a presbyteris sanentur. Bonifacii f. 142.

of Orleans, complains, in his Rules of Christian Life for Laymen,¹ that many, instead of applying in case of sickness to the priests, and having themselves or the members of their family anointed with the consecrated oil, according to the apostolical tradition, preferred sending for soothsayers or female fortune-tellers, to consult them about the issue of the disease. At a synod held at Pavia, in the year 850, this custom of priestly unction, especially in mortal sickness, is sanctioned; and it is placed in the same rank with the other sacraments. It was to be bestowed on those only who were deemed fit to receive the communion.² In like manner, Damiani names among the twelve sacraments noticed by him, this unction, as a means of bodily and spiritual healing³—a sign of the condescension of divine love to the necessities of feeble man, who must maintain the conflict with sin to the last. Accordingly, the seven sacraments were already recognised in this period; although, owing to the vague conception of the thing, the name was applied to many other religious usages, which in later times were excluded.

The judgments of God, which we had occasion to notice in the preceding period, found a point of attachment in the notion of an external theocracy, administered by the priesthood, and of a continued divine interposition by miracles in the guidance of the church. On this principle, the archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims defended the *judicium aquæ frigidæ et calidæ*;⁴ and on this principle, too, cardinal Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) seems to have been inclined to favour the judgments of God. Yet not an individual bishop alone (Agobard of Lyons,⁵ who attacked the superstition of his times), but an entire church assembly in France,

¹ De institutione laicali l. iii. c. 14.

² Concil. Regiaticin. c. 8. Cui enim reliqua sacramenta interdicta sunt, hoc uno nulla ratione uti conceditur. The extreme unction does not, in this century, appear to have been considered indispensably necessary for every believer. The abbot Adelard of Corbie was asked, whether he would receive it, since it was known, peccatorum oneribus eum non detineri. He begged for it, and when he had received it, thought he should now be able to die in peace, because he had partaken of all the sacraments. See his Life by Paschasius Radbert, § 8, ii. January.

³ Sermo 69, T. ii. f. 180. Infirmantibus nobis et usque ad mortem mortali peccatorum febre languentibus spiritus pietatis assistit et recordatus est, quoniam pulvis sumus.

⁴ See his Opusculum ad Hildegarium episcopum Meldensem, T. ii. opp. f. 676.

⁵ See above, p. 210.

the third council of Valence, held in 855, declared against the judgment of God by single combat, which had been made legal by the Burgundian code. The custom obtaining, that when opposite statements were given on oath by two parties,¹ it should be decided which oath was according to truth, and which contrary to it, by a duel; this council decreed, that whoever contradicted an oath legally administered by another, should be excluded from the communion of the church, and the same penalty should be incurred by him who killed or maimed another in a duel.² The person killed should be inhibited, as a self-murderer, from the rites of Christian burial, and from the mass for the repose of souls. The emperor should be requested to banish by law such an enormity from among the faithful.³ Also pope Nicholas I. declared against the judgment of God by duel, when the matter was agitated in the case of Thietberga. "Although sacred history," he wrote to king Charles the Bald of France, "has recorded a combat of this sort in the case of David and Goliath, yet such combat is nowhere established as a law, and it seems rather to be 'a tempting of the Almighty.'"⁴ Atto, bishop of Vercelli, protested especially against the practice of ecclesiastics to make others fight duels, for the purpose of vindicating themselves against certain accusations. "By what right," says he, "can the clergy, who are not allowed to carry weapons themselves, get others to fight for them? Never ought they to be the occasion of sin, for the sake of clearing themselves from blame. They are bound rather to fight for their brethren, than to get their brethren to fight for them; for the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But how is it possible they should contend with arms against those whom they love, and for whom they should pray?" He expresses himself on this occasion in a way which condemns the judgment of God by duel generally, and, by implication, *all judgments of God whatsoever*. "Often," says he, "we behold in such contests the guilty come off victorious, the innocent overcome. Men should never tempt God, by rushing into danger. So the

¹ The council call this *iniquissima ac detestabilis constitutio quarundam sæcularium legum*

² *Velut homicida nequissimus.*

³ *C. xi. et xii.*

⁴ *Cum hoc et hujusmodi (which may be applied to all kinds of judgments of God) Deum solum modo tentare videantur.* Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 273.

history of Christ's temptation teaches us. Many things doubtful are reserved, to be finally decided at the last judgment."¹ A peculiar form of the judgment of God, not seldom resorted to, especially by the clergy, was that where the holy supper was used as the ordeal.² The eucharist was received, to testify the consciousness of innocence, the recipient invoking upon himself the divine judgment if he were guilty. The pious feelings of a layman were shocked at this desecration of the holy rites. King Robert of France (the son of Hugh Capet) protested in the strongest language against it. "What presumption," he writes, "is this, to say to any man, who is called upon to prove his innocence, 'Take the body of the Lord, if thou art worthy;' when, in any such sense, no man is worthy?"³

In respect to the matter of penance, two opposite tendencies, self-castigation on the one side, and the abuse of indulgences on the other, both had their common foundation in the notion, handed down from the earlier centuries, that penitence was a satisfaction paid to divine justice,—a notion connected again with the fact, that the idea of penitence had not been apprehended in its right relation to the entire work of redemption. On the one hand were those who expected to satisfy the divine justice by sufferings voluntarily inflicted on themselves; on the other, were those who resorted to indulgences as a convenient substitute for the penalties imposed on penitents by the church, and hence also for the divine punishments, which must otherwise be suffered. According to the more serious, or the more easy temperament of the individual, his penance took one or the other of these shapes. In the eleventh century, resistance to the prevailing corruption of

¹ Non enim Dominus omnia suo præsentis iudicio declarat, sed expectat etiam plurima in futurum, ubi illuminabit, abscondita tenebrarum et manifestabit consilia cordium. See Atto's libellus de pressuris ecclesiasticis. D'Achery's Spicil. T. i. f. 416, et seq.

² So in general, the tendency to associate a magical efficacy with the holy supper caused its true import to be forgotten, and the ordinance to be desecrated to the service of superstition. The council of Seligenstadt, in the year 1022, c. vi. felt obliged to pronounce sentence of condemnation on priests who, in a fire, cast the consecrated host into the flames, with a view to quench them by the miraculous virtue of Christ's body.

³ Cur tu temerario ore et polluto dicas: Si dignus es accipe; cum sit nullus, qui habeatur dignus? Vid. Helgaldi vita Roberti regis in Du Chesne Scriptor. hist. Francor. T. iv. f. 64.

manners, which produced in Italy, as we have before remarked, the phenomena of a more rigid monkery, gave birth also to a fanatical zeal for the severer exercises of penance. We observe both the former and the latter in the case of Peter Damiani. Through his influence, a wider spread was given to that new exercise of penance, self-scourging, a practice which had found admission at an earlier period among the monks, and which deserves notice on account of the important consequences to which it afterwards led. As this new species of penance found violent opponents, who were offended especially at the violation of the moral sense of decorum, Damiani composed extravagant encomiums of the practice, representing it as a voluntary imitation of the sufferings of the martyrs, and of the passion of Christ himself.¹

As to indulgence, it still retained the original signification, by which it was held to be merely a remission of, or an exchange for, some determinate kind of church penance; and there was a tendency to resist any arbitrary extension of it which would be likely to enfeeble church discipline. Thus the council of Mayence, in 847, decreed, that for those who confessed their sins, the mode and time of penance should be fixed by the priests, according to the ancient canons, the authority of the sacred Scriptures, or ecclesiastical usage. It rebuked the practice of imposing light and unusual forms of penance for serious offences. It was first making men feel secure in their sins, and then putting under them a pillow of ease.² This council also decreed, that a difference should be made between those who needed to undergo only a private penance, and those who, having been guilty of public and notorious offences, ought to be subjected to public ecclesiastical penalties.³ And it was also added by this council, that a radical change of life was a necessary part of true penance.⁴ Yet the practice of allowing particular indulgences in compensation for

¹ See lib. v. ep. 8, ad clericos Florentinos, and Opusculum, 43, De laude flagellorum et disciplinæ.

² *Faciunt cervicalia sub capite universæ ætatis ad capiendas animas, c. 31.*

³ See Vol. v. p. 176. *Discretio servanda est inter pœnitentes qui publice et qui absconse pœnitere debeant, nam qui publice peccat, oportet, ut publica mulctetur pœnitentia et secundum ordinem canonum pro merito suo et excommunicetur et reconcilietur.*

⁴ *Nec eis sufficiat, si a quarundam rerum, perceptionibus abstineant, nisi se etiam a noxiis delectationibus subtrahant, declinantes autem a malo faciunt bonum.*

certain external acts, for donations to churches, which it was desired to place at once on a splendid foundation, for certain pilgrimages, for the repetition of a certain number of prayers, for alms-giving, became a fruitful source of damage to the Christian life. As vassals might subject themselves to a judgment of God for their liege-lords, so too one man might undertake a penance as the representative of another.¹ The false reliance on such external works, which lulled men to security in their sins, and which was so foreign to the essence of true penitence, this it was which, as we have already remarked, fired the pious zeal of a RATHERIUS in combating such delusions. Among those who laboured to destroy this false reliance on external works, may be reckoned also JONAS, bishop of Orleans. In his "Rules of Christian life for laymen," he rebukes those who, with cold affections, instead of hearts consumed with the fire of love, brought gifts to the altar, repeated many prayers, and distributed many alms;—when, in truth, no external act can be well-pleasing in the sight of God, unless the inner man is consumed with divine love, and has thus become a temple of the Holy Ghost.² He rebukes those who were expecting to purchase impunity in sin by works of mercy, works, however, which really did not deserve that name, as they could not have sprung from a right temper of heart.³ "There are many," says he "who, deceived by a vain, nay wicked confidence, boldly commit adultery, murder, perjury, and many other crimes. And every such person, when reproached with these crimes, is wont to reply: 'God be thanked! I am blessed with abundant means to purchase indulgence for such sins;'—as if it were possible so to bribe the Almighty as to have it in one's power to transgress at pleasure his holy laws."⁴ The same bishop, in adopting the prevalent notion respecting the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrifice of good works for the dead, protests against the doctrine that nothing but that which is given to the priest, nothing but the sacrifice which they present, will meet the divine acceptance. He does not hesitate to ascribe it to the

¹ An example of a boy, who undertook penance to deliver the soul of his deceased master, and upon this condition obtained his freedom, in Baldric's Chronicle of Arras and Cambray, l. i. c. 46.

² De institutione laicali, l. ii. c. 17. D'Achery Spicileg. T. f. 291.

³ Quia ad dulcem fructum non proficit, quæ per virus pestiferæ radicis amarescit.

⁴ L. c. l. iii. c. 10.

covetousness of the clergy, that such a doctrine had ever been permitted to gain currency.¹

Originally each bishop exercised independent spiritual jurisdiction within *his own diocese*, bestowing within it absolution and indulgence. The extension, however, of the spiritual jurisdiction of the popes over all the Western churches, would naturally bring about a change in this particular. In the first place, it so happened that many, under the compunction of their sins, made the pilgrimage to Rome, for the purpose of confessing themselves to the pope, and of receiving forgiveness and comfort by a word from the supposed representative of Peter, which was considered of wonderful potency. It might so happen also, that in dubious cases bishops would send their penitents to Rome, submitting the decision of these cases to the pope, or that the pilgrimage to Rome would itself be made one part of the prescribed penance. Occasionally, however, those who had been condemned to a more than usually severe penance, would apply to the pope for some remission of the sentence. Thus we find pope Nicholas frequently speaking of it in his letters as an established fact, that transgressors from all countries came daily to Rome, soliciting deliverance, by the pope's intervention, from heavy temporal punishments, or seeking spiritual assistance and absolution for their sins.² The bishops having become satisfied, from many examples, that their spiritual jurisdiction was seriously injured by this practice, and having observed also that these pilgrimages, as we have already remarked, had a bad influence on the moral life, especially when absolution at Rome was too freely dispensed, protested in several individual instances against this extension of the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope. We have an example of this in Ahito, bishop of Basle, who, in

¹ Hoc qui credunt et dicunt, aut ignorantia, aut certe *aliorum persuasione* falluntur. Credibile sane est, quod hæc persuasio, qua simplices id credere et dicere videntur, ex fonte avaritiæ processerit. L. iii. c. 15.

² In his letter to king Charles the Bald, of France, ep. 20, Concil. T. v. f. 235 : Ad hanc sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, de diversis mundi partibus, quotidie multi sceleris mole oppressi confugiunt, remissionem scilicet et venialem sibi gratiam tribui supplici et ingenti cordis mœrore poscentes ; and ep. 21 : Et ab ea non solum animæ, sed et corporis salvationem, ut omnibus patet, humili prece suscipere precantur. And ep. 17, f. 341 : Undique etenim venientes admodum plurimi suorum facinorum proditores quantum dolorem inferant pectori nostro plus singultu reminiscimur, quam calamo scribi queat.

his capitularies of the year 820 (s. c. 18) decreed that "any who wished to visit Rome for the purposes of devotion, should first confess their sins at home, since they were subject only to the spiritual jurisdiction of *their own* bishop or priest."¹ So the council of Seligenstadt, in the year 1022, decreed, in its eighteenth canon: "Since many are entangled in such delusion, as to refuse performing any penance imposed on them for a great offence, trusting that in Rome they shall be able to obtain from the pope full absolution, let them know, that such absolution shall not avail them; but they must first endeavour to perform the penance ordained by their own priests, and then, with the permission of the bishop, they may go to Rome."² But as pilgrimages to Rome had already become the rage, and the papal power had acquired so enormous an ascendancy, such isolated voices could no longer operate as a serious check upon a practice which, under these circumstances, had passed beyond control.

In this period, three gradations of guilt were established by the church, to include all who were liable to ecclesiastical censure. The first included those who, of their own accord, confessed their sins to the priest, and submitted to the penance which he imposed on them; the second, those who, on account of publicly notorious sins, were excluded from the communion of the church, but presented themselves as penitents before the tribunal of the church, submitted to the public church penance, and after performing it, were restored to church fellowship; the third, those who, as was the case with many of the haughty knights and barons, contemned the authority of the church, and refused to submit to the penalties she imposed. These were expelled, with terrible forms of execration, from the communion of Christendom. Accordingly the *excommunication* was distinguished from the *anathema*. Even excommunication was supposed to render the

¹ Et hoc omnibus fidelibus denuntiandum ut qui causa orationis ad limina beatorum apostolorum pergere cupiunt, domi confiteantur peccata sua et sic proficiscantur, quia a proprio episcopo aut sacerdote ligandi aut exsolvendi sunt, non ab extraneo.

² So also Gerbert, in the name of Adalbero, bishop of Rheims, ep. 113, Du Chesne Script. Francor. T. ii. f. 816, in reference to Balduin, a nobleman who had been excommunicated for deserting his wife; and for this reason had resorted to Rome. Nihil sibi profuerit, Romam adiisse, Dominum papam mendaciis delusisse, cum Paulus dicat; si quis vobis aliud evangelizaverit præter id quod accepistis, anathema. Estote ergo nobiscum divinarum legum defensores!

subject of it incapable of performing any civil function. But the anathematised were held to be excluded from *the church and society of Christians*,¹ to be in the proper sense outlawed. They were not to be allowed to receive the communion even at the hour of death; nor were they to enjoy the privilege of burial according to the rights of the church. The council of Pavia,² in 850, which established this distinction, decreed, however, at the same time, that this extreme means should never be resorted to against the hardened except after special examination, and after having first made trial of every other. Nor should such anathema be pronounced against any one without the concurrence of the metropolitan, and without the common decree of all the provincial bishops. Now, although such expulsion from the community of believers must have been a terrific engine, considered both on the side of its ecclesiastical and of its political consequences, yet there were haughty monarchs, whose defiance the church could not tame, even by this powerful means; and to force their submission, she reserved to herself still another—the so-called *interdict*, which fell upon the whole province where the delinquent dwelt, suspending there, till the refractory subject was reduced to the obedience of the church, all the services of public worship. In the earlier centuries, single instances undoubtedly occur, where, to compel the delivering up of a criminal, it was ordered that divine worship should be suspended in an entire diocese; which measure, however, was attended also with much opposition.³ Yet it was first in the eleventh century, that the more regular employment of such an interdict commenced. Thus, for example, a synod of the province of Limoisin,⁴ in the year 1031, made use of it against certain predatory barons who refused to join in the so-called truce of God (*treuga Dei*.) A public excommunication was pronounced on the entire province. No person, except a clergyman, a beggar, or a child not above twelve years old, should receive burial according to the rites of the church, nor be conveyed for burial to

¹ Cujusmodi jam inter Christianos nulla legum, nulla morum, nulla collegii participatio est.

² Synodus Regiaticina.

³ Even in the tenth century Gerbert, ep. 10, f. 830, l. c. Agit Abraham cum Deo, utrum in Sodomis perdere debeat justum cum impio et tu pastor non dubitas addicere pœnæ noxium simul et innoxium?

⁴ Concilium Lemovicense ii.

another diocese. In all the churches divine service should be performed only in private; baptism should be imparted only when asked; the communion should be given only to the dying. No person should be able to hold a wedding while the interdict lasted. Mass should be celebrated only with closed doors. A universal mourning should prevail; the dress and mode of living should wear the appearance of a general penance, of a continuous season of fasting.¹ Now although there might be individual cases of haughty potentates, whose very rudeness or savage passions would place them beyond the reach of every religious impression; yet, as a general thing, such a measure could not fail to have its effect on the minds of men, and those who were not sensible of its effect on their own feelings, yet saw themselves compelled to submission by reason of the impression it produced on the people at large.

¹ Mansi Concil. T. xix. f. 542. The acts of this council are here, for the first time, published in full.

SECTION FOURTH.

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

I. IN THE WESTERN CHURCH.

As in the first centuries it was necessary that the leaven of Christianity should gradually penetrate the entire intellectual life of the *cultivated nations*, before a new spiritual creation, striking its root in the forms of the Grecian and the Roman culture, which Christianity appropriated, could in those forms completely unfold itself; so after the same manner it was necessary that the leaven of Christianity, which in the preceding period had been introduced into the *masses of the untutored nations*, should gradually penetrate their whole inward life, before a new and peculiar spiritual creation could spring out of it, which should go on to unfold itself through the entire period of the middle ages. And the period in which we now are, must be regarded as still belonging to the epoch of transition from that old spiritual creation, which flourished on the basis of Grecian and Roman culture, to the new one, which proceeded wholly from Christianity, as apprehended by this rude stock of the human family. We may contemplate this period under two distinct divisions: the *beginning*, comprising the time during which the influence of those elements of culture introduced in the Carolingian age still continued to be felt, and the conclusion, when after a night of barbarism in the eleventh century that new mental life awoke, out of which, carried to its highest form, proceeded the grand, peculiar creation of the scholastic theology in the following centuries. In the ninth century laboured in the Frankish church those men, who were indebted for their culture to the Carolingian age, and by whom the

elements of learning, which had then been collected, were handed over to this period. The predominant tendency of these times was to amass together the materials preserved by tradition, often without any elaboration of them by active thought. Men confined themselves to the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, to the handling of dogmatical, ethical, ecclesiastical subjects, to extracts from the older church fathers; yet there were a few individuals distinguished for originality of mind. Augustin and Gregory the Great were the church teachers most studied. Augustin in particular had a mighty influence, in giving direction to the dogmatical and ethical spirit of the most important church teachers; though in truth it was the practical, far more than the speculative, element in the Augustinian spirit which here bore sway. Hence the antagonism offered by a Claudius of Turin, and an Agobard of Lyons, to the sensuous direction of the religious spirit, to superstition, and to a worship composed of ceremonies; for, as we remarked in the preceding period, it was through Augustin that the Catholic element on the one hand, but the reaction of the Christian consciousness against it on the other, was transmitted to the succeeding centuries. The most efficient instrument in the work of educating teachers for the Frankish church, was Magnentius Rabanus Maurus,¹ a scholar of Alcuin, who, like his master, moulded the age in which he lived, and who belongs, as one of the great teachers, to the same series with Isidore, Bede, and Alcuin. The interest of devotion, and a desire to acquaint himself by personal observation with the localities of sacred writ, induced him, in his younger days, to visit the holy spots of Palestine, as we learn from his own words in his commentary on Joshua,² where he speaks of having often been in the district of Sidon.³ President of the convent schools, and afterwards abbot of the monastery of Fulda (from the year 822), he founded here the most important seminary for the teachers of the German and Frankish church, whence proceeded a Walafrid Strabo, a Servatus Lupo, an Otfrid of Weissenburg. After having presided over this abbey twenty years, he, in 842, retired for seclusion to St

¹ Born A.D. 776, died A.D. 856.

² Published in the *Collectio amplissima veterum scriptorum* of Martene et Durand. T. ix.

³ *Ego quidem, cum in locis Sidonis aliquoties demoratus sim.* l. c. f. 728

Peter's church near Fulda,¹ where he devoted his leisure to literary labours, connected with the interests of religion and theology, till he was drawn from this seclusion in 847, and translated to a wider field of labour, by being made archbishop of Mentz. His writings, which together brought into more general circulation many excellent things from the olden times, and which breathed and diffused a warm spirit of practical Christianity, relate to the exposition of the Old and New Testaments, to dogmatical and ethical subjects, and to practical theology (*De Institutione clericorum, libri iii.*) It deserves to be noticed, that he boldly opposed the hierarchical spirit, which countenanced the rebellion of the sons of the emperor Lewis the Pious against their father—a dark spot on the fair fame even of an Agobard. This we see in the letter with which he sent his Collection of Scriptural Passages on the virtues and vices,² to that emperor, where he contrasts the proud and rebellious temper with the humility and gentleness which Christianity requires; and refers to the example and the doctrines of Christ and of the apostles, to illustrate the respect due to all authority, as founded in the ordinance of God; also in a remarkable letter of consolation addressed to this emperor,³ where, having brought together the commands of holy Scripture, respecting the obedience due from children to their parents, and from subjects to their rulers, he adjures the emperor not to suffer himself to be persuaded, that by the public confession of his sins he had rendered himself incapable of the government, since by such confession he had, on the contrary, obtained for himself the grace of God. He should despise a false tribunal, and be assured that the kingdom of God was his, so long as he united faith and good works in his life. Though in this vale of tears, he might be wronged by the intrigues of perverse and wicked men, yet he should not mind this, but only give thanks for all to the Lord Jesus Christ, his deliverer and advocate, who chastens those whom he loves.

¹ His scholar, the abbot Servatus Lupus, writes to him on this subject, (ep. 40): *Audivi sarcinam administrationis vestræ vos deposuisse et rebus divinis solummodo nunc esse intentos.*

² His tract *De virtutibus et vitiis*, published by Wolfgang Lazius in the Collection *Fragmenta quædam Caroli Magni aliorumque incerti nominis de veteris ecclesiæ ritibus*, Antwerp. 1560, in which tract, however, the prefixed letter addressed to the emperor Lewis, is the most important document.

³ Which Baluz has appended to the first book of his edition of *Petrus de Marca De Concordia sacerdotii et imperii*, of the year 1669.

Raban's friend, the bishop Haimo, of Halberstadt, who proceeded from the same school, belongs also among the number of those who, by their expository writings, earnestly laboured to advance the study of the Bible. A work, however, which had greater influence than other writings of this kind on the following centuries, not so much on account of its intrinsic contents, as on account of the very convenient manner in which it adapted itself to the ordinary theological wants of all such as were not profound scholars, was the short explanatory remarks, which Walafnid Strabo, abbot of Richenau,¹ following for the most part his teacher, Rabanus Maurus, compiled on the sacred Scriptures, and which formed the common exegetical manual of the middle ages, known as the *Glossa Ordinaria*. A man of far greater theological importance, as an expositor of Scripture, was Christian Druthmar, in the ninth century, who had received his education in the French monastery of Corbie.² He first gave lectures on the exposition of the New Testament, to the young monks in the monasteries of Stavelo and Malmedy, in the diocese of Liege. In this way he was led to write out, as he had been invited to do, an elaborate commentary on the Gospel of Matthew; and it is singular to observe, in an interpreter of Scripture belonging to these times, the revival of the hermeneutical principles of the Antiochian school, which direction in favour of the grammatical interpretation of the Bible no doubt acquired for him the surname of *Grammaticus*. He declared himself, in the preface to this commentary, opposed

¹ See above, p. 226.

² In a passage in his commentary on Matthew, Fabricius, it is true, supposed he found the marks of a later time, but this passage is by no means decisive. The passage referred to is on Matt. xxvii. 7, where he says, concerning the place in Jerusalem there designated: *Modo ipsi locus hospitale dicitur Francorum ubi tempore Caroli villas habuit, concedente illo rege pro amore Caroli. Modo solummodo de eleemosyna Christianorum vivunt et ipsi monachi et advenientes. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xv. f. 169, Col. i.* But under these circumstances, under the dominion of the Saracens, such a change might easily have taken place, in a very short time after the death of Charles, and of the caliph his friend, Haroun el Raschid (A.D. 808), as the Benedictines (*Hist. lit. de la France*) rightly remarked. Its relation to the ninth century is plainly shown, moreover, in the remarkable passage respecting the spread of Christianity, c. 55, f. 158, l. ii.: *Nescimus jam gentem sub celo, in qua Christiani non habeantur, nam et in Gog et in Magog, quæ sunt gentes Hunnorum, quæ ab eis Gazzari vocantur, jam una gens, quæ fortior erat ex his, quas Alexander conduxerat, circumcisa est, et omnem Judæismum observat. Bulgarii quoque, qui et ipsi ex ipsis gentibus sunt, quotidie baptizantur.* Compare what has been said before, respecting the spread of Christianity and Judaism among the Chazars, and of Christianity among the Bulgarians, p. 60.

to a one-sided, arbitrary, mystical exposition of the Bible, and maintains that the spiritual explanation of Scripture presupposes the exploration of the literal, historical sense.¹ Under the most unfavourable circumstances, in conflict with many difficulties, and in the midst of many affairs of a foreign and extraneous character, which, contrary to his own inclination, he had to administer, under the then existing political and ecclesiastical relations, Servatus Lupus, abbot of the monastery of Ferrieres (in Gâtinois, Isle de France) laboured with great diligence to promote the study of letters, which in this district had sunk to the lowest ebb.² His letters evince the assiduity of his zeal, in procuring from Rome and from the abbey of Fulda manuscripts of the ancient Roman authors, as well as of the ancient Latin fathers. By the study of the former, he attained to uncommon skill in the Latin language.³

Among the distinguished teachers of the church in the ninth century we may reckon Jonas, bishop of Orleans, the worthy successor of the excellent Theodulf.⁴ At the request of Count Mathfred, who wished to obtain from him a system of rules to direct a married layman how to lead a pious life and enjoy the divine approbation, he composed his "Rules of Christian Life for Laymen,"⁵ which, while particularly adapted to the wants of those times, was opposed to the prejudices then prevailing in favour of an outward Christianity of forms, and to the immoral tendencies so widely spread among the higher orders. He strenuously maintained that the law of Christ, the *concilia evangelica* excepted, was given not merely for the clergy, but for all believers. He exposed the error of those who flattered themselves, that being Christians they would be saved by their faith, in spite of a vicious life, by clearly setting forth how faith without the works of faith could profit nothing.⁶ He strongly and pointedly rebuked the nobles, who in pursuing the pleasures of the chase, trampled in

¹ Irrationabile mihi videtur, spiritalem intelligentiam in libro aliquo quærere et historicam penitus ignorare, cum historia fundamentum omnis intelligentiæ sit et ipsa primitus quærenda et amplexanda et sine ipsa perfecte ad aliam non possit transiri

² He complains, ep. 84: Nunc literarum studiis pæne obsoletis quotusquisque inveniri possit, qui de magistrorum imperitia, librorum penuria, otii denique inopia merito non queratur?

³ Vid. ep. 91 et ep. 103.

⁴ See above, p. 225.

⁵ De Institutione laicali libri tres, published by D'Achery, in the first volume of his *Spicilegia*.

⁶ L. i. c. 20.

every way on the rights of the poor, pretending that they were entitled to this privilege by the civil laws, when if they were believers, the law of Christ ought to have more weight with them than the laws of the world.¹ "Let who will," says he, "flatter those who do such things, and promise them impunity. I dare flatter no man, I dare tell no man he is secure." He rebukes the inhuman treatment of servants, and reminds their masters, that the servants have the same common nature and dignity with themselves, that they have the same common Master in heaven.² In opposition to those who held that men could pray nowhere but in churches and in the presence of relics, he says, it is man's privilege and duty to pray everywhere to the omnipotent God, nor does church confession exempt any man from the obligation to confess his sins before God in prayer and with contrition of heart.³ Bishop Jonas composed also a shorter work, containing rules of Christian life for princes,⁴ and designed for the son of the emperor Lewis the Pious, the young king Pipin of Aquitania.⁵

Although the prevailing drift of the theology in those schools which sprung up as the later offspring of the Carolingian age, was the practical theology derived partly from the Bible and partly from church traditions, yet some germs also are to be discovered of a more dialectical tendency; as for example, in the abbot Fredegis, who proceeded from Alcuin's school at York, and who in his speculative inquiry concerning "non-entity" (*τὸ μὴ ὄν*), followed this direction. In this work he attributed the highest place in all investigations to reason (*ratio*), subordinating authority to this.⁶ In his controversy with archbishop Agobard of Lyons, this Fredegis appears, however, as a champion of the church orthodoxy, and both took the same broad license, in fixing an uncharitable interpretation on each other's doctrines. It de-

¹ L. i. c. 23. Miserabilis plane et valde deflenda res est, quando pro feris pauperes a potentioribus spoliantur, flagellantur, ergastulis detruduntur et multa alia patiuntur.

² L. ii. c. 22.

³ L. i. c. 14 et 15.

⁴ De institutione regia.

⁵ In his letter dedicating this book to the king, he gives him much useful advice, warning him against the undutiful conduct shown by his brothers towards their father, with which he had not, at that time, had anything to do.

⁶ Primum ratione utendum, in quantum hominis ratio patitur, deinde auctoritate, non qualibet, sed ratione duntaxat, quæ sola auctoritas est solaque immobilis obtinet firmitatem. Baluz. Miscell. T. i. p. 404.

serves to be noticed that Agobard, in defending himself in this controversy against the objection, that he imputed faults of language to the Holy Spirit, and in combating the position, that being the author of the gift of tongues the Holy Spirit must have taught the apostles the purest Greek, he came very near to the point of separating in the idea of inspiration the divine from the strictly human elements, though he did not proceed far enough to arrive at a full development of the subject.¹ This dialectical and speculative direction of theology spread especially from the seclusion of the Irish monasteries, which were still the seats of science and art, whence and for a long time afterwards, owing to the migratory and enterprising spirit of the people, as well as to the scanty means of sustenance in the country, teachers in the sciences and useful arts scattered themselves in all directions.² And as in the Irish church, from the time of its origin, a bolder spirit of inquiry had been propagated, which in the preceding period had caused many a reaction against the church system of the papacy; as in the Irish monasteries not only the Latin, but also the more free-spirited Greek church fathers, the writings of an Origen, were studied; so it naturally came about that from that school issued a more original and free development of theology than was elsewhere to be found, and was thence propagated to other lands.³

¹ He calls it an absurd position, *ut non solum sensum prædicationis et modos vel argumenta dictionum Spiritus sanctus eis inspiraverit, sed etiam ipsa corporalia verba extrinsecus in ora illorum ipse formaverit.* He affirms on the contrary, *nobilitatem divini eloquii non in tumore et pompa esse verborum, sed in virtute sententiarum,* as the kingdom of God consists not in word but in power. Agobard. *advers. Fredegis,* in his works ed. Baluz. T. i. p. 177.

² In the 10th canon of the synod at Chiersy (*Synodus Carisiaca*) A.D. 858, c. 10. *Hospitalia peregrinorum sicut sunt Scotorum.* In the tenth century *Scoti sancti peregrini.* Labbe *Bibliotheca Ms.* T. i. f. 678. In the same century we met with a learned man, bishop Israel, from Ireland, teacher of Bruno, afterwards archbishop of Cologne. He had read Prudentius, while yet a boy. See his *Life* in Leibnitz, *Scriptores rerum.* Brunsv. T. i. f. 275. Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, studied the Christian philosophy, as his biographer relates (*mens. Maj.* T. iv. f. 348) in his youth chiefly from books of Irishmen, "*horum libros rectæ fidei tramitem philosophantes diligenter excoluit.*" Even in the first half of the eleventh century, works of Irish art, being the most beautiful, were sent as presents to the emperor, *transmarina et Scotica vasa, quæ Regali majestati singulari dono deferebantur.* See the *Life* of Bernward, bishop of Hildesheim Mabillon *acta sanct.* O. B. Sæc. vi. p. i. f. 205.

³ In a letter of Benedict, abbot of Aniane, published by Baluz, it is intimated, that it was usual to regard as peculiar to Ireland or Scotland, a certain dialectical direction of theology. In reference to the doctrine of the Trinity, *Apud modernos scholasticos maxime apud Scotos iste syllogismus delusionis.* Vid. Baluz. *miscellan.* T. v. p. 54.

The Irish monasteries produced *one* remarkable man in particular, who may be considered the representative of this tendency, and in whose productions generally we see exhibited an intellectual world quite foreign from the age in which he lived. This was John Scotus Erigena, who found in France, at the court of that zealous promoter of the sciences, king Charles the Bald, a welcome reception.

On the peculiar shaping of the philosophical and theological views of this individual, his study of the Greek—not barely, according to the general practice in that age, of the Latin—church fathers, had without doubt exerted an important influence; and the ideas of an Origen, a Gregory of Nyssa, of a Maximus, as well as of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings, had manifestly stirred his spirit in its depths; and he had appropriated many of their thoughts. The ideas, scattered in those writings, respecting a chain of life emanating from God, respecting the antithesis of a negative and a positive theology, respecting the relation of things natural to things divine, respecting a general restoration; all these ideas profusely scattered in those writings we find in him systematically elaborated and combined, and what he says on these matters is not seldom supported by proofs drawn professedly from the works of the church teachers above mentioned. From the same writings also the elements of the New Platonic philosophy passed over him; and it is the idea lying at the basis of the New Platonic philosophy, respecting the evolution of all existence from an Absolute, as the $\delta\nu$, and respecting evil as the $\mu\eta\ \delta\nu$, which we here find repeated as one of the predominating ideas. Carried out with logical consistency, his principles led to an altogether pantheistic system of the world—the world nothing other than the necessary form of the manifestation of the Absolute, which transcending all representation, all predicates, all knowledge,¹ incomprehensible to itself, can be known only in its forms of manifestation—and to this pantheistic view of the world corresponds also his doctrine of sin; as in fact, the opposition between the pantheistic and the theistic view of the world must at this point stand forth practically with the most striking prominence. But besides this speculative and mystical pantheism, there was

¹ According to the doctrine of Philo, of the Neo-Platonists, of the Gnostics, of the Hindoos, of Buddhism.

within him still another powerful element, which ruled *him* as well as his age, the element of Christian theism, to which he attached himself not merely, so to express it, from motives of outward accommodation ; but which had gained a powerful hold on him by means of his early training and the course of his inward experience, as well as the life of his time. We are unwilling to doubt, that he poured many a devout and earnest prayer to a redeeming God for inward illumination, and that he diligently sought for it in the sacred Scriptures,¹ though his conceptual apprehension of the divine Being seems to exclude any such relation of man to God, as prayer supposes.

The prevailing bent of the theological spirit of that age was to cling, as we have remarked before, to the authorities of the church tradition : but *he* was for founding a system of truth, which should repose entirely on rational insight, approve itself as true by an inner necessity of reason. Yet even according to his apprehension, the rational and the church-traditional theology, faith and knowledge by reason, philosophy and religion did not stand in contradiction, but in perfect harmony with each other. For, said he, a man can elevate himself to the knowledge of God, which is the end of true philosophy, only by following the mode and manner in which God, who in his essence is incomprehensible and unknowable, letting himself down to the condition and wants of humanity which is to be educated, has revealed himself ;—God in his forms of revelation, in his Theophanies. After this manner God presents himself in the historical development of religion, through the authority of the church ; but true philosophy, which rises above the Theophanies to the Absolute itself, which soars beyond all conceptual apprehension, gives insight into the laws,

¹ His words : Hinc assidue debemus orare ac dicere ; Deus nostra salus atque redemptio, qui dedisti naturam, largire et gratiam, prætende lumen tuum in umbris ignorantiae palpantibus quarentibusque te, revoca nos ab erroribus, porrige dexteram tuam infirmis, non valentibus sine te pervenire ad te, ostende te ipsum his, qui nil petunt præter te rumpe nubes vanarum phantasiarum, quæ mentis aciem non sinunt intueri te, eo modo, quo te invisibilem videri permittis desiderantibus videre faciem tuam, quietem suam, finem suum, ultra quem nihil appetunt, quia ultra nihil est summum bonum superessentiale. De Divisione naturæ, l. iii. f. 111. And in another place : O Domine Jesu, nullum aliud præmium, nullam aliam beatitudinem a te postulo, nisi ut ad purum absque ullo errore fallacis theoriæ verba tua, quæ per tuum sanctum spiritum inspirata sunt, intelligam, ibi quippe habitas et illuc quærentes et dilligentes te introducis l. V. f. 306.

according to which God must be known and worshipped. True philosophy and true religion are therefore one. Philosophy veiled in the form of tradition, is religion; religion unveiled from the form of tradition by rational knowledge is philosophy. Philosophy is the theoretic side of religion, religion the practical side of philosophy.¹ In the order of time, as it respects the development of the human knowledge of divine things, the authority of tradition, it is true, and the faith grounded therein comes first, since man's spirit needed this training and guidance in order to acquire the power of raising itself to the knowledge of the divine; but in the order of conception, the objective truth of reason (*ratio*) is the first. Revelation and tradition presupposes truth in itself, and the former is only the way of man's attaining to the latter. This knowledge of reason is therefore the end after which the spirit ought to strive, wherein alone it can find its satisfaction. The faith of authority not supported and upheld by a rational knowledge of the truth, is a feeble thing. Hence in investigating the truths of faith, men should show in the first place what admits of being proved as truth on grounds of reason, and then examine how they can be harmonised with the testimonies of ecclesiastical tradition.² And starting from this position, he could admit also the Augustinian principle concerning the relation of faith to knowledge,³ though we must allow he departed from the principle of Augustin so far as this, that he did not recognise the limits set by the latter to the knowledge attainable by reason, nor acknowledge anything as valid on the ground of authority alone, and if it did not admit of being demonstrated as necessary from reason itself. His position would necessarily exclude such mysteries of faith as could not be established on rational grounds.

That which represented itself to his feelings as transcending comprehension, he interpreted to his thought as the logical abso-

¹ Quid est aliud de philosophia tractare, nisi veræ religionis, qua summa et principalis omnium rerum causa Deus et humilliter coliter et rationabiliter investigatur, regulas exponere? Conficitur inde veram esse philosophiam veram religionem conversimque veram religionem esse veram philosophiam. J. Scott. de divina prædest. c. i.

² Prius ratione utendum ac deinde auctoritate. Auctoritas siquidem ex vera ratione processit, ratio vero nequaquam ex auctoritate, omnis autem auctoritas, quæ vera ratione non approbatur, infirma videtur esse. Vera autem ratio, quum virtutibus suis rata atque immutabilis munitur nullius, auctoritatis adstipulatione roborari indiget. l. i. f. 39.

³ See vol. iv. p. 305.

lute, which is prior in the order of thought to all antitheses, which is above all antitheses, which being the *ground* of all things, is moreover *opposed* to all things. Thus it stands related to all opposites, even to that of good and evil, for evil itself cannot be conceived without the good;¹ and this absolute of logical abstraction he substitutes in place of the idea of the living God, which vanished from his grasp, in his attempts to avoid all anthropopathism. The absolute of logical abstraction, by a singular mixture—found ever recurring, however, in the history of the human mind—of dialectical and mystical tendencies, received out of that which transcends conception in the sphere of the feelings, a substantial matter which was foreign to it and superinduced upon it; and thus an enthusiasm could be awakened for the emptiest of all conceptions.

He distinguished, on this ground, a twofold kind of knowledge; knowledge of the absolute in itself, of the essence of God, concerning which man can know only the *fact*, not the *how* or the *what*, in which man must negate everything that may be predicated of it, whether it be an attribute or an action;—and the knowledge of God in his revelation, in the Theophanies, in which *everything* may be predicated of him symbolically. Accordingly there is a twofold standing ground of the knowledge of God, the *θεολογία ἀποφατική*, and the *θεολογία καταφατική*, the former representing God under manifold symbols, the latter rejecting all predicates of the ineffable essence of God as inadequate. The disciple, to whom John Scotus represents himself as teaching these doctrines in his work *De Divisioni naturæ*, is startled at the thought that of God, neither love nor being loved, neither action nor being acted upon, could be predicated. With how many passages of sacred Scripture did this assertion stand in contradiction! What occasion of stumbling must it present to the simple, when even the ears of those who are esteemed wise must be shocked at such a doctrine!² But the teacher quiets him by

¹ Contrariorum quoque causa est, virtute sequidem eorum, quæ vere ab eo condita sunt, etiam quæ contraria videntur esse, et privationes essentialis sunt, ratio vera contineri approbat. Nullum enim vitium invenitur, quod non sit alicujus virtutis umbra aut quadam fallaci similitudine aut aperta contrarietate, l. i. f. 38.

² Videsne quot et quantis frequentibus Scripturæ sacræ obruar telis? Nec te latet, quam arduum difficileque simplicibus animis talia suadere, quandoquidem eorum, qui videntur esse sapientes, dum hæc audiunt, aures horrescunt. l. i. f. 37.

explaining, that as the sacred Scriptures undoubtedly contain the most perfect self-revelation of divine truth,¹ a not arbitrary, but—for the position of a created spirit—necessary *symbolism* of the self-revelation of the Absolute; so in order to speak in the right manner of God, it is necessary to adhere uniformly to the mode of representation in the Scriptures; but at the same time we should keep in mind that the Scriptures, by various symbols, come to the aid of human weakness, that they supply man matter of thought for the nourishment of his faith in the incomprehensible and inexpressible.² By all these various means, it is precisely and only the transcendent excellence of God's essence, an essence infinitely exalted above all which, taken from things created, can be attributed to it, that is meant to be indicated. Even the name Love can be attributed to him only by a metaphor, since he is more than Love, since in all his attributes he does but produce himself, or rather he is all in all.³ So, again, creation is not to be attributed to God as an act; but by the expression—God is the creator of all things, it is affirmed rather that God is all in all, as he alone truly is, and all true being in everything that exists, is himself.⁴

He distinguishes from each other four kinds of being: 1. That which creates and is not created; 2. That which is created and creates (the divine patterns grounded in the Logos, the *causæ prototypæ*); 3. That which is created but does not create, effects in created things; 4. That which neither creates nor is created. The first and the last may be applied in different senses

¹ In ea veluti quibusdam suis secretis sedibus veritas possidetur.

² Quibusdam similitudinibus utitur, infirmitati nostræ condescendens, nostrosque adhuc rudes infantilesque sensus simplici doctrina erigens. In hoc enim divina student eloquia, ut de re ineffabili, incomprehensibili aliquid nobis ad nutriendam fidem nostram cogitandum tradant. l. i. f. 37.

³ Thus leaning towards the pantheistic view, though his Christian consciousness does not allow him to give up wholly the idea of a self-subsistent, creaturely personality, he explains Matt. x. 20 as meaning that the same may be said also of God's relation to his reasonable creatures: Non vos estis, qui amatis, qui videtis, qui movetis, sed spiritus patris vestri, qui loquitur in vobis veritatem de me et patre meo et seipso, ipse amat et videt me et patrem meum et seipsum in vobis et movet in vobis seipsum, ut diligatis me et patrem meum. Si ergo seipsam sancta Trinitas in nobis et in seipsa amat, et videt et movet, et a seipsa in seipsa et in creaturis suis amatur, videtur, movetur. l. c. f. 44.

⁴ Cum audimus Deum omnia facere, nil aliud debemus intelligere, quam Deum in omnibus esse, hoc est, essentiam subsistere. Ipse enim solus per se vere est, et omne quod vere in his, quæ sunt, dicitur esse, ipse solus est. l. i. f. 42.

to God, as may be gathered from the developed idea of the creation; since the idea—God created all things, and God is all in all—in strict propriety exactly coincide; and the end of the course of the world, to be attained by means of the redemption, is that all should return back again to the original, archetypal being in God.¹ The doctrine of the creation may be reduced, according to Scotus, to the pantheistic idea, that the Absolute has veiled and revealed itself under the forms of the finite,—the Absolute in its Theophanies—the infinite becomes finite,—the one subject under manifold accidents.

If now the whole universe may be considered as a Theophany, it follows from this by logical necessity, that everything occupies in it a necessary place of its own, and that for one who contemplates the whole according to this view, there is no such thing as evil. God's knowledge is the revelation of his essence, one and the same with his willing and his creating. As evil cannot be derived from the divine causality, neither can it be considered as an object of divine knowledge; on the contrary, for God, it has no existence.³ Evil exists just and only for that mode of con-

¹ Prima et quarta forma unam sunt, quoniam de Deo solummodo intelliguntur; est enim principium omnium, quæ a se condita sunt et finis omnium, quæ eum appetunt, ut in eo æternaliter immutabiliterque quiescant. Quoniam ad eandem causam omnia quæ ab ea procedunt, dum ad finem perveniunt, reversura sunt, propterea finis omnium dicitur et neque creare neque creari perhibetur, nam postquam in eam reversa sunt omnia, nil ulterius ab ea per generationem loco et tempore generibus et formis procedet, quoniam in ea omnia quieta erunt et unum individuum atque immutabile manebunt. Vid. l. ii. f. 46. Dum vero divinam naturam esse finem omnium intransgressilemque terminum, quem omnia appetunt et in quo limitem motus sui naturalis constituunt, conspicio, invenio eam neque creantem esse neque creatam. A nullo siquidem creari potest natura, quæ a seipsa est neque aliud creat. Quid creabit, dum ipsa omnia in omnibus fuerit et in nullo nisi ipsa apparebit. l. v. f. 311.

² Dum incomprehensibilis intelligitur, per excellentiam nihilum non immerito vocatur, at vero in suis theophaniis incipiens apparere, veluti ex nihilo in aliquid dicitur procedere.—Et creatura in Deo est subsistens et Deus in creatura mirabili et ineffabili modo creatur, seipsum manifestans, invisibilis, visibilem se manifestans, et incomprehensibilis comprehensibilem, accidentibus liber accidentibus subiectum, et infinitus finitum, et omnia creans in omnibus creatam et fit in omnibus omnia. A God becoming creature, which must be distinguished from the incarnation of God in Christ. Neque hoc de incarnatione verbi atque inhumanatione dico, sed de summæ bonitatis, quæ unitas est et trinitas, ineffabili condescensione in ea quæ sunt, ut sint, imo ut ipsa in omnibus sit. l. iii. f. 126 et 127.

³ Cognoscendo facit et cognoscit faciendo, nihil est aliud omnium essentia, nisi omnium in divina sapientia cognitio. To this he refers the words of St Paul: In God we live, and move, and have our being, l. ii. f. 63. Deus malum nescit, nam si malum sciret, necessario in natura rerum malum esset. To this he refers

templation, which apprehends the individual and particular as existing for itself, independent of its connection with the whole. The good cannot exist without the antithesis of the evil—the foil on which it produces itself and becomes known.

This furnished foothold for *another doctrine*, that sin in individuals may be but a transition-point of evolution, and thus subservient to the revelation of the good; that it will finally so result in the creation of God, who is all in all, when that creation is purified from all evil;²—his doctrine of restoration, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The system of Scotus, however, lay too remote from the intellectual bent of his times, to find any acceptance whatever, either for the true or the false ideas which it contained. When, by participating in a particular doctrinal controversy, his peculiar opinions came forth in striking contradiction to the dogmatical interests of the church, it was this alone which gave occasion to his being stigmatised as heretical,³ yet without any correct understanding on the part of his opponents, of the aim and tendency of his system, which first became clearly known by its influences and effects in later centuries.

As we have just remarked in the case of John Scotus, the writings that sprung up in the Greek church under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, became important by transmitting certain elements of Platonic Christianity from the earlier centuries, and awakening a peculiar, intuitive bent of the theological spirit.

those passages of Scripture, where it is said of the wicked, that God knows them not, l. ii. f. 83 et 84, l. v. f. 259.

¹ How foolish, exclaims the disciple, must this doctrine of the relation of God to his creatures appear to common men, from want of a right understanding: Ut sit Deus omnia in omnibus, et usque ad extremas hujus mundi visibiles turpitudines et corruptiones procedat, ut ipse etiam in eis sit, si in omnibus est; to which the teacher replies, he who speaks thus, knows not, nullam turpitudinem in universitate totius creaturæ posse esse, quod enim partim contingit, in toto fieri Deus non sinit. l. iii. f. 129. Quid melius est, quam ut ex oppositorum comparatione et universitatis et conditoris omnium laus ineffabilis comparetur? Omnia, quæ in partibus universitatis mala, inhonesta turpia ab his, qui simul omnia considerare non possunt, judicantur, in contemplatione universitatis veluti totius cujusdam picturæ pulchritudinis neque turpianeque inhonesta neque mala sunt. l. v. f. 275.

² Peccata et iniquitates tamdiu esse videntur, dum nihil sint, quamdiu subjecta natura contineantur, ea vero purgata, quæ per subsistere nesciunt, ad nihilum penitus rediguntur ita ut non sint. l. iv. f. 163.

³ Compare on this subject the profound and spirited essay of my friend H. Vogt, which has just appeared.

These writings came first to the West in the year 824, as a present of the Greek emperor Michael II. to the emperor Lewis the Pious. The latter valued the gift the more since he had not a doubt that Dionysius the Areopagite was precisely the same person with the Dionysius who was considered the founder of the church at Paris.¹ It did not once occur to him that there might be another Dionysius.² He had the Dionysian writings translated into Latin, under the direction of Hilduin of St Denis, in whose abbey, consecrated to this saint, the Greek manuscript was deposited.³ To St Denis the emperor felt himself indebted for many favours; it was in the church of St Denis he had received absolution and been reinstated in his government.⁴ He was therefore desirous of honouring his memory by a new and more complete collection of the facts relating to his history, and he commissioned the abbot Hilduin to prepare such a work.⁵ Hilduin, glad for the honour of his abbey to humour this confusion of names and of persons, confirmed the emperor in his mistake, and propagated it to posterity by that uncritical collection of facts relating to the life of Dionysius, which he published in the year 836. Others, however, perceived the error, and offered to correct it; but they were repelled by Hilduin with an acrimony which perhaps betrayed a secret consciousness of the truth.⁶ The French king, Charles the Bald, afterwards ordered a new translation of this work to be made by John Scotus;⁷ and also humoured

¹ See vol. i. p. 115.

² So it appears from a letter of this emperor to Hilduin, abbot of St Denis, in the *Actis Sanctor.* of Surius, T. v. f. 634.

³ The emperor writes to him about the translation of those books: *Auctoritatis nostræ jussione ac tuo sagaci studio interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicati.*

⁴ He says in his letter to the abbot Hilduin: *Per merita et solatium patris nostri Dionysii recreati et restituti sumus cingulumque militare judicio auctoritate episcopali resumsimus.*

⁵ We find these Areopagitica of Hilduin, with the letter to the emperor prefixed, in the above cited volume of the *Act. Sanct.* of Surius, f. 653 et seq.

⁶ The writings of Gregory of Tours, still much read, might easily expose this mistake; and so it really turned out. Hilduin says, concerning those who followed this clue: *Super garulitate levitatis eorum miranda defecimus*; he calls them *contentiosos, sciolos*:—charges them with *arrogantia, usurpata scientia*. To be sure, many of these opponents erred also by confounding Dionysius the Areopagite with the bishop Dionysius of Corinth—see Neander's *Planting and Guidance of the Christian church by the Apostles*, vol. ii. p. 37, translated in Clark's *Biblical Cabinet*, orig. ed.—and this laid open a weak spot, which Hilduin was sure to take advantage of. See l. c. f. 638.

⁷ See the letter of John Scotus, with which he sent the translation prepared by him to the king, in Jacob. *Usserius veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum sylloge*, p. 41.

this confusion of names.¹ But pope Nicholas I. harboured a suspicion against this translation, on account of the current reports respecting the erroneous doctrines of its author ;² and in a letter addressed, in 865, to king Charles the Bald, in which he claimed for the popes a right of supervision over the publication of all works of intellect,³ he required that this work in particular, on the ground of the suspicions against its author, should be sent to him, that so, if he found nothing in it objectionable, it might be published with the papal approbation, and thus find a more general and extensive circulation.⁴

Thus Dionysius the Areopagite came to be considered the patron saint of France, and thus the writings published under his name obtained in this country so much the wider circulation and greater authority ; and from France they were disseminated in other countries. To the fresh and youthful spirit of the western nations just awakened to life, these writings, by means of the spiritual elements they contained arising from the fusion of New Platonism with Christianity, gave an impulse, which invested them with an importance they never could have acquired from any intrinsic worth of their own.

In England, the seeds of science which had been scattered by Theodore of Canterbury, Bede, and Alcuin, had for the most part perished amid the devastation occasioned by the piratical inroads of the Danes in the ninth century. The literary treasures collected together in the monasteries had in part been destroyed with the monasteries themselves ; while on the other hand there were few men capable of understanding books written in the Latin tongue. Out of this new barbarism, the English nation was delivered by the thirty years' reign of that great man, who,

¹ Yet, after citing the older authentic accounts of Dionysius the Areopagite, he says, in reference to the fabulous stories concerning his journey to Rome, and his mission afterwards to France by the bishop of Rome, that this was not reported by those ancient authors, but by aliis moderni temporis.

² Thus he says in his letter to king Charles the Bald : Cum idem Joannes licet multæ scientiæ esse prædicetur, olim non sane sapere in quibusdam frequentiorum diceretur.

³ He says, for instance, of this book : Quod juxta morem nobis mitti et nostro debuit judicio approbari.

⁴ Itaque quod hactenus omissum est, vestra industria suppleat et nobis præfatum opus sine ulla cunctatione mittat, quatenus dum a nostri apostolatus judicio fuerit approbatum, ab omnibus incunctanter nostra auctoritate acceptius habeatur.

while he exhibited the example of a genuine Christian king, contributed so much to the spiritual as well as political regeneration of his people, Alfred the Great.¹ As Christian piety was the soul of his own life, so he was profoundly convinced, that the culture of his people must proceed from Christianity. And as Christianity begat in his own case an interest for mental development in all directions, so he laboured in earnest to promote it among his people. He assembled the few learned men that were still to be found in the English monasteries ; others he called round him from Ireland ; from the old British church in Wales ; from France and Germany ; and these he promoted to the highest spiritual stations. It was his favourite recreation to hear such persons read before him for his instruction off-hand translations of Latin books into English ; and he made a collection of pithy sayings from the sacred Scriptures and the older church teachers, which he had learned and remembered from these oral translations. The great pleasure he derived from these occupations, finally induced him, when in his thirty-sixth year, to learn Latin,² for which purpose he placed himself under the instruction of one of the pious and learned men whom he had drawn around him, the monk Asser of Wales, whom he afterwards made bishop of Sherburn.³ His plan for the education of the people was more extensive than the one drawn up by Charlemagne ; for it embraced not only the clergy and monks, but also the people of every class and order. He perceived that the seeds of culture in England had so easily perished, because the instruction had been derived solely from Latin books, as he tells us in his preface to the translation prepared by himself of Gregory the Great's *Regula pastoralis* ; and to avoid this for the future, he took care that the books designed for the more general education of the laity should be translated from Latin into the English tongue, and that not only schools should be founded for giving instruction in the Latin language, but others also in which all should learn to read and write in English, and be instructed out of English books. He himself translated several

¹ From the year 871 to 901.

² See *Life of Alfred* (f. 17), in William Camden's *Scripta Anglica, Normannica, etc.* Francof. 1603.

³ To him we are indebted for the beautiful life of Alfred, *De rebus gestis Alfredi*, which he commenced writing when the king was forty-five years old.

works into English ; such as Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*, and Bede's ecclesiastical history. It was his earnest wish, as he said in his letter which went with his translation of the *Regula pastoralis* to the bishops, that the English, like the Greeks and Latins, might have the law of God in their own language.¹ Had this plan of a Christian education of the nation, independent of the Roman language, been further prosecuted according to the views of the great Alfred, a reaction against the Roman church-system would doubtless have proceeded at a much earlier period from the English church. But this was only a transitory appearance ; barbarism and ignorance returned again upon the church, until the time of archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury, who brought about a reformation of the clerical and monastic orders, the consequences of which continued to be felt even amid the disorders occasioned by the new inroads of the Danes. One of the bishops, who backed the efforts of Dunstan to promote a reformation, and who continued to labour on in the same spirit, was Ethelwold of Worcester, deserving of honourable notice on account of his exertions to advance the cause of schools,² and to promote the vernacular Anglo-Saxon as well as the Latin literature.³ From the school of this excellent man proceeded monk Elfric of Malmesbury, distinguished for his zeal in advocating the Christian education of the people, and Christian knowledge generally, who flourished in the early times of the eleventh century. He earnestly sought, as his sermons in the Anglo-Saxon language and his other works⁴ evince, to advance the study of the sacred Scriptures, particularly among the clergy ;⁵ and in his sermons he presented the

¹ Venit mihi in mentem, legem Dei primum in Hebræo sermone fuisse inventam, atque postea Græcos, cum eandem didicissent, eam universam et alios insuper omnes libros, in suam linguam vertisse, nec non Latinos etiam, quam primum ipsi eam intelligentia comprehendissent, per prudentes interpretes suo sermone eandem expressisse, quapropter optimum censeo, ut nos libros aliquos, quos maxime necessarios arbitramur, qui ab omnibus intelligantur, eosdem in linguam, quam omnes intelligunt, convertamus, ut omnis juvenus gentis Anglicæ literis addiscendis addicatur utque prius artem nullam imbibant, quam Anglica poterint scripta perlegere. The original is in Anglo Saxon.

² See above, p. 184.

³ As may be gathered from Elfric's words, in the preface to his Anglo-Saxon grammar, where he says : Sicut didicimus in schola venerabilis Æthelwoldi, qui multos ad bonum imbuat. Vid. *Anglia sacra*. Londini, 1691, p. i. f. 130.

⁴ See the extracts in *Usserii historia dogmatica de scriptura et sacris vernaculis*. ed. Wharton. Londini, 1690, p. 377.

⁵ In the case of laymen, he seems to have dreaded too much the misapprehensions of ignorance to undertake a translation of the Bible, particularly of the Old

scriptural history of Mary in opposition to the later fables. But at the same time that he was an enthusiastic admirer of archbishop Dunstan as a reformer of the clerical order,¹ he was also a zealous champion of the law for the celibacy of priests against those ecclesiastics who endeavoured to defend the marriage of priests by arguments drawn from the Old and New Testament; thus furnishing another proof of the connection of the hierarchial tendency in this age with the interest in favour of culture.

That age of destruction and barbarism, the tenth century, was one of universal ignorance. A few scattered individuals only, by their zeal for theological knowledge and their scientific attainments, formed a contrast to the general rudeness spread around them, as, for example, the two men of whose activity in various relations we have already spoken, RATHERIUS of Verona and ATTO of Vercelli. RATHERIUS was born in the neighbourhood of Liege. Amid many conflicts and sufferings, which partly the barbarism and rudeness of the times, partly his own abrupt and violent temper, drew on him, he still reached a good old age. He lived from 890 to 974, as bishop of Verona, and afterwards, when expelled from his church, at Liege. In his fortieth year, he composed in his prison at Pavia, his *Præloquia*, a work containing moral rules and counsels for all orders of men and relations of life, as well as severe rebukes of the vices and abuses which prevailed in them. He deserves in many respects to be styled the Tertullian of his time. Bishop Atto obtained celebrity as a theological writer by his commentary on St Paul's epistles, a work containing many original thoughts.³

Yet precisely at the time, when the consciousness of universal disorder called forth in the eleventh century the expectation of the speedy destruction of the world,⁴ was evolved the germ of a

Testament, for their use into the vernacular tongue, though he gladly made use of that language for instruction. See his preface to the translation of Genesis, which he began at the request of a nobleman who wished to possess the sacred Scriptures, l. c.

¹ Vid. l. c. f. 377, his account of the ignorance prevailing in the monasteries down to the reformation by Dunstan.

² Published first in the *Collectio amplissima* of Martene and Durand, T. ix; then in the first complete edition of his works by the brothers Ballerini. Verona, 1765.

³ His works, first published by count Buronti at Vercelli in 1768.

⁴ At the beginning of the eleventh century after the birth of Christ, partly the conviction that a period of time had now come to its close, and partly the disorder and barbarism prevailing in all parts of Western Christendom, besides many

new spiritual creation, from which proceeded afterwards the great intellectual productions of the church of the Middle ages. In France the beginnings of a new enterprise for the restoration of letters and science were made by Gerbert, a superintendent of the bishop's school at Rheims,¹ and by Abbo of Fleury. The seed fell upon a propitious soil. Gerbert's scholar, Fulbert, founded and directed in the eleventh century a flourishing theological school at Chartres, in which was given also a great variety of preliminary instruction in different sciences, and which was visited by young men from the remotest parts. As bishop of Chartres he still continued zealously to promote these efforts in behalf of science. Fulbert's worthier, and in mental gifts superior disciple, Berengarius, exerted himself as a canonical priest and superintendent of a school at Tours, with powerful effect to stir up among the clergy a zeal for science, the seeds of which he scattered with a liberal hand. The youth from all parts of France gathered around him. His frank and courteous manners attracted to him the young, and the poor he supplied with the means of support.² From Pavia, Lanfranc came to France; and by him the monastic school at Bec in Normandy was converted into a seat for the revival of letters.³ This new scientific life soon took, however, a

remarkable natural phenomena, excited an expectation of the last judgment. Men looked forward with great excitement to the advent of Christ. The pious enthusiasm produced a spirit of emulation in ornamenting churches and building new ones. See Glaber Rudolph hist. l. iii. c. iv. This writer says: *Erat enim instar ac si mundus ipse excutiendo semet rejecta vetustate passim candidam ecclesiarum vestem indueret.* This excitement received a new impulse again, when in the year 1033, at the commencement of the second thousand years after Christ's passion, men celebrated the memory of Christ's resurrection and ascension. A vast multitude made the pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, first people of the lower class, then of the middle class, next kings, counts, and bishops, last of all noble ladies, with others of lower condition. Many longed to die on the holy earth, before they could return to their native country, l. iv. c. vi.

¹ See above, p. 135. Gerbert sprung from a family of low condition in or near Aurillac in Auvergne. When abbot of Bobbio near Pavia, to which place he was promoted by the emperor Otho I., he first had an opportunity of collecting books, and diffusing a taste for learning. His zeal in promoting these objects is apparent from his letters, published in the most complete form by Du Chesne *Script. rerum Francicar.* T. ii. vid. ep. 2, 8, 44, 130; on his scientific journey to Spain, ep. 45.

² This is said even by a fierce opponent of Berenger, Guitmund, archbishop of Aversa, in the first book of his work *De corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate*, though, to be sure, from his own point of view, he describes him as a corrupter of the youth, "egenos scholasticos, jam per alimoniam, qua sustentabat eos, et per suos dulces sermones corruptos" *Bibl. patr. Lugdun.* T. xviii. f. 441.

³ An author of this time, Guitmund, says in his work *De corporis et sanguinis*

different direction from that in the Carolingian age; instead of pursuing the tract of church tradition and practical theology, it started on another more dialectical and speculative. The awakening spirit became conscious of its power, and turned inward upon itself, rather than upon the objects without it; even as Christianity points more directly to the inner world of the spirit. Now as from the very outset men followed the principle of Augustin, that the sole business of reason was to unfold and defend the data furnished by church tradition, the substantial matter of faith, so this new dialectical tendency could not fall into collision with the faith of the church. But we may also remark a freer tendency of inquiry, such as we shall find exhibited in the case of a Berengarius (see further on); and between these different tendencies a conflict was inevitable. Which should be the predominating one, was a point to be decided. A spiritual ferment had begun, and it was from what should come forth as the result, that the theological spirit of the age was to receive its fixed and settled character.

In Germany, also, the newly awakened spirit gave signs of its presence; and it is remarkable, that here a special zeal was shown for the promotion of a more general study of the sacred Scriptures. As already in the first part of this century Notker, a monk of St Gall, distinguished from two other earlier individuals of this name by his surname Labeo, had published a *German* paraphrase of the Psalms, so in the latter part of the same century, Williram, master of the cathedral school at Bamberg, afterwards abbot of Ebersberg in Bavaria, composed a German version and exposition of Solomon's Song. In the preface to this work he complains that the study of logic and grammar was thought sufficient, that of the sacred Scriptures being wholly neglected; when in truth Christians should study the books of the pagans, only for the purpose of marking the contrast between light and darkness.¹ He expresses his delight to find that Lanfranc, in France, had passed from logic to the study of the Bible, and was expounding the epistles of St Paul and the Psalms, and

Christi veritate, concerning Lanfranc: cum per ipsum liberales artes Deus recalescere atque optime reviviscere fecisset. Vid. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f 441.

¹ Nam et si qui sunt, qui sub scholari ferula grammaticæ et dialecticæ studiis imbuuntur hæc sibi sufficere arbitrantur, divinæ paginæ omnino obliviscuntur, cum ob hoc solum Christianis liceat gentiles libros ligere, ut ex his quanta distantia sit lucis ac tenebrarum, veritatis et erroris possint discernere.

that many flocked to hear him even from Germany ; so that the benefit of his labours might yet be felt in the German church.¹ Thus the German mind, even at so early a period, presented the antagonism of the scriptural, against a one-sided dialectical tendency.

As it was only at those two points of time in this period, the ninth and the eleventh centuries, that any degree of intellectual or scientific life seemed to exist in the church, hence, too, it was only at these conjunctures that a conflict of theological antagonisms could make its appearance ; and it was to these conjunctures, therefore, the doctrinal controversies belong, which we shall now have to explain.

The cause of the controversy on the doctrine of predestination, or respecting the true sense of the Augustinian scheme, is to be traced to the results of the disputes on this subject which we explained in the second period. The Augustinian doctrine of grace had, it is true, finally gained a complete victory, even over Semi-pelagianism ; but on the doctrine of predestination nothing had as yet been publicly determined. So it now happened, that although all were agreed in recognising Augustin as the teacher of orthodoxy, and though his doctrine of all-sufficient grace was generally received as the true doctrine, yet the doctrine of absolute predestination, in its naked and sterner form, appeared to many repulsive. Not as though such persons would have dared, with any clear consciousness of design and in distinctly defined conceptions, to depart from the doctrine of Augustin, and in particular to concede to man's free-will, in relation to grace, more than the Augustinian scheme allowed. The influence which Augustin exercised over the dogmatic mode of thinking of the age was so great, that no man would venture on this ; and the interest of the Christian consciousness in favour of the doctrine concerning grace was so strong, that it could not but be feared lest this doctrine would be endangered, should anything be distinctly conceded to man's free-will, as conditioning the operation of grace. But the Augustinian scheme was brought to view more prominently in its practical than in its speculative aspect ; men occupied themselves more with the doctrine of grace, than with the doctrine of the antithesis of predestination and of reprobation, fol-

¹ See the edition of this work by Dr Hoffman, Breslau, 1827.

lowing in preference that milder way of apprehending this doctrine, which we remarked in the work *De Vocatione gentium*. Thus these two modifications of the scheme, a milder and a sterner one, went side by side. The less practised this age was in the analysis of conceptions, the less accustomed to clear and well defined thought, the more given men were to rhetorical amplification, the more easily might they deceive themselves, by different modes and formulas of expression, and confound a difference in the latter with a difference of conceptions. Thus it could happen, that a man whose religious and doctrinal education had proceeded from Augustin and his school, might suppose he detected in the milder form of expression prevailing in his times, an open defection from the pure doctrine of Augustin, and a leaning to Pelagianism, and might feel himself called upon to stand forth against such a defection—and a champion of this character could hardly fail, by his more abrupt and harsh forms of expression, to give offence to many of his contemporaries. Such a person was the monk Gottschalk, from whom the controversies on this subject in the ninth century proceeded.

Sprung from a Saxon family, he had been presented by his parents (oblatus) to the monastery of Fulda, for the purpose of being trained there to a life devoted to God, in monachism. Here he eagerly devoted himself to the customary studies of the place, in pursuing which the bond of friendship was knit between him and the afterwards renowned Walafrid Strabo.¹ But Gottschalk—showing in this the independence of his spirit—longed to be freed from the shackles to which he was subjected when a child; and he obtained from a church-assembly, held at Mentz in the year 829, a release from the obligations of his monastic vow. But the then abbot of Fulda, Rabanus Maurus, appealed from this decision to the emperor Lewis the Pious, placing in his hands a document drawn up for the purpose, in which he attempted to prove that all oblats were bound to perpetual obedience. The decision was reversed; perhaps Rabanus was thus prejudiced already against Gottschalk. To the latter, after such excitement, his residence in this monastery could no longer be

¹ See his poem to Gottschalk in *Canisii lectiones antiquæ*, ed. Basnage. T. ii. p. ii. f. 354.

agreeable;—he repaired to France, and entered the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. There he applied himself assiduously to study, and especially to the study of Augustin and the church fathers of his school. The doctrine of an unconditional predestination held the most important place in his Christian life as well as thoughts. It seemed to him closely connected with the Christian idea of God, and with a right conception of the immutability of the divine will. In general, he was fond of exercising his mind on speculative and doctrinal questions. In reference to this, his friend, the abbot Servatus Lupus, to whom he had propounded several questions about the intuition of God in the future life, suggested by some remarks of Augustin which he found it difficult to understand, wrote to him: “I exhort you, my brother, no longer to perplex your mind with such matters; lest by studying them more than is befitting, you lose the energy and the time which might be expended in investigating or teaching more profitable things. For why inquire so eagerly into that, which perhaps it may be of no use for us at present to know? How can we imagine that with souls still burdened and clogged with the remains of sin, we should be able perfectly to understand that ineffable intuition of God?”¹ He exhorted him, instead, to search more deeply into the inexhaustible treasures of the sacred Scriptures, and ever to seek humbly in them the light of God’s countenance. Thus, if under the sense of their present condition, they forbore searching after that which was above their powers of comprehension, divine grace would lead them ever onward to higher attainments, and God might deign to reveal himself to their purged vision.² Gottschalk’s zeal for the doctrines of Augustin, and perhaps too in the particular form in which they

¹ Te, suspiciende frater, exhortor, ut nequaquam ultra in talibus tuum ingenium conteras, ne his ultra quam oportet, occupatus, ad ulteriora vestiganda sive docenda minus sufficias. Quid enim tantopere quæramus, quod nobis nosse necdum forsitan expedit? Certe divinitus illustrata mens Deo loquitur, Is. lxiv. 4: “Oculus non vidit, quæ præparasti expectantibus te.” Et nos illius ineffabilis visionis plenissimam rationem complecti animo concretis vitiorum sordibus adhuc gravato desideramus?

² In amplissimo scripturarum campo interim spatiamur, earumque meditationi nos penitus totosque dedamus, faciemque Domini humiliter, pie ac semper quæramus. Ejus erit clementiæ, ut dum considerata nostra conditione, altiora nobis non quæramus nec fortiora scrutamur, nos ad sublimiora et robustiora sustollere purgatisque nostræ mentis obtutibus, quibus videri posse revelavit, semet ipsum dignetur ostendere. ep. 30.

are found in Fulgentius,¹ acquired for him the surname Fulgentius.²

The peculiarity in the doctrine of Gottschalk consisted in this, that he applied the notion of predestination not merely, as was commonly done, to the pious and to salvation, but also to the reprobate and to everlasting punishment. He affirmed a *prædestinatio duplex*, by virtue of which God decreed eternal life to the elect, and the elect to eternal life, and so also everlasting punishment to the reprobate, and the reprobate to everlasting punishment; for the two were inseparably connected.³ This doctrine seemed to him important, because it enabled him to hold fast the unchangeableness of the divine decrees, and their entire independence of all that takes place in time. In reference to the works of God, foreknowledge and foreordination are one; his knowledge being one with his will, and this will creative.⁴ To him the thought seemed revolting, that reprobates, of all others, should be able ever to produce a change in the divine counsels.⁵ Gottschalk departed here from the more usual phraseology in the school of Augustin; since it was customary to distinguish the reprobate by the name *præsciti*, from the predestinate (*prædestinatis*), chosen to salvation; and in so doing, men were governed, without doubt, by an interest which they felt to hold fast the idea of divine justice in the punishment of the wicked, and to exclude the notion that God was in any sense the author of sin. It was the same interest which led Augustin to assume as his starting position, that by the sin of our first parents the whole race of mankind became liable to a just condemnation, and to look upon that first sin as a free act. Yet Augustin had not always made use of this distinction; while Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Isidore of Seville, had already employed the phrase *prædestinatio duplex*. There would have been no essen-

¹ From whom he may have borrowed particularly the term *prædestinatio duplex*.

² With which Strabo addresses him in the above-mentioned poem.

³ Gottschalk's words are: *Nimirum sine causa et reprobatis, prædestinasses mortis perpetuæ pœnam, nisi et ipsos prædestinasses ad eam.*

⁴ *Apud omnipotentiam idem præscire quod velle*; see the longer confession of Gottschalk, in Manguin *veterum auctorum de prædestinatione et gratia opera et fragmenta*, T. i. p. 10.

⁵ He says in his characteristic language: *Vere, Domine, satius incommutabiliter fuisset, si nullus nisi te mutabili (nedum mutato) creatus esset (ne dico salvatus), electorum, quanto magis absit, ut immuteris propter vasa iræ.*

tial difference between Gottschalk's doctrine and the original one of Augustin, if the former had not been induced by his zeal for consistency in apprehending the doctrine of absolute predestination, to go even beyond the fact of the first sin, and to represent the state of our first parents also as not conditioned by their own free self-determination, but as the necessary fulfilment of an unconditional divine decree, which planned and ordered the history of mankind from the beginning. And assuredly it may be inferred from the fact, that Gottschalk completely identifies God's foreknowledge and predestination, from the fact that he considers all foreknowledge in God as creative, that he made no distinction between an act of will, an act of creation, and an act of permission, on the part of God,—and consequently his view would coincide with the one just expressed, and which was afterwards known by the name of the Supralapsarian system. But still it cannot be proved, that with clear consciousness he carried his principles to this extent; for whenever he expressed himself in the way above described, he was speaking expressly of God's relation to *his own works* alone;¹ among which works he certainly did not consider sin. As to sin, he considered the punishment of it only by the divine justice as a work of God. He referred God's predestination not to sin, but only to good; but foreknowledge to sin and good at the same time;² and goodness, as an object of the divine predestination, he defined as twofold;—the blessings of divine grace, and the decisions of divine justice.³ Here he presupposes, with Augustin, partly that wicked spirits fell by a trespass of their own free will, partly, that the whole human race sinned in Adam, and shared his guilt. Thus it is impossible to discover, at least in anything which Gottschalk wittingly and distinctly expressed, the least deviation in his doctrines from the Augustinian scheme.

Once on returning, in the year 847, from a pilgrimage to Rome, Gottschalk, at a *hospice* erected for pilgrims by count Eberhard of Friuli, fell in with Notting, the newly elected bishop

¹ He says expressly: *Sempiterna cum præscientia voluntas tua de operibus duntaxat tuis, Deum præcisse ac prædestinasse simul et semel tam cuncta quam singula opera sua.*

² *Credo atque confiteor, præcisse te ante sæcula quæcunque erant futura sive bona sive mala, prædestinasse vero tantummodo bona.*

³ *Bona a te prædestinata bifariam, gratiæ beneficia et injuriæ judicia.*

of Verona, and there laid before him his doctrine of twofold predestination. That bishop met soon after, at the court of Lewis the Pious, Rabanus Maurus, not long before elected archbishop of Mentz, and conversed with him on this doctrine, which to Rabanus appeared extremely offensive. The latter promised to send him a written refutation of it. Rabanus composed two tracts in opposition to Gottschalk's doctrine, one addressed to bishop Notting of Verona, the other to count Eberhard. In these writings he manifests great excitement against Gottschalk; he takes the liberty to put the worst construction upon his language, and perhaps in the acrimony with which he speaks of him and against him, we may descry the effect of the bitter feelings which had arisen out of their earlier relations to each other. At the same time, however, the heat with which he writes in these letters may have proceeded in great part from a true interest for Christian piety; and we may suppose that he was the more annoyed at hearing this doctrine of absolute predestination so sharply and sternly expressed, because, on the ground which he himself had chosen, he could not avoid, but only conceal these offensive points. He accuses Gottschalk of asserting that the divine foreordination places every man under constraint, so that although he may want to be saved, and may strive after it with true faith and good works, he still labours in vain if he has not been predestined to salvation. Assuredly, nothing could be more remote from the intention of Gottschalk, a man who, though full of zeal for his doctrine, was yet discreet, and by no means inclined to insult the moral feelings by asserting anything like this. Assuredly he considered the grace whereby man is converted and sanctified, as the operation by which, in relation to man, the divine decree of predestination reveals itself. Gottschalk assuredly was very far also from teaching, as Rabanus charges, a predestination of man to evil and to good; for we have observed already how he resisted and guarded against the supposition that evil could come from God. In like manner it may be doubted whether what Rabanus reports concerning the practically injurious effects of Gottschalk's doctrines—that by means of them some were misled into a feeling of false security, others to despondency—refers to actual facts, which indeed is possible, or whether it was only a statement derived from the older accounts concerning the predestinationists.

As to the doctrines of Rabanus Maurus himself, he supposes the decrees of God in reference to sin conditioned on his foreknowledge; he does not suppose it to be like the decree of predestination, an unconditional decree; and hence was it a matter of great importance with him to distinguish foreknowledge and predestination, the *præsciti* and the *prædestinati*. He expressed himself as follows: God predestined those whom he foreknew as the wicked, to everlasting punishment; but he would not say that God predestined them to everlasting punishment. He considered it also of the greatest practical moment to hold fast, that God would have all men to be saved; that Christ died for the salvation of all: but with this he joined also the assertion, that by the sin of Adam, in whom all sinned, all deserved to be punished everlastingly; and in this way he supposed he should remove from God the causality of the sin and the destruction of those who are left to their own chosen ways.¹ It is true, that of this general mass, all deserving alike to experience the same fate, those only attained salvation to whom God, after the eternal counsels of his own will, imparted the needful grace, producing in them true conversion. Even unbaptised children remained exposed to the common, deserved fate belonging to them by virtue of inherited sin and the common guilt, since they are not saved by God's mercy through the grace of baptism.² But in answering the question, how the different conduct of God towards those whom he left to their deserved fate, and towards those whom he saved from it, could be reconciled with faith in the holiness and justice of God,—in answering this question, he got along by referring to a secret divine counsel, and to the incomprehensibility of the divine dealings;—men should hold fast to that only which is

¹ He says in reference to God, in his second letter to the bishop Notting, ed. Sirmond., p. 35: *Cui nullo modo fas est ea quæ ab hominibus male aguntur, adscribi, qui in proclivitate cadendi non ex conditione Dei, sed ex primi patris prævaricatione venerunt. De cujus pœna nemo liberatur, nisi per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, præparatam et prædestinatam in æterno consilio Dei ante constitutionem mundi.*

² *Qui præsciti sunt non propriis voluntatibus, quorum nullæ vel bonæ vel malæ sunt, nisi tantum in Adæ peccato, quod traxere nascentes et in hoc manentes solverunt tempus vitæ præsentis. Quid enim justitia de iis faciat, quibus misericordia non subvenit, qui pura fide credit Deo dicente Domino Jo. vi. 54, intelligit et a contentione recedit.* From this application of the passage, it is clear that the necessity of the communion of infants was not yet acknowledged.

placed beyond all doubt to faith in God's holiness and justice, and not seek to fathom that which is incomprehensible. "If you want to know of me, why God, with whom there is no respect of persons, still makes these two differences, since universally either justice must punish, or mercy acquit, then judge with Paul, or if you dare do it, correct him, when he says, 'O man, who art thou?' etc., Rom. ix. 30."¹

Thus Rabanus Maurus shrunk, it is true, from everything that might throw the least shadow of an appearance of the causality of sin upon God; above all, from what might seem to impugn the doctrine of God's holiness and justice; yet he did not show how it was possible to avoid the consequences flowing out of his own presuppositions, but could only lay down the contrary positions, while he appealed to the incomprehensibility of the divine perfections. Nor did he venture to make the least actual departure from the scheme of Augustin; expressing himself for the most part in such propositions as he had borrowed and compiled together from the writings of Augustin and Prosper. In this beginning of the controversy, we see marked beforehand the whole succeeding course of it,—it was not a dispute of ideas, but only of harsher or milder forms of expression.

When the letter of Rabanus to the bishop Notting came to be communicated to Gottschalk, he was much surprised to find himself thus treated as a teacher of error. He believed that instead of deserving such treatment himself, he should be able to convict Rabanus, in his own letter, of semi-pelagian principles, and to show that he was a disciple of Gennadius rather than of Augustin.² Perhaps with the hope of coming to some understanding on the contested points with the archbishop Rabanus, he repaired, in the year 848, to Mentz, where he fearlessly appeared

¹ Quod si a me quæris scire, cur duas istas differentias Deus faciat, si personarum acceptor non est, quia generaliter aut punire debet justitia aut misericordia liberare, contende cum Paulo, immo si audes argue Paulum, qui dicit Christo in se loquente, Rom. ix. 30. Ego autem hoc dico quod dixi, quia quicquid Deus agit, misericorditer juste sancteque facit, quia solus ipse præsciendo scit quod homo nesciendo nescit. l. c. p. 39.

² See the words of Gottschalk, addressed to Rabanus, in Hinkmar's work on predestination, c. 21, f. 118, in reference to the doctrine of free will: Unde te potius ejusdem catholicissimi doctoris (Augustini) malueram auctoritate niti, quam erroneis opinionibus Massiliensis Gennadii, qui plerisque præsumsit in locis tam fidei catholice quam beatorum etiam patrum invictissimis auctoritatibus, infelicis Cassiani perniciosum nimis dogma sequens reniti.

before the chiefs of the spiritual and secular orders, at an assembly held under the archbishop, in presence of the king of Germany. He handed over to that prelate a writing, in which he explained and defended his own peculiar views concerning the twofold predestination. He controverted the position, that when it is said God will have all men to be saved, this ought to be referred to all in the absolute sense, and to include the reprobate; and so too that Christ came into the world to save all, in the absolute sense; that he suffered for all absolutely. All this he would have understood as limited to the elect; for the will and counsel of the Almighty God, that is, in reference to redemption, he supposed, must be absolutely fulfilled in fact, and could be referred to those only in whom it went into absolute fulfilment.¹ Yet however precisely he might express himself on this point, still he said nothing but what Rabanus must also be obliged to concede. For although the latter was continually dwelling on such propositions, as that God will have all men to be saved, Christ died for the salvation of all, yet he took away again the substance of these propositions, by teaching that those only would be actually saved on whom God bestowed the necessary grace to qualify them for this salvation; and that this was done only in the case of the elect. We must allow he had only himself to blame for this contradiction, by making his appeal to a secret, incomprehensible decree of God.

But Gottschalk had no reason to expect a calm hearing and an impartial trial from this assembly. The word of Rabanus Maurus here was law. Gottschalk's doctrine was condemned as heretical; and as no definitive sentence could be passed by this judicature upon his person, since he belonged to another diocese, he was sent to the archbishop Hinkmar of Rheims, with a letter from Rabanus Maurus, calling upon Hinkmar as Gottschalk's ec-

¹ In Hinkmar, c. 24, f. 149: *Omnes quos vult Deus salvos fieri sine dubitatione salvantur nec possunt salvari, nisi quos vult Deus salvos fieri nec est quisquam, quem Deus salvari velit et non salvetur, quia Deus noster omnia quæcunque voluit, fecit*;—and c. 27, f. 211, he distinguishes: *Illos omnes impios et peccatores, quos proprie fuso sanguine filius Dei redimere venit, hos omnipotens Dei bonitas advitam prædestinatos irretactabiliter salvari tantummodo velit*;—and then: *Illos omnes impios et peccatores, pro quibus idem filius Dei nec corpus assumpsit, nec orationem nec dico sanguinem fudit, neque pro iis ullo modo crucifixus fuit*:—and c. 29, f. 226: *Deus nullius reprobatorum perpetualiter esse voluit salvator, nullius redemptor et nullius coronator.*

clesiastical superior, to prevent his going about, and to render him harmless for the future. Hinkmar summoned him before one of the customary mixed assemblies of the orders, held in the presence of the king, at Chiersy, in 849; and as instead of retracting, he boldly defended his doctrine, this conduct was in all probability most unjustly construed, as obstinacy against his lawful superiors. He was accused of treating the bishops with contempt, and, contrary to the character and calling of a monk, of interrupting the deliberations on affairs of church and state,—though the interruptions which he may have occasioned in the assemblies at Mentz and Chiersy was a thing for which he certainly was not chargeable in the least; he only gave public testimony of that which he had found to be the truth, and which he believed himself able to prove by the declarations of Scripture and of the older church-fathers. Yet on the wretched foundation of such charges, he was not only declared a teacher of error, but also condemned to be whipped, and then to be imprisoned in another monastery.¹ This sentence was executed; Gottschalk was inhumanly scourged, till forced by pain he was constrained to cast into the flames the writing he had composed in defence of his doctrine; a document which contained nothing but a compilation of testimonies from Scripture and from the older church teachers.² He was then confined in Hautvilliers, a monastery belonging to the diocese of Rheims. The voices which now rose in favour of

¹ The sentence drawn up by Hinkmar, after forbidding him to exercise the priestly functions, proceeds as follows: *Insuper quia et ecclesiastica et civilia negotia contra propositum et nomen monachi contemnens conturbare jura ecclesiastica præsumpsisti, durissimis verberibus castigari et secundum ecclesiasticas regulas ergastulo retrudi auctoritate episcopali decernimus*;—and in a letter, in which Hinkmar gives an account of these transactions, in the libellus Remigii et ecclesiæ Lugdunensis de tribus epistolis, c. 24, in Mauguin vindiciæ prædestinationis et gratiæ pars altera, page 107, he says himself: *Ut arreptitius (like one possessed), cum quid rationabiliter responderet, non habuit, in contumelias singulorum prorupit et propter impudentissimam insolentiam suam per regulam sancti Benedicti a monachorum abbatibus vel cæteris monachis dignus flagello adjudicatus. Et quia contra canonicam institutionem civilia et ecclesiastica negotia perturbare studuit indefessus et se noluit recognoscere vel aliquo modo humiliare profusus ab episcopis et secundum ecclesiastica jura damnatus*

² The church at Lyons expresses itself in the letter already referred to, as follows: *Quapropter illud prorsus omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent, quia inaudito irreligiositatis et crudelitatis exemplo tamdiu ille miserabilis flagris et cædibus trucidatus est, donec (sicut narrarunt nobis, qui præsentibus aderant) accenso coram se igni libellum, in quo sententias scripturarum sive sanctorum patrum sibi collegerat, quas in concilio offerret, coactus est jam pæne emoriens suis manibus in flammam projicere.*

Gottschalk induced archbishop Hinkmar to make his situation somewhat more comfortable ; perhaps also he hoped to win the man to submit by gentleness, whose will could not be broken by force. But at the demand of Rabanus Maurus, Hinkmar soon resorted again to new severities against the unfortunate monk. All attempts to draw from him any sort of recantation were unavailing. He made use of every means he could command in his confinement, for the defence of his cause. He inspired sympathy in a certain monk by the name of Guntbert,¹ belonging to the monastery of Hautvilliers. This monk secretly left the monastery with an appeal addressed by Gottschalk to pope Nicholas, and carried it to Rome. Nor did Gottschalk fear to incense his oppressors still more by violently opposing them in other things not connected with this controversy.² We see him everywhere exhibiting himself as a man inclined to lay an undue stress on dogmatic formularies.

The most important point to him was always his doctrine of two-fold predestination. In defence of it, he drew up in his prison two confessions of faith, a shorter and a longer one.³ This doctrine seemed to him to be closely connected with the essence of the Christian faith ; for he was persuaded, that whoever denied the predestination of the wicked by God to everlasting punishment, made God a mutable being, not to be placed on a level even with a man acting after wise and mature consideration.⁴ Whoever with hardened temper refused to acknowledge so plain a doctrine, appeared to him a teacher of error, with whom nothing could be done, and who ought to be avoided. The greatest distress which he felt from his personal sufferings, arose from the thought that

¹ Of whom Hinkmar, in reporting the fact, gives a very unfavourable account (T. ii. opp. fol. 290), which, however, coming as it does from so passionate an opponent, is entitled to no great confidence.

² As the same expression, *trina Deitas*, in an ancient church hymn, had been found offensive on account of the horror of Tritheism, and the word *sancta* had been substituted in place of *trina*, Gottschalk stood forth as a defender of the church hymn, attacking the alteration as betraying a leaning to Sabellianism. Hinkmar has inserted Gottschalk's treatise in his refutation of it. The monk Ratramnus of Corbie also wrote against Hinkmar on this matter.

³ Published by Mauguin in the first volume of the work above mentioned.

⁴ In his larger confession of faith. His words are : *Videant quale sit et quantum malum, quod quum omnes electi tui omnia bona semper fecerint, faciant et facturi sint cum consilio, præsumant affirmare, quod tu qui totius es auctor fonsque sapientiæ volueris vel valuoris vel etiam debuoris quicquam (quod absit) absque consilio patrare.*

his own disgrace might operate unfavourably on the cause of truth.¹ He longed for a public council where he might convince those who had only been led astray by the errorists, but were not obstinately in the wrong. And though he did not suppose himself a worker of miracles, and was far from being a miracle-hunter, yet he was so strongly convinced of the truth and of the importance of his doctrine that, in reliance on God and this truth, he expected if men could be convinced in no other way, God would work a miracle to prove it. He offered to undergo the fiery ordeal, and publicly before the king, and an assembly of bishops, clergy and monks, to step into four caldrons one after another, filled with boiling water, oil, and pitch.² If he shrunk from fulfilling his engagement, they might immediately cast him into the fire. "Let no one accuse me of rashness," said he, "on account of this proposal. I do it relying on the grace of God alone."³ But it is remarkable that not an individual was to be found to take up with this proposal, though in the existing state of public opinion no easier way could have been devised for exposing his cause, which had so many powerful friends, to sure disgrace.

Thus firm and steadfast in his opinions did Gottschalk remain till his death, in 868. Hinkmar refused to grant him the communion in his last sickness, and burial according to the rites of the church, except on the condition of a full and explicit recantation. But rather than comply with this condition, he renounced both, and died tranquilly in his faith.

The injustice and severity with which Hinkmar treated the down-trodden Gottschalk, could hardly fail to call forth Christian sympathy at his fate, and indignation against the persecutors of the innocent victim. But in addition to sympathy for the man

¹ Maximum diu noctuque perfero mœrorem, quod propter mei nominis vilitatem vilem hominibus video esse veritatem.

² He does not arrogantly say that he is ready to do this, but clothes it in the form of a prayer, that God would grant him the ability to accomplish it: *Utinam placeret tibi, ut sicut in te credo et spero (dato mihi gratis posse, prout jam dare dignatus es et dare quotidie dignaris etiam velle), id approbarem cernentibus cunctis examine, ut videlicet quatuor doliis uno post unum positis atque ferventi sigillatim repletis aqua, oleo pingui et pice et ad ultimum accenso copiosissimo igne, liceret mihi invocato gloriosissimo nomine tuo, ad approbandam hanc fidem meam, imo fidem catholicam in singula introire et ita per singula transire (te præveniente, comitante ac subsequente dexteramque præbente ac clementer educante, valerem sospes exire).*

³ Quia prorsus ausum talia petendi, sicut ipse melius nosti, a me propria temeritate non præsumo, sed abs te potius tua benignitate sumo.

was sympathy also for the cause to which he sacrificed himself, for the Augustinian scheme, for which he so zealously laboured, —and with many this feeling operated still more strongly than the other. Pope Nicholas, to whom, as we have already stated, Gottschalk had appealed, and to whom the matter was reported, partly by Gottschalk's friends, and partly by the enemies of Hinkmar in order to injure him, seems to have expressed himself dissatisfied with the condemnation and severe treatment of Gottschalk, and to have demanded an exact account of the whole proceeding.¹ He wrote to king Charles the Bald, that he could not always protect Hinkmar against the complaints circulated respecting him, and that Hinkmar had better be on his guard lest in the end he might experience that which he would not like to have happen.² Hinkmar offered, it is true, to send Gottschalk, if he, the pope, expressly required it,³ to Rome, or to any other place for the purpose of undergoing a new trial under the pope's direction. But it is easy to see, that he was not serious in this; and that he took every pains to dissuade the pope from bringing the matter before his own court, as he doubtless had reason to dread an examination of his conduct in this affair. Now, whether it was that Nicholas, who certainly had stood forth in other cases as a defender of oppressed innocence and of justice, was actuated by the same pure motives in this case also, or whether his unfavourable humour towards Hinkmar, the active and powerful advocate of church-freedom, made him lend a more ready ear to the latter's opponents; it is evident that he must have had many grounds of suspicion against that prelate; but it is no less singular that, in spite of them all, he repeatedly allowed himself to be pacified, and that the unflinching energy, setting all common forms at naught, with which he pressed on to his object, on other occasions of greater moment to him, was not exerted to save a poor forsaken monk.

As Hinkmar could not but know, after his first harsh treatment of Gottschalk, that much dissatisfaction was expressed at his conduct, he asked the advice of several eminent men respect-

¹ See Hinkmar's letter to this pope, T. ii. opp. f. 261.

² As Hinkmar cites the words in his letter to Egilo, bishop of Sens (T. ii. opp. f. 290): *Ut Providerem, ne pro iis tandem aliquando incurram quæ non opto.*

³ See his first cited letter.

ing the course proper to be pursued, in dealing with Gottschalk for the future. He applied for this purpose to Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, in a letter giving a statement of the course he had thus far pursued, as well as an account of the man's character, which undoubtedly was a very unjust one. He asked Prudentius whether he ought to admit him to the communion; whether he might not admit him, at least, on the festival of Easter, or whether he ought not, according to Ezekiel xxxiii. 11, to seek first to bring the sinner to repentance, and then grant him absolution. The bishop, as we may conjecture from his later conduct, would probably advise Hinkmar to pursue a milder course towards the unfortunate man; for in truth there was not much in his doctrinal opinions with which Prudentius would have been disposed to find fault. This influence, which would have persuaded Hinkmar to gentler measures, was counteracted, by Rabanus Maurus, who in a letter complaining that Gottschalk was allowed so much liberty to write and discourse, which he would be sure to employ to the injury of others, represented it as Hinkmar's duty to deny him the communion, unless he agreed to a recantation.¹ "All that remains to be done," said he "is to pray for our weak brother, that it may please Almighty God to save his soul, and bring him back to the true faith." Prudentius afterwards came over to the doctrine of Gottschalk, and in a letter addressed to archbishop Hinkmar, and Pardulus bishop of Lyons, entering largely into the discussion of the three contested points of doctrine, openly avowed his convictions. He affirmed a twofold predestination, though he held God's predestination in respect to the wicked, to be conditioned on His foreknowledge of all the sin and guilt that would follow in consequence of the fall of Adam. He expressly denied that God foreordained any man to sin; he taught only a foreordination to punishment. He maintained, also, that Christ died only for the elect, which he inferred from the words "for many," in Matthew xx. 28—"for you," in the institution of the eucharist. And he taught that God wills not the salvation of all, but only of the elect; arguing that God would not be the Almighty, if that which is his will did not actually

¹ See the letter of Raban, among the three letters published by Sirmond, p. 26 et seq. *Attendite, quomodo vos sine crimine possitis esse, qui in synodo vestra hanc sectam nefandam simul cum hæretico damnastis, si ei modo incorrecto communicaveritis.*

take place. The words of St Paul, 1 Timothy ii. 4, he endeavoured to explain away by various forced interpretations.¹

The conflict of opinions on this subject induced King Charles the Bald to consult monk Ratramnus, of the monastery of Corbie, who was considered one of the learned theologians of his time, as to the judgment to be passed on these contested points, according to the declarations of the older church teachers. Ratramnus, in his work on Predestination,² expressed, without alluding to Gottschalk, or even mentioning his name, his views on the doctrine of a twofold predestination. He also inferred the doctrine of a predestination of the wicked to everlasting punishment, as well as of the pious to eternal happiness, as a necessary consequence from the eternity and immutability of the divine councils; but he also supposed God's predestination, in respect to the reprobate, to be grounded on foreknowledge, since it was an important point with him to remove from God all appearance of a causality of sin; and he also proceeded, in so doing, from fundamental principles laid down by Augustin.³ The development of doctrine on this point was somewhat advanced, therefore, by him.

Amongst the defenders of the Gottschalkian scheme, the person who most distinguished himself was the already mentioned abbot Servatus Lupus. Eminent for his classical learning, he had acquired, partly by the aid and discipline of his favourite studies, uncommon skill in the lucid exposition of a subject. This clearness of exposition never led him, it is true, to any new or original results; but no man excelled him in a power of distinctly apprehending and setting forth the proper questions of dispute, and in a felicity of separating essential from non-essential points. He occupied himself in his work (*De tribus quæstionibus*) with the investigation of the three questions respecting free-will, the

¹ *Vel omnes ex omni genere hominum vel omnes velle fieri salvos quia nos facit velle fieri omnes homines salvos.* This tract is published in Cellot's *Historia Gotheschalci*, Paris 1655, in the appendix, fol. 420.

² *De prædestinatione Dei libri ii.* in Mauguin T. i.

³ In reference to grace (l. c. f. 76), he says, concerning the *ordo prædestinationis*: *Electos divini amoris flamma succendens, interiora id est spiritalia, et superna id est cœlestia concupiscere semper facit et sequi, at reprobos justo quidem judicio, mortalibus tamen occulto, dum desiderio supernæ patriæ non irradiat, atque eos invisibilis boni extorres derelinquit, non interiora, sed exteriora non cœlestia, sed terrena bona diligere sequique permittit. Non enim veritatis quisquam bonum vel amare potest vel assequi, nisi veritatis luce commonitus.*

twofold predestination, and whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect.

The doctrine of grace, and of the need in which human nature stands of divine assistance, drawn as it was from the depths of his own Christian experience, was unfolded by him in a very lively manner. "Whenever," says he, "a person strives to fulfil the divine commands, but finds himself unable, let him repair humbly to him who can satisfy his need, and let him glory not in himself, but in the Lord, for all the good which he receives from Him."¹ The Christian foundation, the renunciation of one's self, the inspiring consciousness of absolute dependence on God, he sets over against that of moral self-sufficiency and of self-trust in the ancient world, describing the latter in the language of the ancient authors themselves.² In his exhibition of the doctrine of grace, he does not stop, any more than did Augustin, at the condition of man's nature after the fall, but traces it back to the nature of the creaturely relation to God. He designates grace as that principle of divine life, which the soul needs, in order to its perfection, from the very beginning,—that *without which*, and left to himself, man, even in the pristine state of innocence, could accomplish nothing good. God is to the soul what the soul is to the body.³ With skilful sophistry he interprets 1 Timothy ii. 4, "God will have all men to be saved," a passage contradicting his system of predestination, in such a way as to evade its force. But the consummate art which he displays on this occasion, shows, in spite of the dogmatical prejudices which led him astray, that he had taken great pains to study the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament.⁴ From what Lupus Servatus says, we might infer that

¹ Profecto ut dum conatur quis nec sufficit quæ jubentur implere, illuc fatigatione humiliatus recurrat, unde petendo, quærendo, pulsando, accipiat quod desiderat et non in se, sed in Domino de omnibus ejus beneficiis gloriatur.

² Cato's words in Cicero de senectute c. ii : Quibus nihil opis est in ipsis ad bene beateque vivendum, to which he opposes these : omnia bona a vero Deo, non a seipso petere ;—Virgil's words : spes sibi quisque, to which he opposes these : cuique Deus vera spes.

³ Habuit Adam liberum voluntatis arbitrium et ad bonum et ad malum, sed ad bonum divino munere adjuvandum, ad malum autem divino judicio deserendum. Quemadmodum non adjuvaretur in bono ab eo, qui vita esset animæ ejus, ut anima corporis ejus? Vid. page 212, ed. Baluz.

⁴ He proposes various expedients, to understand the words with a limitation evacuating them of all meaning, *salvantur omnes, quoscunque ille salvare voluerit* ; and he is of the opinion that this arbitrary interpretation of the word "all" can

many, in their efforts to soften the rigour of the Augustinian system, had already advanced so far as to depart from Augustin in the doctrine respecting the relation of free-will to grace ; for he speaks of those who supposed that God's predestination, even in respect to the elect, was conditioned on his foreknowledge of their conduct. To this opinion he expresses himself decidedly opposed, because the grace of God is made thereby to depend on human merit, and is therefore rendered void. He gives it to be understood, that men of high standing in the church had asserted this ; but we find none such, at least among those who appear in the controversy with Gottschalk. And he himself says, that predestination in this sense was acknowledged by the most ; but that many² took offence at a predestination to damnation ; and he rightly states also what it was, in this doctrine, that chiefly offended them.³ Would such persons but consider, he said, that God *foreknew* the sins which would grow out of Adam's free-will, but *foreordained* what should follow, as the consequence of these sins, they would cease to find so much difficulty in the doctrine. He sets forth himself the practically mischievous conclusions which might be derived from the doctrine of absolute predestination. Many would say : Why not abandon ourselves, then, to every lust, if we must perish at last ? But he replies : Nothing of that sort can be said of one who stands on the true Christian foundation. Far from indulging such thought must be the Christian, who knows that he has been redeemed by Christ, that he was dedicated to God by baptism, that the way to that repentance

be supported by many examples, just as it was customary to defend such arbitrary modes of interpretation, in times when the grammatical study of the sacred Scriptures was more common. Omnes autem non semper universitatem generaliter, verum aliquando exceptionem quandam particulariter comprehendere, etiam ipse apostolus idoneus auctor est, for in the text 1 Corinth. x. 33, the term "all" can be understood only with limitation. Or the term "all" may be understood thus : quod ex *omni genere* hominum colligat ad salutem id est quosdam Judæorum atque gentilium, quosdam utriusque sexus, nonnullos magistratum et privatorum, aliquos dominorum atque servorum, ingeniosorum atque habetum. So, too, the omne olus, Luke xi. 42 ;—or that it refers to the disposition, which the Spirit of God produces in the hearts of believers, qui velle nos facit omnes homines salvos fieri ; in proof, Rom. viii. 26, ipse spiritus postulat, hoc est, postulare nos facit.

¹ Deum propterea prædestinasse quoslibet, quod præscierit eos devotos sibi futuros et in eadem devotione mansuros.

² In quibus et quædam præclara præsulorum lumina.

³ Ne credatur Deus libidine puniendi aliquos condidisse et injuste damnare eos, qui non valuerint peccatum ac per hoc nec supplicium declinare.

which is unto salvation stands ever open. How can he, while he lives, despair of salvation, instead of trusting in God's goodness that he lives for the very purpose of finally becoming better ? The very utterance of such a sentiment betrays one who is actuated by an insatiable love of sin, or who, by his incorrigible impiety, has plunged himself into despair. Those declarations of holy Scripture, where it is said, that Christ died for all, he explains to himself in the same way as he does the declaration, God will have all men to be saved. Perhaps, he says, it might be argued with a degree of plausibility, that Christ died for all those who have received the *sacraments of faith*, whether they observe them or not. Yet he expresses himself on this contested question with great moderation. "Since many," says he, "reject it as a blasphemous assertion, as an assertion which greatly detracts from the merits of our Redeemer, to say that he did not redeem all men, we will, therefore, holding fast only to the faith, that God has redeemed, by the blood of Christ, all whom he willed, leave the matter so far undetermined,¹ as to allow that if it could be shown that the blood of the Redeemer had somewhat benefitted even the damned in the mitigation of their punishment, we would not only not oppose it, but even gladly adopt their opinion ; for if the sun, though it cannot enlighten, still gives warmth to the blind, why may not that mightier sun, though it does not save those who are blinded and lost by their own guilt, still make them experience, in the mitigation of their sufferings, the influence of so great a ransom !" At the same time, this view seems to him contradicted by the passage in Galatians v. 2 ; for he argues : " If it is here said that Christ shall profit them nothing who had fallen from the faith, how should he profit those who after baptism have fallen into sin, and have not reformed, but died in unbelief ?" But in order to concede something to the advocates of that view, he cites a passage from Chrysostom, who on this matter is unquestionably widely opposed to Augustin.² And he then leaves it free for each one to decide, after mature consideration of the whole matter, as God may enable him to do

¹ *Ita causam in medio relinquimus.*

² *Ponam unum, quod eum eis faciat testimonium, et eos omnes, ut opinor, in gratiam reduxero.*

by inward illumination, or as he may believe he finds it clearly laid down in the sacred Scriptures.

It deserves at the same time to be remarked, that Servatus Lupus, much as he was inclined to respect the authority of Augustin, yet nowhere speaks of his declarations as infallible in matters of faith, but seems to have ascribed this infallibility to holy Scripture alone, as in fact ascribing *such* authority to Augustin would have been directly at variance with his own declarations concerning himself.²

At the invitation of king Charles the Bald, John Scotus also took part in this controversy. He wrote, in the year 851, a book on predestination,³ in which he declared himself opposed to Gottschalk's doctrine. But it was not in the nature of the man to pass judgment on his opponents with the candid impartiality of a Servatus Lupus. He drew a frightful picture of Gottschalk's heresy, as he styled it. He affirmed that both divine grace and man's free-will were denied by it, since it derived alike the crimes which lead to damnation, and the virtues which lead to eternal life, from a necessary and constraining predestination. By unconditional necessity, grace as the free gift of God was destroyed on the one hand, and the free-will of man on the other.⁴ His performance generally was an outpouring of virulent abuse on the head of that Gottschalk, whose confessions of faith he pretended to refute. A twofold predestination in the sense of Gottschalk, one the cause of man's virtue and everlasting blessedness, the other the cause of sin and of everlasting destruction,⁵ seemed to him an altogether untenable theory, for this, if for no other reason, because it supposes an opposition, a contradiction in God,

¹ Eligat sane superioribus acute consideratis unusquisque quod optimum ei Deus occulta inspiratione suggesserit, aut magistra ejus scriptura manifesta ratione protulerit.

² After citing Augustin's decision on the contested points, he says (p. 237): Ne amore doctorum amplecti judicemur errores eorum, procedat Paulus in medium;—and in another place, p. 239, he says: Jam ergo, cum res in tuto sit, ponamus verborum controversias, ne puerili animositate contra invicem pro inani victoriæ jactantia litigantes corripiamur ab apostolo, 2 Tim. ii. 14. Nam cum sit nobis unus magister cœlestis, qui est verus et veritas, unde accipitur et quo referenda est omnis veritas, cur pro nostris inventis dimicemus?

³ Published by Mauguin, in the first volume of the work above cited.

⁴ See De prædestinat. c. iv.

⁵ Which first Gottschalk to be sure had not asserted.

which is irreconcilable with the simplicity of the divine essence.¹ But to understand the character of his polemics as well as his own doctrine, it is necessary to keep in view the fundamental ideas of his system, as they have been already stated. All he says on the contested questions is a necessary consequence from these principles. According to this view, everything in fact that is predicated by God, is only an anthropopathic designation of his incomprehensible nature. For this reason, opposite attributes may be transferred to God.² When we attribute to the divine Being an act of creation, of will, of foreknowledge, of foreordination, the same thing at bottom is denoted by all this, the one divine Essence.³ Above all, no relations of time can be transferred to God; in relation to him we cannot speak of a before or an after. Hence it is only in an anthropopathic way, only in an improper sense, that a foreknowledge and a foreordination can be predicated of God. But in reference to sin, we can speak neither of a divine causality, nor even of a knowledge in the case of the divine Being. Sin for the divine Being has no existence at all. Much less can we speak of a predestination or a foreknowledge of God with regard to sin. And as sin or evil has no existence at all for the divine Being, so it can be said only in an improper sense, that God *punishes sin*. The idea denoted by such a mode of expression is no other than this—God has so constituted the order of things, that *sin punishes itself*, and all rational beings find their appropriate places in the universe according to their different moral conduct. Every sin carries with it its own punishment, which takes place secretly in the present life, but will appear openly in the life to come.⁴ Now this theory might

¹ Si autem divina natura summa omnium, quæ sunt, causa multiplex, cum sit, simplex et una saluberrime creditur, consequenter necesse est nullam in se ipsa controvertiam recipere credatur.

² What he says on this point in the work alluded to completely harmonises with the system unfolded in the work *De divisione naturæ*, with this difference only, that in the book on predestination he expresses himself with more caution and reserve. *Omnia pæne sive nomium sive verborum aliarumque orationis partium signa proprie de Deo dici non posse. Eis tamen utitur humanæ ratiocinationis post peccatum primi hominis laboriosa egestas. c. ix.*

³ Quicquid invenitur esse non aliud id esse, nisi unam veramque essentiam, quæ ubique in se ipsa tota est, et quæ est illa, nisi omnium naturarum præsciens prædestinatio et præscientia prædestinans, c. x. near the end.

⁴ Nullum peccatum est, quod non se ipsum puniat occulte tamen in hac vita, aperte vero in altera, c. vi. near the close.

be carried to such a length as to end in the opinion that sin met only with an internal, spiritual punishment, and in the total denial of sensible punishments after death, of a sensuous purgatory and a sensuous hell, which would be contrary to the doctrine of the church. In his work, *De divisione Natura*, he actually carried out his principle to this extent. He found in all the representations of sensuous punishments in the sacred Scriptures, only figurative descriptions of the internal punishments which sin must carry along with it, and which consist in the inward anguish, the remaining, unsatisfied strivings of earthly desires, left entirely to themselves.¹ The notion of a sensuous hell he would reckon among the prejudices clinging to the sensuous multitude who are as yet incapable of the higher, spiritual apprehension.¹ And even on the present occasion he adhered to what he had said in that work concerning spiritual punishments, even on the present occasion he maintained that nothing outward was, in and of its own nature, punishment; that God had created no part of the world to subserve the end of punishment. Yet, he now endeavoured to bring the peculiar and established theory respecting the fire of hell into harmony with his own view of punishment. This fire of hell was created by God to fill its own appropriate place in the harmony of the universe, but not for the wicked. Only to those who bore their own punishment within them, would it prove to be a place of punishment, just as the same light of the sun acts in one way on the sound, and in another on the diseased eye.³ For why ought not everything that is in itself good, to become evil to the wicked, when he has estranged himself from the supreme

¹ L. v. c. 29, f. 265. Ubi Judas salvatoris nostri proditor torquetur? Numquid alibi, nisi in polluta conscientia, qua Dominum tradidit? Qualem poenam patitur? Seram profecto poenitentiam et inutilem, qua semper uritur. Quid patitur dives ille in inferno? Nonne splendorum epularum, quibus in hac vita vescebatur, egestatem? Qua flamma consumitur impurissimus rex Herodes, nisi suo furore, quo in necem exarsit innocentium? Hæc exempla de pravis malarum voluntatum motibus, quos in semetipsis vitiorum torquet justissima vindicta, diversarumque libidinum cicatrices sufficiunt. Unusquisque enim impie viventium ipsa vitiorum libidine, qua in carne exarsit, veluti quadam flamma inextinguibili torquebitur.

² Vid fol. 284, 286, and 292.

³ Non ergo ille ignis est poena neque ad eam præparatus vel prædestinatus, sed qui fuerat prædestinatus, ut esset in universitate omnium bonorum, sedes factus est impiorum. In quo procul dubio non minus habitabunt beati quam miseri, sed sicut una eademque lux sanis oculis convenit, impedit dolentibus, c. xvii. § 8.

good?—“To the eternal, divine laws,” says he, “all must be obedient. In this only consists the difference between the elect and the reprobate, that the latter obey these laws from constraint, the former with free-will. The divine wisdom has fixed a boundary in its laws, beyond which the perversity of the godless cannot go. Sin cannot go on progressing without end; it finds its limits in the divine laws. The wickedness of the godless, and of their head, the devil, tends to nothing else than to fall utterly from Him who is the highest being; so that, if the divine law allowed of it, their nature would sink into nothing, as sin is nothing. But in the very fact that sin finds itself held in check by the eternal laws, so that it cannot fall so low as it would, in this very fact it finds its punishment. God then has foreordained the godless to punishment; which means only this; he has circumscribed them by his immutable laws, which their wickedness cannot escape.² Just as God frees the will of those whom he has foreordained to grace, and so filled them with the sense of his love, that they not only rejoice to abide within the bounds of his eternal law, but also esteem it their highest glory to be neither willing nor able to transgress it; so he constrains the will of the reprobate, whom he has foreordained to punishment, in such manner that everything which, in the case of the former, results in the joy of the eternal life, becomes, on the contrary, to the latter, the punishment of everlasting woe.”³

John Scotus stands forth, it is true, as a defender of the free-will; and he accuses his opponent of denying this, and of subjecting everything to a constraining necessity. In fact, however, he proceeds on precisely the same principle with theologians of Gottschalk's bent, since he too assumes that it is only by the grace which God communicates to the elect, the corrupt will can

¹ Quid enim bonorum illi non noceret, quando ei auctor omnium placere non poterat, aut ubi nullum bonum non nocebat, cui summo bono frui non placuit?

² Quid enim appetit impiorum omnium et sui capitis, quod est diabolus nequitia, nisi ab eo qui est summa essentia recedere? In tantum, ut eorum natura, si lex divina sineret, in nihilum rediret, hinc namque nequitia est dicta, quod nequicquam, id est nihilum esse contendit. Sed quoniam ei difficultas ex æternis legibus obsistit, ne in tantum cadat, quantum vellet, ex ea difficultate laborat, laborando torquetur, punitur, et fit misera inanium voluptatum egestate. Prædestinavit itaque Deus impios ad pœnam vel interitum hoc est circumscripsit eos legibus suis incommutabilibus, quas eorum impietas evadere non permittitur.

³ Vid. De prædestinat. c. xviii. § 8.

be awakened to goodness. But he is deceived in his notions of freedom and of ability, by supposing man free within his own individuality, and by ascribing even to fallen man the ability for good, though this ability can only come into actual exercise through the influence of that grace. He employs an illustration which sets his view of the matter in a clear light. As a man in the dark, though he possesses the ability to see with his eyes, yet sees nothing, till the light comes to him from without, so is it with the corrupt will, till the light of divine mercy shine upon it.¹ And so he says in another place, that the will of man has not a false, but a true freedom, though this freedom itself is so impaired by the consequences of the first sin, as to be wanting in the will to do good, or if it will to do good, in the ability to accomplish the good; but still there ever remains a certain natural freedom, which manifests itself in the innate longing after blessedness.²

Following out the conceptions thus defined, he must assuredly, if he had clearly understood what Gottschalk meant, and instead of accusing him of conclusions he never admitted, allowed him to experience common justice, have agreed with him in his results respecting predestination, grace, and free-will. His own doctrine concerning God,³ concerning the creation, and concerning sin, did in truth really lead to the result of contemplating everything, good and evil, as a necessary evolution from God, though certainly he had never distinctly avowed this to his own mind; and the illogical method common to the learned of these times, with the sole exception of Servatus Lupus, would render the possibility of self-deception here extremely easy. But that which, beyond question, constitutes an essential difference between John

¹ C. iv. § 8. Sicut enim homo in densissimis tenebris positus habens sensum videndi quidem nihil vidit, quia nihil potest videre antequam extrinsecus veniat lux, quam etiam adhuc clausis oculis sentit, apertis vero et eam et in ea cuncta circumposita conspicit, sic voluntas hominis quamdiu originalis peccati propriorumque umbra tegitur, ipsius caligine impeditur. Dum autem lux divinæ misericordiæ illuxerit, non solum noctem peccatorum omnium eorumque reatum destruit, sed etiam obtutum infirmæ voluntatis sanando aperit et ad se contemplandum bonis operibus purgando idoneum facit.

² Manente tamen adhuc naturali libertate, quæ intelligitur beatitudinis appetitu, qui ei naturaliter insitus est.

³ Although he says in his work on predestination (c. v. § 5): Non enim Deus omnium bonorum causa est necessaria, sicut ignis ardendi, sole calefaciendi, illuminandi, aut coactiva, ut sensus dormiendi, sitis bibendi, sed est voluntaria, ut sapientia sapientis ratio ratiocinantis similiter.

Scotus and his opponents, nay, his fellow-combatants also, is his doctrine concerning the mode of the divine punishments, and his doctrine concerning the restoration, which last, to be sure, does not hold in this book so prominent a place as in the work containing his entire system.

Hinkmar was compelled to regret that he had called into the field a champion of this character,¹ and he soon renounced all connection with him; for many weak spots were thus laid open to the friends of Gottschalk's doctrine, who were not slow in detecting the heresies contained in the book of John Scotus. Archbishop Wenilo of Sens published nineteen propositions from that book, which he denounced as heretical. Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, and Florus, a deacon at Lyons, were thus drawn to write against them. Prudentius finds it offensive in John Scotus to maintain, that God's working was one with his being. From thence, he said, it might be inferred, that everything in the world which presents itself as a working of God is one with his being; and it perhaps floated before his mind, that this would lead to a pantheistic hypothesis, irreconcilable with God's holiness.² The several attributes of God which are one with his essence, as truth, justice, goodness, he held to be quite different from the facts which are relatively predicated of him, as his foreknowledge and predestination, denoting some relation of God to things without his own essence.³ Prudentius concluded his work by saying, that he would not, as yet, pronounce the anathema on John Scotus, but he would earnestly entreat him to return to the purity of the Christian faith. The deacon Florus undertook a more complete refutation of the doctrines of John Scotus, attacking him rather with arguments of dogmatical speculation, while Prudentius confined himself for the most part to testimonies from the church fathers. He admitted that in God his attributes of wisdom and knowledge are one with his being; but he thought it dangerous to assert, that God's *predestination* and *foreknowledge* are one

¹ He himself complained some time afterwards of the *Pultes Scotorum*.

² *Velut Dei essentia prædicantur occisio, in errorem inductio, morbi, fames, naufragia, insidiæ, et alia complura, quæ in divinis elogiis indita prudentium nullus ignorat. T. i. f. 218.*

³ *Unius quoque, ut desipis, ejusdemque videlicet naturæ non sunt, quia nulla auctoritate Dei natura præscientia vel prædestinatio nuncupatur. page 404.*

with his being.¹ With greater vehemence he repelled as blasphemous the assertion, that evil and sin were nonentities; and therefore could not be objects of the divine knowledge.² Such an assertion seemed to him fraught with practical mischief, as it would naturally lead men to think of sin as a trifling evil.³ Conformably to the principles laid down by Augustin respecting the relation of natural things to divine, he too asserted that the first man, in his state of innocence, and with a moral nature still unperverted, needed divine grace in order to perseverance in goodness.⁴

While he censured John Scotus on account of his abuse of the worldly sciences, he did not suffer himself to be so far misled by the zeal of the polemic, as to discard them as useless in themselves to theology; but he had the discretion to distinguish the right use of them, in investigating truth, from that abuse. He only demanded, that everything should be tried by the test of the sacred Scriptures. But at the same time he declared, that in order rightly to understand and apply Scripture truth, it was not enough to study the letter alone, but that the inward illumination of a Christian temper was also required. The holy Scriptures themselves could not be rightly understood and profitably read, unless faith in Christ first existed in the heart of the reader, so that the truth might be rightly apprehended by means of that, or unless faith in Christ was truly sought, and found in them by the light which cometh from above.⁵

To meet these antagonists, Hinkmar was now compelled to look round for new allies. Gottschalk had, at some earlier period,

¹ Yet constrained, perhaps, on the one hand by the force of his premises, while he feared on the other hand the conclusions to which they led, he explains himself somewhat doubtfully on this point: *Utrum vero, sicut dicitur, Deus substantialiter dici possit præscientia, judicet secundum rationem et regulam fidei qui potest, nobis tamen videtur, quod non ita possit dici de illo nisi vel mendaciter vel nimis inusitate, non est, aliud illi esse et aliud præscire.* p. 591.

² Page 642.

³ *Iste ergo, qui tam assidue dicit et repetit peccata nihil esse, quid aliud conatur agere diabolo instigante, nisi ut ea quasi leviget in cordibus auditorum, ut non doleant, non agnoscant, quanto malo teneantur.* p. 671.

⁴ *Licet naturaliter illud homini inseruerit, quando eum creavit utique bonum et bona voluntate præditum, tamen et tunc indigebat gratia conditoris, ut in bono, quo creatus fuerat, permaneret.* p. 629.

⁵ *Nisi aut fides Christi præcedat in corde legentis, per quem veraciter intelligantur, aut ipsa fides Christi in eis fideliter quærat et Deo illuminante inveniatur.* p. 718.

asked assistance of Amulo, archbishop of Lyons, and sent him his confessions. This person adopted Gottschalk's doctrine, as understood by himself. Incapable of judging without prejudice, he belonged to the class who adopted the milder views of the Augustinian scheme, or he viewed the whole subject through the glass which had been put into his hand by archbishop Hinkmar. He accused Gottschalk of actually asserting that, which was commonly imputed to him by his opponents only as an inference from his doctrines. But at the same time, he distinguished himself by the gentleness with which he treated one whom he supposed to have erred from the truth. In the letter by which he endeavoured to persuade him to renounce his dangerous errors,¹ he addressed him as a beloved brother, to whom he wished every blessing he desired for himself.² He transmitted this letter for Gottschalk to archbishop Hinkmar, and manifestly it was his desire to effect a reconciliation between them; but he went on a supposition, which could never be realised, that Gottschalk could be made to see the offensive points in his doctrine. When archbishop Amulo had so expressed himself, Hinkmar might hope to find in him an ally in the contest with his new opponents. In union with a bishop of his diocese, of the same mind with himself, bishop Pardulus of Laon, he addressed to him, and to the church at Lyons, in the year 853, two letters concerning Gottschalk and his doctrine, and to these added also the letter written by archbishop Rabanus Maurus on the same subjects to Notting, bishop of Verona. But meanwhile archbishop Amulo had died, and his successor, Remigius, took up the matter in a way altogether contrary to the expectations of Hinkmar. In a letter written in the name of the church at Lyons, in reply to that of Hinkmar,³ he condemned the unjust and cruel treatment of Gottschalk in language which breathed alike the spirit of justice and of gentleness. "Let the judges themselves reflect," said he, "whether they exercised that moderation and Christian charity, which should ever be expected from a spiritual tribunal, composed of priests and

¹ Agobardi opera ed. Baluz. T. ii. p. 149.

² Quod autem non solum fratrem, sed etiam dilectissimum dico, Dominus novit, quia te fideliter diligo, hoc tibi cupiens, quod et mihi, unde et salutem tibi veraciter opto, præsentem pariter et futuram.

³ In Manguin Vindiciæ prædest. et gratiæ, T. ii. p. ii.

monks?"¹ Their mode of conducting themselves towards Gottschalk, he said, was regarded with universal abhorrence;² for before this, all heretics had been refuted and convicted by words and reasons.³ In condemning Gottschalk's doctrine of predestination, men condemned not that unhappy monk, but the very truth of *the church* itself.⁴ Instead of adjudging to the flames a confession, which contained not so much his doctrines as the doctrines of the church, they should first have examined it with Christian charity and deliberation.⁵ If it were true, that Gottschalk had used insulting language to the bishops, that indeed was an inexcusable offence, and deserved to be punished; *but it had better have been done by others than by themselves.* Moreover, a benevolent pity should have constrained them to shorten, or at least to render more supportable, the long and inhuman confinement to which he was subjected for so many years, so as to gain over by love and the spirit of meekness the brother for whom Christ died, rather than to abridge his days by excessive grief.⁶

In reference to the two contested questions, whether the declaration, "God will have all men to be saved," was to be understood without qualification,⁷ or with such an one as the doctrine of absolute predestination required; whether Christ died for all men, or only for the elect;—in reference to these questions, Remigius declared indeed, that his own opinion agreed with the particularistic view; yet he proposed, as Servatus Lupus had done before him, as a compromise for the sake of peace, that on this point every man might freely enjoy his own opinion, and that neither party should condemn the other; since nothing had been decided

¹ Sed et de ipsis flagellis et cædibus, quibus secundum regulam S. Benedicti dicitur adjudicatus, quibus et omnino fertur atrocissime et absque ulla misericordia pæne usque ad mortem dilaceratus, quæ moderatio et mensura juxta pietatem ecclesiasticam et sacerdotalem sive monachalem verecundiam servari debuerit, ipsi potius apud se dijudicent. p. 107.

² Omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent. p. 109.

³ Cum omnes retro hæretici verbis et disputationibus victi atque convicti sunt.

⁴ In hac re dolemus non illum miserabilem, sed ecclesiasticam veritatem esse damnatam.

⁵ Sensus illi non ignibus damnandi, sed pia et pacifica inquisitione tractandi.

⁶ Ut frater, pro quo Christus mortuus est, per caritatem et spiritum mansuetudinis potius lucraretur, quam abundantiori tristitia absorberetur.

⁷ The forced interpretations of this passage, which we noticed in the case of Servatus Lupus, were resorted to also by Remigius. l. c. p. 86.

on the subject by the church,—and a difference existed in the declarations of Scripture as well as in the interpretations of them by approved church teachers.

When Hinkmar perceived that the number of his opponents continually increased, he resolved to oppose them by a resort to ecclesiastical authority, and in a second synod at Chiersy caused four propositions to be drawn up in opposition to the Gottschalkian doctrine. In these four propositions, the principles of the Augustinian system were also adopted as the points of departure. To the first man was ascribed a free-will by which he could have persevered in original righteousness.¹ Through the abuse of this free-will, the first man sinned, and thereby all mankind became a mass of perdition (*massa perditionis*). Out of this mass, a good and righteous God elected, according to his foreknowledge, those, *whom* by his grace he foreordained to *eternal life*, and *for whom* he foreordained *eternal life*. As to those on the other hand whom by a sentence of justice he left in the mass of corruption, he foreknew that they *would* perish, though he by no means predestinated them to this that they *must* perish. But no doubt on the principle of justice he foreordained for them eternal punishment. Hence there is but one predestination of God referring either to the gift of grace, or to the retribution of justice—and *this form of expression* constitutes precisely the point of opposition to the doctrine of the *prædestinatio duplex*. The second main difference here expressed consists in the principles: God will have all men to be saved; Christ died for the salvation of all men,—which propositions, however, are necessarily modified by their connection with that first proposition, and in the system of Hinkmar, as in that of Rabanus Maurus, are to be understood only under this limitation.

¹ It deserves to be noticed how important to the other side was the proposition by no means denied by Hinkmar, that even in the original state, free will might act in the good only as an organ of divine grace. Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, in his tract *De tenenda veritate scripturæ sacræ*, which he wrote in opposition to those four decrees, objects to them, especially that in the first Capitulum, this ability is attributed to free-will without any mention of grace, on the principle of the *originalis justitia*. *Hoc nos primum in eis movet, quod absque ulla commemoratione gratiæ Dei, sine qua nulla rationalis creatura, scilicet nec angelica nec humana unquam potuit aut potest vel poterit in justitia et sancitate esse, manere utque persistere, ita primus homo, definitur liberi arbitrii a Deo conditus, tanquam per ipsum tantummodo arbitrium liberum in sanctitate et justitia potuisset permanere, c. iii. p. 182.*

To these decrees the second synod at Valence in 855 opposed six other capitula. In these, a twofold predestination in the sense already defined was asserted; but at the same time it was most positively declared, that the sin of men had its sole ground in the will of the first man; and of his posterity, that it was solely an object of divine foreknowledge. Moreover, reprobation was attributed to man's guilt, and to God, only as a just sentence.¹ The doctrine was expressly condemned, that Christ died for unbelievers; yet the interest in behalf of the objective validity of the sacraments, which was of so much moment in the church system of doctrine, led them to insert in the fifth canon the additional clause "that the whole multitude of believers, born again of water and of the Holy Spirit, and thereby truly incorporated into the church, has according to the apostolical doctrine been baptised into Christ, and purified by his blood from sin; for in truth their regeneration would not be a real one, were not their redemption a real one. It was as necessary to assume this, as it was impossible to doubt the reality of the sacraments. Yet out of the multitude of believers and redeemed some attained to everlasting blessedness, because by the grace of God they persevered faithfully in their redemption, but others never attained to the actual enjoyment of eternal bliss, because they would not persevere in the blessedness of the faith received at the beginning, but rather frustrated the grace of redemption, and rendered it of no effect by erroneous doctrine or a wicked life." With regard to grace, it was determined, that without it *no rational* creature could lead a blessed life: thus in these public determinations also the need of grace was not supposed to arise in the first place from sin, but from the natural and necessary relation of the creature to the Creator. Furthermore, the absurd and foolish errors, as they are called, of Scotus, were particularly condemned.² It was intended afterwards, at an assembly held at Savonnieres (apud Saponarias), in the suburbs of Toul, to agree upon some common system of doctrine on the contested points; but no such agreement was ever arrived at. True, there

¹ C. ii. Nec ipsos malos ideo perire, quia boni esse non potuerunt, sed quia boni esse noluerunt, suoque vitio in massa damnationis vel merito originali vel etiam actuali permanserunt.

² C. vi. : Ineptas quæstiunculas et aniles pæne fabulas Scotorumque nultea.

was no difference between the two parties respecting the substantial doctrines of faith; and could they have come to a mutual understanding with respect to the meaning of terms, the parties would have been led, unless prevented by more deep-seated causes, to an agreement in doctrine; for both certainly were agreed in adopting the Augustinian system, with all the consequences that flowed from it. But while each party clung to its own formularies as the only correct ones, and refused to depart from them at any price, the possibility of coming to an understanding on the points of difference by a distinct explication of the whole subject of dispute, was out of the question; besides, the tenacity with which these formularies were held, was due in part to other motives, on one side, to the interest for dogmatical consistency in the system of absolute predestination; on the other to the interest for Christian universality in the doctrines of divine grace and redemption, which universality could, to be sure, with the views entertained, by its advocates be held only in appearance, since the system of predestination, from beginning to end, stood in contradiction with it. The want of scientific method and logical clearness in the disputants, the habit of appealing in disputes to citations from the church fathers, rather than to rational arguments, all this served to lengthen out the contention about forms of expression, leaving no chance of coming to an understanding about the essential contents of the thoughts. The last event in this controversy was the publication by Hinkmar of a work on predestination, composed in defence of the four capitula drawn up at Chiersy. The deficiencies just mentioned clove to Hinkmar, in a remarkable degree; and connected with them was the extreme prolixity and diffuseness of his style. The consequence was, that he could talk the longer on these disputed questions, without coming any nearer towards resolving the different forms of expression into a difference contained within the conceptions themselves. Thus the dispute was handed down to the following centuries. Although in truth no material, dogmatical difference was lying at bottom, yet such a difference might finally have been evolved as the result of the dispute; but as the case was, it certainly proved of great practical importance, when the doctrines that God will have all men to be saved, that Christ died for all, were made prominent points of religious instruction, and the doctrine of absolute pre-

destination was thrown more into the back-ground of the religious consciousness.

A controversy of still greater importance arose in the ninth century on the doctrine of *the Holy Supper*.

It has already been observed, in tracing the history of doctrines in the preceding periods, that the constant tendency to confound the internal thing with its external form had in the earliest times prevailed to a remarkable degree in the mode of apprehending the doctrine of the sacraments generally, and that of the Holy Supper in particular, by virtue of which tendency the divine element that filled the religious consciousness in the whole transaction, was transferred to the outward sign ; so that the latter came to be considered as the bearer of a divine power communicated by the consecrating words of the priests. Thus with the Holy Supper was connected an idea of the inter-penetration of the bread and wine by the body and blood of Christ ; and inasmuch as the sensible element presented itself to devotion simply as the bearer of the supernatural, the predominant reference in the religious consciousness was to the supernatural alone, while the natural was almost wholly overlooked, or rather the natural element appeared to the religious consciousness as already transfigured in the reflected light of the higher essence on which the religious mind was exclusively fixed. Thus it might happen, that to religious intuition the substance of the bread and wine would be lost in the idea of the present body and blood of Christ, which was here contemplated as the only real thing ; and thus was formed an intuitive habit of regarding the bread and wine as transformed into the body and blood of Christ. In the preceding periods, several gradations from the more spiritual to the more sensuous mode of apprehending the sacred ordinance had existed among Christians, without being separately evolved in consciousness to any such antagonism as seriously to disturb Christian fellowship. But in this period, and in the Western church, the predominant tendency to sensualise the objects of religious faith, the inclination to the magical in religion, the idea of a sacerdotal order in the Christian church corresponding to the priesthood of the Old Testament ; and connected with this the notion of a sacrificial function belonging to the new order of priesthood, all contributed to open the way for a general admission of the doctrine of transubstantia-

tion, although this could not be brought about without a previous struggle with the opposite and more spiritual mode of apprehending the eucharist, a struggle which the culture of the Carolingian age was eminently calculated to call forth. *Paschasius Radbert*, abbot of the monastery of Corbie, who, in the year 831, composed, for his disciple Placidius,¹ a work in which he aimed to set forth the whole doctrine of the Holy Supper,² was the first to expound and defend at length the doctrine of transubstantiation. In this tract he expressly rejects the opinion held, as he says, by some, that the eucharist consists only in a spiritual communion of the soul with the Redeemer, for its own spiritual benefit.³ This to him seemed not enough, since assuredly the effects of the redemption reached not merely to the soul, but also to the entire man. He stands up for the idea, which had prevailed from the earlier times, of a spiritual and bodily communion with Christ, whereby the body was supposed to receive an imperishable principle of life, preparatory to the resurrection. But the new thing in his doctrine was, that by virtue of the consecration, by a miracle of almighty power, the substance of the bread and wine became converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ, so that beneath the sensible, outward emblems of the bread and wine, another substance was still present. The principle on which he starts, and which was the predominating one in his whole mode of religious intuition, is that the will of God, being the original cause of all created things, must ever remain the sole cause of the changes which take place in them. Although a miracle therefore may seem to be something contrary to the course of nature, yet in reality it is not so; because the very essence of nature consists in the obedience of all things to the divine laws.⁴ Ac-

¹ Cognomen of the abbot Warin of Corvey.

² De sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi.

³ C. xix. : Non sicut quidam volunt, anima sola hoc mysterio pascitur.

⁴ Quotieslibet videtur quasi contra naturam aliquid evenire, quodammodo non contra naturam est, quia potissimum rerum natura creaturarum hoc habet eximium, ut a quo est, semper ejus obtemperet jussis. This principle of uncompromising supernaturalism Paschasius Radbert expressed also in the controversy on the question, whether Christ was not born in the same way as all other men. Quia non ex natura rerum divinæ leges pendent, sed ex divinis legibus nature leges manare probantur. On the other hand, the monk Ratramnus, of Corbie, maintained, that it was impossible to conceive of a true birth and a true incarnation of Christ on any other supposition than that the birth of Christ was after the same kind with that of every other man. See the two writings in D'Achery Spicilegia, T. i.



cordingly we must believe that, since God has so willed it, under the outward, phenomenal forms of the bread and the wine (sub figura panis et vini) are present the body and the blood of Christ after the consecration. "If thou believest in the miracle of the incarnation of the Son of God, thou must believe also in the miracle which is wrought by the same divine power through the words of the priest. The same body is here present as that in which Christ was born, suffered, arose, and ascended to heaven. Simply to avoid giving any shock to the senses, while an opportunity is furnished for the exercise of faith, the miracle is performed after a hidden manner, discernible only to faith, under the still subsisting outward forms of colour, taste, and touch.* That which the senses here perceive, and that which is done in a sensible manner, is the symbol. That which is wrought secretly under this image or symbol, and that which faith perceives, is the truth, the reality. It belongs to the essence of a sacrament, to which class he reckons baptism, and the chrism (confirmation),¹ that the divine operation should take place invisibly, under cover of that which is presented visibly to the senses. Believers would not receive the body of Christ in *true and real* manner, were it *not* given to them under this covering. He cites instances, however, where, for the removal of doubts or to satisfy the earnest longing of individuals, instead of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ were presented perceptibly to the sense, but afterwards, at the distribution by the priest, again resumed their previous covering.² Such stories, evidencing the power of popular credulity, were well calculated to react powerfully back upon the same.

Again, it was his opinion, that as believers were by this sacrament to be raised above things sensible to things divine, so if they were really filled with the spirit of God, the divine life would react to purge the senses, so that they would seem to perceive nothing but the divine and heavenly.³ We mark here, how a certain

¹ It may be certainly gathered from his own language (c. ii.) that he does not mention these three simply as examples, but that he was accustomed to designate them by the name, *the sacraments*.

² C. xiv.

³ C. ii.: Divinus spiritus, qui in nobis est, etiam per eandem gratiam ampliatur eosdemque sensus nostros ad ea percipienda instruit et componit, ita sane, ut non solum gustum interius ad mystica perducatur, verum et visum atque auditum, nec non odoratum et tactum, ita tenus quodammodo illustrat, ut nihil in eis nisi divina sentiantur, nihilque nisi cœlestia.

transcendental bent of religious feeling, operating to repress the understanding, might find its satisfaction in the doctrine of transubstantiation. Radbert endeavoured to prove the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, and the necessity of partaking of it, in order to attain to eternal life, from the well-known passage in the sixth chapter of John. And we see from the way in which he expresses himself on the subject,¹ that in his times, the *communion* as well as the *baptism of infants* still prevailed. But we also see how, through the more clearly developed consciousness of the relation of the two sacraments to each other, the custom of infant-communion would gradually become obsolete. The question arose, whether in the case of those which died before partaking of the eucharist, any injury would be entailed by this omission—which he answered in the negative, because such infants being placed in communion with Christ by baptism, attained immediately to the intuition of him in their state of purity to which they had come by that sacrament.²

The work of Paschasius Radbert, being the first in the Western church in which this doctrine was so distinctly expressed, created a great sensation. Men found in the writings of the church fathers, particularly of Augustin, much which seemed to conflict with such a theory. He himself was afterwards constrained to own, that *many* doubted,³ whether the body of Christ in the eucharist was the same body as that in which he was born, suffered, and rose again. Frudegard, a monk, proposed doubts to him on this particular point, citing various passages from Augustin, which had at first occasioned perplexity in his own mind respecting the same subject. Paschalis was persuaded, that all doubts would be removed by attending to Christ's words at the institution, and in the sixth chapter of John's gospel, and endeavoured to explain Augustin's language according to his own view. Not all certainly to whom those words of Paschasius Radbert were offensive, had the same positive view of the Lord's Supper. To many, those expressions were offensive, because it seemed to follow from

¹ C. xix.

² Et ideo non obesse credimus, eos viaticum non accepisse hujus sacramenti quia in nullo post perceptam vitam declinaverunt a via, donec perventum est ad veritatem, in qua sempiterna et vera est vita. c. xix.

³ In his letter to the monk Frudegard, opp. Paris, 1618. fol. 1619. Quæris de re, ex qua multi dubitant.

them, that Christ's glorified body descended to the earth, and became subject to sensible affections. They held fast to the older view, that as the divine Logos in Christ had assumed a human nature, so in the Holy Supper he assumed immediately, by a miracle of almighty power, a body under the forms of the bread and wine, which was therefore another body of the incarnate Logos, a medium for the communication of a divine life.¹

Sometime after the year 844, Paschasius Radbert dedicated to king Charles the Bald, as a Christmas gift, a second edition of his work on the Holy Supper, better adapted to popular use,² requesting him to favour its spread; and that monarch perceiving the diversity of opinion on this subject among the learned, sought counsel again of Ratramnus, the monk of Corbie, who was thus led to write his work, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. Without mentioning the name of Paschasius Radbert, who was his own abbot, and whom therefore he could not decently offend, he entered immediately in this book into the investigation of two

¹ This view seems to be found in the anonymous tract, belonging to these times, which has been published by Mabillon, *Acta sanct. O. B. Sæc. iv. p. ii. f. 592*, and in which he thinks that he recognises the letter of Rabanus Maurus to the abbot Egilo, which letter was written in opposition to those expressions of Paschasius Radbert. We believe we see this view expressed in the following words: "Divinitas verbi facit, ut unum sit corpus unius agni, et hoc idcirco, quia et illud et istud verum est corpus." Respecting the end and purpose of the communication of Christ in the eucharist it is here said: "Ut discant nihil aliud esurire quam Christum, nihil sentire nisi Christum, nihil aliud sapere, non aliunde vivere, non aliud esse quam corpus Christi." A remarkable story by this author, who had perhaps been a missionary among the Bulgarians, by no means makes it clear, that a large number of the Bulgarians had not as yet been converted, but rather proves the opposite. Christianity must have already produced a great impression among the people; hence there had arisen among the heathen an intermixture of pagan and Christian notions, the belief in Christ as a god among the other gods, and the pagan views might very easily find a point of coincidence in the doctrine of the eucharist, as it was then taught. A respectable pagan requested this author to drink—as it was the custom of the heathen to drink to the honour of their gods—in illius Dei amore, qui de vino sanguinem suum facit. It seems to be assumed also in this tract, that none but the faithful received the body of Christ. The same perhaps was the view, from which Rabanus Maurus combated Paschasius Radbert; see his *Letters to Heribald*, bishop of Auxerre (*Autissiodorensis*), published under the name of the *liber pœnitentialis* in Stuart, *tomus singularis insignium auctorum*, Ingoldstadt, 1616, c. 33, where he himself cites his own letter on the doctrine of the eucharist, probably written on occasion of these controversies—and which has not as yet been published.

² The address to the king, published by Mabillon, *Acta sanctor. O. B. Sæc. iv. p. ii. f. 135*. Hinc inde, ut condignum est, ad superventura dici dominici festa missuri sunt auri argentique et vasorum diversi generis munera, varise supellectelis vestium ornamenta atque phalerata equorum cæterorumque animalium quæque præcipua.

questions, strictly connected with Radbert's doctrine of the Holy Supper;—whether the bread and wine when consecrated were called body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, improper manner (in *mysterio*), or in the true and *proper* sense; and whether it was the same body as that in which Christ was born, suffered, and rose from the dead? The two questions were in his opinion closely connected, and ought to be examined together. The conclusion he arrived at was this: either the change which takes place in the outward elements in the eucharist is a sensuous, sensibly perceptible change—in which case the body and blood of Christ must also be manifest to the senses, and wherever a sensible perception takes place, faith is no longer required; or the change which here transpires is a secret, spiritual one, manifesting itself only to faith; and that which is wrought by it is something spiritual and divine, which only the inner man can appropriate by faith. The bread and wine then are not the body and blood of Christ in the proper, but only in a secret, spiritual sense; and it is not therefore the same natural body of Christ, as that in which he was born, died, and rose again, but it is this body in another sense, an image and pledge of *this* body.¹ Ratramnus now concluded: the bread and wine remain after being consecrated the same for sensuous perception as they were before; the change therefore can only be a change of that other kind, and the bread and wine can only be called body and blood of Christ in that other sense. Paschasius Radbert had, it is true, also taught the doctrine of a *conversio* secretly wrought by the Spirit of God, perceptible only by faith, but his assertion respecting the way in which bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ, seemed to Ratramnus inconsistent with that view. He referred to the fact, that the mingling of the wine and water in the sacramental cup was considered a symbol of Christ's union with the church; and from this he drew the conclusion that in the same sense as the water was called a symbol of the church, in that same sense the wine was called a symbol of the blood, and the bread a symbol of the body of Christ. He cites the words of Christ in the sixth chapter of John's gospel, with Augustin's interpretation of

¹ Quia *fides* totum, quicquid illud totum est, adspicit, et oculis carnis nihil apprehendit, intellige, quod non in specie, sed in virtute corpus et sanguis Christi existant, quæ cernuntur.

them: Christ himself here says, that he spoke of his body and blood not in the proper, but in an improper, spiritual sense; he pointed away from the flesh to the spirit, from carnal sight to spiritual understanding.

Ratramnus' view is as follows: as the divine Word dwells in the natural body of Christ, so it unites itself with the bread and wine; and hence both, as mediums for the communication of the divine Logos, or of spiritual fellowship with Christ, are called in an improper sense body of Christ. Bread and wine produce, after the consecration, an effect on the souls of believers, which they cannot produce by their natural qualities. Believers are made conscious, at the celebration of the holy supper, of a spiritual communion with Christ, or of the communication of the divine Logos. This Ratramnus transferred, as something objective, to the outward elements themselves. In this sense, he spoke of a *conversio* of the bread and wine into the body of Christ. And in this reference he said, at the same time, that what outwardly appears, is not the thing itself, but only an image of the thing; but that which the soul feels, and takes into its consciousness, is the truth of the thing; it is *that word* of God (the Logos) which nourishes and gives life to the soul. He affirms, that the word of God, as the invisible bread, which dwells after an invisible manner in this sacrament, imparts life and nourishment, after an invisible manner, by means of this communion, to the souls of believers.¹ Paschasius Radbert had said in reference to the passage Psa. lxxviii. 24—here the manna is called the bread of angels; by this, however, could not be understood *bodily* food, the proper manna, but only what was pre-figured thereby, Christ, who is the bread of life even for the angels, *Christus cibus angelorum*; for all that pertains to the eating of the body of Christ is of a spiritual and divine nature.² To this passage Ratramnus also refers; but he *concluded* from this same passage, that what was meant could only be a spiritual union with Christ, the spiritual power of the Logos, of which the angels stood in need as well as men.³ Paschasius found in the

¹ Verbum Dei, qui est panis invisibilis, invisibiliter in illo existens sacramento invisibiliter participatione sui fidelium mentes vivificando pascit.

² Fol. 1566: Ac per hoc unde vivunt, angeli, vivit et homo, quia totum spirituale est et divinum in eo quod percipiet homo.

³ Utrumque hoc incorporeo gustu nec corporali sagina, sed spiritualis verbi virtute.

passage 1 Cor. xi., a type of the communication of Christ in the eucharist;¹ Ratramnus, on the other hand, understood this not barely in a typical sense, but he inferred from the explanation of St Paul, that the Jews at that time received the body of Christ in the same manner as believing Christians now do; that both in like manner could be understood of a spiritual communication of the Logos, there through the medium of the manna, as here through the medium of the bread and wine.²

According to Radbert's view, even the unbelieving received the objectively present body of Christ, though not to their saving benefit. According to Ratramnus, on the contrary, the way in which the divine Logos communicates himself in the eucharist, presupposes the spiritual susceptibility, the spiritual organ of faith. Again, we find in Paschasius Radbert that view of the sacrifice of the mass which had commonly prevailed from the times of Gregory the Great. On the contrary, Ratramnus designates the eucharist as being only a commemorative celebration of Christ's sacrifice, by which remembrance Christians should make themselves susceptible of partaking of the divine grace of redemption.³ "But when we shall have attained to the intuition of Christ," he concludes, "we shall no longer need such instruments to remind us of that which infinite grace has suffered for our sakes; for, beholding him face to face, we have no farther occasion to be stimulated by the good of external, temporal things; but, by the contemplation of the truth itself, we shall understand how much we owe to the author of our salvation."⁴

Furthermore, it is said that the above mentioned John Scotus was prevailed upon, by king Charles the Bald, to compose a tract on this disputed question; and he likewise is said to have protested against the views of Paschasius Radbert. Though at a later period the writings of Ratramnus and of John Scotus were confounded together,⁵ yet it does not follow from this, that the

¹ L. c. c. v.

² *Inerat corporeis illis substantiis spiritualis verbi potestas quæ mentes potius quam corpora credentium pasceret atque potaret.* According to the edition of Paris, 1673, with a French translation, p. 125.

³ *Ut quod gestum est, in præterito præsentis revocet memoriæ ut illius passionis memores per eam efficiamur divini muneris consortes, per quam sumus a morte liberati,* p. 211.

⁴ *Cognoscentes, quod ubi pervenerimus ad visionem Christi, talibus non opus habebimus instrumentis, quibus admoneamur quid pro nobis immensa benignitas sustinuerit.*

⁵ As Lauf, in his acute and discriminating essay on this subject in the *Studien und Kritiken* (Bd. i. St. iv.), has certainly shown.

whole report about the existence of such a tract of Scotus, had arisen barely from a confusion of names. It is in itself probable, that as John Scotus enjoyed the highest reputation for extensive learning, and on this account stood in eminent favour with Charles the Bald, he as well as Ratramnus would be asked by the king to give his judgment on this controversy. We should take into the account also, that Hinkmar, of whom we cannot suppose that he would be likely to confound the two men together, mentions, among several erroneous doctrines actually found in the writings of John Scotus, this error, that in the sacrament of the altar, the true body and the true blood of Christ were not present, but only a memorial of his true body and blood.¹ It may at least be inferred with certainty, from the above cited principal work of John Scotus, that he must have been an opponent of the doctrine of Paschasius Radbert, and that in opposing the latter he would agree with Ratramnus on many points, though his particular view could not be the same. He affirmed, for example, such a deification of the humanity of Christ after his resurrection, as that by virtue of it, his human nature rose above the limitations of a finite existence and of the corporeal world.² He held to a ubiquity of Christ's glorified human nature, which was no longer circumscribed by the limits of a finite state of being.³ He would, therefore, on this ground, have considered the stories concerning the appearances of Christ's body, which Paschasius Radbert had brought forward to prove the doctrine of transubstantiation, as utterly untenable.⁴ According

¹ *Tantum memoria veri corporis et sanguinis ejus. De prædestinatione, c. xxxi., T. i. opp. f. 232.*

² *Nulli fidelium licet credere, ipsum post resurrectionem ullo sexu detineri "in Christo enim Jesu neque masculus est neque femina" sed solum verum et totum hominem, corpus dico et animam et intellectum, absque ullo sexu vel aliqua comprehensibili forma, quoniam hæc tria in ipso unum sunt, et Deus facta sine proprietatum transmutatione vel confusione, una persona locali et temporali motu carens, dum sit super omnia loca et tempora Deus et homo. Vid. l. v. de division. natur. c. 20. f. 242.*

³ *Si ergo transformata caro Christi est in Dei virtutem et spiritus incorruptionem, perfecto ipsa caro virtus est et incorruptibilis spiritus, ac si Dei virtus et spiritus ubique est, non solum super loca et tempora, verum etiam super omne quod est, nulli dubium, quin ipsa caro in virtutem et spiritum transformata, nullo loco contineatur, nullo tempore mutetur, sed sicut Dei virtus et spiritus, verbum videlicet, quod etiam in unitatem sibi substantiæ acceperat, omnia loca et tempora et universaliter omnem circumscriptionem excedat. l. v. c. 38, f. 296.*

⁴ *Proinde non immerito redarguendi sunt, qui corpus Dominicum post resurrectionem in aliqua parte mundi conantur adstruere et localiter et temporaliter moveri et in eo sexu, in quo apparuit mundo intra mundum detineri, l. v. f. 243.*

to this view, he might hold the bread and wine in the eucharist to be simply symbols of the deified, omnipresent humanity of Christ, which communicated itself, in a real manner, to recipient, believing minds.

These attacks on his doctrine of the Lord's Supper could not, however, unsettle the convictions of Paschasius, for these convictions were intimately connected with his whole way of thinking. In a book which he wrote, after these objections to his doctrine had already become known to him,¹ he took notice of them, and inveighed against those who talked only of signs and symbols in the eucharist, as if man still lived in the age of types and shadows, as if the reality of them all had not appeared in Christ.²

This controversy was continued into the tenth century; yet the more spiritual views of a Ratramnus were gradually forced to give way, as heretical, to the prevailing mode of thinking,³ although the expressions of Paschasius Radbert still gave offence to many. To many he seemed to be presumptuously seeking to determine too much concerning things incomprehensible. A Ratherius of Verona thought it important to hold fast that, although the colour and the taste of the bread and wine remained, yet by a miracle of God's almighty power it became the true body and the true blood of Christ; and he utterly repelled, as curious questions, the inquiries, whether the substance of the bread was removed and the body of Christ brought down in an invisible manner, or whether the bread was changed into the body of Christ. That which is an object of faith excludes these subtle inquiries, by which men would penetrate beyond what is given. We should rest content with Christ's words.⁴ Perhaps from the same point of view, Herigar,

¹ The twelfth book of his commentary on Matthew;—for the ninth book of this commentary he began after he had resigned his post as abbot, after the year 851.

² Unde miror, quid velint nunc quidam dicere, non in re esse veritatem carnis Christi vel sanguinis, sed in sacramento, virtutem carnis et non carnem, virtutem sanguinis et non sanguinem, figuram et non veritatem, umbram et non corpus, cum hic species accipit veritatem, et figura veterum hostiarum corpus. In Matth. l. xii. c. xiv.

³ The archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 950, had to contend with ecclesiastics who asserted: Panem et vinum post consecrationem in priori substantia permanere et figuram tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, non verum Christi corpus. See the passage from an ancient account of his Life, in Mabillon *Analecta* T. i. page 207.

⁴ Sed cujus corporis caro sit ista, rogas, importune forsitan, ut sese vanitas habet humanæ curiositatis et si delata ipsa (caro Christi) et panis forsitan invisibiliter sublatus aut ipse in carnem mutatur. Then, after citing the words of Scripture: Habes cujus sit corporis caro ista et sanguis, tanto certius, quanto veritatis ejus-

abbot of the monastery of Laub, in the territory of Liege,—the monastery where Ratherius had received his education, and an eminent seat of learning amid the barbarism of the tenth century,—wrote a book, near the close of this century, against Paschasius Radbert.¹ The famous Gerbert composed a tract, on purpose to palliate those expressions of Radbert which had been found offensive, wishing to preserve for the edification of the church a book which served to promote faith in the true body of Christ.²

Thus we find three tendencies in the mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The sternly pronounced doctrine of transubstantiation, in the sense of Radbert;—the milder view of those who were not satisfied with Radbert's mode of expressing himself, and who, without determining anything further, were for holding fast only to this, that bread and wine, after the consecration, are the true body of Christ;—and the more spiritual theory of Ratramnus, which had to meet an increasingly decided opposition from the spirit of the times. The opposition to this latter tendency, against which the reigning spirit was too strongly set, would gradually serve to promote the victory of the doctrine of transubstantiation—an event brought about under the controversies excited by Berengarius, of which we shall now proceed to speak. Though the reigning tendency of spirit favoured more and more the doctrine of transubstantiation expressed by Radbert, yet the controversy with him had as yet led to no decision of the contest between the opposite tendencies.³

dem, quæ loquitur, voce instruimur. De cæteris quæso ne solliciteris. Si mysterium est, non valet comprehendere, si fidei, debet credi, non vero discuti. Vid. Ratherii epistola i. ad Patricium, opera ed. Ballerin. f. 523.

¹ In the history of the abbots of this monastery, in D'Achery Spicileg. T. ii. f. 744, it is said of him: Congessit contra Radbertum multa Catholicorum patrum scripta de corpore et sanguine Domini; from which it is impossible to find out what his own views were.

² Gerbert's book, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*, published by Petz in the *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus*, T. i. p. ii. f. 133,—the same which Cellot had published before in an incomplete form, as an anonymous production, in the appendix to his *historia Gotheschalei*.

³ The language of pope Nicholas in the same age, is by no means favourable to the doctrine of transubstantiation: Panis, qui offertur, panis est quidem *communis*, sed quando ipse sacramento sacratu fuerit, corpus Christi in veritate fit et dicitur. Sic et vinum modicæ aliquid dignitatis existens (these words, though they do not essentially affect the sense of the whole passage, I give according to a necessary emendation) ante benedictionem post sanctificationem spiritus et sanguis Christi efficitur. In the second letter to the emperor Michael, Harduin. V. fol. 125. We should be careful to observe here the point of comparison, seen

Berengarius was born at Tours, probably near the beginning of the eleventh century. He received his theological education in the flourishing school of Fulbert, at Chartres, whose paternal love of his pupils was ever preserved in lively remembrance by Berengarius, as it was by all his scholars.¹ That wise and pious teacher was not satisfied with imparting to his scholars all possible knowledge, but he regarded it of the greatest moment to take care for the welfare of their souls. One of Berengar's fellow-students, at that time, named Adelman, in a letter written at a later period, of which letter we shall have occasion to speak on a future page, reminded him of those hearty conversations which they had at eventide, while walking solitarily with their preceptor in the garden, how he spoke to them of their heavenly country, and how, sometimes unmanned by his feelings, interrupting his words with tears, he adjured them by those tears to strive with all earnestness to reach that heavenly home, and for the sake of this to beware, above all things, of that which might lead them from the way of truth handed down from the fathers. Berengarius certainly possessed a heart not unsusceptible to such admonitions; but he possessed, also, a more liberal spirit of inquiry than his teacher; and it was impossible for him, when once this spirit had been awakened by the teachings of Fulbert himself, to confine himself within the bounds which the latter prescribed. If we may credit the sayings of his opponents, which we must confess bear the impress of spiteful exaggeration, this more liberal tendency of Berengarius, which strove after independence, had already shown itself at an early period, in the way in which he criticised,

from the connection in which the passage is found. *Before*: ordinary stone becomes, by consecration, an altar, a mensa sancta; *after*: the cross was simple wood; but, after having been formed into this shape, sacra est et dæmonibus terribilis, propter quod in ea figuratus est Christus.

¹ When, after a long series of years, Adelman, then president of the cathedral school in Liege (afterwards, from A.D. 1048, bishop of Brescia), wrote to Berengarius, his fellow-student, and whom he therefore called his Collectaneus, he thus spoke of the old teacher, who had been so dear to them, but who had been now for a long time dead: Nos sanctam vitam salubremque doctrinam catholici et christianissimi viri una experti sumus et nunc ejus apud Deum precibus adjuvari sperare debemus, nec ille putandus est memoriam, in qua nos tanquam in sinu materno semper ferebat, amisisse, nec caritas Christi, qua sicut filios amplectabatur, extincta est in eo, sed absque dubio memor nostri et diligens plenius, quam cum in corpore mortis hujus peregrinaretur, invitat ad se votis et tacitis precibus. See this letter of Adelman, in the edition of C. A. Schmidt. Brunsvici. 1770. page. 3.

before his fellow-students, the lectures of his preceptor.¹ After leaving this school, he occupied himself for awhile in his native city; Tours, in pursuing and teaching secular learning; then he devoted himself wholly to the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the ancient fathers.² The esteem which he had acquired by his knowledge and his piety, procured for him, at first, the office of Scholasticus (superintendent of a cathedral school) in the church of Tours, and afterwards the place of archdeacon, at Angers. The benevolent zeal which he manifested, in sustaining and encouraging the efforts of all who sought after knowledge, gained him scholars and friends throughout all France.³ It was objected, however, to him and to his school, that he was constantly deviating from the beaten track,—that he was for striking out his own path, in matters both of secular and of ecclesiastical science,—a proof of the independence and freedom of judgment with which he pursued all his inquiries.⁴ Thus, for example, he studied to make improvements in grammar, and endeavoured to introduce a new pronunciation of Latin.⁵ But these objections related at first only to matters not connected with the interests of the faith, and his good reputation for orthodoxy would not thereby be endangered, nor the general estimation in which he was held be diminished. Had it been otherwise, the hermits of that district would not have invited him to compose an Exhortatory Discourse, for the use of

¹ The words of Guitmund are in the first book of his work *De Corporis et sanguinis Christi veritate in eucharistia*. *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 441*. He says of Berengarius, against whom this book is directed: *Is ergo cum juveniles adhuc in scholis ageret annos, ut ajunt, qui eum tunc noverunt, clarus ingenii levitate ipsius magistri sensum non adeo curabat, condiscipulorum pro nihilo reputabat*; but in this whole passage, it is impossible to mistake the tone of passion, of exaggerating declamation.

² Adelman, in his letter to Berengar: *Audivi jam pridem te sæcularibus literis vale fecisse atque sacris lectionibus sedulo insudare*. ed. Schmid. page. 31.

³ The abbot Durand says of Berengar: *Cui plures Francorum, nonnulli quoque Normannorum, quos aut ipse docuerat aut in discendi studio aliquantisper juverat, plurimum favoris dependebant. De corpore et sanguine Christi. p. ix. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 437.*

⁴ Adelman's words: *Quod ajunt te novitatum captatorem, veteres accusare atque probatissimos scriptores artium exauctorare, adeo ut Priscianum, Donatum, Bætium prorsus contempnas, multaque eorum dicta, quæ eruditorum omnium usu comprobante ad nos usque demanarunt, opposita auctoritate tua evertere coneris*. l. c. p. 31.

⁵ L. c. *Juvenes quosdam, qui ad nos descenderant, in claustris suis a prælatis eorum regulariter pulsatos esse, eo quod in lectionibus ecclesiasticis accentus tuos insolentes usurparent, auresque fratrum aliter imbutas inusitatis quorundam verborum prolationibus offenderent.*

their order. The discourse which he wrote for this purpose is an important document, on account of the light it throws on the character of Berengarius.¹ It exhibits, to a remarkable degree, that vivacity and that clearness of method, by which Berengar's style was distinguished from the common mode of writing in his times. We see plainly that he was a man in whom the love of science had by no means extinguished or dulled the interest for Christian piety. We see in his way of judging respecting the dangers of the eremitic life, that while he would not reject a mode of life which stood so high in the estimation of his age, he was ready to attack, with the freedom of the Christian spirit, the ascetical prejudice by which this mode of life was so over-valued, giving special prominence to the thought, that men in withdrawing outwardly from the world, still did not escape from its snares, but that they carried its spirit within them, and must always have to struggle with it. We see again, that he had vitally appropriated Augustin's doctrine concerning grace; and that this was considered by him of great importance to the growth of the inward life. Augustin, who was revered by this whole school above all others,² had also contributed, in no small degree, to shape the development of Berengar's dogmatical views, as well as his aims and habits as a practical Christian; and perhaps on this ground, the opposition of Berengarius, as we find it expressed in Claudius of Turin and others, in the middle ages, to the prevailing tendency of the church doctrine, would have been more fully evolved, had he not been obliged, by the controversies in which he was constantly engaged, to have his mind wholly occupied with some one point, where it remained fixed, and had not his further progress been checked and hindered by the unsettled fortunes of his life.

"The hermit," said he in the letter just mentioned, "is alone in his cell, but sin loiters about the door with enticing words, and seeks admittance. I am thy beloved, says she, whom thou didst court in the world. I was with thee at the table, slept with thee on thy couch; without me, thou didst nothing. How darest thou think of forsaking me? I have followed thy every step; and dost

¹ Published in Martene et Durand *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*. T. i. f. 191.

² Guitmund says in his l. iii. *De eucharistiæ sacramento*, f. 463: "Si ergo vobis, O Berengariani, Augustinus, ut solet, clarissimus est," and "dicit vobis Augustinus vester."

thou expect to hide away from me in thy cell? I was with thee in the world, when thou didst eat flesh and drink wine; and shall be with thee in the wilderness, where thou livest only on bread and water. Purple and silk are not the only colours seen in hell—the monk's cowl is also to be found there. Thou, hermit, hast something of mine. The nature of the flesh, which thou wearest about thee, is my sister, begotten with me, brought up with me. As long as the flesh is flesh, so long shall I be in thy flesh. Dost thou subdue thy flesh by abstinence?—thou becomest proud;—and lo! sin is there. Art thou overcome by the flesh, and dost thou yield to lust?—sin is there. Perhaps thou hast none of the mere human sins, I mean such as proceed from sense; beware then of devilish sins. Pride is a sin which belongs in common to evil spirits and to hermits.” And he recommends, as the only sure preservative against it, prayer for divine grace, persevering prayer, which the pure in heart will never suffer to sleep. “I exhort you not to rely on your own strength, like the heretic Julian,¹ in the Demetrias;”—then quoting some remarks from this letter, he proceeds, “I think otherwise. The Christian contest rests in this, that each, in the consciousness of his frailty, throws himself entirely on grace, and finds that with his own strength alone he can do nothing but sin.”

The high regard in which Berengarius was held by his contemporaries appears from another fact. A quarrel arose between a bishop and the chapter of his cathedral. Berengarius was called in to act as mediator. He advised the parties to acknowledge the wrong which each had done to the other, and setting passion aside, to settle the difficulty by mutual concessions.²

Perhaps he was first induced by the work of Ratramnus³ to make the doctrine of the Lord's Supper a matter of particular investigation. We might infer this, though not with absolute certainty, from the fact that wherever the question related to the eucharist, he always began with speaking of this work. But it is

¹ Pelagius is meant: see Vol. iv. p. 315.

² Martene et Durand, T. i. f. 195.

³ For unquestionably everything said amid these controversies respecting the book of Scotus applies so exactly to the work of Ratramnus, as has been demonstrated in the above-cited dissertation of Lauf, that we certainly have reason for supposing the two writings were confounded together.

quite possible, also, that the offence which he, as well as others, took at Radbert's language, was what first led him to consult the work of Ratramnus, and that the perusal of that treatise not only confirmed him in his opposition, but induced him to carry it still further.

Sometime between the years 1040 and 1050, he began to speak favourably of that view of the Lord's Supper which was presented in the work of Scotus or of Ratramnus, and to represent the doctrine of Paschasius Radbert as contrary to reason, to the sacred Scriptures, and to the older church fathers. The report that on this point he combated the common opinion, was spread by his numerous scholars through all parts of France and of Germany.¹ It came to the ears of his early friend Adelman, then archdeacon at Liege. He was said to teach, that not the true body and the true blood of Christ were in the Holy Supper, but a symbol of them.²

Adelman inquired about this of his friend, in a letter which has not come down to us. Receiving no answer to this letter, which probably never reached its destination, he wrote him, two years later, a second letter, earnestly intreating and conjuring him to restrain that purient curiosity, which would not be satisfied without explaining and comprehending everything.³ Certain conversations passed also between a bishop Hugo, of Langres, and Berengar, on this subject. In these conferences, the latter must have denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and spoken of a spiritual presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper, or a

¹ Adelman, then archdeacon at Liege, wrote him the report was everywhere spread ut non solum Latinas, verum etiam Teutonicas aures, inter quas tamdiu peregrinor, repleverint, quasi te ab unitate sanctæ matris ecclesiæ divulseris et de corpore ac sanguine Domini aliter quam fides catholica teneat, sentire videaris, p. 5.

² Non esse verum corpus Christi, neque verum sanguinem, sed figuram quandam et similitudinem. From these words, it can by no means be gathered, as Stäudlin asserts in his Essay on Berengar, in the Archiv. für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte, ii. 1, that Adelman had heard his friend accused of holding Docetic views of Christ's body. The point in discussion here, as appears from the connection, and in the whole letter, is simply the relation of Christ's body to the *eucharist*; the object is to show that the true body was not present, but only a symbol of it. Berengar, it is true, always insists that when he speaks of Christ's body in the eucharist, he means nothing but the true body, as he was far from everything like Docetism. But from this it by no means follows that his opponents had ever charged him with holding Docetic opinions.

³ He says characteristically: Odit Dominus nimios scrutatores, and as proof he adduces our Lord's rebuke of Nicodemus, John iii. 10, qui baptismi mysterium curiosius investigans gravi repulsus eulogio.

presence to the eye of faith, to believers. To the bishop of Langres also this appeared a dangerous error ; and he traced it to the same cause as Adelman had done. For this reason he afterwards wrote, and addressed to Berengar, a work on the subject, in which he treats him with great respect.¹ In this work, he maintains that bread and wine cannot be called in the true sense body and blood of Christ, while it is assumed that the substance of the bread and wine still remain. He finds something self-contradictory in the language of those who talk of a *corpus intellectuale*.²

Berengarius hoped to find a more favourable hearing from his friend, who was at that time prior of the monastery of Bec, in Normandy, the celebrated Lanfranc, widely known as a restorer of scientific culture in those districts. He was surprised to learn that a man of his spirit should so zealously defend Paschasius Radbert, and style the opposite doctrine of John Scotus heretical. Berengar thought he could not possibly have searched the sacred Scriptures carefully enough on this doctrine. And deficient as he felt himself to be in this respect,³ yet he proposed that, before such judges or hearers as Lanfranc might choose, they should enter into a joint investigation of the subject. Until this should be done, he must not take it ill of him, if he said, that if John Scotus, whose opinion of the Lord's Supper he himself approved, must be considered a heretic, then with the same propriety might Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, and others, be considered heretics.⁴ Lanfranc being then absent at Rome, the

¹ He ever speaks of him as a man who on many accounts was entitled to the utmost respect, in *quibusdam reverendissime*.

² Among other objections, he states that if it should be held the body of Christ is said to be in the eucharist only because the same saving virtue proceeds from this sacrament as from the body of Christ, the peculiar nature by which the eucharist is distinguished from other sacraments would thereby be destroyed, and the name of baptism, or of any other sacrament, might just as well be applied to it. *At si panis et vini sacramentum ob solam salutis potentiam cum nato et passo unum atque idem est, similiter auctori nihil refert, hoc sacramentum eodem judicio baptismum vel esse vel dicere vel quicquid in sacramentis salubriter celebratur.* See his *Tractatus de corpore et sanguine Christi*, *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 417.*

³ *Quantumlibet rudis in illa scriptura*, he says of himself; from which expression of modesty, however, we can by no means infer that Berengar did not at that time feel certain that he was right. The contrary rather is expressed by his language.

⁴ The letter published by D'Achery, in his notes to the *Life of Lanfranc*, in the edition of his works.

letter did not come first into his own hands. Its contents were known in Rome ; and at a council held there by pope Leo IX. in 1050, the matter was brought forward for discussion. Lanfranc avers, it is true, in his relation of these events, that he was compelled to clear himself before the council from the suspicion of heresy, which was thus brought upon him.¹ But it is plain from the character of the letter, as Berengar, when he accuses him of prevarication, rightly asserts,² that such a letter could not have furnished the least occasion, even to the fiercest zealot, for throwing upon him a suspicion of that sort ; and we are obliged, therefore, to suppose that Lanfranc, convicted in his own conscience of not having treated Berengar, before this council, as their ancient friendship should have led him to do, and perhaps of not being actuated by the purest motives, sought to palliate the matter by this disingenuous statement. At this council, Berengar was condemned, unheard, as a heretic. The pope himself, however, finding it impossible perhaps to shut his eyes to the injustice of this procedure, cited Berengar to appear before a council to be held the same year under his own presidency at Vercelli. It is on this occasion we may observe that high feeling of ecclesiastical rights which had ever been maintained in France, at least by *one party*. The defenders of these principles advised Berengar not to obey the citation ; since, according to the old ecclesiastical laws, his cause ought first to be tried in the French church ; and only in case of an appeal put in to the pope, was there any authority for bringing it before his tribunal.³ Still he resolved to obey the summons. But on applying to king Henry II. of France, who was patron of the abbey of St Martin, of Tours, for permission to make the journey, the king, taking advantage of the sentence already pronounced upon him at Rome, caused him to be thrown into prison, and his goods to be sequestered.⁴ The pope did not attempt, however, to punish the French king for this

¹ In his tract de corpore et sanguine Domini, ed. Venet, f. 171.

² Berengar, in his tract de sacra cœna, Berolini, 1834, p. 36 : Qua fronte hoc scribere potuisti ? Nec sani ergo capitis fuit, aliquid contra te suspicari de scripto illo.

³ Berengar, l. c. p. 41 : In quo tamen nullam papæ debebam obedientiam. Dissuaserant secundum ecclesiastica jura, secundum quæ nullus extra provinciam ad judicium ire cogendus est, personæ ecclesiasticæ.

⁴ Berengar, l. c. p. 42. According to Berengar's testimony, p. 46, heresy only furnished the pretext ; the king wanted to extort money from him to bestow on a worthless favourite.

contempt of his authority, not to procure the liberation of Berengar. He did not even put off the trial, till he could hear the defendant himself. A single passage, in which the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper was called a figure of the body and blood of Christ, read from the book of Ratramnus, was sufficient to rouse the fury of the zealots in the council, and one of them cried out in language characteristic of his party: "Si adhuc in figura sumus, quando rem tenebimus?" (If we are yet in the figure, when shall we have the thing?) The book was committed to the flames.¹ When two clergymen, who had appeared as the defendant's advocates, began to speak, they were interrupted by the fury of the multitude, and the pope was obliged to have them arrested in order to save them.

But besides the bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers, Berengar had many other friends among the bishops and eminent clergy of France, who effectually used their influence to procure his liberation from the king.² Yet the prosecutions he had suffered could not moderate his zeal against the doctrine of transubstantiation, nor school him to greater prudence. He felt himself impelled to defend publicly the truth stigmatised as a heresy. He offered to prove before the king, or any other one, by the Holy Scriptures, that at the council of Vercelli the doctrine of Scotus was unjustly condemned, and the doctrine of Radbert wrongly approved.³ Many of his friends, who agreed with him in his opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation, and who were altogether disgusted with the fanatical heat of the zealots, yet disapproved the bold and incautious manner with which, in exposing the conduct of the heads of the church thus far in this matter, he dared to assail even the pope himself;⁴ and they

¹ Berengar, l. c. p. 43.

² Thus we find a letter of bishop Frolent of Senlis (Silvanectensis) to Berengar, which expresses a great regard for him, acknowledges him to be a man of eminent piety, and begs an interest in his prayers. The same person informs him, that he had made the king his firm friend: *quod multum firmiter acquisivi tibi gratiam regis*. Berengar himself requests Richard, an ecclesiastic who had some influence with the king, to procure for him an indemnification for his losses. See this letter in D'Achery Spicileg. T. iii. f. 400.

³ In the letter above cited he says, that even if he did not receive that indemnification from the king, *me tamen præsto habet, in eo uno servire regis majestati, ut satisfaciam secundum scripturas illi et quibus velit, injustissime damnatum Scotum, etc.*

⁴ Martene and Durand have published in the first volume of their *Thesaurus*

advised him to be more moderate in his zeal, to wait till he was called upon to give an account of the faith that was in him, and not unseasonably obtrude his opinions before men still incapable of entering into their deeper spiritual meaning; in other words, not to cast his pearls before swine.¹ Berengar followed this advice in part. He declined entering into private conversation on the disputed doctrine with those in whom he could discover no spiritual sympathy with himself; but on the other hand he earnestly sought an opportunity to set forth and defend his doctrine before an assembly of bishops. His confidence in the power of truth inspired him with a strong hope that he would succeed in clearing himself before such an audience from the suspicion of heresy, and in obtaining for his doctrine a more general recognition. His confidence in the power of truth made him overlook the invincible difficulties, which he would have to encounter from the prevailing spirit of his times. His opponents also anxiously waited for a council; for they were hoping on much better grounds they should be able by this means to put down effectually both Berengar and his erroneous doctrines. Nor were the plans of the zealots aimed against Berengar alone, but also against his more eminent friends—those who agreed with him in their general bent and in their opposition to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and who although they by no means went with him on all points, yet however moderately they expressed themselves, were placed in the same category with himself; such, for example, as bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers. It was deter-

novus anecdotorum f. 196, a remarkable letter, with the superscription: *Carissimo B... sus P...*, which latter is perhaps Berengar's old friend the Canonical (Primicerius) Paulinus of Metz. This person acknowledges him to be a witness for the truth; and expresses the wish that God would carry on the good work begun in him to perfection. He writes: *Quod in scripturis tuis de eucharistia accepi secundum quos posuisti auctores bene sentis et catholice sentis.* But then he adds: *sed quod de tanta persona (the pope) sacrilegum dixisti (that is, most probably, taking the last word but one as a masculine, that he had called Leo. IX. a sacrilegum, as we find that he actually did; see his work De sacra cœna ed. Berolinens. p. 36, near the end) non puto approbandum, quia multa humilitate tanto in ecclesia culmini est deferendum, etiamsi sit in ejusmodi quippiam non plene elimatum.*

¹ That old friend wrote to him, in his own name and in that of the abbot of Gorzes, *Rogamus etiam, ut sobrie in Domino semper sapias, neque profunditatem scripturarum, quibus non oportet et, margaritas scilicet porcis projicias, præter quod de ea quæ in te est Christi fide omnibus præsentibus rationem reddere paratum te exhibeas.*

mined by king Henry I. of France that such a council should be held at Paris. Still many of the most violent of the zealots felt distrustful of such a council if it should be held without the concurrence of the pope. The character of this whole class is revealed by a letter which Deoduin, the then bishop of Liege, wrote to the king. He praises the king's zeal in this business. But he was afraid the false teachers would be allowed to present and defend their opinions before the council, as if the matter must first be investigated, when the truth was that the opponents of the doctrine of transubstantiation must be regarded as decided heretics. It was his opinion, therefore, that the only question now to be proposed was, whether they would recant, or refusing to do so, whether they should suffer the punishment they deserved.¹ If on the other hand they were permitted to go home unpunished from the council, it would be said, they could not be convicted of any error, and thus the evil would be made worse. But as it was Deoduin's opinion, that the bishop Eusebius Bruno followed the Berengarian heresy, and a bishop could not be judged without the concurrence of the pope,² he therefore thought it advisable to let the matter rest, till full power could be obtained from the pope to pass judgment on Eusebius Bruno as a bishop.³ The representations of this fierce zealot could not prevent, however, the meeting of such a council; partly because the principle of ecclesiastical law, to which bishop Deoduin appealed, was by no means universally admitted in France, partly because bishop Eusebius Bruno was very generally esteemed to be an orthodox man. The council of Paris therefore was actually held.⁴ Beren-

¹ Neque tam est pro illis concilium advocandum, quam de illorum supplicio exquirandum.

² According to the principles of the new ecclesiastical code, formed since the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals and pope Nicholas I., a code which had a large party in its favour even in France, though there was also a party opposed to it.

³ Ergo majestatem vestram omnes exoratam vellemus, ut interim illorum impiam, sacrilegam et nefariam assertionem audire contemneretis, donec accepta Romanæ sedis audientia damnandi potestatem haberetis. *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 532.*

⁴ The reasons alleged by Lessing in his *Berengarius Turonensis*, and assented to by Gieseler, seems to me insufficient—and in this I am of the same opinion with Stäudlin *Archiv für alte und neue Kirchengeschichte*, ii. 1.—to prove the falsity of what is said in express terms by the abbot Durandus of Troanne, a contemporary, in his tract *De corpore et sanguine Christi*, *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 437*, respecting the convocation of such a council; though his report cannot be

gar set out to attend it, taking this opportunity to visit his friends in Normandy. But he determined to avoid being drawn into any new disputes concerning his doctrine, now that he was looking forward to a public justification of his opinions at the council of Paris.¹ While on his journey, however, he probably obtained such information respecting the plots of his enemies at the council, as convinced him that he was not to expect there a calm hearing, or even personal safety. He therefore thought it expedient to keep away.² The fears of Berengar were certainly not groundless. If the account given by Durand, abbot of Troanne, is not an exaggerated one, the council of Paris not only condemned Berengar and his adherents as heretics, but decreed that, unless they recanted, they should be punished with death.

pronounced free from the objection of inaccuracy especially in dates. Berengar's tract against Lanfranc, which is now published entire, and which throws a clear light on so many things connected with the history of his controversies, makes no mention, it is true, of this council. But this silence proves nothing; for nowhere in the tract does he give a full account of the connection of events, or take notice of the preceding transactions and controversies in France. Another argument against the truth of Durand's report Lessing finds in the circumstance that according to it, an intercepted letter of Berengar to his old friend, the Primicerius Paulinus of Metz, was presented before the council in proof of his heresy, by the bishop of Orleans; while according to Berengar's own statement (*de sacra cœna*, page 51), the bishop of Orleans was afterwards unable to produce at the council of Tours any evidence whatever against Berengar, but only appealed to the voice of common rumour. Now whether the statement of Durand or that of Berengar be incorrect, or whether the bishop of Orleans contradicted himself, still in any case it cannot be made out from a single mis-statement of this kind in a relation of facts by a man who was unquestionably passionate and prone to exaggeration that the whole story of this council at Paris was a fiction.

¹ To this journey I refer Berengar's words in his letter to the monk Ascelin in Normandy (in the edition of Lanfranc's works, ed. D'Achery not. in vitam Lanfranci, f. 19 ed. Venet.): *Per vos igitur transiens disposueram omnino nihil agere cum quibuscumque de eucharistia, prius quam satisfacerem in eo episcopis, ad quos contendebam, secundum evangelicam et apostolicam scripturam.* As Berengar, after the council of Vercelli and after his liberation (compare the words above-cited from his letter to Richard) immediately proposed that his doctrine should be subjected to such an examination, it is most suitable to refer the above words in his letter to Ascelin to a council which was to be held about this time. Besides, if he was speaking here of the council of Vercelli, he would have mentioned the pope with the bishops; and the circuitous route through Normandy agrees better, to say the least, with a journey from Angers or Tours to Paris, than with one from the same places to Italy.

² To this I refer the words of Berengar in the above cited letter to Ascelin: *Et nunc quod apud episcopos agere susceperam* (which therefore he was unable to accomplish, quia non tutum erat) *vellem, si mihi tutum fieret, saltem apud vos agere in audientia quorumcumque.* With this agrees what Durand reports, that Berengar, terrore percussus, did not appear before the council,—which he explains of course from his own point of view, as meaning that he was prevented by his consciousness of guilt.

Such was the perilous situation of Berengar, when the papal legate, cardinal Hildebrand, came to France, on other ecclesiastical business. For the transaction of this business, a council was held in 1052 at Tours; and there the cause of Berengar, by which the minds of men were so deeply excited, must needs be called up again. To suppress such a heresy seemed to the bishops a matter of greater importance than all others. By universal acclamation Berengar was accused of holding that only bread and wine, but not the body and blood of Christ, were in the eucharist. Hildebrand, a man of pre-eminent vigour and decision, as we have already had occasion to observe in the history of the papacy, did not mean to have his judgment influenced by the outcry of the multitude. He granted Berengar the calm hearing which had hitherto been denied him; and Berengar convinced the legate that his doctrine had been misrepresented. He explained to the satisfaction of Hildebrand,¹ that he recognised the bread and wine after consecration as the body and blood of Christ. The legate now agreed with him, that the outcry in France should first be appeased, and that Berengar should then accompany him to Rome, in order that by the authority of pope Leo IX. the matter might be set for ever at rest.² He stood forth as mediator betwixt Berengar and the council. The first step was to appoint a committee, at the head of which stood the archbishop of Tours,

¹ With regard to Hildebrand's own views of the eucharist, which perhaps may be gathered from his conduct in this controversy, and from the declarations of Eusebius Bruno hereafter to be noticed, we should be still more clearly informed, if the passages cited under the name of a "magister Hildebrand," from a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, published by Peter Allix in his preface to the Determinatio of John Parisiensis or Pungens asinum on the eucharist, might with certainty be ascribed to cardinal Hildebrand. In this fragment, after an investigation of the different ways in which the conversio of the bread into the body of Christ may be conceived, the conclusion is arrived at, that nothing can be decided with certainty on this point, that the *conversio* therefore is the only essential part of the doctrine, namely, that bread and wine become body and blood of Christ, and that with regard to the way in which that conversion takes place men should not seek to inquire. This coincides with the view, which evidently lies at the basis of the cardinal's proceedings. But whether the author was this Hildebrand, must ever remain a very doubtful question, since it is not probable, that if a man whose life constitutes an epoch in history wrote a commentary on the gospel of Matthew, it should have been so entirely forgotten.

² Cujus auctoritas suporborum invidiam atque ineptorum tumultum comperet, thus Berengar himself relates, correcting the certainly inaccurate representation of this event by Lanfranc, in his second tract against him already referred to, p. 50 et seq. ed Berolinens. His report bears on its face the stamp of truth.

for the purpose of giving him a preliminary hearing. Berengar expressed himself on the subject of the Lord's Supper precisely in the same manner to them as he had done before to Hildebrand. The other bishops signified that they also were satisfied with the explanation. The points of difference, probably through Hildebrand's influence, were not brought into discussion ; and it was only required, that Berengar should make the same confession before the assembled council. This was done. At this point some of the bishops began to manifest a suspicion about the sincerity of his confession, and proposed that he should be required to state on oath, that he believed from the heart, what he had expressed with his mouth. Bishop Eusebius of Bruno, and another of his friends, urged him to yield to the cry of the multitude, for the sake of restoring peace.¹ He followed their advice, as he believed he could swear to such a confession without denying a single conviction of his heart, for he held that the point in dispute between him and his opponents, was not whether bread and wine were the body and blood of Christ, but *in what sense they were so* ; and as he believed that this confession could with more propriety be expressed from his own point of view, than from that of his opponents, a point on which we may speak further when we come to examine his opinions. But his opponents represented the matter differently. Considering it solely from their own point of view, and unable to conceive how the bread and wine could be said to become body and blood of Christ except in the sense of the doctrine of transubstantiation, they represented it as if he had been induced by fear to recant his opinions before this council, and profess the doctrine of the church, as they called the doctrine of transubstantiation, and as if he was then restored to the communion of the church by cardinal Hildebrand.² Consequently when Berengar afterwards proceeded to set forth and defend his doctrine as he had done before, he was accused by them of having denied his confession, perjured himself, and relapsed into his old error. Quiet, therefore, could thus be restored to the French church only for a short time. Hildebrand, it is true, had made up his mind to employ a more certain and powerful means of securing this object by taking Ber-

¹ Ne tumultum compescere popularem suffugerem, says Berengar.

² So Lanfranc, Guitmund, Durand.

engar with him to Rome; but this purpose was frustrated by the death of Leo IX.

Berengar at length determined to resort to this means himself, and in 1059, during the papacy of Nicholas II., he repaired to Rome. He doubtless hoped that he should enjoy the powerful protection of Hildebrand; but in this he was disappointed. The party of blind zealots and brawlers was too mighty for him in Rome; the very phrase "spiritual participation of the body of Christ," excited them to the utmost fury.¹ He complained to the pope, that he should be left exposed to the fury of these wild beasts. After having voluntarily undertaken so long and painful a journey, he begged the privilege of a patient hearing. The pope said, he had better leave the whole matter to cardinal Hildebrand. But the truth was that in a case of this sort, where Hildebrand perceived the dominant spirit to be altogether against him, and where many even of those who were otherwise bound to him by the same interests, must be his opponents—that prelate either found himself unable with all his vigour and firmness to push the matter through with the same ease as he would when combating for the papistico-theocratical system, or else was unwilling to venture so much here when he had other interests to attend to of so much more consequence to himself.

Berengar was obliged therefore, in the year 1059, to appear before an assembly of 113 bishops. If we may believe his own report, there were even in this assembly many likeminded with himself, but who felt themselves obliged to yield to the superior numbers of the brawlers, and dared not to speak.² Nor have we any reason to question his word, for the thing is not improbable.³ After what had already occurred, he had to expect the worst.

¹ Berengar says concerning him in his second book against Lanfranc, p. 72: *Qui nec audire poterant spiritualem de corpore refectionem et ad vocem spiritualitatis aures potius obturabant.*

² Page 65: *Qui non consenserunt concilio illi et actibus ejus, qui veritatis non ignari et ipsi discipuli Jesu revera soli synodus erant dicendi, tantum propter metum Judæorum occulti.*

³ Even Lanfranc gives it to be understood, that Berengar had friends at Rome, on whom he reckoned, though he explains this in his own way; namely, that they had become his friends for other and extraneous reasons. His words are: *Cum sub Nicolao venisses Romam fretus iis, qui plus impensis a te beneficiis, quam ratione a te audita opem tibi promiserant.* Lanfranc de corpore et sanguine Domini, c. ii. Both may have been true, that there were those who, when students, had enjoyed his assistance (see above, p. 309), and those also who, when students, had followed his spiritual bent and doctrines.

A confession of faith drawn up by one of the most narrow-minded and boisterous zealots, cardinal Humbert, was laid before him. This was purposely so worded as to cut off all possibility of resorting to a spiritual interpretation. The import of it was substantially as follows: "That the bread and wine after consecration are not merely a sacrament, but the true body and the true blood of Christ; and that this body is touched, and broken by the hands of the priests, and comminuted by the teeth of the faithful, not merely in a sacramental manner but in truth."¹ As Berengar confesses, the fear of death unmanned him; he faltered, and taking the confession of faith in his hands, prostrated himself with it on the ground, thereby signifying his submission and repentance. He committed his writings to the flames with his own hands.² They now eagerly went to work, as Lanfranc himself says, and scattered abroad this confession in Germany, France, Italy, and in all the districts where the report of Berengar's heresy had spread, in evidence of his recantation.

Berengar, however, had only yielded to the fear of death *for that moment*. Returned to France, he once more taught his doctrine with the same boldness as before. In his correspondence with Lanfranc, who accused him of denying his convictions, and of downright perjury, and particularly in his second controversial tract against Lanfranc, he summed up the arguments in defence of his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, exposing at the same time the injustice and violence with which he had been treated at Rome, not even sparing the character of the pope. "In him,"

¹ See opp. Lanfranc, f. 170.

² Lanfranc represents the matter thus. When Berengar came to Rome, he no longer dared defend the doctrines he had held, and of his own accord requested the pope and council to prescribe for him the faith which he should confess. He then publicly recited the confession of faith drawn up by Humbert, swore to it and subscribed it. As we have already seen evidence that Lanfranc sometimes distorted facts to suit his own particular interest; as Berengar does not contradict him in *everything*, nor attempt in any way to explain away his denial of the truth which he had before taught, where he was under the necessity of doing it, if he had been disposed to vindicate or excuse himself at the expense of truth; and as he does, however, on *this point* so openly and confidently contradict him, we have certainly every reason to trust his report in this case rather than that of Lanfranc. He says, correcting the latter's statement, p. 26: *Manu, quod mendaciter ad te pervenit, non subscripsi, nam ut de consensu pronunciarem meo, nullus exegit, tantum timore presentis jam mortis scriptum illud, absque ulla conscientia mea jam factum, manibus accepi.* And p. 61: *Confiteor et ego iniquitatem meam Domino, ut remittat impietatem peccati mei, quod prophetica, evangelica et apostolica scripta in ignes conjicere minime satis exhorruui.* Comp. p. 73.

said he of Leo IX., " I found by no means a saint, by no means a lion of the tribe of Judah, not even an upright man. To be declared a heretic by him I account as nothing ; for he showed himself to be a fool both in this and in other matters."¹ So in his other writings, he styled Leo, not the pontifex, but the pompifex, the pompatick, and the Roman church a council of vanity and a church of malignants,—not an apostolic see, but a seat of Satan.² He dared to speak of the frivolity, the ignorance, and the unbecoming manners of Nicholas II.,³ whom he described as the tail of lying prophets. In citing the decrees of the older North-African councils respecting the invalidity of the baptism performed by heretics, to prove that the majority in a council does not by any means always determine what the truth is, he compares with bitter regret the present with the earlier condition of the church. We see that he was a man who longed for a reformation of the church ; but doubtless a reformation of another sort than the one then contemplated in the plan of Hildebrand. " That time," said he, " when religion flourished in the first bloom of her youth, was a time when men distinguished for science and dignity of life, were made bishops in conformity with the ecclesiastical laws ; when that which constitutes the greatest, nay, the sole ornament of the Christian religion, love, had not yet grown cold by the domination of wickedness ; but when rather, by the glowing fire of love, all impurity of heart was consumed, all darkness of the understanding dispelled by the purity of its light !—But in the times in which God has made it our lot to live, we see the annihilation of all religion—we see the sun turned into darkness, the moon into blood. We see how all confess God with words, but deny him by their works—how they say Lord, Lord ; but do not the things he has commanded them."⁴

¹ Cum desiperet etiam circa alia. See the second tract against Lanfranc, p. 34.

² So states a contemporary, the anonymous author edited by Chifflet, in *Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 835*: *Ultra omnes hæreticos Romanos pontifices et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam verbis et scriptis blasphemare præsumsit. Nempe Sanctum Leonem papam, non pontificem, sed pompificem, et pulpificem appellavit, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam, vanitatis concilium et ecclesiam malignantium, Romanam sedem non apostolicam sed sedem satanæ dictis et scriptis non timuit appellare.*

³ *Nimia levitate Nicolaus ille, de cujus ineruditione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere, ut sine injuria de illo proponi potuerit, propheta prophetans mendacium ipse est cauda.* In his second tract against Lanfranc, p. 71.

⁴ L. c. p. 58.

Lanfranc had said that Berengar at Rome was induced to alter his opinion. To this the latter replies: "Very true, human wickedness could by outward force extort from human weakness a *different confession*; but a *change of conviction* is what God's almighty agency alone can effect."¹ Lanfranc had reproached him with an impious act of perjury. Berengar, who, as we have already observed, denied that he had ever taken such an oath, replied: "Even if I *had* taken it, yet, under the compunctions of repentance, I should not have considered myself bound by it. To take an oath, which never ought to have been taken, is to estrange one's-self from God; but to retract that which one has wrongfully sworn to, is to return back to God. Peter once swore that he knew not Christ. Had he persevered in that wicked oath, he must have ceased to be an apostle."² "By what just title," says he to Lanfranc, "wouldst thou be a priest and a monk, if thou must always thus refuse the least pity to human weakness?"³ Thou, priest, coldly passest by him whom robbers have left half-dead; but God has already provided for me, so that I shall not be left alone." He compares himself to Aaron and to Peter, who were liable to the same rebuke.⁴ He implores of all his readers their considerate compassion,⁵ not because he had been a false teacher, but because he had been moved by the fear of death to cease defending the truth, because, at the command of the multitude, he had burned writings which contained nothing but gospel doctrine. He constantly maintains, in opposition to Lanfranc, that the voice of the majority, by which error has so often been stamped as truth, cannot decide as to what is truth. He sets the small minority of wise and discerning persons, possessed of the consciousness of truth, over against the multitudo ineptorum; "the church," he said, "stands not in the latter, but in the former. The consciousness of truth often retired into a few; seven thousand had not bowed the knee to Baal." He reminded him of the example of the few who remained with our Lord when all forsook him; of the few bishops who alone resisted Arianism when it overspread the entire church, in the times of the Roman bishop Liberius, which few alone de-

¹ L. c. p. 59.

³ L. c. p. 61.

² L. c. p. 28.

⁴ L. c. p. 62.

⁵ Misericordiæ viscera mihi compatiantur obsecro. p. 62.

served the name of the church, the name of members of Christ.¹ As evidence from his own times, he points to the multitude, who had framed to themselves crude, anthropomorphic notions of God, compared with the few, who had a more correct understanding of the image of God in man. "Should the *majority*, then, decide in this case; should the church stand in the majority?"² Thus we see how in this respect also Berengar inclined to the protestant conception of the church, as a community developing itself from within, *proceeding forth from a spiritual and common appropriation of divine truth*.

Accordingly, he now styles the doctrine of transubstantiation an *ineptio, vecordia vulgi*. At the same time, however, he asserted that he by no means stood alone in his convictions respecting the Lord's Supper; there were many, of all ranks and orders, who abhorred the error of Lanfranc and Paschasius Radbert;³ and even the declarations of his opponents show that Berengar was not wrong in saying that the number of those who thought like himself was by no means small; and perhaps many of those who in their own way had come to entertain similar views, were also embraced under the common heretical name of Berengarians.⁴

He went on with his work, disseminating his doctrine not only by what he wrote, but also by means of his scholars, through France;⁵ and, as a teacher, he ever continued to exert a wide influence both in France and in other countries.⁶ It turned out, perhaps through the influence of the powerful Hildebrand, that no

¹ *Idonei cum paucis vocari ecclesia, vocari membra Christi.*

² *Nec sentiendum est cum eis, quanquam infinitissimos ad eorum comparationem, qui circa hoc recte sentiunt, negare nemo possit.* Vid. pp. 54, 116.

³ *Conscientiam tuam latere non potest, quam plurimos vel infinitos esse cujuscunque ordinis et dignitatis, qui tuam de sacrificio ecclesiæ execrentur errorem atque Paschasii.* p. 54.

⁴ Vid. Durand. Troanens. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 437.

⁵ The before cited anonymous author says: *Hæresin suam clanculo per discipulos suos usquequaque non cessavit disseminare.*

⁶ We have evidence of this, also, in a letter of the Scholasticus Gozachin, of Mayence, written in the year 1060, to his former scholar, the Scholasticus Walcher, of Liege, published by Mabillon, in the 4th Vol. of his *Analecta*. The old pious and faithful teacher could not look with complacency upon the newly-awakened spirit of inquiry. He complains: *Quidam pseudomagistri hac illac per villas pagosque urbisque circumcursant, novas Psalterii, Pauli, Apocalypsis lectiones tradunt; and then says: vide quam sanæ doctrinæ theologi de Turonensi emergant academia, cui præsidet ille apostolus satanæ Berengarius.* He calls this academy the *Babylon nostri temporis*. Vid. l. c. p. 383.

further steps were taken against him in Rome. Pope Alexander II. simply exhorted him, in a friendly way, to forsake his sect, and give no further offence to the church; to which Berengar is said to have replied, that he could not deny his real convictions.¹ No doubt it may have been the case, also, that in Rome, as well as in France, there were some who, following the principles of cardinal Hildebrand, and of bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers, sought, as had been done at Tours, by uniting the two parties on what both considered as essentials, and throwing aside those points which were matters of contention, to repress the controversy. The very words of Christ, to which men should cling with steadfast faith, without prying too curiously into their meaning, should, in the view of the persons just described, be this all-uniting symbol.² The bishop of Angers expressed himself very decidedly on this point. Berengar had fallen into a dispute with another canonical priest of Tours, named Gottfrid, a zealous defender of the doctrine of transubstantiation.³ This antagonist he proposed to refute, by certain citations from a well-known work, which passed under the name of Ambrose, *De sacramentis*. He brought the matter before bishop Eusebius Bruno, requesting that the debate might be held in his presence, and that he would act as arbitrator. The bishop, who was anxious to see a stop put to this whole controversy, was not pleased with the proposal; and took the opportunity to state at length, in a letter to Berengar,⁴ his own views respecting the whole matter. He expressed his regret that such a controversy had arisen at all, and that it had reached even to Angers.⁵ Instead of entering into pas-

¹ This is stated by Chifflet's *Anonymus Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 385*. There was hardly any occasion for inventing a story of that sort.

² It is clear from the words of Eusebius Bruno, in his letter presently to be cited, that this was a plan actually pursued by many. Besides cardinal Hildebrand, the papal legate Gerald, and the archbishop of Besançon, had acted according to it. *Hoc consilio*, says Eusebius Bruno, *querimonia, quæ in præsentia Geraldî tunc legati apud Turonum emersit, sedata est. Hoc consilio eodem tumultus, qui in audientia domini Eldebranni (Hildebrandi) in eadem civitate efferbuit sopitus est, hac veridica confessione exactioni principis hujus nostri, in capellula, cujus in vestra epistola mentionem fecistis, satisfactum est, et rediviva pestis, quæ nescio quorum improbitate exagitata caput extulerat, domini Bisonticensis archiepiscopi et eruditorum, qui adfuerunt, auctoritate calcata est.*

³ As Berengar styled it, the ineptia atque insania Lanfranci.

⁴ In the work of Franciscus de Roje de *vita, hæresi et pœnitentia Berengarii*. Andegavi 1657, p. 48.

⁵ *Veritatis asserendæ an famæ quærendæ gratia nescio, Deus scit, hæc orta*

sionate disputes, it were far better, he said, to abide by the very fountain of truth itself. According to that, men ought to believe and confess, that by the power and agency of the Word, by which all things were created, after the consecration by the priest the bread became the true body, and the wine the true blood of Christ. The question 'how this was done, he repelled; referring it to God's almighty power, as in the case of all the miracles of sacred history. If it should now be asked, what the ancient church fathers taught on this subject, the inquirer, supposing him qualified for such investigations, should be referred to their writings, that after careful examination and a right understanding, he might be prepared to adopt thankfully, and without interrupting brotherly concord, what might seem to him most fully to accord, in those writings, with the gospel truth. He was far, he said, from despising the writings of the fathers; but he did not ascribe to them the same authority as to the gospel. For they themselves would not have assented to this; and he did not think it well to appeal to their sayings, to decide so important a question;¹ because by improper citations from the fathers, which might chance to be corrupted, or not correctly understood, or not fully explored, occasion of stumbling might be given to the church.² Enough would be found to satisfy their religious needs, and to settle and confirm their faith, if men would but hold fast to those simple words of Christ, and, at the same time, peace would be preserved in the church. He concluded by declaring, that henceforward he would have nothing at all to do with any dispute on this matter; either as a partisan, a hearer, or a judge; that he would never attend any synod which might be held on this subject; for the case had already been thrice disposed of by a tribunal in that province, and for the fourth time by a definitive sentence of the apostolical see.

motaque quæstio, postquam Romani orbis maximam pæne partem peragravit, ad ultimum nos cum infami longinquorum et vicinorum redargutione acerrime pulsavit.

¹ Porro nos non patrum scripta contemnescentes, sed nec illa qua evangelium legentes,—neque enim ipsi viventes et scribentes hoc voluerunt et in suis opusculis ne id fieret voluerunt,—eorum sententiis salva quæ eis debetur, reverentia in tantæ rei disceptatione abstinemus.

² Ne si patrum sensa aut aliquo eventu depravata aut a nobis non bene intellecta aut non plene inquisita inconvenienter protulerimus, scandalum illud, quod tantopere fugimus, incurramus.

From this letter, it is impossible to ascertain with certainty the real views of Eusebius Bruno. One thing is indeed plain, that he did not wish to see the doctrine of transubstantiation fixed as a settled article of faith ; in fact, had he not manifested this by his words and acts, he would not have come into the reputation of making common cause with Berengar. But it is quite possible that he agreed with Berengar more fully than he cared to confess in this letter. Perhaps he was more reserved about expressing with exactness his own views of the Lord's Supper, from a regard to existing circumstances ; for he perceived that the dominant spirit was too strongly inclined to the doctrine of transubstantiation, to leave any room for hoping that any good could be effected by publicly opposing it. He was convinced, that such open opposition would only serve to procure for the doctrine of transubstantiation a more speedy and certain victory. Perhaps for this reason he deemed it best, to fall back, for the present, on the words of the institution, as a check against any further determinations. But assuredly there is no good reason for supposing that the bishop did not express, in this letter, the entire conviction of his heart. At least, in what he said about the authority of the older church teachers in settling contested questions of doctrine, he did not shun the open expression of his sentiments, notwithstanding that his language might give offence to many of the more bigoted clergy. In all probability, his general conviction was, that nothing more could be certainly determined in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, than that the true body of Christ was there present, and that in this belief there was enough to satisfy the religious need. In seeking to define precisely the *how*, and to obtain currency for subjective views, which still could not be certainly demonstrated, the Christian fellowship, grounded on an agreement in essentials, ought not to be disturbed. And when Eusebius Bruno expresses himself thus universally respecting the right use of the older church fathers, we may conclude that he was desirous of preserving the gospel simplicity, the sober practical bent in the doctrines of faith, and that he was by no means inclined to the scholasticism which was now bursting from the bud.

But Berengar's zeal was not to be restrained within the limits which the discreet prudence of his bishop would prescribe ; and

he must therefore himself contribute, by this strong reaction against the still mightier tendency of the spirit of his times, to hasten its triumph. In the mean time his friend, cardinal Hildebrand, had become pope. Perhaps he attempted, in the first place, by his legate Gerald, to have the controversy settled at a council held within the limits of France, at Poitiers, in the beginning of the year 1076; for it may be presumed, from what Eusebius Bruno says in the above cited letter, with regard to Gerald's mode of thinking, that he would aim to bring about a compromise after the same manner as had been done at the council of Tours. But such was the excitement of the zealots against Berengar at this council, that he came near falling a victim to it.¹ Gregory VII. having failed to settle the controversy in this way, deemed it necessary to cite Berengar himself to Rome.²

In the year 1078, then, Berengar, in obedience to the pope's citation, came to Rome. Beyond doubt, it was Gregory's intention to secure him repose in the same manner as had been done at the council of Tours. At an assembly on All-saints-day, he induced him to lay down a confession of faith similar to the former; and this he declared to be satisfactory—enough for the weak, and for the strong. To the authority of Lanfranc he opposed that of Dami-

¹ *Ferme interemptus*, in the *Chronicon Maxentii* or *Molleacense*. Labbe *Bibliotheca Manuscriptorum*, T. ii. fol. 212.

² We have, it is true, a detailed report of these remarkable transactions only from Berengar himself, published by Martene and Durand, in the *Nov. thesaur. anecdot.* T. iv. f. 103, and we might therefore question the credibility of a witness in his own cause. But we never find him distorting the facts to his own advantage; the statement, if we take it in connection with the times, contains no evidence of internal improbability, and the traits of Gregory VII. therein depicted, fully harmonise with his character. We shall also find in the charges, which were afloat against Gregory VII., and in the tirade of cardinal Benno against him, a great deal which serves to corroborate Berengar's statements. But nowhere does he appear to be contradicted by other credible accounts. Chifflet's "*Anonymus*" merely notices what was of the greatest moment to him—the general council in the fasts which he himself attended, and he had knowledge only of the public transactions, not of what had before taken place betwixt Gregory and Berengar. He says: *Ultimæ quoque generali synodo sub Gregorio papa 1078, nos ipsi interfuimus, et vidimus, quando Berengarius in media synodo constitit et hæres in de corpore Domini coram omnibus propriæ manus sacramento abdicavit.* But the report in the *Chronicon* of Hugo de Flavigny directly confirms Berengar's statement; for it is clear from this, that at the last synod there was still a small party in his favour, and it was not till the third day of the meeting that the party of the zealots for the doctrine of transubstantiation, obtained the victory. *Quidam, says the Chronicon, cæcitate nimia perculti, figuram tantum adstruebant rerum ubi res cœpit agi, priusquam tertia die ventum foret in synodum, defecit contra veritatem niti.* *Bibl. Ms. T. i. Pars altera f. 214 et 215.*

ani. He directed the works of many of the older church teachers to be brought forward, and their declarations respecting the Lord's Supper to be laid before the clergy, in order to convince them, that if a person confessed bread and wine were, after the consecration, the true body and the true blood of Christ, this was enough. But the party of the zealots was not to be satisfied with any such confession. They required of Berengar some other proof of his sincere orthodoxy; and for the present they sought occasions for delay, hoping for an opportunity to effect their designs under more favourable circumstances. As regard to his own interests would make Gregory VII. extremely cautious about doing anything in this matter which might turn the public tone of feeling against himself, and excite the suspicion that he was inclined to favour the erroneous doctrine; for this would have proved a serious obstacle to the prosecution of his most important plan; indeed, this charge was actually lodged against him by the party in opposition. To accomplish his object, without requiring Berengar to do anything contrary to his convictions, he tried various expedients. By all these attempts, however, the clamour of those who insisted on Berengar's public profession of the doctrine of transubstantiation and condemnation of the opposite doctrine could not be appeased; the only way left for Gregory to conciliate the zealots was to yield to their demands. Berengar was required publicly to take oath, that he so thought, as he professed in that confession, and then to prove his veracity by the ordeal of the hot iron. Already he was preparing himself, by prayer and fasting, for this trial, when the pope informed him, through his confidential agent the abbot of Monte Cassino, that the trial should not be undergone. The pope then proposed to a monk, whom he held in the highest esteem, that by rigorous fasting he should prepare himself to supplicate the grace of the Virgin Mary, whom he consulted on all dubious and weighty matters, that the true way in which the contested point ought to be considered might be revealed.¹ Afterwards he informed Berengar

¹ This statement of Berengar is corroborated by what Benno says in his *Pasquill* against Gregory VII.: *Jejunium indixit cardinalibus, ut Deus ostenderet, quis rectius sentiret de corpore Domini, Romanane ecclesia an Berengarius*; and then he states that the pope directed two cardinals in particular to ask a sign from God. This agreement between two men, one an opponent and the other a friend of the pope, would of itself lead us to conclude that the above statements are founded on truth.

that this monk had received as an answer, that nothing more ought to be adopted in relation to this doctrine than what was found written in Holy Scripture, and that Berengar's doctrine was in accordance with Scripture in holding it sufficient to say that the bread after consecration was the true body of Christ. There are two ways of interpreting this transaction. Either we must suppose that Gregory ventured upon a *pious fraud* to pacify the multitude; or that he really believed such a supernatural decision had been given, which last would not be inconsistent with his whole mode of thinking. Once, however, Berengar was thrown into the utmost alarm by the intelligence that it was the pope's intention to give him up to imprisonment for life, for the purpose of removing all suspicion from himself, and putting an end to the whole dispute.

The opposite party contrived, in the mean time, to have Berengar detained in Rome till the meeting of the synod usually held there in Lent. At this synod they hoped to accomplish their designs more easily by union with those of similar sentiments from other countries. And here the thing was actually accomplished which they were expecting and aiming to bring about. After a short contest, the doctrine of transubstantiation obtained a complete victory. The confession previously laid down by Berengar was again placed before him, but with one slight alteration, designed for the purpose of precluding false interpretations. Instead of *converti*, was written *substantialiter converti*; with the antithesis: *non tantum per signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturæ et veritate substantiæ*. As he carefully read through the confession of faith, a sophistical interpretation suggested itself, whereby he might explain it in consistency with his own views. The word *substantialiter* he interpreted as meaning *salva sua substantia*. And so he declared himself ready to adopt the symbol thus altered, with liberty to interpret it after his own manner. But some of his opponents having remarked that he was seeking evasions, the council required him to swear, that he understood this confession *as they understood it*, and not so as to favour his own opinion. To this Berengar replied, for as he says in his own account of the transaction, "the compassion of the Almighty stood by me, so that I could reply—that with *their* understanding he had nothing to do; he stood to that

which a few days before he had declared to the pope."¹ This appeal of Berengar to a conversation he had had with the pope, would not be likely to strike the latter very agreeably. To turn away all suspicion from himself, the pope yielded to the zealots. He ordered, that Berengar should prostrate himself on the ground, and confess that he had hitherto been in error in that he had not taught a change as to substance. Berengar relates the sequel as follows: "Confounded by the sudden madness of the pope, and because God in punishment for my sins did not give me a steadfast heart, I threw myself on the ground, and confessed with impious voice that I had erred, fearing the pope would instantly pronounce against me the sentence of condemnation, and as the necessary consequence, that the populace would hurry me to the worst of deaths. Said I within myself: all who wish to slay thee boast in the name of Christians. It will be thought by all men, that in destroying thee, they have done God service. It is easier for thee to take refuge in the divine compassion. Only deliver thyself from violence, and out of the hands of mistaken men." Upon this, the pope commanded that he should never for the future presume to dispute with any one nor to teach any one concerning the body and blood of the Lord, unless with a view to reclaim the erring to the faith. After having detained him some time longer in Rome, the pope dismissed him with two letters, one recommending him to the protection of the bishops of Tours and Angers, and a second addressed to all the faithful, pronouncing the anathema on all who should presume to molest Berengar, a son of the Roman church, either in his person or his estate, or to style him a heretic.

The report of his trial at Rome, which he drew up after his return, proves that he had not altered his opinions, as in fact we might presume he would not from all that goes before. That which occasioned him the deepest mortification, was his denial, under the fear of death, of what he knew to be the truth. This he called a *sacrilegium*. He concludes his report by expressing his feelings in the following words: "God of all might, Thou, who revealest thy almighty power especially by forgiveness and compassion, have mercy on him, who acknowledges himself guilty of so great an impiety; and you also, Christian brethren,

¹ Hic mihi omnipotentis misericordia non defuit.

into whose hands this writing may come, prove your Christian charity ; lend your sympathy to the tears of my confession ; pray for me that these tears may procure me the pity of the Almighty." At length, sensible that he could effect nothing against the irresistible spirit of the times, he retired to a solitary life in the island of St Cosmos, near Tours, where he reached a good old age, for he lived to the year 1088. In after times, the change made by Berengar in his mode of life was regarded as a proof that he abandoned his erroneous doctrine, and did penance for it ; but we may far more naturally refer his penitence to that which, according to the confessions just quoted, never ceased to be the object of his most painful recollections.

It now remains for us to give a more full and distinct explanation of the doctrine of Berengar. He contended not only against transubstantiation, but against every notion of a *bodily* presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, drawing his arguments from reason, from the testimonies of Scripture, and from the older church teachers. Considered from his own point of view, the intellectual apprehension of a clear understanding, such a notion appears to him altogether absurd, worthy only of the ignorant populace. Paschasius Radbert and the populace he always conjoins.¹ With intense indignation he noticed those legends of Paschasius Radbert about the sensible appearances of Christ after the consecration of the eucharist, which were immediately veiled again under the forms of the bread and wine.² The words of the institution would involve a falsehood—Christ who is the truth, would contradict himself, if the bread and wine, which he presupposes to be present, were no longer there.³ He constantly maintained, that the confessions which he had been forced to lay down, testified for him rather than against him ; for to predicate anything of bread and

¹ Vulgus et Paschasius, ineptus ille monachus Corbiensis, vulgus et cum vulgo insanientes Paschasius, Lanfrancus et quicumque alii. Ep. Adelmanum, pp. 38 et 39, ed. Schmid.

² He remarks of one of these statements about an apparition of this kind which appeared to a priest by the name of Peswil (see Paschasius Radbert de corpore et sanguine Domini, c. xiv. p. 1595) : Fabula omni catholico audito ipso indignissima. See the book De sacra cœna, p. 37.

³ Constabit etiam eum, qui ita opinetur, Christum, qui veritas est, falsitatis arguere, dum simulat, panem et vinum post consecrationem esse in altari, cum non sit in eo, nisi ipsius sensualiter corpus. l. c. p. 299.

wine presupposed the present existence of these sensible objects.¹ Subject and predicate must both alike be true, in order to the truth of the general proposition which they express. Now when it is predicated of one thing that it is something else, there would be a contradiction in terms, if predicate and subject must both be understood alike in the proper and literal sense. In such cases, we should rather understand the subject in the proper, the predicate in a figurative sense. He cites in illustration such expressions as those where Christ is called a rock, a lamb, a cornerstone.² The saying, that notwithstanding the annihilation of the substance, the sensible marks of the bread and wine might still remain,³ he pronounces absurd,—an assertion destroying the very conception of nature, of the creation of God, by introducing into it an absolute contradiction.⁴ Paschasius Radbert, as we have stated before, had said, that the only reason why the body of Christ is not communicated in a form perceptible to the senses, was that the senses might not be shocked at the sight of the body and blood of Christ. In reply to this, Berengar observes, the “horror” remained the same, whether the flesh and blood appeared to the senses or not; for in man’s spirit, from which all the feelings flow, is the very seat of this “horror;” and the thought of eating a human body was the very thing most directly calculated to excite this “feeling.”⁵ Christ’s body is at present glorified in heaven; it can no longer be subjected to the affections of sense;

¹ In his last statement of the transactions in Rome: *Quicumque enunciat affirmationem hanc: panis et vinum post consecrationem sunt corpus Christi et sanguis, necessario mentitur, si affirmationi huic auferat vel subjectos terminos, qui sunt panis et vinum post consecrationem, vel prædicatos, qui sunt corpus Christi et sanguis.* Martene et Durand. T. iv. fol. 107.

² The Canon: *Ut, ubicunque prædicatur non prædicabile, quia tropica locutio est, de non susceptibili, alter propositionis terminus tropice, alter proprie accipiatur.* Verbi gratia: *petra Christus erat, inquit apostolus, constatque subjectum terminum, qui est petra illa, quæ in deserto manavit aquas, susceptibilem ejus prædicati, quod est Christus, usquequaque non esse ac per hoc apostolicam illam propositionem subjectum terminum, quod est petra propria locutione, prædicatum, quod est Christus, tropica locutione habere.* De sacra cœna, p. 83.

³ Ea, quæ sunt in subjecto, as it was expressed at a later period, the accidentia.

⁴ Expressed in his own spirited style as follows: *Secundum evangelicum illud: quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separet, convenientissime possit inferri: quæ Deus in ipsa eorum constitutione inseparabilia, quantum ad sensum corporis esse instituit, Lanfranci recordia separare non debuit.* De sacra cœna, p. 190.

⁵ *Horreres autem non secundum quod desipit Lanfrancus atque Paschasius, quantum ad solum contuitum ocularum sed quantum etiam ad quemcunque sensum corporeum, et maxime et primo quantum ad interioris hominis decus, ad*

it can, therefore, neither wholly nor in part, be produced anew, nor be properly communicated. It were an unworthy trifling, could we suppose it true, to think that when the Lord's Supper is a million times distributed, Christ's body descends a million times from heaven, and returns back as often. A favourite maxim of Berengar, often cited by him, was the passage from St Paul: "Though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him thus no more," 2 Cor. v. 16. He dwells upon the words in the Acts of the Apostles, that Christ glorified was received up into heaven until the times of the restitution of all things, Acts iii. 21.¹ Yet Berengar believed it might be said, in a certain, that is, as he himself explains, a figurative sense, that bread and wine are the body of Christ; here agreeing with Rattramus, but with this difference. He did not understand it in the sense, that the divine Logos communicated himself through bread and wine, and that the latter in so far became identical with, and took the place of, the body of Christ as the bearer of the manifestation of the Logos in humanity;—but according to his view it should be understood thus, that the faithful, by means of this external sign, instituted by Christ for the very purpose, were therein to be reminded, in a lively way, of the fact that Christ had given his life for their salvation, and that they, by a believing appropriation of these sufferings of Christ which brought salvation, were, through the operation of the divine spirit, brought into a *true*, supernatural communion with him, and had as lively a conviction of his presence among them, as if he were bodily present. To this spiritual appropriation of the sufferings of Christ in believing remembrance, Berengar referred the passages in the sixth chapter of John.² He held, that those passages contained

intellectualitatis contuitum, ubi primum locum habet omnis appetitus vel horror et maximum. Berengar. de sacra cœna, p. 222.

¹ Christum autem secundum carnem novit, qui eum secundum corpus etiam nunc corruptioni vel generationi obnoxium constituit. p. 94. Omitto, quod ipsi sit refutandum rationi humanæ, quod indignissimum Deo esse facillimum sit cuiquam pervidere, quicumque sibi confingit, totum Christi corpus sensualiter adesse, quando celebretur mensa dominica, in altari indissimulabiliter tali figmento suo millies millies in cœlum revocat quotidie, corpus Christi ludibrio millies millies quotidie, quamdiu volvuntur tempora obnoxium facit corpus Christi, quod constat innegabiliter, quamdiu volvuntur tempora, sessurum esse ad dexteram patris. p. 198.

² Ubi dicit Dominus: nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et sanguinem biberitis, flagitium aut facinus videtur jubere, figurata ergo locutio est præcipiens,

no reference whatever to the Lord's Supper, and appealed to the fact, that in common life, eating and drinking were often employed figuratively to express an intellectual appropriation; and that this was especially the case in the New Testament, as he shows by apposite examples.¹ Christ does not descend *from* heaven, but the hearts of the faithful ascend devotionally to him *in* heaven.² The body of Christ is received wholly by the inner man—by the heart, not by the mouth of the faithful.³ The true body of Christ is presented on the altar; but in a spiritual manner, for the inner man. The true, the imperishable body of Christ is eaten only by the true members of Christ, in a spiritual manner. The pious receive at one and the same time, in a visible manner, the external sign (the sacrament), and in an invisible manner the reality which is represented by the sign (the *res sacramenti*); but by the godless the sign only is received.⁴

But inasmuch as Berengar did not consider the external signs in the Lord's Supper as being merely an accidental medium for their communion with Christ to be received through faith, but as the very medium for this communion instituted by Christ himself; inasmuch as he transferred the divine effect thus produced in the believing heart to the external sign itself from which this effect proceeded, so he could adopt in his own sense the expression *conversio*, as applied to the bread and wine. He could say, a change does in fact take place in the bread and wine. These things, to the believing heart, become really of a higher nature. They

passioni Domini esse communicandum et suaviter recondendum in memoria, quod caro ejus pro nobis crucifixa et vulnerata sit. p. 165.

¹ Quasi non sit assolens in communi sermone, assolentissimum in scripturis, audiri incorporalem animæ comestionem atque bibitionem, unde Christus ipse: qui manducat me, etiam vivit propter me. Certum est autem, quando hæc dicebat, nihil eum de sacramentis altaris constituisse, et illud: ego cibum habeo manducare, quem vos nescitis, ubi refectionem suam sine dubio conversionem Samaritanæ et populi ejus accipi voluit cibi nomine, quæ profecto corde manducatur, non dente. p. 236.

² Ut nullus fidelium cogitare debeat se ad refectionem animæ suæ accipere, nisi totam et integram domini Dei sui carnem, non autem cælo devocatam, sed in cælo manentem, quod ore corporis fieri ratio nulla permittit, cordis ad videndum Deum mundati devotione spatiosissima nulla indignitate nullis fieri prohibetur angustiis, ad quod i. e. cordis devotionem, ad cordis contuitum necessario te trahit. p. 157.

³ L. c. p. 148.

⁴ Verum Christi corpus in ipsa mensa proponi, sed spiritualiter, interiori homini. Verum in ea Christi corpus ab his duntaxat, qui Christi membra sunt spiritualiter manducari.—Utrumque a piis visibiliter sacramentum, rem sacramenti invisibiliter accipi, ab impiis autem tantum sacramenta. Letter to Adelman, c. 37 and 38.

produce an effect there which they could not have produced by their natural properties. To the faithful, they are in truth the body of Christ, representing as they do to faith, to devotional feeling, his body in a powerful manner. The substance of the bread and wine is not indeed destroyed. This would have been not a *conversio* but an *eversio*. But this substance itself becomes the conveyer of higher power and influences. Thus the substance proceeding from the original creation, the good thing of nature, remains ; but it is by grace transfigured to a still higher dignity and power.¹ The natural bread can do nothing towards communicating eternal life, but that relation to the religious consciousness which is communicated to it by means of the consecration, renders it capable of affecting the life eternal. In the Lord's Supper, it is of far less moment what the external things are in their natural qualities, than what they are as sanctified by the institution of Christ, and what they are as sanctified by the consecration.³ Availing himself of the equivocal sense attached to the Latin word *conversio*, he introduced other significations of the term which did not belong to this case.⁴ But the kind of "conversion" to be understood here was more exactly designated by the term sacrament, by the word *consecrare*, which was here employed. A sanctification accordingly was supposed to take place here by the act of setting apart and referring an object of common life to a religious use, and the raising of it through this sanctification, this consecration, to a higher significance and dignity, its existing nature not being destroyed, but used as a support for something higher than itself. Hence, he said,

¹ *Panis consecratus amisit vilitatem, amisit inefficaciam, non amisit naturæ proprietatem, cui naturæ, quasi loco, quasi fundamento dignitas divinitus augetur et efficacia. De sacra cœna. p. 99.*

² *Inefficax erat panis natura ante consecrationem ad vitam æternam, post consecrationem efficax, quia sicut ad æternitatem amissam in Adam nemo proficeret, nisi verbum caro fieret, ita nemo Christianus ad immortalitatem redit, si per contemptum profanat sacramenta altaris. He purposely avoids so representing it as if a participation in the outward elements was absolutely necessary to the attainment of everlasting life, p. 145.*

³ *Panis iste consecratione suscepta non est æstimandus, quantum ad sacrificium Christi, secundum quod est panis, quod eum natura formavit, sed secundum quod eum benedictio corpus Christi esse constituit. Secundum quod majus in eo est, dico te corpus Christi ab altari accipere, p. 179.*

⁴ *As for example the sense of *converti ad aliquem*, *conversio* = a change in which the present nature of the thing is not destroyed, but raised to a higher dignity and character, p. 144.*

it had happened in process of time, owing to the peculiar nature of religious language, that to the objects, thus sanctified by their appropriation to a religious use, was transferred the name of that which they represented to the religious consciousness, simply because for the religious consciousness they possessed *this* meaning and no other whatever.¹ Thus, for example, to Gerald, who had been made bishop by consecration, but lives a life unworthy of his sacred calling, we would say, "Remember, thou art no longer Gerald, but the bishop."² In this view of the matter, he maintained, that the objection of his opponents who accused him of representing the Lord's Supper, as nothing more than a sacrament, involved a contradiction; for a *sacramentum* has no existence, except in reference to a *res sacramenti*.³

This view of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was unquestionably based on a view of the sacraments generally, directly opposed to the prevailing bent of mind in the church of this period, a view which, had the distinction been a little more clearly drawn between the outward sign and the inward thing, must have eventuated in a more decided opposition to the superstitious notion respecting the magical effects of the sacraments. That it was so appears particularly from the following remarks of Berengar on the Lord's Supper and on baptism: "Our Lord Christ requires of thee no more than this. Thou believest that out of his great compassion for the human race he poured out his blood for them; and that thou, by virtue of this faith, will be cleansed by his blood from all sin. He requires of thee, that, constantly mindful of this blood of Christ, thou shouldst use it to sustain the life of thy inner man in this earthly pilgrimage, as thou sustainest the life of thy outward man by sensible meat and drink."⁴ He also

¹ Omne, quod sacrata, necessario in melius provehi, minime absumi per corruptionem subjecti. Berengar de s. c. p. 116. Vim autem verbi, quod est sacrare, ad religionem pertinere, notum est omnibus, et noto dicendi genere res in religione consecrata non solum res consecrata vel sacrosancta, sed dicitur etiam ipsa sacratio vel sacramentum. Sicut egrigius aliquis non solum justus, sed etiam ipsa justitia contraque impius non solum carnalis vel terrenus, sed cara et terra nominatur. In the letter to Adelman, p. 42.

² P. 178.

³ Constat enim, si fit sacramentum, nulla posse non esse ratione, rem quoque sacramenti, p. 114.

⁴ Exigit a te Christus Dominus, ut credas, misericordissima ergo humanum genus affectione esse factum, quod sanguinem fudit et ita credendo sanguine (m) ejus ab omni peccato laveris, exigit, ut ipsum eundem Christi sanguinem semper

requires of thee, that in the faith that God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son as a propitiation for our sins, thou shouldst submit to outward baptism, to represent how thou oughtest to follow Christ in his death and in his resurrection. The bodily eating and drinking of bread and wine," says he, "should remind thee of the spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ, that while thou art refreshed in the inner man, by the contemplation of his incarnation and of his passion, thou mayest follow him in humility and patience."¹

His profound conviction of the importance of pointing men away from the externals of the sacraments to the essence of the inward Christian life, is emphatically expressed in the following remarks: "The sacrament is, indeed, a perishing and transitory thing; but the power and grace that operate through it constitute the very channels of eternal life to the soul. Partaking of the sacrament is common to many, but the communion of love is confined to a few. He who sincerely loves the Lord, comes to the sacrament in the right way. The new commandment is love. The New Testament is the promise of the kingdom of heaven; the pledge of that inheritance is the communion."²

With the doctrine of the sacraments stands closely connected the doctrine concerning the church; and we have already remarked that Berengar, by his whole dogmatical tendency, was led to the idea of an invisible church proceeding from the common spiritual appropriation of divine truth. So also he left the beaten tract in allowing freer scope to rational investigation, independent of the authority of church tradition. When Lanfranc accused him of slighting ecclesiastical authorities, he repelled the charge, but at the same time remarked, "that beyond a doubt it was an incomparably higher thing to exercise reason than to employ authority in the search after truth."³ When Lanfranc re-

in memoria habens, in eo, quasi in viatico ad conficiendum vitæ hujus iter, interioris tui vitam constituas, sicut exterioris tui vitam in exterioribus constituis cibis et potibus.

¹ *Dum te reficis in interiore tuo incarnatione verbi et passione, ut secundum humilitatem, per quam verbum caro factum est, et secundum patientiam, per quam sanguinem fudit, interioris tui vitam instituas, quanta debes humilitate quanta debes, emineas patientia. p. 222 et 223.*

² See the letter ad Ricardum in D'Achery Spicileg. T. iii. f. 400.

³ *Ratione agere in perceptione veritatis, incomparabiliter superius esse, quia in evidenti res est, sine recordiæ cœcitate nullus negaverit. Berengar, de s. c. p.*

proached him with flying to dialectics, he replied, "I do not regret having employed dialectics for the clear composition of the truth; even Christ, the wisdom and the power of God, did by no means despise it; for we find him using it for the refutation of his adversaries."¹ To show this he cites Matt. xii. 27, and xxii. 46. "To fly to logic, is the same as to fly to reason; and he who placed no confidence in that gift, whereby man was created in the image of God, renounced his own dignity, as well as the power of being renewed in the image of God from day to day."²

Berengar, as we have said, disputed the truth of these wonderful stories, which were supposed to confirm the doctrine of transubstantiation. For this reason he was accused by his adversaries of entertaining an aversion to miracles generally. Thus one of his opponents, archbishop Guitmund, of Aversa,³ remarks: "He who denies miracles, is an enemy to the church; for as the church was founded on miracles, and is built up by the same means, so miracles belong to the very preservation of its existence."⁴ He, therefore, who denies the miracles of the church, destroys, so far as in him lies, the very conception of the church. And what greater folly can there be than to deny miracles, when one is surrounded by them on every side, when one's own existence is itself a miracle?"⁵ The writings from which such miraculous stories were derived, Berengar declared to be apochryphal. This was the occasion of one of the most grievous charges against his whole school. The writings, it was said, which edified entire Christendom, some⁶ few presumed to reject, merely because *they*

100. Unde ipse Dominus, adhuc modicum, inquit, in vobis lumen est, ambulate, John xii. 35—(Since it can hardly be conceived, however, that Berengar should have understood by "the light," in this, perhaps imperfectly preserved, passage, nothing else than reason, we may probably state the train of thought in his mind as follows. Christ designates himself as the light for reason; he calls upon men so to use their reason as to receive him into themselves as its light)—et apostolus, non potui, inquit, loqui vobis quasi spiritualibus. Com. in the letter to Adelman, pages 44 and 45.

¹ Suos inimicos arte revincere.

² Ad rationem est confugere, quo qui non confugit, cum secundum rationem sit factus ad imaginem Dei, suum honorem reliquit.

³ De veritate Eucharistiae, lib. iii. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. fol. 459.

⁴ He applies here the well known words of Sallust: Imperium facile his artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est.

⁵ Hoc ipsum etiam omnino quod sunt, nonnisi ex divino miraculo est.

⁶ Pauculi minus dæti et animales, says Guitmund.

were not pleased with them.¹ It deserves notice,² that Berengar and his school were also accused of denying the veracity of the gospel narratives. It was said, that according to him it ought not to be believed that Christ entered the room where his disciples were assembled, while the doors were shut. This charge was no doubt founded in part upon certain erroneous conclusions from statements wrongly understood ; but at the same time it may have had some foundation of truth. When Berengar said, the body of Christ, as such, could not be present in several places at one and the same time, perhaps it was replied, that as the body of Christ had entered a room where the doors were shut, in contradiction to the common notions respecting the nature of body, so it might be present at one and the same time in several places, being in fact superior to all limitations of space. Now in meeting this argument, we cannot suppose Berengar would say, as he did in replying to the argument from those legends, that the gospel narrative was incredible ; but he might take the liberty of interpreting the account in a *different way* from his opponents, and so as to make it unnecessary to suppose, that Christ actually passed through the doors when they were shut.

While Berengar founded an important school, which adopted his own views of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper,³ he at the same time communicated an impulse to another party, opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which party perhaps continued to act independently of his own peculiar school. Thus, while these two parties agreed in their opposition to transubstantiation, they might still be kept apart by other differences in their views of the eucharist. Nor can there be any doubt that, as has already been remarked, an opposition dating back to some remoter period, had been handed down from age to age, against the doctrine taught by Paschasius Radbert ; yet it was no more than natural that all the opponents of this doctrine, however independent they

¹ Probably an allusion to the zealous study of the ancient authors : Qui paganorum libenter historias amplectuntur, Christianas historias, quas totius amplectitur mundus cassare laborant.

² Vid. Guitmund, f. 460.

³ That Berengar had many followers, according to his own declarations and those of his opponents, quoted on a former page (309), is by no means contradicted by the fact, that he is also reproached with having but a small number of followers on the doctrine of the eucharist ; for this is to be understood relatively : the number was small, in comparison with the great body of the Christian church.

might be of Berengar, should still be named after him, as their head, and thrown into one and the same class, as Berengarians. There were many who denied the transformation of the bread, but supposed that the body of Christ became united with the unaltered substance of the bread ;¹ others, who were offended only by the assertion of Paschasius Radbert, that the same body of Christ was in the eucharist, which had been born, had suffered, and risen again.² Others, it is reported, found nothing else to object to but the assertion, that even the unworthy communicants received the body of Christ ; and these were of the opinion, that such communicants received only the bread and wine.³ Indeed, from different forms of expression, men may have framed to themselves different notions, not understanding them precisely in the sense of the persons who employed them. Thus we find Berengar himself accused of altering his views, where doubtless there was really nothing more than a change of expression, with the same essential views lying at bottom.⁴

As to the rest, it was impossible for Berengar, at the position which he maintained, and with his own more spiritual mode of apprehension, to enter into the whole connection of thought in the theory of his opponents, or to recognise in the doctrine of transubstantiation, which appeared to him altogether antichristian, that strong interest of Christian feeling, and of the Christian habit of intuition, which lay at the foundation of it. Yet, to the de-

¹ As Guitmund states it, l. iii. de eucharistiæ sacramento. Bibl. patr. Lugd. T. xviii. f. 461. The impanatio Christi is a similar representation, as we remarked already in the second period. See vol. iv. p. 449.

² Nonnulli aliquanto, ut sibi videntur, prudentiores atque religiosiores, qui carnem quidem dicant esse Christi,—sed quandam novam quam benedictio recens creavit. Durand. f. 424.

³ Guitmund l. iii. f. 464.

⁴ See Guitmund l. iii. f. 463, that he taught many nihil in cibo altaris nisi umbram tantum et figurum haberi ; to others, who pressed him more closely, he said ipsum ibi corpus Christi esse, sed impanatum latere ; but in Berengar's connection of thought, the figura presupposed the *res sacramenti*, to which it referred, the *reality* of Christ's body. The notion of an impanatio, as we may gather from the preceding remarks, was altogether foreign from Berengar's mind ; and the charging him with such a notion certainly proceeded from a false interpretation of his language. He said that the consecrated bread was the true body of Christ, and yet controverted the doctrine of transubstantiation ; hence it was inferred, that he could only mean an impanatio. If such a misconception existed on this point, then we may conclude that a great deal which was said respecting the several opinions of the Berengarians is liable to suspicion.

fenders of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the very thing which invested this doctrine with so much importance was that connection of ideas, in which it presented itself to their Christian consciousness. If the Lord's Supper, said they, contains nothing but types and shadows, then Christ is not truly with his church; no real union exists between him and believers. To them, however, it seemed, that *one* of two things must be true. Either the substance of the bread and wine remains; then these latter are the reality, and only shadows and types of Christ's body: or the body of Christ alone is the real, present substance; and under bread and wine we have only the substance of the body and blood of Christ, though it appears otherwise to sensuous perception. In the case of those, within whose minds this doctrine had developed itself out of the depth of their own Christian feelings, the Christian element, seized on the side of feeling and intuition, was really so predominant as to have a reflective influence on the perceptions of the bodily sense, and thus the natural itself became to them a different thing. To their transcendent feelings, the body of Christ was the sole reality, and the substance of the bread the same as if it were not present. Everything was transfigured into the heavenly;—nothing earthly remained. Hence it was needless to ask, what had become of the earthly elements of the Lord's Supper?—the whole had passed up into the form of the spiritual.¹ Nor is it difficult to see, how from the same essential contents within the Christian consciousness arose, in accordance with the different

¹ From this point of view, we should contemplate the controversy also which had gone on since the time of Paschasius Radbert, about the question whether what Christ says, Matt. xv. 17, could be applied to that which is received in the eucharist, which might seem to lead to offensive conclusions. But here it was necessary to exclude all that was sensuous and earthly from the thoughts; everything should be viewed in the light of a loftier, spiritual, intuition. Neque de cætero subire credenda est (caro Christi) cujuslibet injuriæ incommoditatem, sed potius in spiritualem refundi virtute divina operationem. Ut enim Deus et homo Jesus Christus impleta humanæ redemptionis dispensatione a morte ad vitam, ad incorruptionem excessit a corruptione, ita etiam hoc divinum ac cœleste sacramentum non immerito creditur a specie visibile in id repente transformari, quod solus ipse novit. Vere inter manus ministrorum ad invisibilem speciem cœlesti commercio perducitur ejusdem sacramenti etiam visibilis forma, videlicet ut tantum fiat sacramentum, id est ex toto sanctitas ac vita animarum. Nec ut pravi quique audent delirando confingere, in digestionis corruptionem resolvitur, sed magis in mentibus utentium vitam salutemque efficaciter operatur. Durand. Troanens. de corp. et sang. D. f. 421.

forms and grades of culture, the different modes of apprehension which were peculiar to Berengar and to his opponents. Both agreed in believing, that in the Lord's Supper the essential thing upon which all depended, was the cordial reception of Christ; and again, that it is the eye of faith alone, which here beholds Christ. But to the cautious, reflecting Berengar, who recognised the rights of the understanding no less than those of the feelings, it must seem absolutely needful to separate and carefully distinguish the divine element apprehended by faith from the natural elements perceived by the senses. His opponents, on the other hand, in whom this discriminating faculty of understanding was repressed, or wholly overpowered, by the transcendent element of feeling, could never bring themselves to allow of any such distinction. It could only appear to them as a cold abstraction, an evacuation of the whole mystery. Standing at this position, faith perceives *only the body of Christ, the substance of the bread is no longer there.*¹ What practical importance came to be attached to the doctrine, regarded from this point of view, appears from the following words of the pious Guitmund.² "What can be more salutary than such a faith? Purely receiving into itself the pure and simple Christ alone, in the consciousness of possessing so glorious a gift, it guards with the greatest vigilance against sin; it glows with a more earnest longing after all righteousness; it strives every day

¹ Crede, ut videas, says Durandus, f. 427, nam credere jam corde est videre.

² Guitmund, Lanfranc's disciple, had made himself generally esteemed, for his piety and learning, while a monk in the monastery of St Leufroy in Normandy. His sovereign, William duke of Normandy, afterwards king William the Conqueror of England, wished to transfer him, with many others, from Normandy to the new kingdom, and to bestow on him a bishopric in that country. But Guitmund informed the king, in very bold language, that he could not obtrude himself as a bishop on a foreign people, whose language and customs he did not understand, by means of a person who had destroyed so many of their relatives and friends, and who had deprived them of their property or freedom. Goods obtained by robbery he could not receive, being a monk. He looked upon all England as an estate acquired by robbery; and he feared to touch any part of it. He warned the king, by pointing to the example of earlier and greater revolutions among the nations, and to the fate of earlier conquerors. He admonished him not to be dazzled by earthly success, but to be constantly mindful of death, and of the account he must render to the supreme Judge of all, for his administration of the government committed to his care. He recommended him and his family to the divine grace, and begged that he might be permitted to return back to Normandy. *Opinam Angliæ prædam amatoribus mundi quasi quisquillas derelinquo Liberam paupertatem Christi amo.* At a later period he made a journey to Italy, where he was highly honoured by Gregory VII., and made a cardinal; afterwards, by pope Urban II., he was made archbishop of the Neapolitan town Aversa. Vid. Oderici Vitalis historia ecclesiastica, l. v. c. 17.

to escape from the world, as the enemy of its Lord, and, reposing with fuller trust on promises which are secured by so great a pledge, it strives with more confidence and with more ardent aspirations after God, to embrace in unclouded vision the very fountain of life itself.

II. IN THE GREEK CHURCH.

The Greek church enjoyed, it is true, one great advantage over that of the West, in possessing a culture transmitted from still older times, which had not, as yet, become utterly extinct. In the consciousness of this, the Greeks were accustomed to look down with supercilious contempt upon the Latin church, as one that subsisted among barbarians. But the Western church possessed an advantage far outweighing the dead matter of traditional learning, in the fresh and vigorous principle of a new spiritual creation, which, with inferior means, could bring about vastly greater effects. Of such a principle, which might have infused life into the inert mass of its learning, the Greek church was destitute. Since the last half of the ninth century, and under the patronage of the emperor Basilius Macedo and his successors, scientific studies among the Greeks had indeed gained a new impulse; but still the want of that animating principle could not thus be supplied. In all departments of Theology, the historical, the exegetical, the dogmatical, to collect and arrange the transmitted stores of the mere living intellectual development of earlier times, without subjecting them to any original, self-active elaboration of thought, was therefore the predominant tendency. As a representative of theological learning among the Greeks, in the last half of the ninth century, we may take Photius,—the celebrated author of that compilation of critical excerpts from the two hundred and eighty works which he had read, intitled the *Bibliothèque*:—of his character, labours, and fortunes, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. His correspondence² evidences the wide range of his researches on theological subjects, and the high authority in which he stood as a man of learning among his contemporaries. He was

¹ Guitmund l. ii. f. 464.

² Published by Richard Montague (Montacutius), bishop of Norwich, London. 1651.

resorted to alike by the laity and the clergy, for the resolution of all sorts of questions pertaining to theology and exegesis. The most distinguished exegetical author was Œcumenius, bishop of Tricca in Thrace, who flourished near the close of the tenth century, and wrote a celebrated Commentary on the New Testament.

There were two causes strictly connected with each other, which especially contributed to hinder the healthful and free evolution of the church and of theology among the Greeks: the despotism of the civil government, before which everything crouched,—the bishops themselves not seldom consenting to act as its humble instruments; and the extinction of the sense of truth, the spirit of insincerity, already a predominant trait which had stamped itself on the entire life of the people, and was continually appearing in the fulsome exaggerations of their ordinary language. Thus acuteness and learning could be employed as weapons of sophistry, to uphold despotism and falsehood. Men could prove anything they wanted to prove. Knowledge without a soul, instead of presenting any check to the prevailing superstition, walked quietly by its side, or was even employed to support and defend it. But from the Christian consciousness itself there had already gone forth, in the preceding period, during the controversy about images, a reaction against one particular branch of superstition, which, if it could only have made some further progress and more fully evolved the spiritual tendency of which it was the manifestation, would, doubtless, never have stopped with attacking this single superstition, but would have introduced a radical revolution into the whole state of the church and of theology. And a reaction of the same sort sprung up, for the second time, in the present period. But the two causes above mentioned still operated to prevent a favourable issue to *this* reaction; for superstition stood in alliance with the reigning spirit of insincerity, and despotism was not fitted to carry such a reaction successfully to its end; it would only convert into a lie the truth itself, which, contrary to every law of spiritual development, it would thrust upon men by force. Besides, such attacks on superstition, which were wholly negative in their aim, and directed only against a single branch of it, while the common root of all superstition, in the minds of the people and of the church, was left untouched, could not possibly succeed. A true reformation was

impossible, until the true essence of Christian faith should be revived, bringing about a regeneration of the national mind, and by that very means the consequent expulsion of all the elements foreign to pure Christianity. Accordingly the issue of the controversies about images in this period, was such as might naturally be expected, under the existing conditions of the Greek church, and from the way in which those controversies were actually conducted. But even supposing this reaction could have been carried to its furthest extent, and the spiritual tendency from which it sprung could have been fully developed, it would still remain a question, whether, in the prevailing corruption of the times, this further progress in the way of negation would not have superinduced a spirit of scepticism still more than a spirit of faith.

We will now proceed to a nearer consideration of this reaction itself, in the history of the second controversy concerning images.

We remarked towards the close of the controversy about images in the preceding period, that although image-worship in the Greek church had obtained the victory, and the opposite party had been crushed by the government, yet the principles of the iconoclasts had become too securely fixed in the minds of both ecclesiastics and laymen, to be dislodged at once by tyrannical dictation. There were, as it is reported in a document of these times, concealed iconoclasts, who to avoid giving offence, complied externally with the forms of image-worship; and others who even ventured to express their convictions publicly, banishing all images from their churches, and having nothing in them but naked walls: who discarded every sensuous medium of worship, and were for simply elevating the thoughts to God in the prayer of the spirit.¹ The great neglect which, from motives of policy, was shown to the iconoclasts by the second Nicene council,² served to promote the succeeding reactions of the party. For the truth was, that multitudes of the party had submitted in that council, to the dominant power, and consented to a recantation which they might

¹ See the Interview of the patriarch Nicephorus with the emperor Leo the Armenian, in the Life of this patriarch, composed by the Deacon Ignatius, March 13th, § 42, and in the Collection *originum rerumque Constantinopolitanarum manipulus*, published by Franc. Combesis. Paris, 1664, p. 162.

² See Vol. v., p. 304.

afterwards excuse under the softer name of accommodation (*οικονομία*), merely for the sake of retaining their bishoprics; and these were only waiting for some favourable political change, to reavow publicly the principles they had never relinquished, and to labour more zealously than ever for their propagation.¹ The change so earnestly desired by this party took place, when Leo the Armenian, a man from the bosom of the army in which, with the memory of iconoclast emperors had been transmitted an attachment to their religious principles, placed himself, in the year 813, on the imperial throne. It was already noticed with surprise, that when the patriarch Nicephorus invited him to give the church by a written confession of faith in accordance with the church orthodoxy, the customary pledge of security,² he put it off, doubtless not without a purpose, till after his coronation. The patriarch probably dared not, on account of this denial, to refuse the ceremony of coronation to an emperor, who already had the power in his hands; perhaps at the moment he suspected nothing. But when three days afterwards he again invited the crowned emperor to do the same thing, the latter contrived in some way or other wholly to evade it; for as in a confession embracing the whole orthodox faith, the confirmation of image-worship and the condemnation of the iconoclasts could not fail to be included, he would either have to give up his own convictions, and should he afterwards undertake to do anything against images, incur the charge of perjury and of a fraud practised upon the church, or he would be obliged to declare at once, at the very beginning of his reign, that he could not make the usual confession on the subject of images, thereby calling forth at once the controversy on this subject, which he had good reasons for avoiding. But the patriarch's suspicions, if not awakened by the first, would of course

¹ Important information with regard to the connection of these events is supplied by Nicetas, in his life of the patriarch Ignatius, when speaking of the proceedings of the second council of Nice, he says: *ἰπιδὴ συμπαθέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοτέρον ἐχρησάντο τοῖς αἰρετικαῖς καιροῦ πάλιν ἐκινῶσι δραζόμενοι τὴν οἰκίαν δυσσίβειαν χαλσιπώτερον ἀνινώσαντο.* Harduin. T. v., f. 990.

² That the patriarch should require such a confession of him, is not to be regarded as a mark of suspicion, since evidently this was one of the customary formalities, observed by every new emperor on entering upon his government. This is clearly implied in the language of the historian Joseph Genesisius, *κατὰ τὸ ἰθικὸν τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς εἰσιβούς πίστεως.* l. i. ed. Lachmann, p. 26.

be aroused by this second denial of the emperor. The emperor, before he attempted to do anything for the suppression of images, wished to be still further confirmed in his own convictions, and to be provided with the means of rebutting the objections, which might be urged by the defenders of their worship. He, therefore, consulted with a few ecclesiastics of his own persuasion, and in particular he directed one of them, John the Grammarian, to bring together a collection of declarations from the older church-fathers on the subject in question,—measures which of course would only serve to strengthen him in his own views. Once while he was attending on divine service, the words were recited from Isaiah xl. : “To whom then will ye liken God?” etc., upon which the iconoclasts about him seizing on the passage, endeavoured to persuade him that it was a voice from the Almighty, calling upon him to destroy the worship of idols. In December, therefore, of the year 814, he began to make preparations for the accomplishment of his designs.* He sought gradually to gain over the patriarch Nicephorus, a zealous defender of image-worship,¹ at least so far as that the first step against images might be taken without resistance on his part. Summoning him to his presence, he introduced the subject with cautious reserve, saying nothing about his own repugnance to images, but dwelling upon the disposition which prevailed among the people. “The people,” said he, “take offence at image-worship; they look upon its prevalence as the cause of the public misfortunes, of the disastrous defeats we have suffered from infidel nations”—and so far as the army was concerned, he may have said the truth. He, therefore, begged the patriarch, considering that such was the disposition of the public mind, to give his consent that those images which were placed in inferior situations might be removed.² But when the patriarch, who

¹ Nicephorus was descended from a family of most devoted image-worshippers. His father, one of the imperial secretaries under Constantine Copronimus, incurred the latter's displeasure, when it was discovered that he kept images in his house and worshipped them. He was scourged, deposed, and banished for refusing to renounce image-worship. Nicephorus himself shared in the triumph of image-worship, as imperial commissary, at the second Nicene council. He next became a monk, and was elevated from the monastic life to the patriarchal dignity. See his Life by his scholar, the deacon Ignatius, 13th March; in the Greek original, the second volume, March, in the Appendix, f. 705.

² Τὰ χαμηλὰ περιελῶμεν. Possibly this may mean, as it seems to have been understood by many, “Let us do away with image-worship altogether, as a low,

had good reason to fear that one step in yielding would soon lead to another, refused to listen to any proposition which required him to suit his conduct to the public tone of feeling, the emperor demanded of him an express warrant from Scripture in favour of images. Such a warrant, the patriarch of course could not produce; but he spoke of the authority of tradition, on the ground of which many other things had been adopted into church practice, which were still held sacred by the emperor himself, though they were not found prescribed in the sacred Scriptures. As to the worship of images (the προσκύνησις before the images) he could appeal to the fact, that it was precisely the same with the homage paid to the cross and to the books of the gospels;¹ for as we have already observed,² the iconoclasts were guilty of an inconsistency in paying adoration to the cross, concerning the magical powers of which, they adopted the common notions.³ With the principle of a religious mode of thinking opposed to the reigning spirit of the age, but a principle not as yet clearly evolved in their own minds, they united a form of Christian intuition which would not harmonise with that principle, but which they had

unworthy thing;" but we can hardly suppose the emperor would express himself so harshly concerning images, when it was his design to bring the subject before the patriarch in the gentlest manner, and to induce him to consent merely to an *οἰκονομία*. It is better to understand by *χαμηλά* simply the *χαμηλαὶ εἰκόνες*, so distinguished from the others. The moderate opponents of image-worship, whom Theodorus Studita wrongly accuses of inconsistency, were willing to let the images stand as historical representations, as means of bringing events vividly before the senses and memory (they said: ὅτι καλὴν ἢ ἱστορίαν, ἐξηγήσειωσιν καὶ ἀναμνήσειωσιν λόγον ἔχουσα), they were opposed only to the worship of these images; and to counteract this among the people, they insisted that the images should be taken away from the low places (τοῖς χαμηλοῦσι), should be everywhere removed from places where the multitude could touch them. See Theodore's Antirrheticus ii. against the Iconoclasts opp. f. 84.

¹ See the statement in the continuation of Theophanes, fol. 347. ed. Venet.

² Vol. v. p. 275.

³ The opponent of images, whom Theodore no doubt represents as speaking in the spirit and after the customary manner of his party, requires, that the cross in this controversy should be left entirely out of the question. Ὁ σταυρὸς γὰρ ἴσθι τὸ κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀήττητον τέρας. Antirrhetic. ii. f. 88. "Through Christ," says he, "the cross is become sanctified," § f. 92. The party appealed to all those passages of the New Testament, which speak of the significance and power of the cross of Christ; and they were of the opinion, that no texts could be found where the like was said of the *image* of Christ. But to this Theodore replied, that these texts spoke not of the *sign* of the cross, but of that which was represented by this sign. If that which had been said of the thing itself was here transferred to its sign, so might that which is said of Christ be applied to his image. Antirrhetic. i. f. 76.

caught up from the Christian life of their times. Hence the defender of image worship had unquestionably the advantage of consistency in his contest with the emperor.

The emperor requested the patriarch to converse on the subject with those of the clergy, who defended the opposite principles, and to consider how he would refute the arguments which they could produce. Nicephorus promised to send him well-instructed theologians, who would more fully explain to him the correct doctrine on this subject, and refute all the objections of its opponents. He selected for this purpose certain bishops and monks; but they met with as little success in their object as he had done himself, and they refused to enter into any conference with the heads of the iconoclasts. Meantime the fury of the soldiers, who were deadly opposed to images, broke out in open violence; whether it could no longer be restrained, or whether, according to the current report, they were set on by the emperor himself. It wreaked itself on that colossal image of Christ, standing before the emperor's palace, which Leo the Isaurian had removed, and which Irene had restored to its former position. This furnished a reason or a pretext to the emperor for removing the image once more, so as to secure it from the insults of the soldiers. The patriarch looked upon these occurrences as betokening the danger which now threatened the faith, and in the night he called together within his palace several bishops and abbots to deliberate on what was to be done for averting the danger, and to invoke the divine assistance in behalf of the church. The emperor, on learning of this, dreaded the consequences of such a combination. At day-break he sent for the patriarch, whom he accused of fomenting schism, and of sowing the seeds of insurrection, while the emperor himself was only studying how to preserve the peace. He requested him, as soon as possible, to make his appearance, and to give him a report of all that had been done. The patriarch obeyed, and the whole assembly went with him. He first had a private audience with the emperor, while the others waited before the gates of the palace. The emperor

¹ The authorities followed in this account are, besides the continuation of Theophanes, already cited, the Life of the patriarch Nicephorus, also cited above, and the Life of the abbot Nicetas, by his scholar Theosterict; 3d April, in the i Tom. of the April—Appendix, f. 23. The Life of Theodore, abbot of the monastery Studium, at Constantinople, prefixed to his Works in Sirmond. opp. T. v.

received the patriarch with reproachful language for acting so contrary to his own salutary measures to promote pure doctrine and the peace of the church. He could appeal to his own knowledge, that a party by no means small or insignificant had seceded from the church on account of these images, firmly believing they had on their side the authority of Scripture.¹ For this reason, it was their own duty to hear the arguments of this party and to refute them. He therefore demanded once more, that a conference should be held between the bishops and theologians of the two parties.

Here arose a dispute betwixt the patriarch and the emperor on the employment of images in religion, and on their worship. Nicephorus resorted to the common arguments, and refuted the objection drawn from the forbidding of images in the Old Testament, after the current fashion of polemics among the image-worshippers, as we have explained it in our account of the image-controversies in the first section.² At the same time he declared that, though he could discourse with the emperor, he could hold no sort of intercourse with the clergy, who had separated themselves from the church. He then begged that he might be allowed to introduce into the emperor's presence several witnesses of the principles he had expressed, and being permitted, sent for the bishops and monks assembled before the gates of the palace. Many of them spoke with great freedom in favour of image-worship. Among the boldest was the man who then stood at the head of monachism in the Greek church, Theodore, abbot of the famous

¹ Οὐκ εἶδα, ὡς οὐκ ἐπαρῆμηνον μίρος δινοχλιῖ καὶ ἐκκλησίας δίσταται τῆς τῶν εἰκόνων ἱνικιν γραφῆς τε καὶ στασιως, ῥησιων γραφικῶν περὶ τῆς τούτων ἀποτροπῆς ἱπικομιζόμενον διατάγματα. See the Life of Nicephorus, l. c. § 40.

² Though this conversation between the emperor and the patriarch certainly did not correspond word for word to the form in which it is represented in the two reports cited on p. 350, yet we may suppose that something like this was said on both sides; we have the current form of the arguments used by the two parties. It deserves notice, that according to the statements of Nicephorus in defending the worship of the images of the saints, the saints are distinguished from the great mass of Christians, insomuch that he depreciates the ordinary Christian life, representing the saints as those who alone answered to the idea of that life. He divides men, with reference to the service of God, into three classes: those who shun sin from fear of the divine punishment, *slaves*; those who are incited to strive after goodness by the hope of future blessings, *hirelings*; finally, those who do good not from the impulses of fear or hope, but out of pure, free love, *the children of God*, the heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ, whose intercessions with God are most prevailing, to whom, as to the satellites of a king, we apply for aid, begging them to lay before him the petitions, which we, in the consciousness of our sins, venture not to present in our own persons. Vid. Combefis manipulus, l. c. 171.

monastery in Constantinople, called the Studion, after the name of its founder, Studius, a noble Roman.¹ This person had often shown before, under persecutions and sufferings, the inflexibility and steadfastness of his zeal in maintaining the sacred laws against the attacks of those who were possessed of the civil and ecclesiastical power, and had thus acquired a moral power which despotism itself was forced to respect.² He caused it to be felt in the present case. The check presented by the popes in the Western church against the arbitrary exercise of political power, sometimes in defence of the interests of religion and morality, would most often in the Greek church, where no bishop was to be found so independent of the civil government, proceed from monks, who, by the universal veneration which their austere life had procured for them, exercised a predominant influence over the people, and whose unconquerable disposition, quickened and animated by faith, opposed a firm bulwark of defence against the inroads of temporal power. Such a person was Theodore.

¹ Theodore was educated first as a monk, in the monastery of Saccudion, under his uncle, the venerated Platon. See above, Vol. v. p. 128, then in 794 he was forced by the latter, who, on account of his advanced age, was no longer able to discharge the duties of the office, to take his place as abbot. In the year 798, he became abbot of the monastery of Studion, which had been destroyed under that enemy of the monks, Constantine Copronymus. Under him it rose once more to eminence.

² When the young emperor Constantine, son of Irene, repudiated his spouse, compelling her to enter a convent, and insisted on marrying a lady of the court, Theodota, kinswoman of Theodore; when an eminent ecclesiastic, Joseph (Economus, of the church at Constantinople, was prevailed on to bestow the Christian consecration on a connection formed in violation of the divine law: when Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, dared not say a word in opposition to this proceeding, it was the nonagenarian Platon, and his nephew Theodore, who spoke out in the name of the law, and laboured to preserve alive the consciousness of it in the hearts of the people, for already had the emperor's example, sanctioned by the concurrence of the church, found numerous imitators. Neither marks of honour, nor the flatteries of the emperor and of his new consort, nor threats, could move Theodore to yield. He was scourged and exiled; but he continued steadfast, fired the monks and ecclesiastics to resistance, and called to his assistance the more independent voice of the pope. He renounced church-fellowship with the emperor, and with all those who approved of this adulterous connection, as he termed it. He inveighed with pious indignation against the pretences that such a compliance with the emperor's wishes was but an *οικονομία*, that the divine laws were not to be enforced on monarchs as on others. He pronounced such assertions to be heresies, doctrines of antichrist, and zealously contended for the truth, that there was but one gospel for all; monarchs, as well as subjects, must all in like manner bow before the laws of God, and no man had power to grant a dispensation from these. When, at a later period, the emperor Nicephorus forced the patriarch of that name to reinstate the oconomus Joseph in his office, from which he had been deposed, Theodore stood forth against this measure, and involved himself in new persecutions. The letters of Theodore, referring to these contests, are to be found in the first book of these letters.

He ventured in this case to enter a protest against the very principle of Byzantine despotism. He told the emperor that it belonged to him to guide the affairs of state and of war, not the affairs of the church ; for the administration of these church offices had been divinely instituted. St Paul, in Ephesians iv., said that Christ had appointed apostles, prophets, and pastors ; but not kings. Said the emperor, " Do not rulers, then, belong also to the church ? " Instead of correcting this misapprehension, Theodore unfitly replied : " The emperor belongs to the church, if he does not wilfully exclude himself from it, if he does not company with heretics, on whom the anathema of the church has lighted." Upon this, the emperor indignantly dismissed him. Still it was by no means his intention to stand forth as an avowed opponent of images. In the presence of these ecclesiastics, he took out an image from his bosom and kissed it. He always assumed the air of one who only spoke in the name of that important party, the iconoclasts, a party which might any day occasion a disturbance of the public peace. He wished to be regarded as a neutral, a mediator (*μεσίτης*), as he styled himself, between the two parties, labouring to negotiate a reunion ; but the image-worshippers refused to enter into any conference with those whom they affected to consider as heretics, and excluded from the communion of the church. By the obstinacy and the violence of the leading men on the side of the image-worshippers, and the impatience of the military, who demanded the extirpation of idol-worship on the other, the emperor himself was constantly propelled forward from one step to another in the measures which he adopted.

After he had dismissed the ecclesiastics from his palace, the monks assembled in a body at the residence of the abbot Theodore, where the latter, by his authority and his words, enkindled their zeal in favour of the images. From such meetings, the most dangerous consequences were to be apprehended to the public tranquillity. When the monks had retired to their cloisters, command was given by the prefect of the residential city of Constantinople, in the emperor's name, to all abbots, that they should hold no meetings together, that they must abstain from all conversation on the disputed points of faith, and from all answers to questions relating thereto. All were required to bind themselves, by the signature of their names, to obey this edict. Many sub-

scribed without hesitation ; thinking that silence was no denial of the truth. But such was not the opinion of the abbot Theodore. He refused to subscribe, saying it was right to obey God rather than man. He issued a circular letter to the monks,¹ severely reflecting upon the conduct of those who subscribed the edict. He declared that they had betrayed the truth, and violated their duty as abbots. He opposed to them the example of the apostles, who would not be prevented by any human power from testifying of Christ. He contrasted their conduct with that of the ancient monks. Should the abbots say in justification of themselves, "*What are we ?*" (What can we do against the command of the emperor ?)—he had to reply : " In the first place, you are Christians, who in every way are bound to speak now ;—then monks, who, loosed from the ties of the world, are not to suffer yourselves to be determined by any outward considerations ; finally, abbots, whose vocation it is to see that every stone of stumbling be removed from the way of others, and are the more bound therefore to avoid being stones of stumbling yourselves. Christ declares, that he will refuse to receive no one who comes to him, John vi. 37. But should a monk or an abbot come to you, to inquire after the truth, must you withhold from them the instruction, because the emperor has commanded it ? Then surely you have by your subscription pledged yourselves to obey the emperor rather than Christ."

At first, the bishops and abbots, by their resistance to the emperor's orders, exposed themselves to persecution, not as image-worshippers, but as rebels against the imperial authority. But as it was the time of a high festival, the emperor chose to do nothing then which might occasion a disturbance. On the festival of Christmas he attended the public services of the church ; and as the emperor was allowed to enter the holy of holies, and there partake of the holy sacrament of the Supper, he made use of this privilege, and, as he entered, prostrated himself before the curtains of the sanctuary, on which was painted the story of Christ's nativity.² This occasioned great rejoicings among the image-worshippers. They looked upon it as a favourable omen, a token that the emperor meant to proceed no further in attacking the

¹ L. ii. ep. ii.

² See the continuation of Theophanes, p. 348.

images. But their joy was soon at an end—for the emperor, to whom it was not agreeable, doubtless, that too much should be inferred from his conduct, omitted the ceremony of prostration at the next succeeding festival of Epiphany. The patriarch Nicephorus bade Theodore take courage; he wrote pressing letters to the empress, and to several of the more important men at court, calling upon them all to use their influence with the emperor, to dissuade him from undertaking to remove the images. This brought him into still greater disgrace with the emperor, who manifested his displeasure by depriving him of an office attached to the patriarchal dignity, the oversight of the church valuables, and by forbidding him publicly to preach, or celebrate the sacrament of the supper.¹ It was with reluctance that the emperor resorted to force, with reluctance that he deposed the patriarch; but having once made his own subjective views a law for the church, no other course was left for him to take. The palace of the patriarch was attacked by the soldiers,² which shows how deeply he had incurred the hatred of the iconoclasts. The emperor meanwhile succeeded in inducing many bishops, even such as had previously united with the patriarch in defending the images, to acquiesce in his measures. These bishops were invited to assemble in a synod (a so-called *σύνδος ἐνδημοῦσα*) at Constantinople, for the purpose of issuing the first ordinances against images. The patriarch Nicephorus steadfastly resisted their decrees, and refused to recognise the authority of the synod. Therefore, in the year 815, he was deposed and banished; and Theodotus Cassiteras, a layman of noble birth, belonging to an iconoclastic race, being a descendant of Constantine Copronymus, was appointed his successor. But the party of the image-worshippers, who persisted in recognising Nicephorus as the only regular patriarch, renounced church fellowship with the man who had been put in his place. The abbot Theodore was the soul of this party. He declared the recognition of image-worship to be one of the essentials of faith; for, according to that connection of ideas which we have already explained, faith in the true incarnation of the Logos,

¹ See the Life of Nicephorus, § 60, and the above cited letters of Theodore, ii. 2: *Κενστῶς ἱερογῶν Νικήφορος ἀναφέρει τὸ λάβρα.*

² As the image-worshippers assert, at the instigation of the emperor: but here we have no good reason to believe them.

and consequently in Jesus, as Redeemer, seemed to him inseparably connected with the recognition of the *true image* of Jesus, and the worship of Jesus *in* his image. Confess Christ, confess his image; deny Christ, deny his image.

In the controversy between the image-worshippers and the iconoclasts generally was exhibited, as we have already pointed out in the first section relating to these disputes,¹ the antagonism between two tendencies of the religious spirit; a tendency on the one side to *idealism*, and a tendency on the other to *realism*, though the tendency to idealism in the iconoclasts was still covered up under many foreign elements, derived from the tendency of the times to a sensuous realism,—was still a more or less unconscious, undeveloped thing. That element of sensuous realism in the Christian spirit, now found a powerful representative in Theodore, in whose character all was of a piece. The iconoclasts frequently insisted on the duty of worshipping God in spirit and in truth. They called it a humbling of Christ and of the Spirit, to represent them by images made of earthly materials. Let Christ remain, said they, for the contemplation of the spirit; it is only by the Holy Spirit we receive into the soul his true image,—a divine image of him by the work of sanctification. In opposition to this, says Theodore: “That which you consider humbling, is precisely what is exalting and worthy of God. Is it not the humiliation of self that glorifies the great? So His condescension to us, who is exalted above all, redounds to his glory. The Creator of all things became flesh, and did not disdain to be so called as he appeared. If the contemplation of the spirit had sufficed, then he needed only to present himself to us in this;² and we should have to consider his human appearance and his human life as an empty show. But God forbid. He, being man, suffered as a man; he ate and drank, and was subject to all affections, like as we are, sin excepted. And thus what seems to be a humiliation, a debasement, redounded rather to the glory of the Eternal Word.”³ Again, the iconoclasts maintained, that by reason of the *anhypostasia* of the humanity in Christ, the Logos itself constituting his personality, only a universal human nature

¹ See vol. v. p. 256.

² Μεινάτω ἐν τῇ κατὰ νοῦν θεωρίᾳ.

³ Antirrhetic, i. 75.

could be ascribed to him, and he could not be represented with the same particular and characteristic marks, as any other human individual.¹ On the other hand, Theodore says: The universal subsists only in the individual. If we do not conceive human nature, as subsisting in the individual, we must wholly deny its reality, and fall into Docetism."² The iconoclasts condemned images formed of earthly matter, as a degradation of the holy, the divine,—as a work of pagan, juggling art; Theodore, on the contrary, sees something divine in art, that art which forms an image of man, just as he himself was created after the image of God, and became a copy of the divine in human form.³ In his entire human appearance, Christ was the image of God; Christ, therefore, must also admit of being represented in the like manner.⁴ Considering the subject from this point of view, it may be easily explained why Theodore should contend so zealously for images; for faith in the reality of Christ's human nature; faith in the fact, that through Christ the chasm before existing betwixt God and man was filled up; faith in the glorification of human nature by Christ, was identified by him with the recognition of religious images. This connected whole of religious intuition was his point of departure, in all he said, wrote, and did, in the present controversy.

He assured the deposed patriarch, Nicephorus, that he sympathised with him in his sufferings for the truth.⁵ On Palm Sunday 815, he directed his monks to bear images in solemn procession round the court of the monastery, chanting hymns in their praise. This excited the displeasure of the emperor. He directed that Theodore should be threatened with severe punishment; but such threats could make no impression on a man who longed to suffer for what he believed to be the cause of Christ. The new patriarch, Theodotus, assembled, in the meantime, a council at

¹ Εἰ σάρκα παραδόξως ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ὑποστάσει, ἀχαρακτηριστὸν δι, ὡς τὸν τινα μὴ σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν καθόλου ἄνθρωπον, πῶς ἄρα ἰφικτὸν ταύτην ψηλαφωμένην εὐρίσκισθαι καὶ χρώμασι διαφόροις καταγράφισθαι; Antirrhet. iii. f. 108.

² Μὴ ὄντων τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα ἀνήρηται ὁ καθόλου ἄνθρωπος.

³ Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ πεισιόησθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, δίκνυσι θεῖον τι χρεῖμα ὑπάρχειν τὸ τῆς εἰκονουργίας εἶδος.

⁴ Antirrhet. iii. f. 123.

⁵ Theodor. Studit. l. ii. ep. 18.

Constantinople, which abolished the decrees of the second Nicene council, and again banished images from the churches. This council issued a circular letter, summoning all abbots to appear and assist in the common deliberations at Constantinople; but a large number of them declined to comply, on the ground that they did not recognise this as a regular assembly. The abbot Theodore, in the name of this opposition party, sent a letter to the synod, setting forth, that according to the ecclesiastical laws they could not put their hands to anything which related to the general concerns of the church without their bishop Nicephorus, nor take part in the proceedings of any synod assembled without his concurrence; at the same time expressing themselves, in the strongest terms, in favour of image-worship. As to the abbots who complied with the invitation, the emperor endeavoured to bring them over to his own views; first by friendly words, then by threats. If the latter had no effect, he caused them to be imprisoned, and then sent into exile. But after a short time he recalled them; and promised them security, provided only they would recognise Theodotus as patriarch, and maintain church-fellowship with him. Thus, it would seem, it was the emperor's plan, when he found it impossible as yet to force these monks to submit to the decrees against images, to make them promise, at least, that though they worshipped images themselves, they would not stigmatise the other party as heretics, nor occasion any schism. A part of the monks agreed to this; many of them, however, as for instance the abbot Nicetas, afterwards repented that they had been induced to yield so far as this, retracted their promise, openly testified their zeal for image-worship, and thus exposed themselves to new persecutions.¹ The emperor met with the most violent resistance from the abbot Theodore. This abbot carried his fanatical zeal against the iconoclasts, whom he considered as heretics, to such a length, that he not only held it to be his duty to abstain from all church-fellowship with them, but to avoid all intercourse with them, to refuse even to eat or drink with them.² Whoever consented to do *even this*, was to be excommunicated, and not restored with-

¹ Vid. vita Nicetæ, § 40.

² Καὶ ἐν βρώματι καὶ πόματι καὶ φιλίᾳ συγκάτισσι τοῖς αἰρετικοῖς, ὑπεύθυνος. Theodor. Studit. ii. 32.

out church-penance. If all intercourse with the iconoclasts was looked upon as defiling, much less could it be permitted to receive from them, or from those who stood in church-fellowship with them, any ecclesiastical act whatsoever, baptism, distribution of the eucharist, or the consecration of a marriage.¹ As, according to the emperor's plan, it was only required of the monks that they should not renounce the fellowship of the new patriarch, and of the bishops devoted to him, many, to escape persecution without giving up their convictions, allowed themselves to resort to a certain mental reservation,—a so-called *οικονομία*. They avowed, that they remained in the fellowship of the church; but by this they understood the church fellowship with the orthodox; and thus they succeeded to overreach their examiners.² But Theodore declared, that this was not accommodation³ (*οικονομία*), but treachery to the truth; and whoever allowed himself in such a trick, ought to be cut off, as a traitor to the truth, from the communion. The contest of images among such people, was a contest for life or death. When, through the influence of the monks, these principles were spread among the people, the iconoclasts would necessarily become objects of universal abhorrence, and the strife between the two fanatical parties lead to the most violent political disturbances. It mattered not that Theodore

¹ When the iconoclasts ruled in the Greek church, and those ecclesiastics, who renounced fellowship with them, were regarded by the families devoted to image-worship as the only true Catholic clergy, the children from all quarters, city and country, were brought in great numbers to the latter, to receive from them the rite of baptism. See Nicetas' Life of Ignatius, Harduin. v. f. 951. And those who wished to be ordained as priests travelled for this purpose to Rome, to Lombardy, or to Naples. See Theodorus Studita, l. ii. ep. 215, f. 583.

² Theodor. ep. ii. 40: *Εάν ἐρεθόζος διαβληθεῖς ὡς μὴ κοινωνῶ, ποιήσῃ σταυρόν, (the cross 'affixed, according to the usual custom, to the signature), ὅτι κοινωνῶ, μηδὲν ἕτερον πολυπραγματηθεῖς παρὰ τῶν αἰρετικῶν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἔχοντος κρύβδην τῷ λογισμῷ, ὅστις ἐξ ἐρεθόζου κοινωνῶν εἶμι.*

³ In the Greek church, where the principle of *οικονομία* was often applied, in direct contradiction to truth, it must be regarded as a distinguished merit of Theodore Studita, that he followed Basil of Cæsarea, and upheld the law of veracity as one of unconditional validity, allowing no exception for necessary falsehood. He says, in general, that the divine laws require unconditional obedience, and allow of no exception, in reference to persons, times, or circumstances. Holding fast to this principle, in respect to all those so-called cases of collision which relate to the duties owed to one's self, he is still embarrassed by those cases of collision which relate to one's duties to others. In these cases, he would get along by resorting to sophistical interpretation, to a certain *reservatio mentalis*. Thus he thinks it would be unnecessary to admit that falsehood is in any case allowable. Vid. l. ii. ep. 39.

was banished from one place to another, placed under a stricter watch, kept under closer confinement. Wherever he went, he still laboured to spread image-worship, and to foment the spirit of resistance against the imperial measures. Many who had acknowledged fellowship with the patriarch, were, by his influence, induced to withdraw it again. His friends contrived to bribe his keepers, or the latter, out of pity or respect to the venerable old man, connived at many things. Thus he ever found it in his power to maintain a correspondence with his friends; and by his words, while absent as martyr, to accomplish so much the more for the good cause. In his cell, he employed himself in composing works in defence of image-worship. He told those, who were conveying him away to some remoter spot of confinement, they might oblige him to change his place, but he should consider every place as his own, for the whole earth was the Lord's, and they could not compel him to silence. Thus then the emperor, who was determined not to give up the project he had once conceived, of destroying image-worship again by the civil arm, found himself compelled, when all his commands fell powerless on the inflexible will of Theodore, to resort to those violent and cruel measures, which it was evidently his intention, in the first place, to avoid. His anger against the monks, who chiefly resisted his will, knew no bounds. Exile, close confinement in chains, hunger and thirst, and severe scourging, were the punishments employed to compel them to yield. For the most part, the persecution was directed exclusively against the monks. Here and there, however, laymen, who had been hurried away by the enthusiasm of the monks, also suffered.¹ The greatest martyr of all was Theodore, who was left half-dead under the lashes of the scourge. He had a faithful companion and sharer of his sufferings, in his scholar, Nicholas,² who forgot his own afflictions to administer to the wants of his spiritual father. A nun provided him with the means of sustenance, at the hazard of her life, and in despite of the insults to which she exposed

¹ Theodore writes (l. ii. ep. 55) to a layman, who was chained and imprisoned for image-worship, that he was the only confessor among the laity. Yet in another letter (l. ii. 71), he says: Women and maidens were to be found among the sufferers.

² His Life in *Combesis Bibliothecæ patrum novum auctarium*. Paris, 1648, T. ii. In the Latin translation, in the *actis sanctorum*. Februar T. i. f. 538.

herself, in one prison where he suffered from want.¹ Once, after being severely scourged, he was cast into a dungeon, where, cut off from all intercourse with others, and from all hope that on the first failure of his store of food, some compassionate keeper would secretly share with him his allowance, death by starvation stared him in the face. He then wrote:² "God nourishes us, and we praise him. But if, by God's providence, the means of sustenance fails, my life will end, and in this also I will rejoice. This also is a great gift of God." He saw in all things the grace of God, freely bestowed without any merit of his own.³

If we may credit Theodore,⁴—whose story, we must admit, perfectly accords with the spirit of the Byzantine despotism,—a secret police was established, for the purpose of hunting out all the refuges of image-worship. Hired spies were scattered in every direction,⁵ whose business it was to inform against every man who spoke offensively of the emperor, who refused to have any fellowship with iconoclasts, every one who wrote a book in defence of images, every one who kept images or an image in his house, who harboured a person banished for image-worship, or who ministered to the necessities of a person imprisoned for that cause. Such were immediately seized, scourged, and banished. The influence of early impressions, and especially the influence of church psalmody, in propagating religious opinions, being well understood, since it was chiefly by these means that image-worship had taken so deep a hold on the minds of the people, the same means were employed to procure admission for the opposite principles. Great pains were taken to have the books used in the schools so prepared, that an abhorrence of images might be infused at once into the minds of children and youth.⁶ The old ecclesiastical hymns, relating to images, were expunged, and new ones introduced of an opposite tendency.⁷

¹ Vid. l. ii. ep. 94.

² L. ii. ep. 34.

³ Διὰ σπλάγχχνου οἰκτιρῶν οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων μου τιναν· οὐ γὰρ ἰσποίησά τι ἀγαθὸν ἰσὶ τῆς γῆς ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον.

⁴ L. ii. ep. 14.

⁵ Μηνυταὶ καὶ πιττακοδοταὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος μισθώμενοι.

⁶ Theodor. Studit. l. c. f. 318: Τὰ νήσια ἐν σοῖς τῆς ἀσιβείας δόγμασιν ἀνατρεφονται τῶ δοθίντι τόμῳ τοῖς διδασκάλοις.

⁷ Vid lib. ii. ep. 15, to the patriarch of Antioch, f. 320: Παρκατίλλονται ψαλμῶ-

The emperor Leo having been cut off by a conspiracy, his enemy, Michael II., the Stammerer, was by the same party taken from his prison and chains, and elevated to the imperial throne. Owing to the hostile relations which had subsisted between him and his predecessor, the image-worshippers might expect that he would be disposed to favour their cause. When he liberated those who had been imprisoned on account of their zeal for images, and recalled the exiles, their expectations were raised to a still higher pitch. The chiefs of the image-worshippers returned from exile, as well as the deposed patriarch Nicephorus; and the abbot Theodore Studita earnestly petitioned the emperor, that he would take measures to complete the triumph of truth and piety in the church, and begin by restoring the bond of connection betwixt the three head churches. Theodore explained to him, at length, how essential image-worship was to orthodoxy. He also applied to the courtiers, men and women, who were most nearly attached to the emperor's person, and urged them to do their utmost in persuading him to take some decided course of action in favour of image-worship. Michael, in fact, had no particular hostility to *images*. He was not opposed to them in the same sense as the earlier emperors of this tendency; but he was opposed to the extravagant worship of images. He understood better than other Byzantine emperors how to distinguish and separate the whole sphere of his duty, as a civil ruler, from his own subjective opinions as a Christian. The restoration and preservation of tranquillity in the empire, which had been disturbed by these party disputes, was his first aim; and, to secure this, he deemed it best not to alter the existing ecclesiastical relations, but to leave every one at liberty to act, without molestation, according to his own religious convictions. Thus he expressed himself to the abbot Theodore; and all he required of the image-worshippers was that they should not stigmatise the other party as heretics, nor do anything whereby the public quiet might be disturbed. But of course these people would be quite as little satisfied with such a policy, as with an open attack on the images. At their own point of view, and with their impres-

δὶαι ἀρχαιοπαράδοτοι, ἐν αἷς περὶ εἰκόνων ἄδεται τι, ἀντ᾿ἄδεται τὰ ἀσιβῆ νία δόγματα εἰς προὔπτον κίμινα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παισὶ πρὸς τῶν διδασκάλων παραδιδόμενα καὶ μεταστοιχίωσις τῶ ἀπάντων ἀθιωτάτη.

sions respecting the importance of the contested points, a tolerance of this kind appeared no better than indifference to the faith generally. It is no wonder, therefore, that so many injurious reports, in part self-contradictory, respecting the heretical or sceptical character of this emperor, should get abroad, and even be handed down to posterity,—the truth of which cannot indeed be either directly denied, or on these grounds positively affirmed;—as, for example, that he maintained Judas Iscariot was saved, that he doubted the doctrine of a future resurrection, and denied the doctrine of a Satan, because no such being is mentioned in the Pentateuch. What the emperor chiefly desired was, that a conference of the theologians of the different parties might be held in his own presence, and thus a compromise be effected. This he proposed to Nicephorus and to Theodore; but the latter repeated the same objections which he had made to a similar proposal under the preceding reign. He would enter into no sort of fellowship with men whom he regarded as heretics; he avowed once more the non-Byzantine principle—emperors and civil magistrates have nothing to do with ecclesiastical matters, the regulation of which belongs exclusively to those on whom Christ had conferred the power to bind and loose. It belonged to monarchs to seal and ratify, and to assist in carrying into effect, the decrees of spiritual authorities.¹ The emperor should in the first place restore Nicephorus to his office, and give over to him the direction of these matters; or if Nicephorus was suspected by him, he might have recourse to the Roman church; for a patriarch could only be judged by his equals. The bishop of Rome he regarded as the first among the patriarchs; and the whole five together were bound to maintain inviolate the organism of the church.²

Meanwhile, there was growing up an intermediate party,³ between the zealous image-worshippers and the decided iconoclasts,—a direction which most fully accorded with the views of the

¹ L. ii. ep. 129. Βασιλείων τὸ σιπικουφῆν καὶ συνισφραγίζειν τὰ δεδογμένα.

² Τὸ πιντακέρυφον κράτος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. The Roman bishop, πρωτόθρονος, ὃ τὸ κράτος ἀναφίρεται τῆς οἰκουμηνικῆς συνόδου.

³ By this party it was affirmed that the controversy did not relate to any object of faith, that it was wrong to call the opponents of images heretics, ἐνιοὶ δὲ—says Theosterict, in his Life of Nicetas, § 27—οὐδὲ ἀίρεισιν ταύτην ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλὰ φιλονικίαν.

emperor. This party distinguished two different stages in Christianity, the stage of the mature, those who feel no need of sensible means to excite their devotion, who are satisfied with the instruction given by the holy Scriptures,—and the stage of the weak, the immature, those who need a preparatory culture by these sensible means of devotion.¹ Theodore, however, would not allow that any such distinctions in the Christian church, between Bible-Christians and image-Christians, were valid; because it was contrary to the unity of the Christian platform, as laid down by St Paul in Gal. iii. 28. Within the community of Christians, such a distinction betwixt minors and majors ought no longer to exist. He maintained, on the contrary, that as every one of the perfect, though clothed with the authority of an apostle, still needed the Scripture of the gospels, so he needed also the outward representation of images answering to that Scripture; and the same reverence was due to both.² But on the other hand, the worship of images was by many carried to such an excess, that even Theodore was constrained to combat these extravagancies as contrary to the essence of the Christian worship of God. There were those who maintained that the image of Christ must be adored in the same manner with Christ himself.³ He described the bent of these enthusiasts, as an error on the opposite extreme to the error of the iconoclasts.⁴ It was his doctrine, on the contrary, that the λατρεία could have reference only to God; but to Christ's image a relative worship, *πρὸς κύνησις σχετική* was due—relative to that which is represented in the image. Hence it might be said the image of Christ is worshipped, or Christ is worshipped in his image. It

¹ So Theodore Studita describes their way of thinking: Συγχωροῦμεν δὲ τοῖς ἀπλουστίοις, ἀτελιστίοις αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσιν ὑπὸ συμφοῦς αὐτῶν ἰσαγωγῆς καὶ ὄψι τῇ αὐτοῖς συμμίτρῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν ἰσαγωγῆς τρόπῳ μαυθάνειν.

² Theodor. ii. 171.

³ Λατρευτὴ ἢ Χριστοῦ εἰκῶν.

⁴ Ἡ Τζουκαλικὴ ἢ Κεντουκλαδικὴ αἵρεσις, ἧτις ἐκ διαμέτρου πρὸς τὴν εἰκονομαχικὴν ἀντιστρέφεται. ii. 151. With regard to these two obscure names of sects, we may observe that the root of the first is Τζουκαλι, Τζουκαλι, which in the medieval Greek denoted an earthen vessel, pottery: the root of the second is Κεντουκλα, Κεντυκλον, —Latin cento, centunculus, Greek κεντιν—signification, *woven, knit*; see the Greek glossary of Dufresne, under the words cited. It is probable, therefore, that these names of sects came from images manufactured of clay, and others which were woven or knit. The latter were frequently to be met with among the later Greeks.

was not a double worship, but *one*, referring from the image to Him who is contemplated in the image.¹

But now, inasmuch as the image-worshippers had, from the first breaking out of these controversies, found countenance and support from the Romish church, and inasmuch as they had spread within that church the most injurious reports respecting the erroneous doctrines prevailing in the Greek church, the emperor Michael, in the year 824, for the purpose of justifying his conduct, sent an embassy to Rome, to pope Paschalis I., with costly presents for the church of St Peter. To insure the accomplishment of his purpose, he sent at the same time, and in the same company, an embassy to the emperor Lewis the Pious, with a letter, in which, to defend the reputation of this orthodoxy against the injurious reports then circulated, he laid down a confession of faith, and in which he solicited the good offices of the emperor to further his cause with the pope. In justification of the measures resorted to in the Greek church against images, he describes in this letter the extravagant pitch to which the superstition of the image-worshippers had gone. Crosses had been removed from the churches,² and images substituted in their place; lights were placed before these images, and incense burnt to them. The same honour was paid to images as to the sign of the cross on which Christ had suffered for the salvation of mankind. Before the image hymns were chanted, and help was invoked from them; some took them for god-fathers in the baptism of their children; others had employed them in preference to pious and living men to witness their consecration to the monastic life.³ Many of the clergy had mixed the paint from these images with the sacramental wine; and after the celebration of the eucharist, given of it to those whom they chose to honour with such a privilege. Others had placed the Lord's body in the hand of an image, thus making it a communicant. The measures which he

¹ Προσκύνησις ὁμώνυμος, not συνώνυμος, ii. 87, 151, 161. He declared also against those who placed such inscriptions on images as designated attributes belonging only to God, θεϊότης, κυριότης, βασιλεία. ii. 57.

² Which the emperor—whether the fact was so or not—carefully noticed, in order to represent his opponents as dishonouring the holy symbol, thus placing them in an odious light.

³ Adhibitibus imaginibus quasi in sinum earum decidere capillos (in the tonsure) sinebant.

had adopted against images, he represents as designed merely to suppress such superstitions;—hence the images had been removed from the inferior places, but allowed to remain in the higher, where they might serve as a pictorial substitute for the Scriptures.¹

The emperor Theophilus, who succeeded his father Michael in the year 830, was animated by a warm sympathy for the affairs of the church, and his piety manifested itself also in those forms in which alone it could at that time be acknowledged in the Greek church, in the zealous worship of Mary and the saints. He was the author of several church hymns, which were publicly used. Since his piety exhibited itself in the common church forms, the image-worshippers confidently expected, that by his means the images would be restored to their ancient honour; for they could conceive of true piety only in connection with image-worship—but they were doomed to disappointment. The vital interest he felt in religion was the very cause which determined the emperor to resort to more violent measures against images; for in image-worship he saw a renewal of idolatry, which he believed himself called upon in every way to destroy. His teacher, John the Grammarian, that violent enemy of images, had deeply imbued him with his own principles. John was his principal adviser in all these measures; and when the patriarchate of Constantinople fell vacant, John was elevated by his grateful pupil to the highest spiritual dignity. To the emperor Theophilus it appeared, for so he expressed it, a thing unworthy of man's spirit, which should rise to the pure contemplation of divine things, to undertake to move it by such low, sensual impressions, thus drawing it down to sense. But he was bent on making his own subjective views a law to others. When, therefore, he experienced from the monks (among whom were several skilful painters, men who united the religious interest with the artistic) the most determined opposition, he yielded to the dictates of passion. The monks, who as teachers and artists, laboured for the promotion of image-worship, were banished, scourged, and subjected to various cruel and ignominious punishments.² A monk, Lazarus, who after

¹ Mansi Concil. T. xiv., f. 419.

² Two well known sufferers under this reign, were the monks and brothers Theodore, surnamed *ὁ γγαπτός*, from certain letters branded on his face, as it is said, by the emperor's command), and Theophanes the singer.

suffering severe bodily castigation, was set at liberty, fled to a church in Constantinople, dedicated to John the Baptist, and forgetting his pain in the enthusiasm for religious art, painted on the spot a picture of John the Baptist, which long continued to be held in the highest veneration in the Greek church, and even enjoyed the reputation of performing miraculous cures.¹

But while Theophilus was directing all the energies of the imperial government to the extirpation of image-worship, the way was preparing for a new reaction within his own domestic circle, in favour of that worship, and once more from a woman. The empress Theodora came from a family devoted to image-worship, and she had been educated in it. Her mother, Theoctista, who resided in Constantinople, sedulously cherished this religious tendency in her and in her children. Once when the daughters of the empress were on a visit to her, she took some images from a chest, in which she kept them concealed, and showing them to the children, exhorted them to hold such objects sacred, and to worship them. She made the young princesses kiss them, applied the images to their faces, to their brows, that they might be sanctified by the holy touch. The emperor was informed of all this by his youngest daughter, who, with the ingenuousness of a child, answered all his questions. He found out also that his wife kept images by her, and worshipped them. Yet he took no active measures to guard against a future movement in favour of image-worship; though he is said to have drawn a promise from Theodora, that after his death the arrangements he had established should not be altered.² He died early, leaving behind him Theodora, with a minor son, Michael. The guardianship of the young prince was intrusted to his uncle Manuel, and to Theoctistus. Both were image-worshippers; but Theoctist was the most zealous of the two, and was in favour of restoring image-worship at once. But the more prudent Manuel, dreading the resistance they would have to encounter from the party of the iconoclasts, which during the last reign had been raised again to importance, held him back. Besides, Theodora was afraid to do anything against the will of her beloved husband, to whom she had made so sacred a promise.

¹ See, besides others, Constantin. Porphyrogenet. Continuat.—reign of this emperor, † 13.

² Genes. l. iii. ed. Lachmann, p. 71.

Meantime, a preparatory measure of some importance towards the wished-for change, was the recalling of the monks from their different places of exile, who now exerted their whole influence to bring about once more the triumph of image-worship in the popular mind. An unexpected circumstance favoured their designs. Manuel was attacked with a dangerous sickness. Several monks visited him, and, standing around his sick bed, soothed his departing moments with their prayers and spiritual songs. They told him that God would spare his life, if he would pledge himself to devote it to the work of restoring the images. He promised; and having recovered, felt himself bound to make every effort to redeem his vow. Theoctist entered fully and heartily into all his plans. The empress Theodora showed at first more hesitation; the memory of her husband was still dear to her. But being herself devoted to image-worship in its most superstitious form, her feelings on this point were easily wrought upon, when Manuel hinted at the danger of exciting the divine displeasure. So it was resolved that the usual measures should be taken for the restoration of image-worship. The patriarch John, of Constantinople, who adhered steadfastly to his principles, was compelled to resign his office and retire to a monastery. The monk Methodius, a zealot for image-worship, who had suffered much for the cause during the preceding reign, was appointed to take his place. But Theodora still cherished too sacred a regard for the memory of her husband, to be willing to acquiesce in another measure, by which it was proposed to anathematise him as a promoter of heresy. She informed the new patriarch and the other assembled bishops, that there was but one condition on which she could consent to the restoration of image-worship, which was that they should pledge themselves to obtain from God the pardon of her husband. The patriarch Methodius explained to her, that the power of the keys which they possessed reached only to the living; that they could do nothing for the souls of the departed, except in a few cases of minor transgression, but which had evidently been followed by repentance.¹ The case was entirely different with those who had manifestly passed from this life to perdition, as in their opinion must be the certain fate of all promoters of erroneous doctrines

¹ The procuring of a speedier deliverance from purgatory.

and persecutors of the orthodox. The empress, bent on obtaining at any rate from the clergy the wish of her heart, now resorted to a fiction¹—whether it came up in her own mind, or was suggested to her by another—whereby she hoped that her request might be granted without any violation of the doctrine of the church. She declared that her husband had certainly been induced before his death, by her own representations of the dreadful curse of the church impending over him, to repent of, and to renounce his heresy. Thereupon the bishops assured her, that the case being so, they could promise that he should be forgiven of God; and they gave her a written declaration to this effect. Thus her remaining scruples were removed, and she consented to all that was proposed to be done for the restoration of image-worship.²

It was now determined that the images should be again triumphantly introduced into the head church of Constantinople. The 19th of February, the first Sunday of Lent in the year 842, was the day appointed for this celebration. Ecclesiastics and monks from far and near flocked together on this occasion, and with solemn pomp, attended by nobles and dignitaries of church and state, conveyed the images to the church to which they were to be restored. This day was ever afterwards observed in the Greek church as a high festival, called the feast of Orthodoxy (*πανήγυρις τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας*); but the allusion was soon made more general, and the feast referred to the triumph and maintenance of pure doctrine.

The new patriarch Methodius did not proceed with the same forbearance which had been shown by the patriarch Tarasius³ at the former restoration of image-worship and in the second Nicene council. Profiting by the experience that the very individuals who, by a hypocritical recantation before that council, had managed to retain their spiritual dignities, came out under Leo the Armenian as the most violent opponents of images, he resolved that the same thing should not occur again. All who had taken an active part against images, or who after previous recantation had once more joined the iconoclasts, were deposed, and the places

¹ For had there been any truth in it, she would doubtless have mentioned it before, since it would have so well answered her purpose.

² Constantin. Porphyrogenet. continuator. l. iv. c. 4, f. 95, ed. Paris.

³ See vol. v. p. 298.

vacated by them filled with stanch and trustworthy image-worshippers.¹ But the party of the iconoclasts, which had now propagated itself for an entire century, and which had been again in possession of the power for twenty years, could not thus be crushed at a blow. It maintained a lingering existence for a while longer, numbering among its adherents persons belonging to different ranks of society, the deposed clergy serving as its teachers. It was a faction, anxiously waiting for some favourable political change again to lift up its head. When the empress Theodora, that zealous friend of image-worship, lost her influence, and her son Michæel took the reins of government into his own hands; when Ignatius, the successor of Methodius, and a no less devoted image-worshipper than the latter, was compelled to resign his office;² these changes served, no doubt, to revive the hopes of the Iconoclastic faction. But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. Photius, the new patriarch, was also zealously devoted to image-worship, and the two contending parties, the friends of Ignatius and those of Photius, were of precisely the same mind on *this one point*. But the correspondence of the latter furnishes evidence of the influence still possessed by the remaining iconoclasts; for we find letters addressed to ecclesiastics, to courtiers, and to monks, filled with the refutation of iconoclastic arguments.³ And when re-

¹ Life of the Patriarch Ignatius by Nicetas. Harduin's Concil. T. v. f. 953.

² See further on.

³ Among which arguments was a singular and novel one, and an equally singular refutation of it by Photius. Said the Iconoclasts: "Different races of people, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Ethiopians, Indians, had each their several image of Christ. No one of these images resembled any other. But as there is no good reason for supposing that one only among all these different types is genuine, and for declaring all the others to be false, it follows that we must absolutely deny that any true image of Christ exists." To this Photius replies: "The reasoning is the same as if it should be argued from the diversity of the translations of the gospels into different languages, that there was no true gospel." Strictly taken, this comparison, we must admit, would not do, and an iconoclast would have found no difficulty in refuting it. At the same time, the illustration may hold good, perhaps, in one respect—viz. the several national images of Christ might be considered as so many particular national versions, so to speak, of the one Christ belonging to humanity. Accordingly he proceeds to say: "We might by the same reasoning deny in general the reality of Christ's human appearance; for the people of each several nation represent to themselves the form of Christ as one familiar to their own." *Λιγιστάσα, ὡς ἰσχυρὰ Ἑλληνας μὲν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίον ἐστὶ γῆς φανῆναι τὸν Χριστὸν νομίζουσι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς εἰκόσα. Ἰνδοὶ δὲ πάλιν μορφῇ τῇ αὐτῶν, καὶ Αἰθίοπες δὴλον ὡς ἑαυτοῖς, ἐστὶ ταῦτα, τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀληθὴς Χριστός; Vid. ep. 64.* It deserves notice, too, that Photius appeals here not to the existence

course¹ was had by the Greek church to the see of Rome amid the disputes between the parties of Ignatius and of Photius, though the new movements of the iconoclasts was rather the pretext than the real occasion of this step, yet undoubtedly some foundation of truth lay at the bottom of this pretext.² And this view of the matter is confirmed by the next succeeding events; for even at the œcumenical council held at Constantinople in the year 869, of which we shall speak hereafter, the controversy with the iconoclasts was again brought forward. Theodore, surnamed *Κρίθινος*, appeared here at the eighth sitting, as the head of this party;—with him came three other members of it, Nicetas, an ecclesiastic, Theophanes a jurist, and another layman Theophilus. This Theodore, being called upon in the name of the council to renounce his erroneous doctrine, was at first silent. Upon this, one of the imperial commissioners handing him a coin stamped with the image of the emperor, said, “Dost thou adopt this coin?” Theodore answered, “I adopt it, and honour it, as one should honour an imperial coin.” Then said the commissioner, “If thou despisest not the image of a mortal emperor, how darest thou despise the divinely human image of our Lord, the image of his holy mother, and the images of all the saints?” Theodore replied: “Of the image which thou showest me, I am certain it is the likeness of the emperor. Thou requirest of me that I should receive also an image of Christ; but I know not that this is the command of Christ, or that it is well-pleasing to him.” The commissioner then said they had not assembled there to dispute with him, but to admonish him. He adhered steadfastly to his convictions, and the anathema was pronounced by the synod on him and on all opposers of image-worship. His three companions, however, declared that they were induced by the perfect unanimity which they observed in the synod, to renounce their erro-

of the genuine image of Christ handed down by tradition, but only to the higher, ideal unity lying at the ground of the whole diversity of types.

¹ See below, the history of these controversies.

² Though pope Nicholas was well aware that the image-controversies were, in this case, only a pretext, yet he was not ignorant of the fact, that the iconoclasts in this Greek church were still active; for in intimating his knowledge of the former, he at the same time says, in his letter to the emperor Michael: *Super hac causa strepitus et blasphemie non cessarunt et nunc ibidem profana pædicantur et hucusque sacrilega pronuntiantur.* Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 160.

neous doctrine, and they pronounced the anathema on those whom they had hitherto acknowledged as their teachers. They were rewarded with an *embrace* by the emperor, who was present at the proceedings.¹

APPENDIX.

PARTICIPATION OF THE WESTERN CHURCH IN THESE CONTROVERSIES.

The popes, it is true, adhered to the principles followed by their predecessors, ever since the breaking out of these controversies ; and they furnished the most powerful support to the persecuted image-worshippers among the Greeks. But the Frank church, which occupied a middle position between the two parties, availed itself of an opportunity presented by the Greek church itself, to express once more, on the renewal of these image-controversies, its own peculiar principles with remarkable freedom. This opportunity was presented when the emperor Michael,² as above related, applied by his ambassadors to Lewis the Pious for his mediation. In complying with this request of the Greek emperor, Lewis resolved, by the advice of his wiser and less bigoted bishops, to make it an occasion of presenting to the pope himself, in a kind and considerate manner, and without any appearance of contradiction to the Romish church, a fair statement of the truth, in opposition to image-worship, with a view, if possible, to obtain his sanction to it. For this reason, he begged leave of pope Eugenius II. to have a collection of remarks by the older fathers, on the subject of image-worship, drawn up by a synod of his bishops, for the instruction of the Greeks ; the design at bottom being, undoubtedly, to operate afterwards, by means of these authorities, upon the mind of the pope himself. The pope could not but feel himself flattered by such a proposal, and, with his approbation, a synod for deliberating on this matter was held at Paris, in the year 825. This synod drew up a collection of sayings by the ancient fathers, on the right use of images, as well in opposition to image-worship, as to the total

¹ Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 1089.

² See p. 367.

rejection of images. Entering fully into the crafty plan devised by the emperor Lewis, for laying a train of negotiations with the pope, they drew up a writing, which the emperor, in the name of the synod, was to address to the pope, laying before him the collected testimonies of the church fathers, and besides—a circumstance which characterises their relation to the pope—they appointed a committee from their own number, to draw up a letter in the name of the latter, which he might send, if he thought proper, to the Greek emperor. The synod, in their letter to the emperor Lewis, openly and decidedly avowed their opposition to the reigning superstition in the Romish Church, with regard to image-worship; a superstition of which many among the assembled bishops had been eye-witnesses.¹ They pointedly animadverted upon the style in which pope Hadrian I. had undertaken to refute the Carolinian Books.² In opposing that work, he had stated things which were at variance with the truth, and with the authority of the ancient church doctrine;³ and they knew of no other excuse which could be offered for him, than that he had erred through ignorance rather than advisedly;⁴ as might be inferred from the fact, that Hadrian ultimately appealed to his agreement with Gregory the Great, though that pope was really opposed to image-worship.⁵ They expressed their joy to the emperor, that he had been enabled to set on foot such an investigation for the advancement of the truth, under the very authority of one who took the opposite side, which authority would now be under the necessity, even in spite of itself, to yield to the truth.⁶ They confirmed the emperor in his intention of so expressing everything that deserved to be censured in the two opposite ten-

¹ Illorum, (qui in sacra sede Petri apostoli resident) erga imagines superstitionem venerationem quidam visu, omnes vero aliorum relatu cognoscimus. *Manci Concil. T. xiv. f. 424.*

² See vol. v. p. 311.

³ Talia quædam sunt, quæ in illorum objectionem opposuit, quæ et veritati et auctoritati refregantur; and then afterwards: aliquando absona, aliquando inconvenientia, aliquando etiam reprehensione digna.

⁴ Quod non tantum scienter, quantum ignorantur in eodem facto a recto tramite deviauerit.

⁵ See vol. v. p. 257.

⁶ Ut ejus auctoritate quæreretur veritatem, cujus auctoritas diviare videbatur ab ipsa, quatenus veritas patefacta, dum se in medium ostenderet, etiam ipsa auctoritas volens nolensque veritati cederet atque succumberet.

dencies of the image-worshippers and of the iconoclasts,¹ as if it were directed solely against the Greeks, who might be corrected with freedom, and with regard to whom less fear might be entertained of giving offence.² The emperor Lewis appointed archbishop Jeremiah of Sens, and bishop Jonas of Orleans, his envoys to the pope; he gave them express instructions to lay only that part of the collection formed by the synod before the pope, to which the pope and his advisers could have nothing to object.³ He dreaded the Roman obstinacy and the Roman arrogance; and for this reason he particularly enjoined it upon his envoys to use great prudence and caution in their treatment of the pope, lest perchance the evil might only be made worse. They were not openly to contradict him, but to take pains, by entering into his own views, to manage the matter in such a way as that he might discover himself the right mean to be observed in relation to this subject.⁴ The letter which he wrote to the pope⁵ was only conceived with reference to the same object. He proposed to the pope, that when the latter sent envoys to the Greek emperor, the two embassies, the pope's and his own, should go together. Respecting the issue of these negotiations of the emperor Lewis with the pope, history is silent. As the Roman church, however, ever held fast to its traditional mode of thinking on this subject, and was not fond of being instructed, it is probable that the experiment failed, having made shipwreck, as the emperor feared it would, on the pertinacia Ro-

¹ Walch, in his *History of Heresies and Schisms*, vol. xi. p. 122), is not quite correct in saying, it was believed in the Frankish church, that only these two opposite tendencies existed in the Greek church, and that nothing was known there of a moderate and a middle tendency. This latter tendency could hardly fail to be noticed in the letter of the emperor Michael. There was but one respect in which this emperor seemed to the Frankish bishops to go too far, namely, in not tolerating images in low places: "Quamquam cætera alia secundum auctoritatem veritatis, sicut in suis scriptis continetur, idem imperator fecerit, propter hoc tamen factum quosdam illarum partium infirmos scandalisasse nec non quosdam nostræ urbis Romanæ perturbasse.

² Qui libere admoneri possunt et quorum scandalum, si pro veritate ortum fuerit facilius tolerari potest.

³ Quod ipsi vel sui rejicere minime valeant. See the instruction of the emperor to his envoys, in *Mansi Concil. T. xv. f. 436*.

⁴ Vos ipsi tam patienter ac modeste cum eo de hac causa disputationem habeatis, ut summopere caveatis, ne nimis ei resistendo eum in aliquam irrevocabilem pertinaciam incidere compellatis, sed paullatim verbis ejus quasi obsequendo magis quam aperte resistendo, ad mensuram, quæ in habendis imaginibus retinenda est, eum deducere valeatis.

⁵ *Mansi*, l. c. f. 437.

mana. But with the moderate opponents of image-worship among the Greeks, to whom the emperor Michael belonged, it would be easier to come to an understanding.¹

III. RELATION OF THE GREEK AND LATIN CHURCHES TO EACH OTHER, AND CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THEM.

As to the relation of the Latin church to the Greek, the way had long since been prepared for a schism between the two, by their different characters and different courses of development; though these differences, with a few transient exceptions, had as yet passed unnoticed in the consciousness of Christian fellowship. The difference between the Greek and the Roman mind produced, as we have already had occasion to remark, from the very beginning, a difference of character in the two churches:—the lively and active intellectual bent of the Greek mind produced the more speculative character of the one, and the stiff and rigid bent of the Roman mind, which clung to the traditions of the past, the more practical character of the other. *This* relation, it is true, had now altered: The spiritual life of the Greek church had become stiffened into formalism; while the Western church had received into its bosom new races in the fresh vigour of youth, which gave birth to a new intellectual movement. But the peculiar character of the systems of faith, which had been formed in each of the two churches, continued still to operate, even under this change of relations. Many differences, arising out of the development of the systems of faith peculiar to the two churches, which became prominent in the doctrinal controversies, were but transitory appearances, and were obliterated by the results to which they led; but there were other differences, which had more lasting consequences. By means of Augustin, whose influence did not extend to the Eastern church, the general system of doctrine took its shape and direction more decidedly from the doctrine of redemption, as a centre, and from the anthropology connected

¹ Halitgar, archbishop of Cambray, and Ansfid, abbot of Nonantula, were sent on this business by the emperor to Constantinople, where they met with a friendly reception. See the anonymous Life of Lewis the Pious, year 828, in Pertz monumenta Germ. T. ii. f. 631.

therewith. But among the Greeks the case was otherwise. While in the Western church the Augustinian scheme of doctrine had become dominant, in the Greek church the older and more indefinite mode of apprehending the doctrines of grace, of free-will, and of providence, a theory bordering on Pelagianism, had been preserved. *This* dogmatical difference constitutes, it is true, the most important one; but it remained, for the most part an unconscious difference. It was not brought prominently to view by any public determinations of faith, and hence, on a superficial contemplation of the relation of the two churches to each other, was less apt to strike the eye. Far more importance was attached to another point of difference, which in itself was of inferior moment, but which became of more moment because the difference was made prominent in a public symbol.

We observed in the second period, how the two churches came to differ in their mode of apprehending the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, while neither church seemed to be distinctly conscious of any opposition in which it stood to the other, and how from this arose an additional article to the old Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed. It is true, the greatest dogmatist of the Greek church, John of Damascus,¹ laid down this doctrine in his doctrinal system, according to its peculiar form in the Greek church; yet he did it in such a way as to leave room for a middle course. He restored unity to the Triad, by following the ancient theory of the Greek church; representing God the Father as the ἀρχή; and in this view, the being of the Holy Spirit, no less than the being of the Son, as grounded in and derived from the Father. The Holy Spirit is from the Father, and the Spirit of the Father; not from the Son, but still the Spirit of the Son. He proceeds from the Father, to one ἀρχή of all being, and he is communicated through the Son; through the Son the whole creation shares in the Spirit's work; by himself he creates, moulds, sanctifies all, and binds all together. John of Damascus makes use of the following illustration: "As the ray of light, and the illumination it sheds, both proceed from the sun,² but the illumination is communicated to us through the ray, so the being of the Holy Spirit, no less than that of the Son, is grounded in the Father, but the

¹ See Vol. v. p. 253.

² Ἡ ἀκτὶς ἢ ἱλαμψις.

communication of the Holy Spirit, his influence diffused over the whole creation, is through the mediation of the Son.¹ This statement, namely, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, through the Son, was the point of mediation by which the two churches might come together on this doctrine.²

By occasion of the negotiations between the two churches, of which we spoke in the history of the preceding period,³ this disputed point was brought up in a synod at Gentilly, A.D. 767, and the Western form of the doctrine held fast. The intercourse between the two churches in the time of Charlemagne led to new discussions of the subject at various synods; at Forum Julium (Friuli), in the year 791, at Aix la Chapelle, in the year 809, where also the point was decided in opposition to the Greek church. The emperor Charles took a lively interest in these controversies, and induced Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans to defend the doctrine of the Western church, by collections of excerpts from the ancient fathers. Since now that addition to the ancient creed, which had been imported from the Spanish church into the churches of France, had not as yet been received in the church of Rome, the emperor wished to obtain a confirmation of it by pope Leo III., from which quarter, perhaps, a disposition had already been shown to contradict the formulary. He communicated, by an embassy, to the pope, the decisions of the assembly held at Aix, and wrote him a letter proving the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son, by quotations from the ancient fathers. The negotiations which took place on this occasion between the emperor's envoys (two bishops and an abbot) and the pope, who at that time dared not address the emperor's messengers in the imperative tone assumed at a later period, are well worthy of notice.⁴ Three subjects were here presented for discussion; respecting the contested doctrine in itself; respecting the custom not existing in the Roman church,

¹ See l. i. c. vii. et viii.

² *Τίου δι πνιμα, ουχ' ως εξ αυτου, αλλ' ως δι αυτου εκ του πατρος εκ πορευομενον' μονος γαρ αϊσιος ο πατηρ.* This conciliatory representation, so expressed, is to be found, however, only in the section at the twelfth chapter, which in the oldest manuscripts is wanting.

³ See vol. v. p. 301.

⁴ The protocol drawn up by the abbot Smaragd in Baronius, year 809, N. 54. and Harduin. Concil. T. iv. f. 970.

but which had been received in the Frankish, of *chanting* the symbol in divine service instead of *reciting* it; and respecting the chanting it with the additional clause. With the doctrine, the pope expressed his agreement; the deviation from the use of the Roman church, in reference to the chanting of the symbol, he let pass; but he did not think he could approve of *the addition* to the symbol. The imperial envoys stood upon the principle, that what came by tradition might be reformed and improved—the principle of progress in the church. “If this doctrine, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son, contains a weighty truth, then,” as they supposed, “no means should be left untried to make it more widely known; and to this end, the public chanting of it in the symbol particularly contributed. In this way many, who otherwise would have had known nothing about it, were instructed in the doctrine.”¹ But the pope proceeded at this time on the same principle with that followed in the Greek church, which would allow no alteration to be made in the symbol;—the principle that nothing ought to be altered in the decisions of a general council illuminated by the Holy Ghost. The fathers of that council had been guided by the Holy Ghost, as in all other respects so also in this, that they had *not* introduced this further exposition of the doctrine into the symbol, and therefore there must have been good reasons for omitting it. Indeed there were important determinations of the truths of faith, which had never been adopted into any symbol. And this article in particular, on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, seemed to him to be one among the number of those truths of faith, which all would by no means be competent to understand, and which are necessary only to the salvation of those who are capable of understanding them.² So far was the Roman church at that time from wishing to make this determination a public matter of dispute.

John Scotus, who, as we have observed, had been greatly influenced by the study of the teachers of the Eastern church, ap-

¹ Si enim sciret paternitas tua, says the envoys, quanta sunt hodie millie id scientium, quia cantatur, qui nunquam scituri essent, nisi cantaretur, fortasse nobiscum teneret.

² Sunt enim multa, e quibus istud unum est, sacræ fidei altiora mysteria, subtilioraque sacramenta, ad quorum indagacionem pertingere multi valent, multi vero aut setatis quantitate aut intelligentiæ qualitate preediti non valent. Et ideo, qui potuerit et noluerit, salvus esse non poterit.

proximated in his views on this point also more closely to the Greeks, or rather he adopted the formulary which was intended to reconcile the opposite positions. It appears to him unreasonable to suppose, that One cause should proceed from two, especially in the case of a nature the most simple of all.¹ To illustrate the case, he makes use of the same comparison with John of Damascus; but he prosecutes it further, and handles it with more acuteness and ingenuity. "Though the light from a fire proceeds through the medium of the ray, yet we cannot say that the light proceeds from two causes; but the fire is the cause which produces the light as well as the ray. The ray produces the light, not as a ray, not as an independent cause of itself; but it is the ever present power of the fire which causes ray and light to proceed from itself, as the efficient cause in both."² So the Father is the generating cause of his only begotten Son, and the Son is the cause of all archetypal causes which were created in him by the Father;³ and the same Father is the cause of the Holy Spirit proceeding from him, which Spirit is the cause of the distribution of all the causes created by the Father in the Son, in their general and special operations throughout the kingdoms of nature and of grace." Moreover, the comparison with the internal structure of the human mind, which Augustin had employed to illustrate the procession of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son,⁴ was made use of by John Scotus to illustrate his own view of the doctrine. "Although the soul's love for itself, which answers to the Holy Spirit, proceeds from the soul through the medium of self-consciousness, yet self-consciousness is not the cause of the love, but it is the soul in itself, from which the germ of love proceeds, even before it has attained to complete self-consciousness."⁵

¹ Ex duabus namque causis unam causam confluere, rationi non facile occurrit, præsertim in simplici natura et plusquam simplici et, ut verius dicatur, in ipsi simplicitate, omni divisione et numerositate carente. De divisione Naturæ, l. ii. c. 31.

² Radius ipse ex igne nascens, non ita nascitur, ut gignentem se ignem deserat, sed ita gignitur, ut virtus ignea, quæ cum gignit, semper et ubique inseparabiliter et immutabiliter in eo permaneat, tota in toto, et totus in tota, et unum duo et duo unum, et quamvis videatur splendor de radio exire, non tamen ex ipso radio, in quantum radius est, sed ex ipsa virtute procedit, ex qua radius nascitur, et quæ tota et totum radium et totum splendorem penetrat atque implet. L. ii. c. 32.

³ The causæ prototypæ, primordiales, in the Logos, the archetypes of all existence.

⁴ See vol. iv. p. 107.

⁵ Mens et notitiam sui gignit et a se ipsa amor sui et notitiæ sui procedit, quo et ipsa et notitia sui conjunguntur, et quamvis ipse amor ex mente per notitiam

Besides these dogmatical differences between the two churches, there were several others relating to the church constitution and to church life,—differences, respecting the origin of which we have spoken in the preceding period. These points of difference were more especially expressed, on the part of the Greek church as opposed to the Latin, by the second Trullan council in the year 691 or 692. Thus, in the 36th canon of this council, the determination of the first general council of Constantinople and of the Chalcedonian council was confirmed, that the Constantinopolitan patriarch should possess the same rights with the Roman, and have the first rank after the latter.¹ In the 13th canon, it was established, that married persons might be ordained as priests, deacons, and subdeacons; and that at their ordination they should not be obliged to separate from their wives. The council, by passing this decree in express opposition to the Roman church, more than hinted that by the latter, the state of wedlock, instituted by the divine law, and sanctioned by Christ's presence at a wedding, was dishonoured;² and they cite on the other side the passages of Scripture, Matt. xix. 6; Heb. xiii. 4; 1 Cor. vii. 27. Sentence of deposition was pronounced on those who acted in contradiction to this ordinance. In the 2d canon, the number of apostolical canons held to be good and valid is fixed at eighty-five, while the Roman church adopted but fifty of them. Connected with this was the fact that many things ordered in those later canons were settled as law, which possessed no such validity in the Roman church. Thus, this council condemned, in conformity with the 66th apostolical canon,³ the prevailing custom in the Roman church, whereby fasting in the season of fast before Easter was extended also to the Sabbath (Saturday).⁴ To this we may add, that to the decrees of the apostolical convention at Jerusalem (Acts c. xv.) which had been long considered in the Western church as possessing validity only for a deter-

sui procedat, non tamen ipsa notitia causa amoris est, sed ipsa mens, ex qua amor inchoat esse, et antequam ad perfectam notitiam sui men ipsa perveniat. p. 91.

¹ See the controversy on this subject, vol. iii., p. 219.

² "Ἴνα μὴ ἰντεῦθεν τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ νομοθετηθέντα καὶ εὐλογηθέντα τῇ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ γάμον καθυβρίζειν ἐκβιασθῶμεν.

³ In the 55th canon.

⁴ See on the origin of this difference, vol. i., p. 402, and vol. iii., p. 401.

minate period of time,¹ was ascribed a perpetual validity ; and that eating of blood, and of things strangled, was forbidden on pain of exclusion from the church-communion.² Finally, that those figures of Christ by which he was represented in the form of a lamb,³ in allusion to the words of John the Baptist, were forbidden as belonging to the stage of the Old Testament.

The change which ensued in the constitution of the Western church in consequence of the complete elaboration of the papacy, might also contribute towards producing a wall of separation between the two churches. Thus by a combination of different causes, the way was prepared for a schism between the two churches ; but such a schism would not as yet have actually taken place had it not been for an impulse from without. The occasion of this impulse was as follows.

Nicetas was the youngest son of that emperor Michael I. (Rhangabe) who by giving place in the year 813 to Leo the Armenian, exchanged the imperial throne for a monastery. Nicetas also, at the age of fourteen, became a monk, and assumed, on entering upon the monastic life, the name Ignatius, under which he appears in history. His family furnished a place of refuge for the persecuted image-worshippers in the time of Leo the Armenian. His own services as a priest were claimed on all hands by those, who denied the validity of any religious act performed by ecclesiastics attached to the party of the iconoclasts ; and he distinguished himself by the earnest activity of a life, the animating spirit of which was love. Recommended by his own merits as well as by his illustrious descent, he was elevated by the empress Theodora, in 846, to the patriarchate of Constantinople. He administered the office under circumstances calculated to involve a man of his worthy character in many a conflict in that bad time, when the court of the young emperor Michael, ruled by the influence of his unprincipled uncle Bardas, was the seat of every corruption. As Ignatius would not consent to serve as the tool of wickedness, but felt himself bound to oppose it with the

¹ See History of the planting and guidance of the Christian church by the Apostles, p. 148 and 275—though this was forgotten again during the times of ignorance and barbarism in the Western church.

² By the 67th canon.

³ By the 82nd canon.

whole force of his patriarchal authority, he would naturally fall out with the ambitious and quarrelsome Bardas. Declining to give his assent to a measure whereby the empress Theodora, whom Bardas wished to remove from her son in order that he might rule alone, was to be consecrated as a nun, and declaring on the contrary his firm opposition to such a proceeding, he drew down upon himself even by this step the hatred of that powerful man. But in addition to this, Ignatius had endeavoured to awaken his conscience to the sense of a crime charged against him by public report, and after finding that his representations and threats availed nothing, had refused on the feast of Epiphany of the year 857 to admit him to the Holy Supper. Bardas now resolved to get rid of the troublesome patriarch, and for this purpose fabricated against him various charges designed to prove him guilty of high treason, and attached himself to a party which from the first had declared itself opposed to the appointment of Ignatius to the patriarchal dignity, and of which Gregory of Syracuse, a deposed archbishop, was the leader. As the result of these machinations, Ignatius, without a judicial trial, was banished to the island Terebinthus.¹

To give this arbitrary act a more favourable colouring, Bardas resolved to nominate to the patriarchal dignity a man who had acted indeed hitherto only in civil employments, but whose learning and talents commanded universal respect, while he was descended from a family distinguished for their zeal in favour of image-worship;² a man who had already drawn down upon himself the anathema of the iconoclasts;³ and one whose orthodoxy

¹ See Life of Ignatius by his enthusiastic admirer, Nicetas David of Pophlaria, a book written with great heat, and hence liable to be suspected of exaggeration. Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 995. Genes. hist. regg. l. iv. ed. Lachmann, p. 99.

² Photius in his 113th letter, ed. Montacut, says that his father and his uncle (*θείος*) had been condemned by a whole synod of the *εικονομάχοι*, and calls them *ὁμολογητᾶς Χριστοῦ καὶ ἀρχιερέων σεμνολόγημα*; they must have been bishops therefore. It was the glory of his father and of his mother, to have died in contending for the cause of piety, *i.e.* image-worship. See Harduin. Concil. vi. i. f. 286. By his uncle we are to understand his great uncle, for this was the patriarch Tarasius of Constantinople, whom Photius in his letter to pope Nicholas designates as his proavunculus, Baron. Annal. year 861, § 47.

³ He says, ep. 113: *ἀναθιμάτισαν ἡμᾶς χρόνοις μακροῖς πᾶσα σύνοδος αἰρετικὴ καὶ πᾶν εἰκονομάχων συνέδιον.*

was beyond question.¹ The learned Photius, who was then prime secretary to the emperor, and captain of his body-guard,² was speedily carried through the different clerical grades, and then elevated to the patriarchal dignity. In apologising to pope Nicholas for the informality of this proceeding, Photius declares that the patriarchal dignity was forced upon him against his own wishes ; and in his letters to Bardas himself, he assumes it as a fact of which Bardas was well aware, that he had sought in every possible way to decline the appointment, but had been compelled to accept it.³ This is repeated by him on a great variety of occasions ; and later, during his exile and after his restoration to the office, he asserts the same thing. The fact, therefore, that he struggled against accepting the patriarchal dignity, cannot be denied. But in this age of prevailing insincerity, among a people accustomed in the public life of church and State to sport with the forms of language, these repeated asseverations of Photius by no means make it clear that the first ecclesiastical dignity of the Greek empire, the place of greatest power, next to the imperial throne, presented nothing attractive to his ambition or his vanity. The mask of humility was often worn by the Greeks of that period as a cover to ambition ; and the grossly informal manner in which he had become possessed of the office, might be an additional inducement to him to put on this mask so as to have it in his power on any future occasion to plead that the office was forced upon him. But however attractive to him might be the splendour of the patriarchal dignity, there were also many things on the other hand which rendered his prospects far from inviting, and which must have filled him with boding anxiety. This, in-

¹ At one time, it is true, the opinion expressed by Photius, and more frequently to be found in the church teachers of the earlier ages, that man possesses two souls, a *ψυχή λογική*, the *πνεῦμα* or *νοῦς*, and *ψυχή ἄλογος*, had given offence ; see the statement of Anastasius in his preface to the transactions of the eighth œcumenical council. Harduin. v. p. 752. But surely this insignificant dispute had long since been forgotten, and the party of Ignatius afterwards looked it up only for the purpose of making Photius suspected of heresy. Accordingly the synod at Constantinople in 869, in their 10th canon, pronounced the anathema on all those who, contrary to Holy Scripture, supposed human nature possessed of another soul besides the one *ψυχή λογική καὶ νοερά*. Harduin. v. f. 1101.

² Protospatharius.

³ He writes afterwards to Bardas in reference to this election : *ἑκλαίον, ἰδυσώπων, πάντα μᾶλλον ἰσπίουν, ἢ τοῖς ψιφισομένοις καὶ βιαζομένοις συγκατίνουσιν*. ep. vi. f. 70. ed. Montacut.

deed, he confesses in his letter to Bardas. It could not be pleasant to think of the doubtful relations in which he must place himself, if, under these circumstances, he assumed a dignity which rightfully belonged to another, nor of the necessity of espousing the cause of the all-powerful, vicious Bardas, whose character must have been thoroughly known to him.¹ Hence it may well be, that he assumed the elevated post with a heavy heart. When he resolved to do so, he probably hoped that Ignatius might be persuaded to abdicate voluntarily, in which case he may have intended to keep his oath to the Metropolitans, who had made him swear, as the only condition on which they would recognise him as patriarch, that he would honour Ignatius like a father.² But by none of the entreaties, arguments, threats, insults, or abuse which the cruel Bardas employed, could Ignatius be induced to sign the abdication. Unwavering in faith, conscious of innocence, certain of his rights, he would surrender nothing to force. Bardas next sought to compel the adherents of Ignatius to recognise Photius by resorting to the ordinary measures of Byzantine despotism. They were imprisoned, deprived of their goods, scourged; their tongues were cut out. The odium of all these cruel measures lighted upon Photius; and upon him they are charged by Nicetas the biographer of Ignatius. Yet it is evident from letters of Photius to Bardas and to other nobles, which are still extant, that he was sorely vexed and troubled by the whole of these proceedings, and took unwearied pains to shield the unfortunate victims; but that his efforts availed nothing in opposition to the arbitrary will of Bardas.³ He declared that it was his intention to retire to the solitary life, if the priestly office must be insulted in the persons of the adherents of Ignatius, and he could do nothing to assist the unfortunate men.⁴ But the am-

¹ Photius says in a letter already cited, that the prospect of the evils, which had now actually befallen him, filled him with distress and anxiety: Ἡ ἐλπίς καὶ ἡ προσδοκία (τῶν καὶ τηλικούτων κακῶν) συνετάρασσέν με τότε καὶ σύνεσχεν.

² See the life of Ignatius, fol. 962; though the statement that he also pledged himself to act in all respects according to the will of Ignatius, was probably an exaggeration.

³ So he writes in the above mentioned letter to Bardas: ὅτι γὰρ ἰερεῖς, ὅποιοι ἂν καὶ ἴεν, ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐπὶ ἐνὶ πταίσματι (without doubt their attachment to Ignatius) πάσχοντας ὄρω, τυπτομένους, δημιομένους, τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐκτεμνομένους, πῶς οὐ μακαρίσω τοὺς τιτιλιτυτηκότας ὑπὲρ ἐμῆ:

⁴ See l. c. He complains (ep. iii. ad Bardem) very bitterly, that shame and execration had fallen upon him on account of what the clergy were obliged to

bition, or the weakness of character by which Photius was led, though not without a struggle, to accept of an office conferred on him in so informal a manner and with such accompaniments, was here suffering its natural punishment. He must allow things to be done, which he could not prevent indeed, but which a Chrysostom would never have suffered to go unpunished. The worthless Michael, released from all restraints, and abandoned to the wantonness of his self-will, made sport of everything serious. His favourites, those who consented to descend to his buffooneries, were made to play the parts of priests and bishops in the clerical attire. He made a mock-patriarch of his protospatharius, Theophilus. Theophilus, he said, was his patriarch; Ignatius the patriarch of the devout ones; and Photius the patriarch of Bardas. By his direction, all the sacred rites of worship were profanely celebrated with much pomp and at great expense, by these people.¹

When it was found that Ignatius could neither be persuaded nor forced to sign his abdication, one act of injustice led on to another. With a view to maintain his position under some show of right, Photius assembled a synod at Constantinople in the year 859,² which pronounced sentence of deposition and condemnation on the absent Ignatius. Still as the party of Ignatius did not acknowledge this synod to be a legitimate tribunal, he could not materially better his situation in this way; while the resistance

suffer under him and for their sake. He vehemently declaimed against cruel punishments generally, in ep. 22, to a protospatharius.

¹ See the Life of Ignatius, Harduin. v. f. 974, and Constantin. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. l. iv. c. 38. At the council held by the party opposed to Photius at Constantinople in the year 869, the Roman legates declared that they had heard that senators at Constantinople had profanely clad themselves in spiritual vestments and played the part of bishops. The *ἄνδρες ἀξιοματικοί*, who had taken these liberties, were introduced, and, being called to account, said they had done it at the command of the Emperor, whom they were bound to obey—an excuse which evidenced their own meanness, and the vile corruption which followed in the train of despotism. *Μιχαὴλ ὁ βασιλεὺς παιγνίδια ἱεροῖσι, ἱερεῖσις ἡμῖν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ μὴ βουλέμενοι ἱεροῦμεν τὰ προστιταγμένα.* Harduin. v. f. 1095. Now Nicetas reproaches Photius with having suffered all this to be done under his own eyes, and without saying a word against it. Yet how did he know this? His saying so certainly cannot be considered sufficient evidence. At that council Photius' enemies eagerly raked up everything they could find against him. Those noble buffoons were asked whether Potius' had seen this: they dared not say that he had; but they only observed that the thing was generally known.

² Its transactions have not come down to us, for they were burned at the fourth general council of Constantinople, in 869, hereafter to be noticed. Vide Harduin. v. l. 875.

of the clergy to the decrees of this synod furnished an occasion for Bardas to renew his despotic measures. Photius determined, therefore, to resort to another expedient. He endeavoured to gain a party to his cause, which would be respected even by his opponents, and which, unless gained by himself, might easily be won over to the other side. He endeavoured to secure the suffrage of the pope, and of a synod assembled with his concurrence and that of the other patriarchs. If he was not beforehand with his opponents in doing this, he had reason to fear that these, following the example of persecuted parties in the Greek church, would find sympathy and a place of refuge in Rome. The emperor Michael and Photius applied at once by letters to Pope Nicholas I. Touching the true state of affairs, nothing was said to him ; but the after-effects of the image-controversies were held forth as a pretext for seeking aid and co-operation from the Church of Rome.¹ It was barely mentioned, that Ignatius had retired from his office, and that thereby a new appointment to the patriarchate had become necessary. Photius described with fulsome exaggeration, in language that betrayed its own insincerity, how he had from the first looked upon the episcopal dignity as one too arduous and responsible for him to assume, and how he had been forced to undertake the weighty charge in spite of himself ;—how the emperor, who was otherwise so kind, just, and indulgent to his subjects, surpassing in these respects all his ancestors, had been hard-hearted and violent towards him alone ! Such language was by no means calculated to inspire confidence in the more simple heart of Nicholas ; perhaps, too, he may have been informed by friends of Ignatius, who had come from the East, as to the true state of affairs. He acted in this case according to the same principles, and in the same character which we have seen him exhibit in other relations. He did not mean to be used as an instrument for promoting the ends of other men. He was solicitous only for the triumph of right ; and to secure this, he was every ready to employ the power of church government, which he was convinced that he had received from God. He was not satis-

¹ In the false and bombastic letter of Photius, of which Baronius, at year 859, N. 61, has published a Latin translation, nothing is said about this ; but it is clear from the Life of Ignatius by Nicetas, and from the pope's letter to the emperor Michael, that this was made use of as a pretext.

fied with expressions of honour and respect; but he required a full recognition of the ecclesiastical authority belonging to him as the successor of St Peter, according to the laws of the church, that is, the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, to which indeed he here appeals,—an authority which, in cases of this sort, he supposed he might exercise in the East. In the year 860, he sent Rhodoald, bishop of Porto, and Zacharias, bishop of Anagni, as his legates to Constantinople, with letters in reply to those of the emperor and of the patriarch. To Photus he wrote briefly, expressing himself satisfied with the manner in which he had expressed his orthodoxy in his letter, but expressing at the same time the most decided disapprobation of the informal manner in which he, a layman, had been so suddenly transferred from secular employments to the highest spiritual dignity; and declaring, that he could not recognise him in that office, till the matter had been more carefully investigated by his legates. To the emperor he wrote more at length, censuring the course of proceeding whereby, contrary to the ecclesiastical laws,¹ it had been presumed, without the concurrence of the pope, to hold a council at Constantinople, and depose Ignatius; expressing the same scruples as he had done in the letter to Photius himself, respecting the legality of his election, and reserving his own decision on the whole matter until after the investigation of it by his legates.

At Constantinople, however, but little concern was felt about what the pope had written; men imagined they could still outwit him, and make good use of his name in furthering the designs of the court. Indeed, it not seldom happened—a proof of the corruption which even then prevailed among the higher orders of the Roman clergy—that the pope was deceived in his legates; they abused his confidence, and consented to be bribed. So it happened in the present case. The legates were gained over by gifts. They were prevented also for a long time from holding intercourse with others, and so made dependent on the influence of one party.³ True, they at first held fast to their instruc-

¹ The same principles of the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals, which he had introduced into the Western church

² The pope says this in his letter to Photius. Touching his legates, he says: "Qui cum iis per centum dierum spatia omnium nisi suorum alloquendi facultas fuisset denegata, ut apostolicæ sedis missi non digne suscepti sunt. Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 136.

tions, in opposition to the arbitrary procedure of the court party ; but very soon they began to yield a little.¹ In the year 861, a numerous synod was held in presence of the emperor, under the direction of Photius, and with the concurrence of the papal legates. The letter of the pope to the emperor Michael was here read in a Greek translation, in which, however, liberty had been taken to alter its contents so as to make them harmonise with the interest of the Greek church, which could not acknowledge the spiritual power assumed by Nicholas in that letter, and with the interest of the party of Photius.² Ignatius was summoned to appear before this council. He sent to ask, in what character he should appear ; whether in his episcopal dignity, as a person on whom sentence was to be passed, or in the monkish garb, as one already condemned.³ They answered him : “ Appear as you deserve to appear.”⁴ Interpreting this by the verdict of his own conscience, Ignatius appeared in full episcopal robes. But the emperor ordered that before he entered the hall of the assembly, he should be compelled to divest himself of the episcopal attire. He was obliged to leave behind the numerous train of friends who escorted him, and to appear alone. He was received by the emperor with abusive language. To this he calmly replied : “ Abuse can be borne still more easily than torture.” This silenced the emperor, who pointed him to a wooden bench where he might be permitted to sit. Ignatius then turned to the papal legates, being willing to acknowledge the pope as his judge : but they neglected to act according to their instructions. Ignatius demanded of them, that they should direct the man to be withdrawn from the council who had unlawfully put himself at the head of his church. The legates replied, that they had no power to do this ;

¹ This is the very thing which the pope reproached them with: *Quid enim proderit alicui pro veritate primum quidem impetum dare et post paululum aut suasionibus aut terroribus aut alio quolibet vitio a veritatis tramite declinare?* Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 179.

² The pope, in his letters written to Constantinople, points out these falsifications of his letter to the emperor ; and in reference to this fashion of falsifying, he remarks : *Quoniam apud Græcos, sicut nonnullæ diversæ temporis scripturæ testantur, familiaris est ista temeritas*, l. c. f. 180; and appealing to an older letter of pope Hadrian, which ought to be found in the public archives at Constantinople, he adds : *Si tamen non falsata Græcorum more*, l. c. f. 147.

³ See the report of Ignatius himself, l. c. f. 1014. The biography of Nicetas, f. 966.

⁴ “Οτι ὡς ἔσται ἄξιον.

and pointing to the emperor, said: It was the will of the sovereign. He insisted then that under these circumstances he could not recognise the legates as his judges. He said to their face, that before they had reached Constantinople, Photius had sent out presents to meet them.¹ They might take him with them to the pope; for he would gladly acknowledge the latter as his judge. In vain was it attempted once and again to induce this inflexible man, whose spirit no misfortunes could subdue, and who by his calm and steadfast self-possession put to shame the ruling authorities, who were unable by force or craft to conquer his will; in vain was it attempted to induce him to make a voluntary abdication. To prepare the way for passing on him the sentence of deposition, they now made use of the argument, that he had been unlawfully placed in that office by the secular power; and this was confirmed on oath, not only by nobles of the spiritual and secular order, but also by a crowd of other people—fishmongers, farriers, shoemakers, and tailors—accompanied by the signature of their names. These all acknowledged Photius to be their patriarch.² Ignatius, however, could appeal to the fact that he had administered the office for twelve years in perfect harmony with the bishops and the flock, and without a single complaint having ever been brought against him. Threats, rigorous imprisonment, hunger, and blows, ill-treatment of every kind, were employed against him in vain, to force him to subscribe the sentence of deposition.³ If the account given by Nicetas is correct, they finally seized his hand, and compelled him to sign, with the affixture of a cross, the sentence pronounced upon him. It was then published abroad, that Ignatius had, by a general church assembly held with the concurrence of pope Nicholas, been regularly deposed from his office, and Photius acknowledged as lawful patriarch. The acts of this council were speedily transmitted to the pope by an imperial embassy, which bore a letter from the emperor, and another from the patriarch Photius.

As to the latter, he replied to the before-mentioned short letter

¹ His words: *Τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ μακρόθιν ἰδιόχασσι· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν 'Ραϊδίστον* (the ancient Bisanthe in Thrace, on the Propontis, Rodosto) *ὑμῖν, αὐτὰ ἀπηντήκασιν, ἰμάτιά τι καὶ φιλόνια καὶ ἰγκόλσια.* Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 1015.

² See Harduin. Concil. T. v. f. 1086, and f. 1096.

³ Ignatius himself relates: *"Ὅσας μοι τότε πληγὰς ἐπίθιτο, τί χρὴ λέγειν; ἐν ἴσται γὰρ οὕτω κολασθῆντα ἡμέραις ἄσιτον, αὔαντον, ἀκάθιστον διαμῖναι ἰβίασαν.*

of the pope, a letter certainly composed in a tone with which, as patriarch of Constantinople, he had every reason to be dissatisfied, in so mild and courteous a manner, that it is easy to discern from it the strong interest he felt to obtain from the pope his approbation of what had been done, and how, with a conscience ill at ease, he was driven to attempt by crooked measures to secure an object which he could not reach by a straightforward course. He excused himself in reference to his assumption of the patriarchal dignity by pleading compulsion; he portrayed the contrast between the harassing and anxious situation, in which he found himself placed as patriarch; and the peaceful, quiet, and happy situation in literary leisure and the enjoyment of universal esteem which had been his lot before, as evidence beyond question that it could not have been his own wish or voluntary choice to exchange these situations. He defended himself from the reproaches thrown upon him by the pope, by pleading that the transgression of ecclesiastical laws, not known in Constantinople (by which doubtless he meant, in part, Pseudo-Isidorian decretals cited by the pope in his letter to the emperor) could not properly be charged as a crime against him. And he showed that it could not be referred to the diversity of ecclesiastical laws and ecclesiastical usages which prevailed in different countries; among these he reckoned many differences existing betwixt the Greek and the Latin church, to which, therefore, he seems as yet to have attached no very great importance. But finally, he demanded of the pope, that he also should observe the ecclesiastical law in one respect, and not receive into the Romish church without further examination, those who came thither without the customary credentials¹ from their ecclesiastical superiors, inasmuch as by such people calumnious reports were circulated, and schisms occasioned. There can be no doubt that Photius here had in his mind the friends of Ignatius, whose reports at Rome he would naturally dread. But at the same time, he could assign as a better reason for this warning an abuse, which could justly be complained of, namely the fact that many, who had reason to apprehend civil and ecclesiastical punishments on account of their crimes at home, took refuge in Rome under the pretence of devo-

² Γράμματα συστατικά.

tion,¹ and in the character of pilgrims.² The party of Ignatius had also sent delegates to Rome; others came there as fugitives, to escape the ill treatment with which they were threatened, and it was precisely the influence of these men which Photius dreaded. Theognist, an abbot, brought an appeal, drawn up in the name of Ignatius and of the bishops and monks united with him, and preceded by a report of everything that had transpired.³ Nicholas, therefore, could not be deceived by the imperial embassy and the reports which they brought with them; and besides, he was observant and politic enough to see through the fraudulent and violent proceedings of that council at Constantinople. Even in his first letters to Photius and to the emperor, he professed himself dissatisfied with those proceedings; even then he complained of the manner in which his legates had conducted, and in which his letters had been falsified; even then he expressed himself strongly in favour of Ignatius. He repeated those doubts which he had previously expressed respecting the election of Photius, and endeavoured to refute what the latter had said in justification of the irregularity.⁴ But after he had entered into a more strict examination of the matter, and found that his legates had been guilty of bribery and of violating his instructions, he pronounced on the latter at a Roman synod, held in 863, the sentence of deposition.⁵ At the same assembly, he declared that Photius had for-

¹ See above, page 244.

² The remarkable words are: *Alii aliena conjugia perfoderunt, alii furti damnati sunt, aut vinolentia se propinarunt, aut lasciviæ, libidini et intemperantiæ servierunt, alii vero tenuiorum hominum percussores, et homicidæ deprehensi sunt, qui cum in se ipsos jus emitti persentiscunt, simul omnia miscentes ac conturbantes, flagitiorum ac facinorum suorum pœnas fuga amoliuntur, nec objurgationibus castigati nec suppliciis curati nec se a lapsu erigentes, sed sibi atque aliis usque perniciosi. Habent pœnæ effugium, Romam sub orationis obtentu proficisci.* The letter translated into Latin has been published by Baronius, at the year 861, N. 34.

³ The libellus, which Harduin has published, T. v. f. 1013.

⁴ Nicholas assumed that the Pseudo-Isidorian decretals actually proceeded from the first Roman bishops, and therefore ought to be known and to be held valid throughout the whole church; hence he made it a crime in Photius not to be acquainted with them: *Decretalia autem, quæ a sanctis pontificibus primæ sedis Romanæ ecclesiæ sunt instituta, cujus auctoritate atque sanctione omnes synodi et sancta concilia roborantur et stabilitatem sumunt, cur vos non habere vel observare dicitis? Nisi quia vestræ ordinatione contradicunt.* And next: *Quodsi ea non habetis, de neglectu atque incuria estis arguendi. Si habetis et non observatis, de temeritate estis corripiendi et increpandi.* Harduin, v. f. 135.

⁵ At first, only on the bishop Zacharias. The examination into the charges against Bishop Rodoald was adjourned on account of his absence.

feited every spiritual dignity, pronounced against him the anathema, in case he should hold the patriarchal office any longer, and recognised Ignatius as the lawful patriarch of Constantinople. After the pope had sent these decrees to Constantinople, there arose from them in the first place a fierce correspondence by letters between him and the emperor Michael. The latter sent the pope a letter filled with the most violent abuse.¹ He wrote him, that he might look upon it as an honour, that after the lapse of so many years recourse had finally been had once more from Constantinople to Rome on a matter of business; this had been done, however, by no means under the understanding that the pope was to be recognised as a judge. Photius would retain his office and remain in the fellowship of the church even without the concurrence of the pope; and the pope's interference would not help Ignatius. He called the Latins, barbarians,² Scythians; Rome an antiquated city. Nicholas, in the feeling of his superiority, replied to this letter with dignity and forbearance.³ He reproached the emperor with having taken part himself in the deliberations of the bishops at the council, and with having made use of the latter as his instruments. When had emperors ever before assisted at synods, unless it may have been, perhaps, when matters of faith were in discussion, matters which to be sure concerned not merely ecclesiastics, but also laymen, nay, all Christians?⁴ Before Christ's appearance, many kings had, in typical allusion to the future, been at the same time priests, as for example Melchizedek:—and as Satan is ever wont to counterfeit

¹ The letter itself has not come down to us: but from the pope's answers, especially ep. vii. Harduin. v. f. 145, we may infer what were its contents.

² Photius was an enemy to the Occidentals. In his ep. 84, which certainly cannot be considered as referring to Sicily alone, he loads them with undeserved reproaches. In the condition of paganism, they had already evidenced their rudeness by the fact that they had no "Ἡφαιστος κλυτοσίχνης, no λόγιος Ἐρμης, none of the deities, who were conceived as patrons of the arts and virtues. Accordingly he writes to a monk who had come from the West: οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ σὺ τὸ γένος ἔλκων ἐξ Ἰσπείρας, οὐδὲν οὔτι σὺ φρονεῖς λίγην ἔχεις, ὅτι διαπράττεσθαι.

³ The letters of this eminent man on weighty affairs, all possess the same common character, not merely in relation to the principles expressed, but also in turn of thought, tone, and style. Perhaps the spirit of Nicholas himself is more clearly discernible in them, than the pen of his secretary. The *scrinarii Romanæ ecclesiæ* had only the mechanical work of writing the letters, either after a draft or by dictation, as we may learn from ep. iii. Harduin. v. f. 164.

⁴ De fide quæ universalis est, quæ omnium communis est, quæ non solum ad clericos, verum etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos.

the divine, he had led the pagan emperors with their usurping spirit to call themselves pontifices maximos. But after the appearance of Christ, who is at once king and priest, the two dignities were absolutely separated in human relations. The emperor wrote that he had *commanded* the pope to send delegates to Constantinople. Nicholas reminds him that such was not the tone in which it became him to write to the pope.¹ In allusion to what the emperor had said respecting the barbarism of the Latin tongue, the pope replied: "Your abuse of the Latin tongue falls on Him from whom all languages have sprung; for this language was one of those which acknowledged that Jesu is Lord, to the glory of God the Father,—which was distinguished along with the Hebrew and the Greek above all others by being used in the inscription on the cross, proclaiming to all nations Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews." As the Latin language worshipped the true God, it was clear, he said, that it could not be termed a barbarian language. Or if he called the Latin tongue barbarian, merely because he did not understand it, he should consider how ridiculous it was for a man to style himself *Imperator Romanorum*, and yet know nothing about the language of the people.² The pope indignantly repels the unreasonable demand of the emperor, that he should send back Theognist and other monks, who had taken refuge in Rome, to Constantinople, in order, as he expresses it, that they might there be made the victims of imperial vengeance. By so doing, he would put himself on a level with the traitor Judas, would violate those sacred laws which were held in respect even among pagans. And he speaks here, as ever, in the consciousness of the high destination of the new Christian capital of the world, where thousands daily congregated from all nations, seeking protection and quiet for the last days of life.³

¹ Illi (priores imperatores) petimus, invitamus ac rogamus, ecce sparsim ad sedis apostolicæ præsules, sed pari pietate clamant. Vos autem quasi non mansuetudinis et reverentiæ, sed solius, imperii eorum hæredes effectum præcepisse, jussisse ac imperasse vos, ut quosdam subjectorum nostrorum ad vos mitteremus asseritis.

² Quiescite vos nuncupare Romanos imperatores, quoniam secundum vestram sententiam barbari sunt, quorum vos imperatores asseritis.

³ Tanta millia hominum protectioni ac intercessioni beati apostolorum principis Petri ex omnibus finibus terræ properantium sese quotidie conferunt et usque in finem vitæ suæ apud ejus limina semet mansura proponunt.

Photius attempted to pay the pope measure for measure. He pronounced, at a pretended general assembly held at Constantinople, in 867, sentence of deposition and the anathema on his opponent. Such a step, to be sure, on the part of Photius, could not by any means occasion the same injury to Nicholas, which a similar sentence on the part of the pope must cause to Photius, especially in the fluctuating, uncertain situation in which the latter found himself placed in the East. But of far greater importance was another step of Photius, immediately connected with the first. In a circular letter, addressed to all the more eminent bishops of the East,¹ inviting them to take part in this council, he made an attack, which was aimed at the entire Latin church. He accused the Romish church of having propagated among the new Christians of Bulgaria erroneous doctrines. He referred particularly to the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit, to the principle of the celibacy of priests, to fasting on the Sabbath, and to the number of fasting weeks. Diversities, on which he had before expressed himself with so much moderation, now acquired for him, when they could be seized upon as an occasion for charging his opponent with heresy, the greatest importance. Thus the quarrel was turned from a personal one into a controversy betwixt the two churches.

This was the view taken of it by Nicholas; and he recommended to the eminent bishops the defence of the Roman church against these charges. The monk Ratramnus of Corbie, and the bishop Æneas of Paris, obeyed this invitation, and wrote in defence of the Latin church.² The writing of Ratramnus is the most important.³ He distinguished himself particularly by the Christian moderation and liberality of spirit which he shows in judging of the importance of the differences which related merely to such customs. He declared that it was only important to hold fast the unity of the faith. To the unity of the faith belonged simply what the apostle Paul indicates in 1 Corinth. i. 10; and to this unity he reckoned faith in the Trinity, in the birth of Christ from a virgin, in his sufferings, his resurrection, his ascension to heaven, his exaltation to the right hand of God,

¹ Ep. ii.

² Both works are published by D'Achery, in the first volume of his *Spicilegia*.

³ *Contra Græcorum opposita Romanam ecclesiam informantium, libri iv.*

his coming to judge the living and the dead, and baptism into the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. By no means requisite to this unity was uniformity in church usages, and other external things ; and hence, in the first chapter of his fourth book, he endeavours to show that from the first origin of the church downwards, diversity of usage, in regard to such matters, had been found perfectly consistent with unity in the faith. He censures the Greeks in this regard only, because instead of being satisfied to observe their own peculiar usages themselves, they would prescribe the observance of them also on others.¹

Soon after the first outbreak of this open schism between the two churches, a political change took place, by which, for the present, a reconciliation was effected. First Bardas, and then Michael, met the punishment which their crimes deserved ; and Michael's co-regent, Basilius the Macedonian, who had contrived his destruction, attained, in the year 867, to the sole sovereignty of the Greek empire. He had political reasons for becoming reconciled again with the party of Ignatius and with the popes ;² and Ignatius was restored to the patriarchal dignity. It was

¹ Cum nihil de dogmate fidei contineant, in quo Christianitatis plenitudo consistit, verum consuetudinem suæ ecclesiæ enarrent, nihil isthinc vel approbandum vel refutandum nostræ restabat ecclesiæ.

² We would gladly believe, for the honour of Photius, what not only Zonaras reports in his Annals, but the earlier writers, Leo Grammaticus and Simeon Magister, relate, that he was deposed by Basilius, on account of his refusal to admit him, on a certain festival, to the communion, because he was a murderer. This account may, perhaps, be entitled to more faith, because it is given by persons who show an unfavourable disposition towards Photius. It was, of course, against the party interest of the passionate Nicetas, to record a fact which redounded to the honour of Photius : it was more in accordance with his interest, to represent the matter, as if Basilius had been induced, by the justice of the case, to depose Photius the very next day after he assumed the reins of government. Nor could Constantine Porphyrogenita, who would be unwilling to represent his grandfather as a murderer, mention this in his account of his Life. The express testimony of Nicetas, that Basilius, the very next day after he assumed the reins of government, deposed Photius, cannot prevent us from considering the above story to be true ; for this chronological date, the origin of which admits of being so easily explained, from the party interest of Nicetas, is at variance not only with the date which may be inferred from the narrative of Anastasius, but also with the testimony of Simeon Magister, that Basilius had his son Stephen baptised by the patriarch Photius on Christmas-day ; therefore some months after he had attained to the sole dominion. The bitterness with which Basilius persecuted Photius, with whom he had before been on very amicable terms, strongly favours the supposition, that besides those general reasons which the party of Ignatius supplied to his hands, he had other and more special causes for his enmity against the patriarch. At the same time, the question comes up, whether we might expect from the character of Photius, and from his conduct on other oc-

now necessary that a new council should be held at Constantinople, with the concurrence of the other patriarchs, and especially of the pope, in order to annul the decrees of the earlier council, and to crush the party devoted to Photius. The new emperor, and the reinstated patriarch, applied for this purpose to pope Nicholas ; and Ignatius, in his letter, recognised the supreme judicial authority of the cathedra Petri, in terms never used by Constantinopolitan patriarchs, except on rare occasions and under particular circumstances, like the present. Pope Nicholas, meantime, had died ; his successor, Hadrian, held, in 868, a council at Rome, where sentence of deposition and the anathema were pronounced anew on Photius, and Ignatius was recognised as patri-

casions—a man who, as his letters show, flattered the worthless Michael in the midst of his vices, who had already good occasion for proceeding in the same way towards Michael and Bardas, and had not done so,—whether from the character and conduct of Photius, on other occasions, we might expect from him any such step ? Especially is it to be noticed, that the mode in which Photius states his complaints before this emperor, touching the persecutions of which he was the innocent victim, contains no hint of any such cause of them, but rather seems to suppose the contrary. He reminds the emperor (ep. 97) of their former friendship, of the many ties by which he was bound to him ; and then also, that the emperor had received from his hands the holy eucharist, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσὶ προσίων τῶν φρικτῶν καὶ ἀχράντων μέτιχτις μυστηρίων. How, on the supposition of the truth of that story, could Photius have expressed himself in this manner, without immediately taking notice of the fact, and justifying himself *on the ground*, that it was just because he had excluded the emperor from the Holy Supper, that he had drawn down on himself the emperor's displeasure ? In general, he assumes, that the emperor had no cause whatever for being *personally* dissatisfied with him. M. Hanke, it is true, in his work *De Byzantinarum rerum Scriptoribus Græcis*, thinks he has discovered a secret intimation that such was the cause of the persecution against Photius, in a letter of his (ep. 118, f. 160, ed. Montacut), where he gives the following as the reason of the imperial anger against the faithful, *i. e.* the adherents of Photius : ἀνθ' ὧν αἱμάτων καθαρὰς καὶ γλώσσας καὶ γνώμας ἐφύλαξαν. This, as Hanke supposes, refers to the fact and manner in which they had protested against that murder. But, in the swollen language of these times, we can hardly interpret “ blood ” as referring to a real murder, but must refer it to a spiritual one, *viz.* the anathema pronounced on Photius by the council. The meaning is : They are persecuted, because they did not, with heart and mouth, join in the anathema pronounced against him. This, too, is in better harmony with the context in which that passage occurs. We might, with more probability, discover a secret allusion of this kind in the words of the 98th letter to Basilium, a slight hint, that Photius had not suffered himself to be induced to present the eucharist to Basilium : ἀλλ' ὅρα φίλι καὶ μὴ βούλει, Βασιλιῦ ὅτι τὸ περιῶσθαι τιθεῖν ἀνθρώπους οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν συντίλει πρὸς τὸ πείσαι θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑναντίον περιτρέπεται. (Though he succeeded in persuading a man to admit him to the communion, yet he could not thereby obtain the divine forgiveness, but the unworthy partaking of the sacrament would only redound to his greater guilt in the sight of God.) Καὶ τῶν ἀδιῶν ἰναυθα πιαστικόνον μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἐκείνην ἢ παντίφορος δίκη κριτής. But, according to the connection, these words, perhaps, refer rather to the emperor's persecutions of Photius himself.

arch. After these preliminary steps, a council was held in the following year, 869, at Constantinople, in presence of the emperor, with the concurrence of the papal legates, which was to represent the eighth among the œcumenical councils, and, as such, to make known the decrees of the Roman assembly as legally valid for the Greek church. By this council, an inquiry was instituted into everything that had been done before. Rodoald and Zacharias,¹ who meantime had been restored to favour, were sent to Constantinople, for the express purpose of exposing the wicked arts which had been resorted to in the earlier proceedings against Ignatius and to be used as witnesses.² True, even this council was not exempt from the common faults of the Greek church assemblies; but at least matters were conducted after a more decent fashion than they seem to have been at the last council of Constantinople. Yet the same scenes were here in great part repeated over again, of faithless tergiversation, of disregard to sacred promises and oaths, in a word, all the superficial conversions of a political revolution. Many of the bishops and clergy, who, during the former reign, had attached themselves to Photius, appeared before the council, and, with abusive language towards Photius, declared that they had been compelled by fear to act contrary to their convictions. They testified their repentance, submitted to penance,³ and then pardon was granted to them. The bishops who declared their repentance were permitted at once to resume their episcopal insignia,⁴ and to take their seats in the assembly. The priests were to be suspended from their functions, until the term of their penance had expired.⁵ Yet there were some few bishops of the

¹ See above, p. 389.

² See Concil. viii. act. Harduin. f. 1095.

³ Certain abstinences, prostrations, the recitation of a certain number of forms of prayer till the next Christmas, were imposed on them.

⁴ An example of that mawkish play on sacred language, truly calculated to desecrate what is most holy, which the sanctimonious cant, growing out of the debasing spirit of insincerity in the Greek church, at that time indulged in, is furnished by the patriarch Ignatius, who, in restoring the ἀμοφόριον to Theodore of Caria, one of Photius' bishops, addressed him as follows: "Behold, thou art become sound; sin no more, lest a worse evil befall thee!"

⁵ Harduin. v. f. 1035. Nicetas expresses himself dissatisfied with this—as it seemed to him—excessive gentleness of the council, and finds in it the ground of the renewed evils at a later period; for men who found repentance so easy, and still retained their offices, would be very sure in a change of circumstances, to play their old tricks over again.



number consecrated by Photius, not quite mean enough to abandon him in misfortune, who ventured to appear before the assembled council to defend his cause against the emperor and the Roman legates, and who chose rather to suffer themselves to be deposed and condemned, than to abandon their friend. Archbishop Zacharias of Chalcedon, who had been appointed to that station by Photius, declared in the name of his party, that even the decision of the patriarchs could avail nothing against the ecclesiastical laws. If the patriarchs decided contrary to the laws of the church, they ought not to be followed.¹ And he cited examples, remarking that he could cite still others, to show that decisions of the Roman bishops had been rejected, as contradictory to the ecclesiastical laws. He moreover defended the validity of Photius' election, when a layman, by older examples.² John, bishop of Heraclea,³ when the question was put to the bishops of Photius' party, whether they condemned Photius, and acknowledged Ignatius as patriarch, exclaimed: "He himself is condemned, who condemns his patriarch." Photius behaved with dignity. Being called upon⁴ to appear before the council, and answer for himself, he declared that he was resolved to be silent, quoting Ps. xxxix. 1, "I will keep my mouth with a bridle while the wicked is before me." He appeared finally in the fifth action of the council, declaring that he did it not voluntarily, but under constraint. But he persisted even then in his silence; and when called upon to say what he had to offer in justification of himself, replied: "My justification is not in this world." It was in vain he was allowed a time for reflection; in vain he was again brought before the council in the seventh action; he remained firm to the end.

Moreover, those of the higher and lower class who at the last synod had appeared as witnesses against Ignatius, and affirmed on their oath that he had attained to his office, not by regular election but by means of the secular power, were heard again, and now declared their former testimony to be false. Theodore,

¹ Οἱ κανόνες ἄρχουσι καὶ τῶν πατριαρχῶν, εἰ γὰρ ἔξω τῶν κανόνων ποίουσιν, οὐ στοιχοῦμεν αὐτοῖς.

² Act vi. f. 1058.

³ In the seventh action, vi. f. 1066.

⁴ Not by ecclesiastics sent to him, but by laymen.

the protospatharius,¹ said he was forced to swear by fear of the emperor ; he could not do otherwise than as he was bidden ; but he had confessed his sin to a monk (a Stylite) who had passed forty years on a pillar, and submitted to the penance prescribed by him, which he had been observing to the present time. A like declaration was made by the consul Leo, and he was ready to submit to all the decisions of the synod. Only in the anathema pronounced on Photius he thought he could not concur, because the anathema could only touch false teachers, and Photius was an orthodox man. But the representatives of the patriarchs said that no false doctrine could be worse than the actions of Photius ; whereupon he submitted in this point also to the judgment of the synod.

But notwithstanding all the emphasis and solemnity² with which the anathema was pronounced by the whole assembly against Photius, he still felt strong enough to defy that terrible word—a word lightly used in the Greek church under every change of court parties, and which, within the course of a few years, had been applied in the most opposite cases. By the true account which Photius gives in his letters of the use made of the anathema in the Greek church,³ he at the same time condemns himself. In his misfortunes, Photius evinces greater dignity than in his prosperity. Separated from the society of his friends,

¹ See p. 385.

² If we may credit the report of Nicetas, the members of this council were so far carried away by their blind passions, that to give the more solemnity to the sentence of deposition and of condemnation pronounced on Photius, they dipped the pen with which they subscribed it, not only in ink, but in the wine of the eucharist ; *οὐ ψίλα τῷ μίλανι τὰ χειρόγραφα ποιούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρικωδέστατον ὡς τῶν ἰδόντων ἀπήκουα διαβεβαιουμένων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ σωτῆρος τῷ αἵματι βάπτοντες τὸν κάλαμον.* l. c. v. f. 987. But this, notwithstanding the evidence adduced by Nicetas, which we must say is very weak, may be a mere fable, dictated by the strong interest which was felt to make this sentence on Photius an irreversible one, and to deter all men for ever after from espousing his party. "What can be more sacred," it was said, "the sentence against him was subscribed with the very blood of Christ."

³ He says, ep. 113, that though a long time before a synod had pronounced the anathema on him, on his father and on his uncle (see above, p. 384), yet contrary to his own will he had been made patriarch :—and so now those who in like manner despised the commandments of the Lord, might anathematise him. And in ep. 115, he says concerning the manner in which the anathema was employed : *Τὸ φρικτὸν ἰκίνο εἰς μύθους καὶ παίγνια μεταπίπτωκε, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς ὑσιβίσι καὶ αἰριτὸν παροικίωσται.* An unjust anathema, he said, fell on the person who pronounced it, and honoured him on whom it was wrongly pronounced.

no clergyman or monk being permitted to come near him, to pray or to sing with him, he saw no one but his keepers. He was sick thirty days, without being allowed to see a physician;—and what to him was the most terrible punishment of all, he was deprived of his books,¹ Yet his constancy was not overcome; he contented himself with simply representing to those in power the injustice and unnecessary rigour of their proceedings.

Thus the first schism, the schism which had grown out of the quarrel between Photius and Nicholas, was healed; but the more inward antagonism between the two churches, which had once found vent by means of that schism excited from without, still endured, though for the present it did not openly break out. And another cause of the quarrel, a cause which had not been removed, threatened once more to destroy the fellowship between the two churches, which had but recently been restored,—the contested question, whether Bulgaria should belong to the province of the Latin or of the Greek church. As we have said on a former page, the Greek church, during the reign of the emperor Basilius the Macedonian, succeeded in re-establishing their influence among the Bulgarians. The Bulgarian church obtained their bishops from Constantinople; and as Ignatius paid no regard to the representations of pope John VIII., the rupture threatened to become converted into a new and violent division. But just as the way was prepared for this Ignatius died, A.D. 878; and the very thing which under other circumstances must have seemed most dangerous to the peace between the two churches—that the man by whom the schism was first occasioned, should prove to be his successor, served to bring about a reunion of the two parties.

The emperor Basilius, a patron of learning, ever entertained

¹ See ep. 85, 97, 114. Each of the ecclesiastical and political parties in Constantinople was accustomed to interpret an earthquake, though an unfrequent occurrence there, as a sign of the divine anger on account of some particular thing, which they determined to be this or that, according to *their own* interests or passions, and the last was ever regarded as more terrible than any which had preceded. Now as an earthquake which followed the deposition of Ignatius (see Nicetas, f. 975, l. c.) had been interpreted by *his* party conformably to *their* interest, so now again an earthquake which occurred after the deposition of Photius, was interpreted by his party in their favour; see Phot. ep. 101. But he himself did not fall in with this—he did not attach so much importance to himself personally, nor did he wish to triumph where so many others suffered who were entitled to his sympathy.

the highest respect for Photius, who was at that time the most learned man among the Greeks. In a very short time, therefore, he opened the way for a complete reconciliation, recalled the banished man to Constantinople, showed him special favour, and made him teacher of his son.¹ It may be said to the honour of both Ignatius and Photius, that they were not carried away with the passions of their respective partisans, but became heartily reconciled to each other. Photius repelled every proposition by which he was invited to put himself at the head of a party against Ignatius, and Ignatius was a stranger to all suspicion against Photius. They lived together on the most friendly terms, and Photius manifested an amiable sympathy for Ignatius in his last sickness.² Ignatius, when dying, commended his rival to the favour of his friends.

Under these circumstances, it might naturally occur to the emperor, that it would be good policy to restore Photius to the office he had once held. The peaceably disposed man who had maintained such friendly relations with his rival might prove the fittest instrument for effecting a radical healing of the division, and a perfect reconciliation between the two parties. But a difficulty stood in the way; for it was to the emperor's interest, that no

¹ The remark of Constantine Porphyrogenita, in his account of the life of his grandfather Basilius (c. 44), that the latter, although he removed Photius from his station on just grounds, yet never ceased to show kindness to him, is certainly proved to be without foundation by the above cited passages from Photius' letters; but it would not be inconsistent with these passages to suppose, that Photius' relation to the emperor was at a later period such as that historian describes. And that this was really so, is corroborated by the testimony of Photius himself, where he gives his statement of the whole matter in the second action of the synod of Constantinople of the year 879. Harduin. vi. p. i. f. 255. He here calls the council to witness that he submitted to his fate—and it is evident that he did so from his letters—that he showed no solicitude to recover the patriarchal dignity, resorted to no machinations with a view to repossess himself of what he had lost, but that the emperor, of his own good pleasure, had recalled him from banishment: *καὶ μεγάλη δέξιόντι εἰσινίγκειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. The agreement between Photius and Constantine Porphyrogenita sufficiently refutes the partial and fabulous report of the passionate Nicetas, and serves to corroborate the genuineness of the transactions of this council, disputed by Leo Allatius.

² We here follow the above mentioned statement of Photius himself, which in its whole tone bears the marks of credibility. This statement was given before the council where the presence of so many witnesses would prevent him from saying anything in reference to the point in question, contrary to the truth. He observes with regard to the friendship subsisting between him and Ignatius: *Μακαρίζομεν αὐτὸν, ὅτι φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι περιόντα τῷ βίῳ ἰσχυρώμεθα καὶ οὐκ ἀνῆλθον ἀρηθρήμεν ταύτην ποτὶ*.

new schism should be suffered to spring up betwixt the Latin and the Greek church ; nor was it possible indeed, without the concurrence of the pope, to restore peace within the Greek church itself with a sure prospect of permanent success. For though the tone of the court at Constantinople always had an influence on the ecclesiastical parties, and though by the preceding reconciliation between the two heads of the parties, and by the death of Ignatius, the most important cause of the division had been removed, yet there still remained in the party of Ignatius a number of fanatical zealots, who clung to the decisions of the late general council, to subscriptions with which they could not so easily trifle as others, and to the authority of the cathedra Petra.¹ For the purpose of removing out of the way, therefore, every obstacle to the peace of the church, and of depriving those who were opposed to it of every subterfuge, the emperor and the patriarch applied to pope John VIII., and endeavoured to procure his co-operation for the assembling of a council at Constantinople, by which the decrees of the former council might be annulled. Now the pope would readily foresee, that in case he refused his consent, the emperor would effect his purpose *without* him, and *his own* voice would appear to be powerless. If, on the other hand, he expressed himself in accordance with the wishes of the emperor, he might hope, that inasmuch as the *material* interest was the chief thing regarded by the Greeks, there would not be so much quarrelling about the *form*, which in this affair was the most important thing for the interests of the Romish church ; and there would be no thought of protesting against his action, when he insisted that his sentences, which in this case would turn out as men would have it, was a decision of the controversy ;—a thing which on other occasions men were the least inclined to concede at Constantinople. And he might also hope to advance in no slight measure the material interests of the Roman church, especially

¹ One of the friends of Photius, Zacharias, archbishop of Chalcedon, said before the synod at Constantinople, presently to be mentioned, that the motto of the promoters of the schism was : ὅτι ἡ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησία οὕτως βούλειται. Harduin. vi. p. i. f. 224. Another said, that had it not been for the subscription, the χειρογράφα, by which they believed themselves bound, Photius would no longer have a single opponent. Ἄλλ' οὕτω παρισκιάσιν ὁ πόνηρος, ἵνα τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σύμβολον ὁ σταυρὸς νῦν ταῖς ἀφρονιστίαις σκανδάλου κρόφασις γίνηται. The cross appended to the signatures of the bishops, l. c. f. 244.

touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria, by claiming it as a reward for his co-operation in furthering the emperor's designs;—a thing which would never have been conceded to him under other circumstances.

After these views the pope acted. He insisted upon the binding force of his judicial decision, and would abate nothing from the authority of his predecessor. He assumes it as an established point in his letter to the emperor, that Photius had attained to his office in an informal manner; but he attributed to *himself*, as the successor of St Peter, a plenary power, which, from a regard to the force of circumstances, on account of the general longing after Photius, and for the promotion of the peace of the church, he would now exert, to adjust the informality by his supreme decision, and accord a dispensation from the rule of ecclesiastical law. By virtue of the power belonging to him of binding and loosing, he pronounced Photius and his friends discharged from all the ecclesiastical penalties to which they were liable by the former decisions. But he assumes in so doing, that Photius will acknowledge it as a deed of grace, and beg for mercy before the assembled synod.¹ At the same time, he established it as a fixed rule, that for the future no layman, no person in a secular office, but only members of the Constantinopolitan clerus, should be elevated to the patriarchal dignity. He furthermore made it an express condition of his recognition of Photius as patriarch, that he should renounce all claims to the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria.² In the official instructions which the pope drew up for the use of his legates, and which were designed to preserve them from such false steps, as the earlier legates of pope Nicholas had been guilty of,³ he made the same points valid. He laid it down as a principle on no account to be given up, that Photius should be indebted solely to the pope's decision for the validity of his election to the patriarchal dignity. And in the same manner as the popes sent the pall to all archbishops of the Western church,

¹ He says expressly: *Eundem Photium satisfaciendo, misericordiam coram synodo quaerendo consacerdotem recipimus.*

² The letter in its genuine, original form, is published by Baronius, at the year 879, N. 7, Harduin. v. f. 1165.

³ Which commonitorium has been published by Baronius, at the year 879, N. 47, Harduin. Concil. vi. i. f. 208.

so his legates should in the presence of the council give to Photius the insigna of his episcopal dignity, and thus invest him with his office.¹

To constitute an œcumenical council according to the principles of the Greek church, it was necessary that not only the Roman bishop, but also the two or three other patriarchs should be represented.² But a council of this sort could not easily be convened under the existing circumstances, because the three other patriarchs lived under the dominion of the Saracens, and any intercourse of their envoys with the Greek empire, would inevitably expose the persons who might consent to undertake such a business, as well as all the Christians of those districts, to great peril.³ As an expedient to supply this deficiency, it had been contrived, even as early as the second Nicene council, that certain persons should be appointed to play the part of envoys from the other patriarchs; and it almost seems as if this sham had among the Greeks become one of the customary forms to be observed in the convention of all general councils. In the general council held by Photius at Constantinople in 867, there were persons present who played the part of plenipotentiaries and representatives of the three other patriarchs. But at the church assembly held by Ignatius in 869 at Constantinople, it came out that the whole embassy had been a fraudulent trick; that the pretended envoys were perhaps foreign merchants, who brought and presented forged credentials.⁴ But this new council of 869 represented itself

¹ The first of the legates presented to him, before the assembled council, in the name of the pope, and as a sign that the latter acknowledged him as patriarch, a *στολή ἀρχιερατική, α ἰμοφόριον, α στιχάρης, α φιβάνιον,* and sandals. Harduin. vi. i. f. 228. That such a transaction of the papal legates should be represented as having taken place at the council, along with several other things, which could not have been invented by persons devoted to the interest of the Greek church, is surely an evidence in favour of the genuineness of the acts of this council, while, at the same time, it may be remarked in general, that those acts contain a great deal drawn immediately from the Byzantine life and manners, and this too characteristically marked, to be possibly conceived as being mere fiction. The correspondence of these acts with the pope's letters serves also to confirm their genuineness.

² See vol. v. p. 294.

³ See vol. p. 294.

⁴ The earlier *τοποσηρηται* are now mentioned as *ψευδοτοποσηρηται*. See Harduin. Council T. v. f. 1036, particularly act vii. f. 876 and 1087. The imperial commissary expresses here the result of the investigation: *ὁ Φώτιος ἀνίπλασιν, ὡς ἤφιλι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα.* The question arises, to be sure, whether Photius was really the guilty person?

as one which, being held with the concurrence of the collective patriarchs, fully came up to the requisitions of an œcumenical council; the ecclesiastics, Elias and Thomas, appeared as plenipotentiaries of those patriarchs, and presented their letters. But a very short time after the breaking up of this council, the deposed Photius in one of his letters declared that an unheard of and unprecedented thing had happened—not unprecedented among the Greeks, if the above remarks are true—that Ishmaelite agents and servants should be set up as plenipotentiaries of the patriarchs.¹ And there actually appeared at the church assembly held at Constantinople in 879, delegates, with letters from the patriarchs, which unhesitatingly pronounced everything that had been before transacted under their name to be a base fiction, and it was discovered that the pretended plenipotentiaries of the patriarchs were nothing more nor less than agents from the Saracens of those districts, sent on the business of redeeming captives.²

If such base cheats were tolerated at these councils for the purpose of obtaining some object which was thought desirable, we shall not be surprised to learn that advantage was taken of the slight knowledge possessed by the Latins of the Greek language,³ and that such a turn was given in the pope's letter in the Greek translation as to make it seem more favourable to the interests of Photius, and to the independence of the Greek church.⁴

The council which met at Constantinople in 879 certainly did not proceed according to the principles expressed by the pope in his letter. It paid him much honour and respect; and a great deal was allowed to pass which he had said respecting the autho-

¹ See ep. 118.

² Harduin. vi. i. f. 298.

³ A protospatharius performed the part of interpreter. It was said by the first of the Roman legates: *διὰ Λίοντος βασιλικῶν πρωτοσπαθαρίου καὶ ἰερμηνίως διαλάλησιν οὕτως.* Harduin. vi. i. f. 231.

⁴ This is plain from comparing the letter in the form in which it was read before the council (see Harduin. v. f. 1171) with the original form, in which it has been published by Baronius from a codex Vaticanus. At the same time, we should not, with Baronius, rate this fraud too highly. Had the letter been altered so as entirely to meet the interest of the Greek church, much more must have been entirely omitted, or altered. But the fact is, that all the requisitions of the pope with regard to Photius occur in the Greek translation, though in a milder form. On the other hand, the Greek translation alone contains all that is said in praise of Photius, while whatever had before been done against him is represented as the work of odious intrigues, in which the church of Rome had no share; and everything done at the earlier synods is condemned.

rity of the Roman church, these things not being taken in so liberal a sense ; but in essentials they did not yield him an inch. Photius was not going to wait to be placed in the patriarchal office by the papal legates ; he considered himself from the first the lawful patriarch. The papal legates who on this point stuck closely to their instructions, continually reiterated that Photius *had been made lawful patriarch by the decision of the pope* ; and they called him to account for having assumed the patriarchal office before their arrival. But it was replied to them, that Photius was already recognised as lawful patriarch long before the papal decision ; that he had been called to this office by the will of the emperor, the unanimous choice of the community, and the consent of the three patriarchs ; that the bishops of the East, being eye-witnesses of the whole transaction, were better able to judge than the pope, who was so distant.¹ They were told that their embassy, instead of being intended to restore Photius to his patriarchal dignity, was rather designed to retrieve the honour of the Roman church herself, and to clear her from the suspicion of having promoted a schism of the church.² The pope, it is true, had by virtue of his plenary authority taken away from the decrees of the synods held at Rome and Constantinople their binding power for the future, but by this process the authority of these synods, in itself considered, was by no means impaired. But it was contrary surely to the intention of the pope, as well as irreconcilable with the papal authority, that the anathema should be pronounced on those two synods?³

The legates acted up to their instructions also in another respect. They repeatedly brought forward the demand of the pope

¹ See Harduin. vi. f. 224, 242, and 254. Bishop Procopius of Cæsarea in Capadocia says, f. 243: *οἱ ἐγγίζοντες τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν πρῶτον μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἐπίστανται*, and then with a disgusting application of the words of St John: *καὶ ὃν αἱ χεῖρες ἐψηλάφησαν καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐωρύκασιν τῶν ἐξ ἀκοῆς τὴν γνώσιν παραλαμβάνόντων.*

² See fol. 223.

³ It is true the allegation, that this whole commonitorium of the papal legates, as found in the acts of the council (Harduin. vi. i. f. 294), is interpolated or corrupted, is unfounded ; for it is impossible to see in what way its introduction could promote the interest of the Greek church, while many things occur in it, which stand in direct contradiction with the interest and principles of the Greek church. But the passage in the tenth chapter, which treats of the overthrowing of the decrees of those two synods, may doubtless have been more strongly expressed in the Greek version than the sense contained in the original draft required or permitted.

in regard to the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria ; but repellent, or in the milder phraseology of the Greeks, evasive answers, were always given by the bishops of the council. " This affair," said they, " does not pertain to us—to determine the boundaries of dioceses is a matter which belongs to the emperor. When the provinces of the several patriarchs should be reunited under the dominion of the emperor, then mutual concessions could be made touching the boundaries of these provinces, so far as the ecclesiastical laws permitted." Photius himself gave fair words to the pope. He said if it depended on him, he would willingly give up even more than the pope required ; for charity seeketh not her own. In truth, what was there to be gained by the enlargement of one's diocese, except new cares and labours ?¹ Again, the pope's demand that a law should be passed, forbidding any layman, after the death of Photius, to be elevated to the patriarchal dignity, was not complied with. The older examples were once more appealed to—it was said that every church, as the Roman, so also the church of Constantinople, had its own peculiar and traditional customs, by which the letter of the law must be interpreted.² On this occasion, many of the bishops declared in a noticeable manner against the idea of a separate and fixed caste of priests, and against the too sharply marked distinction between the clergy and the laity. " Of what advantage is it," said Procopius, archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, " for a person to be a clergyman or a monk who leads a life inconsistent with his calling ? And if on the other hand, a layman faithfully follows the doctrines of the gospel, and by his works shows himself worthy of the priestly or episcopal office, with what propriety can the natural form and cut of his hair (the absence of the tonsure) be considered a hindrance to his engaging in it ?"³—and the delegates of the other patriarchs declared, " that Christ had not come down to earth merely for the clergy's sake ; nor had he set before that order alone the rewards of virtue, but before the collective body of Christians."⁴ In the sixth session of this

¹ See l. c. f. 251, 283, 310, etc.

² Τό ἴθως αὐτό ἰκανόν ἴσται κἂν τὸν κανόνα, ou which principle, indeed, every abuse might be defended.

³ F. 283 : τί δὲ ἴσται ἰμποδὸν ἢ τῶν τριχῶν φυσικὴ περιβολή, ἴαν ἐν τῷ τάγματι τῶν λαϊκῶν ἰξισταζόμενος, κατὰ τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς διατάξεις πολιτεύηται.

⁴ Fol. 311.

council, the old Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed was, according to the usual practice at general church assemblies, republished as the common witness of the faith, with express rejection of every change of the symbol whereby anything was taken from it or added to it,—in allusion doubtless to the additional clause defining the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit.

It is evident from all this, that this council had made use of the pope as their instrument, and acted in an entirely different sense from what he intended. Yet it cannot be said that Photius deceived the pope, for even in his letter to him he protested against the position assumed by the latter, that Photius was to be indebted solely to the mercy of the church for the recognition of the validity of his election as patriarch. He maintained, on the contrary, and the council acted on the same principle, that the patriarchal dignity belonged to him of right, and that as he was not conscious of having done wrong, so he stood in need of no mercy.¹

The pope, as soon as he received the letter of the patriarch, together with the acts of this council, at once expressed his surprise at finding that the council had, in various particulars, departed from his directions, and even taken the liberty to alter them.² He blamed in Photius his want of humility; and gave him to understand that he could recognise him as a brother, only in case he shaped his conduct for the future in the way of submission to the Romish church. In this letter to Photius, as in his letter to the emperor, he declared, it is true, that he compassionately (*misericorditer*) adopted what had been done by that council of Constantinople, in reference to the restoration of the patriarch to his office; yet he immediately adds, that if his legates should perchance be found to have acted in that synod in a way contrary to the instructions they had received, he adopted no such decrees, and must declare them null and void.³ He thanked the emperor,⁴ that he had given up to the apostle Peter,

¹ That he had written to the pope in this strain, may be gathered from what the latter says, in his answer to Photius, ep. 108, Harduin. vi. i. f. 87: *Subintulisti, quod non nisi ab iniqua gerentibus misericordia sit quærenda.*

² Ep. 108: *Mirandum valde est, cur multa, quæ nos statueramus, aut aliter habita, aut mutata esse noscatur, et nesimus, cujus studio vel neglectu variata monstrentur.*

³ *Si fortasse nostri legati in eadem synodo contra apostolicam præceptionem egerint, nos nec recipimus nec judicamus alicujus existere firmitatis.*

⁴ Ep. 109.

as was right, the ecclesiastical province of Bulgaria. We may conjecture that the pope had here attached to the fine phrases which the Greeks were so fond of employing without much regard to their import, a great deal more than the emperor had in his mind. The pope, expressing himself in the manner described, had even at this time sufficiently intimated his dissatisfaction with the conduct of Photius, and of the church assembly at Constantinople. His only reason for delaying, at present, to make use of stronger language, was, as he had explained, that he wished to wait and see how Photius would act, and especially, as we may believe, to see whether he would yield or not in the affair of Bulgaria. But as nothing of this sort was done, he pronounced on him, for the second time, probably in the year 881, the sentence of condemnation,¹ and the schism was renewed.

Yet in the year 886, when Photius was, in consequence of political changes, again deposed and banished by Basilius' son and successor, the emperor Leo the Philosopher, and the Ignatian party once more became dominant, the latter restored the old connection with the popes,—an event, however, which was followed by only transitory effects.

In all cases alike, the genuine Christian spirit is found, wherever it prevails, to remove the barriers of separating human ordinances, and unite men on the one common foundation of the Christian life. We see this finely illustrated in the case of the Greek abbot Nilus, of whose life and labours we have spoken in a former part of this volume. His character, viewed on this particular side, shows us that he was a true organ of this spirit; and how much he contributed to promote it, is evident from the fact, that he was respected and loved by the members of the Latin, no less than by those of the Greek church. In Italy, he was received with reverence by the abbot and monks of the abbey of Monte Cassino,² who requested him to celebrate mass in their church in the Greek tongue, that God might be all in all (that God might be worshipped and glorified in different forms, that these separating diversities of form might be swallowed up and lost in the spirit of devotion. At first he declined accepting of

¹ See Mansi Concil. T. xvii. f. 537.

² See the above mentioned account of the life of Nilus, c. xi.

this testimony of respect, saying: "How shall we, who at present are everywhere humbled on account of our sins, sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" However, he yielded to their importunity, and sung a song composed by himself, in praise of St Benedict. The conversation of the monk afterwards turned upon the existing difference between the two churches, in reference to fasting on the Sabbath. When asked his own opinion on this matter, Nilus replied, in the words of the apostle Paul: "Let him not that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth, for God hath received both. But why dost thou judge thy brother? Whether *we* therefore eat, or whether ye fast, let us do all to the glory of the Lord." He then referred to the examples of the older church-teachers, which seemed to be in favour of the Greek custom; but added: "We will not contend, however, about this; for fasting cannot injure us; let us rather say with the apostle: Meat commendeth us not to God, 1 Corinth. viii. 8. If the Jews would but honour Christ crucified as their Lord, I should take no offence even though they fasted on Sunday." Upon this, the monks asked him: "If he did not think it a sin, then, to fast on the holy Sunday?" He replied: "Were it a sin, how could St Benedict fast on Sunday, and on festival days,—and even forget the festival of Easter? Hence we may learn, that whatever is done for the sake of God is good, and not to be rejected; no, not even the slaying of a man—as the example of Phineas teaches. In truth, everything depends on the temper in which a thing is done. And so," he added, "*we* do right not to fast on the Sabbath, in opposition to the Manichæans, who reject the Old Testament; and *you are bound to act as you do*, at your particular point of view,—to fast on this day, in order to purify your souls for the celebration of the next following day, consecrated to our Lord's resurrection."

In the year 1024, under the reign of the Greek emperor Basilus II., negotiations passed between the Greek and the Romish church, the object of which was, to induce the pope to renounce the primacy over the whole church, and to consent that the patriarch of Constantinople should be considered on a level with himself; that, as head over the Greek church, a church following her own laws, he should be so far considered an *ἐπίσκοπος οἴκου*—

μενιδος. This proposition stood in contradiction with the principles of the Romish church, as handed down from the time of Leo the Great, and with the idea of the church theocracy then prevailing in the Western church. Nothing but the power of a bribe in the then corrupt state of the papacy, where everything was venial, and to a pope like John XIX., who was a stranger to the church interest, could cause such a proposition to be entertained for a moment. But the business, which was meant to be kept a profound secret, soon got wind in Italy, and excited universal indignation. The pious abbot, William of Dijon, who was in the habit of lecturing popes, attacked this pope in the most violent manner, for daring to surrender one iota of the power conferred on St Peter by Christ himself, and which extended over the whole church.¹ Thus the whole project was frustrated; though there can be no doubt that, even if it had been carried through, the later popes would have refused to be bound by it.

By degrees, however, the consequences of the first schism between the two churches disappeared, although the churches themselves came into no closer connection with each other. In Italy and in Rome, there were abbots belonging to the Greek church, who followed her particular rites, without being molested on that account; and the same quiet and freedom were enjoyed by abbots and churches of the Latin order in Constantinople. But after the middle of the eleventh century, the schism broke out anew, and was made irreconcilable by the zeal, no less passionate than bigoted, of Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople. This person could not bear the sight of churches and monasteries at Constantinople, in which the Latin rites prevailed. In 1053, he caused all churches in which worship was held according to the rites of the Romish church, to be closed; and the abbots, who would not conform to the rites of the Greek church, were confined to their cloisters.² In conjunction with Leo, bishop

¹ Glaber Rudolph, l. iv. c. 1. He writes: Est fama rei, quæ nuper erga nos accidit, de qua quis audiens non scandalisatur, noverit, se longe ab amore superno disparari, quoniam, licet potestas Romani imperii quæ olim in orbe terrarum viguit nunc, per diversa terrarum innumeris regatur sceptris, ligandi solvendique in terra ac in cælo potestas dono inviolabili incumbit magisterio Petri.

² This pope Leo IX. reports, in his letter to these patriarchs, which we shall cite, c. 29. Harduin. Concil. vi. i. fol. 943.

of Achris (Achrida), the metropolitan of Bulgaria, he violently attacked, in a letter addressed to John, bishop of Trani in Apulia, the whole Latin church. This letter was to be directed, at the same time, to all priests and monks of the Franks, and to the pope himself. He here gave prominence to *one* contested point, which had never before come into public discussion.

It had certainly been the general practice in the churches, at least till into the eighth century,¹ to make use of common bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.² But as the prevailing theory concerning the nature of this ordinance naturally created an anxiety to distinguish it outwardly also from a common transaction, and as the spiritual tendency of these times, scarcely able to discriminate between things essential and things accidental, aimed more at a material than a formal agreement of the celebration of the Lord's Supper with its institution, so in the ninth century, the use of unleavened bread³ in the celebration of the Supper was introduced into the Western church, which was held to be necessary, on the assumption that the last Supper of Christ with his disciples was a proper passover meal, and that he therefore used unleavened bread. Afterwards a peculiar mysti-

¹ That in the seventh century it was not the practice to use unleavened bread in celebrating the Lord's Supper, may be gathered from a church ordinance made near the close of this century, which has been incorrectly adduced as an evidence on the other side,—the sixth canon of the 16th council of Toledo, of the year 693. It is directed against an abuse practised by many of the Spanish priests, who used fragments of their ordinary household bread in celebrating the Lord's Supper (*passim, quomodo unumquemque aut necessitas impulerit aut voluntas coegerit, de panibus suis usibus præparatis crustulam in rotunditatem auferant*). Now if it had been customary at that time to make use of unleavened bread, those priests would have been censured for making use of other bread than unleavened, and ordered to use the latter alone. This, however, was not done; but it was only established as a fixed rule: *Ut non aliter panis in altari proponatur, nisi integer et nitidus, qui ex studio fuerit præparatus*. We shall be more likely to find in a passage in Alcuin some indication of the use of unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist, ep. 75, ed. Froben. T. f. 106: *Panis, qui in corpus Christi consecratur absque fermento ullius alterius ineffectionis debet esse mundissimus*. Yet even here we may understand the sense to be, that nothing but what was usually employed in the making of bread, no foreign material, should be introduced, just as no other foreign element was to be mixed with the water and the wine.

² See vol. i. p. 451.

³ Rabanus Maurus, l. i. *De ecclesiasticis officiis*, c. 31, requires that *panis in-fermentatus* should be used in the eucharist: and in the vision of the Spanish bishop Ildefonsus, A.D. 845, which Mabillon published with his *Dissertatio de akzymo et fermentato* in his *ouvrages posthumes*, T. i. p. 189, it is spoken of as customary to use unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper.

cal meaning was supposed to be connected with this usage. In the Greek church, on the contrary, the ancient practice was retained; but it belonged to the bigoted, fleshly zeal of such a man as the above-mentioned patriarch of Constantinople, to attach importance to so insignificant a matter. In the use of unleavened bread he detected an inclination to Judaism. Fasting on the Sabbath in Lent he also, without any good reason, called a Jewish custom.¹ On the other hand, forgetting the very principle on which these accusations were based, he made the non-observance of the apostolic prohibition, forbidding the eating of things strangled, a matter of special complaint. This letter happened to fall into the hands of cardinal Humbert, respecting whose zeal as a polemic we have already spoken. He translated it into Latin, and laid it before pope Leo IX. The latter published a long letter in reply,² in which he passed lightly over the material part of the charge, but took special notice of the formal, contrasting the indisputable and decisive authority of the church of the apostle Peter, an apostle who must, beyond all doubt, have committed to her the tradition of the truth on all important points, with the church of Constantinople always troubled by false doctrines and by schisms. With still greater justice might he contrast the spirit of tolerance and charity, which, in respect to these merely external differences, still prevailed in the Romish church, with the bigoted zeal of the patriarch.³ A lengthened refutation of the particular charges against the church of Rome was afterwards composed by cardinal Humbert himself, in a writing in which the complaints of the Constantinopolitan are introduced along with the replies of the Roman.⁴ He here shows himself to be a man decidedly superior to his opponent in intel-

¹ *Sabbata quomodo inquadagesima Judaice observatis?* See the letter in *Canisii Lectiones antiquæ, et Basnage, T. iii. p. i. f. 282.* To this cardinal Humbert could rightly reply, that the reproach of Judaizing applied more properly to the Greeks. *Vos si non Judaisatis, dicite cur Judæis in simili observantia sabbati communicatis? Sabbatum certe ipsi celebrant et vos celebratis, epulantur ipsi et solvunt semper in sabbato jejunium. L. c. f. 285.*

² *Harduin. Concil. vi i. f. 927.*

³ *Vid. c. 29: Cum intra et extra Romam plurima Græcorum reperiantur monasteria sive ecclesie, nullum eorum adhuc perturbatur vel prohibetur a paterna traditione sive sua consuetudine, quin potius suadetur et admonetur, eam observare. Scit namque, quia nihil obsunt saluti credentium diversæ pro loco et tempore consuetudines, quando una fides per dilectionem operans bona quæ potest, uni Deo commendat omnes.*

⁴ In the above cited *Collection of Canisius, et Basnage, iii. i. f. 283.*

lectual power, and insight into the essence of Christianity. He expresses himself on many points with more liberality than was to be expected from him, after having given such other proofs of his spirit. He points out the contradiction in which his opponent involved himself by accusing the Latins of a Judaizing tendency, and still reproaching them with the non-observance of a law about eating borrowed from the Old Testament.¹ But if the authority of those ordinances should be held valid as apostolical, then he maintained on the contrary, that they originated in a time when Christianity had not as yet come to its wholly independent development; that the gospel shone first with a dawning light, gradually dispelling the shades of Judaism, during which the apostles themselves wavered in a certain sense between Christianity and Judaism. Hence these ordinances, belonging as they did to a stage of transition, could possess only a transient validity.² He charges the Greeks with attending to these outward things, to the neglect of faith and love, which constitutes the essence of Christianity.³

But the renewal of this schism was, on account of the great influence of the pope among the Occidentals, altogether opposed to the political interests of the Greek emperor Constantine Monomachus, who therefore took every pains to make up the difficulty. By personal application, and through the medium of the patriarch

¹ Numquid vobis solis licet, quidquid libet, ut modo ad legis patrocinium humiliter recurratis et modo ab ea superbe resiliatis?

² Pro loco et tempore nonnulla carnalia veteris legis mandata apostolos observasse scimus, quando adhuc quasi in matutino crepusculo tenebræ et lux confluebant et intuentium oculos nunc huc, nunc illuc reducebant, sic apostoli in Judæa commorati aliquando claritate evangelii expergefati ab umbra legis recedebant, aliquando necessitate vel consuetudine torpentes in eam recidebant. f. 304. The opinion here expressed, that the apostles came gradually to a clearer and fuller knowledge of Christianity, is remarkable in an author of this period.

³ Considerate, ad quantam stultitiam devoluta sit vestra scriptura et sapientia, quæ eum ab hominibus exquirere deberet finem præceptorum Dei, id est caritatem de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta, hoc solum exquirendum putat, an aliquando comederint carnem ursinam. He admits that the Latins also considered themselves bound to abstain from eating things strangled in their blood,—but this only in reference to animals found dead, in opposition to the practice of barbarians: Sanguine quocunque morticinio aut aquis seu quacunque negligentia humana præfocato apud nos aliquando vescentibus absque extremo periculo vitæ hujus pœnitentia gravis imponitur, nam de cæteris, quæ aucupio aut canibus seu laqueo venantium moriuntur apostoli præceptum, 1 Cor. 10 sequimur.

Michael, he entered into negotiations of peace with the pope. The latter met his advances, and shortly before his death in 1054, sent an embassy consisting of three persons to Constantinople to settle the terms of agreement. Cardinal Frederic, archdeacon of the church of Rome, stood at the head of this embassy; cardinal Humbert, and Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, were his coadjutors. The lofty tone in which, as papal legates, they thought themselves entitled to speak, had a direct tendency to excite against them the prejudices of a patriarch, who had ever been accustomed to slavish submissiveness in the clergy.¹ Humbert composed here the work we have just mentioned in refutation of the charges of the patriarch Michael, and also another, against a second violent attack, made in the like spirit, on the Latin church by the priest Nicetas Pectoratus, of the monastery of Studion. The patriarch, after a first visit from the legates, avoided all further intercourse with them; being determined to make no concessions, and to suffer no humiliation.² He persisted in declaring, that on so weighty a matter, touching the interests of the whole Greek church, nothing could be done except with the concurrence of the other patriarchs, and that the emperor could not force the patriarch of Constantinople. But the more feeble minded Nicetas was obliged to accommodate himself to the emperor's will, who was determined to obtain peace with the pope at any price, and retracted, in presence of the emperor and of the legates, what he had said in his book against the Romish church, pronouncing sentence of condemnation on all those who did not acknowledge the Romish church as first in rank and orthodox in faith. His work was committed to the flames. And the legates, finding they could obtain no interview with the patriarch himself, repaired to the church of St Sophia, where they publicly condemned him and all who thought like him, depositing on the altar a fiercely written document, in which this condemnation was em-

¹ The patriarch Michael, in his letter to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, giving a report of this embassy, complains of the *ὑπερηφανία, ἀλαζονεία* and *αἰθάδεια* of the envoys. But it was surely absurd in him to expect from the papal legates the *συνήθεις προσκύνησις* of the Greek clergy, or to hint to those who represented the person of the pope that they ought to take their place behind the metropolitans. Vid. *Ecclesiæ Græcæ monumenta* ed. Coteler. T. ii. page 139.

² As he says himself in his second letter Coteler. *monumenta*, ii. p. 164: *ἡμεῖς τὴν αὐτῶν συντυχίαν παρετησάμεθα καὶ τὴν ἔντιυξιν.*

bodied. By this step, all the negotiations were broken up. The patriarch did, indeed, summon the legates to appear before a council; but the emperor caused them to be secretly warned against obeying this summons; for the fury of the multitude excited against the defamers of the Greek church might easily expose them to danger. It was no longer safe for them to remain in Constantinople.¹ The emperor himself, to avoid the appearance of being an enemy to the Greek church, was obliged to yield on every point to the exasperated patriarch, what he demanded for the maintenance of his honour:—the punishments which could not light on the legates, fell on the Greek interpreters, who had translated Humbert's condemnatory document into the Greek language. The innocent had to suffer for the guilty. Thus this pretended mission of peace only served to provoke a still more hostile spirit in the Greek church towards Rome than had existed before, which expresses itself in two letters, addressed soon after these events by the patriarch Michael to Peter, patriarch of Antioch. In these letters, he sums up against the church of Rome a far greater number of accusations, true and false, than was contained in his former one.²

From this time the two parties called each other by the heretical names, Azymites and Prozymites, or Fermentarians. For the rest, this controversy led to interesting inquiries respecting

¹ There are two reports of these occurrences, one drawn up by the cardinal Humbert, in the before mentioned Collection of Canisius, l. c. fol. 325; another in the Greek language by Michael Cerularius in his work *De libris et rebus ecclesiasticis Græcis*, Paris 1646, p. 161. These two reports, though they agree in all essential points, yet sometimes contradict each other. The contradictions, however, are doubtless owing in part to the circumstance, that in the Greek official report it was deemed necessary to conceal everything which might seem to reflect on the Greek church, and especially to the equivocal part played by the Greek emperor, who represented the matter in one way to the legates, to whom he wished to appear desirous of maintaining peace with the Romish church, and in another to the patriarch, whom he wished to conciliate. He prevaricated, after the regular Byzantine fashion; hence, as a matter of course, the conduct of the emperor is represented in two opposite ways in the two reports.

² Among these, we may be surprised to find it asserted that the Latins did not worship relics, nor many among them images. *Monumenta eccles. Græc.* l. c. p. 144. The patriarch Peter himself saw how destitute of foundation this charge was, and defended the Roman Church against it, l. c. p. 158. The more just and moderate Theophylact, in his tract *περὶ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦνται Λατῖνοι* (which has been published by Mingarelli in his *Anecdotorum fasciculus*, Romæ, 1756, page 287) calls this accusation a *σατανικὴ συκοφαντία*. But the Greek zealots were glad to see the Latins placed in the same category with the odious *εἰκονομάχοις*. Perhaps what had been heard concerning the principles of the older Frankish church, furnished the occasion for this accusation.

the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the celebration of the eucharist among the Greeks, who felt themselves called upon to refute the charge that they had departed from the institution of Christ himself. Peter, the patriarch of Antioch, attempted to prove that Christ, who foresaw that his passion would occur on the very day appointed for holding the passover, inasmuch as his passion corresponded to the offering of the paschal lamb, anticipated the passover-meal one day in his supper with the disciples, holding it on the thirteenth of the month Nisan, so that he could not therefore as yet have used unleavened bread ;¹ and he succeeded very well in making out this point from the gospel of John, though not so well in bringing the account contained in the other gospels into harmony with this. But he assumed that John, who wrote last, was the most accurate ; that he intended more exactly to divine what the others had stated inexactly, and that the others should therefore be interpreted in accordance with him. To another polemic, who wrote on this subject towards the close of the eleventh century, Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida, this hypothesis seemed offensive ; and he therefore believed it necessary to admit that Christ, who held with his disciples a proper feast of the passover, used unleavened bread. But he maintained, that it by no means followed from this that the church must necessarily use unleavened bread, in all succeeding celebrations of the Lord's Supper ; for a *material* uniformity with the manner in which Christ then performed this transaction was by no means requisite, nor indeed practicable. For, on this supposition, it would be necessary to use precisely the same kind of bread and wine which Christ then used ; on the presumption that he used common barley loaves,² as when he fed the five thousand, men would be bound to use barley bread in the Lord's Supper, and not wheat bread ; and to use the wine of Palestine. It would be necessary that the sacred act should follow after a meal, and be performed in a recumbent posture ; and that a hall or chamber should be used for its observance. But, by virtue of their Christian liberty, men were freed from the obligation of ob-

¹ See the analysis of the patriarch Peter in the above cited Collection of Cotelierius, T. ii. page 123, etc.

² By virtue of the *ἰστίλμια τοῦ βίου*.

servicing uniformity in these matters ; and hence they should no longer consider themselves bound to use unleavened bread.¹

Apart from the fierce zealots, who, agitated by their heated passions, attached the same importance to all the points in dispute, seeking only to multiply them, stood at the beginning of the new controversy, Peter, the Patriarch of Antioch ; and, at a later period, archbishop Theophylact, one of his followers, who had been very active in renewing the dispute. Both distinguished themselves by the superior coolness, the spirit of Christian love and moderation, which they manifested in controversy, and which enabled them to separate, in the different usages, essentials from non-essentials. Both agreed in this respect, that they defended the Latin church against things unjustly laid to her charge ; and that they regarded the dogmatical difference, touching the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, as the only important one. " We are bound," writes the patriarch Peter of Antioch,² " to have some respect, at all times, to the good intentions of men ; and more particularly are we bound, where it can be done without danger to the cause of God or of the faith, to be always inclined to the side of peace and brotherly love. Even the Latins we are bound to recognise as brethren, though, from want of culture, or through ignorance, they often lean to their own understandings, and turn aside from the right path ; and from a rude people we should not require the same accuracy as we do from the cultivated Greeks."³ As to Theophylact, he also declares the doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit to be the only important point of controversy between the Greeks and the Latins. On this point nothing should be conceded by the Greeks, however loftily the Latins might appeal to the lofty episcopal see,⁴ and to the confession of St Peter, and bluster about the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Here even he must contend, who on other points would choose to be mild.⁵ But even here he insisted that men ought not to strive about words, but should endeavour to come to an understanding with each

¹ See the above cited tract of Theophylact, c. 9. l. c. page 273.

² L. c. Coteler. p. 155

³ Μὴ τισαύτην ἀκρίβειαν ἐπιζητεῖν ἐν βρεβάρους ἔθνεσιν, ἢν αὐτοὶ περὶ λόγους ἀναστρεφόμενοι ἀπαιτούμεθα.

⁴ Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦς λόγους ποιῶνται, ὅν ὑψηλὸν ὑψηλοὶ προστιθέασιν.

⁵ Vid. § 14.

other about conceptions. Perhaps the Latins had erred simply on account of the poverty of their language, inasmuch as they employ the same term to denote the causality of the *communication* of the Holy Spirit, and the causality of His being; and in this case, the poverty of their language should excuse the imperfection of their creed. Having come to an agreement in their conceptions, men should praise God in the *unity of spirit*.¹ The Latins, he observed, moreover, might retain the less accurate forms of expression in their homiletic discourses, if they only guarded against misconception, by carefully explaining their meaning. It was only in the confession of faith in the symbol, that perfect clearness was requisite. On all the other contested points, the principle should be followed, of tolerating the lesser evil for the sake of guarding against a greater. Many things, which it would be difficult to alter, must be tolerated for the sake of maintaining Christian fellowship. After the example of the apostles, to the weak we must become weak; and imitate Christ, who was numbered with the transgressors, and gave up his life, that he might bring together the dispersed children of God, and unite them all in one fold, under one shepherd. He denounced the selfish, pharisaical zeal, that found pleasure in reviving long-forgotten heretical names, and applying them where there was not the least reason for it. "Let us beware of such conduct," so he concludes his discourse; "servants of Christ, friends, brothers, lest we become estranged from God, who draws all men to him by his forbearance, while we, I was about to say, repel all men from us by our pride of opinion."²

IV. REACTION OF THE SECTS UPON THE DOMINANT CHURCH, AND ITS SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE.

It still remains for us to trace, in the history of the sects of this period, the indications of a reaction, extending through the whole middle ages,—the reaction of a spirit striving after a greater freedom of development. This, however, did not always proceed

¹ Vid. § 5 et 6.

² Μὴ ὕψαις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀλλοτριῶμεν Θεοῦ, τοῦ πάντας διὰ τῆς Χριστότητος ἰλ. κεντος, αὐτοὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν πάντας ἑ ἰδὸν ἀπωθούμενοι.

from the same main tendency of the religious consciousness, in opposition to the church-theocratical system, or in opposition to the mixture of Jewish and Christian elements in the dominant church system. And here it will be necessary, in the first place, to point out the connection of the events now to be noticed, with the history of the Paulicians in the preceding period. The earlier persecutions of the Paulician sect had promoted its spread; had tended, in particular, to further its extension beyond the then limits of the East Roman empire, into districts where it met with a favourable reception from the most formidable enemies of that empire, the Saracens; and the same was the result, when these persecutions were revived and pushed to a more violent extreme, by the fanatical zeal of the empress Theodora, in propagating the doctrines of the church. Military officers were sent to the districts of Armenia, to extirpate the Paulicians; and multitudes were hung, beheaded, drowned, and their property confiscated. The number of the victims to this outrage is reckoned at not less than a hundred thousand.¹ The consequence was, that a man attached to the imperial army itself, Carbeas, first adjutant² to the commander-in-chief of the imperial troops in the eastern part of the empire, exasperated by the execution of his father, and, being a Paulician himself, fearing for his own safety, fled, with five thousand members of the sect, to the province of Melitene, a part of Armenia subject to the dominion of the Saracens, where Paulicians had already established themselves at some earlier period. The number of the Paulicians was here so great, that, besides the city of Argeum, mentioned in the preceding period, they were now able to found two others, Amara and Tephrica. In conjunction with the Saracens, they often committed serious depredations upon the Greek empire. About the year 969, the emperor John Tzimesces, at the request of Theodore, patriarch of Antioch,³ transported many of this sect, which it was thought desirable to remove from the eastern districts, to Philippopolis, in Thrace,⁴ where they were established as a watch over

¹ Constantin. Porphyrogenet. continuat. l. iv. c. 16. fol. 103. ed. Paris.

² Πρωτομανδάτωρ.

³ Vid. Zonaræ Annales, l. 17.

⁴ Where their descendants still continue to live, as appears from the *ἰγχιεῖδιον* *περὶ τῆς ἰπαρχίας Φιλιππουπόλεως*, page 27 et 28, published by the priest and oeconomus of the Greek church in this town, named Constantine. Vienna, 1819.

the boundaries of the empire; and as they had already, in the ninth century,¹ sought to effect an entrance into the new church of Bulgaria,² so they now availed themselves of this opportunity to make still further progress in that country, and to extend themselves into other parts of Europe.

But it was in Asia, and particularly in Armenia and the adjacent countries, the original birthplace of this sect, where it was still found to flourish in perpetual vigour, deriving fresh nourishment and impulse from new mixtures of Christian elements with the old Oriental religions. In Armenia, a sect had maintained itself from the older times, sprung from the mixture of the Zoroastrian worship of Ormuzd with a few elements of Christianity. The members of this sect were called Arevurdis, or children of the sun, on account of their worship of that luminary.³ The Paulicians differed from *this sect*, in that they adopted more elements from Christianity; yet, even among the different parties of the Paulicians, there seem to have existed certain gradations, according to their different relations to Parsism and to Christianity, and their inclination, on the whole, to the one or to the other. Between the years 833 and 854, the sect in Armenia took a new form and a new impulse, from a person named Sembat, who sprung up in the province of Ararat, and, although by birth and education a Paulician, yet, having entered into some connection with a certain Medschusic, a Persian physician and astronomer,⁴ was led, under his influence, to attempt a new combination of Parsism and Christianity. He established himself in the village Thondrac, from which circumstance his sect obtained the name of Thondracians.⁵

¹ According to the testimony of Peter of Sicily. See vol. v. p. 331.

² Comp. also above, vi. p. 51.

³ For this, as also for the following accounts, I am indebted to the kindness of my worthy friend and colleague, the learned promoter of Armenian literature among us, Dr Petermann, who has furnished me with passages translated from Tschamtshean's History of Armenia, v. i. p. 765, etc. which contain excerpts from earlier records.

⁴ Hence, probably, a man who, after the oriental fashion, busied himself with astrology and necromancy, which called in the aid of those other sciences. Michael Psellus says the same thing of the Euchites, respecting whom we shall presently speak.

⁵ According to the Armenian accounts, which we follow, in the above mentioned History of Armenia, Tom. ii. p. 884—895, we might suppose that this sect took a pantheistic, antinomian direction, favouring every species of immorality, such as we find in the case of many of the older Gnostic sects, and such as Michael Psellus ascribes to a portion of the Euchites; for it is said of them that they rejected the doctrine of a providence, of a life after death, of the grace of the Holy Spirit, all morality,

This sect, though it met with no mercy from the bishops, at whose instigation it was fiercely persecuted, continually revived, and spread widely in Armenia.¹ At one time, in particular, about the year 1002, it made the most alarming progress; when, as we are told, it was joined by bishop Jacob, spiritual head of the province of Harkh. But since Christianity in Armenia was extremely corrupted by superstition, and a host of ceremonial observances, growing out of the mixture of Christian and Jewish elements, which latter abounded to a still greater extent here than in other countries, the question naturally arises, whether everything which was opposed to these foreign elements, and which, in this opposition, united its strength with that of the Paulicians, though proceeding, in other respects, from entirely different principles, was not wrongly attributed by the defenders of the then dominant church-system, to the influence of the Paulician sect. Supposing the case to have been so, it may be conjectured that bishop Jacob was one of those men, who, by the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the older church teachers, had caught the spirit of reform, — a conjecture which is certainly corroborated by the fact, that two synods were unable to convict him of any heresy. If, however, he was actually connected with the Paulicians, it was, assuredly, with those of the better stamp, with those who, in their efforts to bring about a restoration of apostolic simplicity, and in their opposition to the intermixture of Judaism with Christianity, represented the spirit of Marcion. His fierce opponents themselves acknowledge, that he was distinguished for the austerity of his life; and his priests, who travelled through the land as preachers of repentance, were men of the same simple and ab-

all the sacraments of the church, that they acknowledged no law and no restraints, and asserted that there was no sin, and no punishment. But the bitterness of polemical passion, the prevalent credulity and superstition among the Armenians, who were prepared to say the worst things of these heretics, and who wanted sense and capacity to enter candidly into the connection and coherence of the opinions of their opponents, render their accounts extremely liable to suspicion: and their own remark, that these people endeavoured to entice the simple, by the show of a pious and strict life, which was only hypocrisy, betrays evidence that they indulged in malicious interpretation. As the members of these sects kept their doctrines secret, and accommodated themselves, in various ways, to reigning opinions, so there is the less reason to expect that those who took no especial pains for it, would learn anything certain about their doctrines.

¹ Those who were treated in the mildest way, were, for the terror of others, branded in the forehead with the image of a fox, as a sign of the heretic, who creeps slyly into the Lord's vineyard, seeking to destroy it.

stemious habits. He and his followers denounced the false confidence which was placed in masses, oblations, alms, church-prayers, as if it were possible, by these means, to obtain the forgiveness of sins. His own act alone, said they, can help the individual who has sinned; a sentiment which could easily be misrepresented, and made to signify that they pronounced all other means to be worthless. He declared himself opposed to the animal sacrifices practised in the Armenian church.¹ Once, some of his followers happened to be present, when animals were offered as an oblation for the dead. "Thou poor beast," said one of them, "the man sinned through his whole life, and then died; but what sin hast thou done, that thou must die with him?" This bishop met with great success among the clergy, the people, and the nobles, until finally the Catholicus, or spiritual chief of the Armenian church, craftily succeeded in getting possession of his person. He first caused him to be branded with the heretical mark, and then to be carried from place to place, attended by a common crier, to proclaim him a heretic, and expose him to the public scorn. After this he was thrown into a dungeon, from which he managed to effect his escape, but was finally killed by his enemies.

Thus the Paulicians and other kindred sects, though occasionally suppressed, continually sprung up anew in Armenia till the middle of the eleventh century; and from this point they spread abroad into other regions, particularly the adjacent provinces of the Roman empire, partly from compulsion and to escape the violence of persecution, and partly from the desire of multiplying converts to their own doctrines.

In the Greek church, there appeared in the eleventh century a sect already numerous, and which perhaps had long been spreading

¹ Offerings, at the celebration of festivals in memory of the dead, as oblations, in the name of the latter. The meat-offering was sprinkled with consecrated salt, then distributed among the poor; sacrificial feasts were held as *agapæ*, to which the poor were invited. The Armenian church teachers derived these customs from an accommodation to the weaknesses of the converted pagans, of which we have similar examples in the older church. See vol. iii. p. 450. The prevailing superstition of fire-worship in Armenia, would, however, furnish less occasion for such customs, which, perhaps, may with more propriety be traced to an intermixture of Judaism and Christianity, which intermixture it was afterwards sought to defend. Vid. *Nersetis Clajensis opera*. Venet. 1833. Vol. i. page 40. The Armenian canons, in the *Work of Joannes Ozniensis*. Venet. 1834, p. 61. *Conciliationis ecclesie Armeniæ cum Romana auctore Clemente Galano*. Romæ. 1661. p. ii. page 405.

in secret, under the name of the Euchites,¹ or Enthusiasts, as they were called by the people. They were denominated Euchites from their mode of praying, which they represented as the height of Christian perfection, and exalted above every other religious act, and enthusiasts from their boasted ecstasies (ἐνθουσιασμοί) in which they pretended to receive special revelations, and to enjoy immediate intercourse with the spiritual world. This sectarian name recalls the Euchites, or as they were denominated after a Slavonian rendering of the same word, the Bogomiles, of the twelfth century, and also the older Euchites:² for the same mystical, theosophic bent, and the similar circumstance which in the earlier times gave origin to the name of the sect, constitute a relationship between the older and the more recent Euchites; also the dualistic element would easily find in their doctrines, as we have explained on a former page, a convenient foothold; and in the East such sects might be secretly propagated, with slight changes, from age to age. These new Euchites appeared also in Mesopotamia, and in the character of monks, like the older sect.³ The Greek monks in the tenth century often boasted of having received special revelations, of possessing the gift of prophecy,⁴ and these Euchites might propagate themselves without being detected under the assumed character of monks, or their common sympathy with the monks on these points might easily gain for them an admission into some monastic order.

Respecting the doctrines of these Euchites the information we derive from Michael Psellus, the only writer who can be relied

¹ The learned Constantinopolitan, Michael Psellus the younger, who flourished after the middle of the eleventh century, composed a dialogue, in which a certain Timotheus and a Thracian are the interlocutors, which treats concerning the doctrines of these sects, but especially concerning the appearances of demons, with whose help many extraordinary things were said to be done among them. His *διάλογος περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων*, ed. Gaulmin. Paris 1615. Here it is said of them (p. 5): *τινάς θεομάχους ἄνδρας ἐν μίσῳ στρέφεισθαι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἰεροῦ κόμματος*, whether by the holy stamp here we are to understand the stamp of the catholic church, to which these Euchites had attached themselves, assuming the appearance of catholic Christians, or whether we are to understand by it monks and ecclesiastics as distinguished from other Christians, since the Euchites had found their way even among these.

² See vol. iii. p. 329.

³ See the tract of Michael Psellus already cited, p. 37.

⁴ See in particular Leo Diaconus Hist. iv. 7 ed. Hase, in the new collection, page 64, where in citing a prophecy, it is added: *εἴτι πρός τῶν τὰ μιστῶρα περισκοπούωντων τινός, εἴτι καὶ τῶν μονάδα βίον ἱπανηρημένων*, and v. 5.

upon as good authority, is very scanty and inexact; it is sufficient, however, to show that they had some connection with sects originating in Armenia, and with the Bogomiles and Catharians of after times. Agreeing with the doctrine of Zoroaster, they believed in one perfect original being, from whom they derived two sons, the good and the evil principle. Their doctrine touching the relation of these two principles to each other seems to have constituted, according as it inclined one way or the other, either to an *absolute* or to a *relative* Dualism, a main difference, and indeed the ground of two several parties, in this sect. And to this same distinction, it may be remarked, is to be referred also the main difference between the Bogomiles and the Catharians, and among the Catharians themselves of after times. They differed, that is, either as they supposed that the evil principle was a spirit originally evil, or a spirit originally good, but who by virtue of his free-will, had apostatised from God, though he would finally be recovered again to goodness. According to the doctrine of this latter class, the spirit, clothed at the beginning with the supreme power, the elder of the two sons of the Supreme God revolted against the Father, and produced the visible world with the intention of founding in it an independent kingdom. The younger spirit, Christ, remained loyal to God, and took the other's place. Christ will destroy the kingdom of the evil one, and prosecute his redeeming work until the general restitution.¹ If we might credit the report of Michael Psellus, one party of the Euchites made the evil spirit himself an object of worship; but this is altogether unlikely.² The character of such a party we

¹ Something akin to the doctrine of these Euchites is to be found in the apocryphal gospel by John, which sprung up among the Bogomiles, and was brought by the Catharists of Bulgaria into France, published last by Thilo in the first volume of his valuable work, the Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti. We shall have more to say on this subject in the history of the following periods, when we more carefully explain the doctrine of the Bogomiles, and of the different parties of the Catharists.

² A transition point to the formation of such a party, if such a party ever existed, or an occasion for the report that such a party actually existed, is to be found in what Michael Psellus cites as a principle entertained by the better class of Euchites; τὸν πρῶτον (the Satanael) οὐκ ἀτιμάζοντες (perhaps we should read: οὐ τιμῶντες μὲν, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν, ὡς κακοποιῶν δυνάμενον, see page 9. This agrees with what, according to the report of Euthymius Zigabenus, Basilus, the teacher of the Bogomiles, in the twelfth century, cited from an apocryphal gospel, as the words of Christ: τιμᾶτε τὰ δαιμόνια οὐχ' ἵνα ἀφελήθητε παρ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ βλάψωσιν ὑμᾶς. Satanael and his angels have the dominion of the world: whoever, therefore, would acquire earthly goods and avert earthly calamities, needed their assistance.

might safely presume would be thoroughly immoral as the natural result of their principle ; and it would be exclusively to this party we should have to refer what Michael Psellus relates concerning the immoral excesses, nightly committed after the extinguishing of the lights, in the secret assemblies of these sects.¹ But as the same stories are to be met with in every age, concerning the secret meetings of sects stigmatised as heretical, they must ever be considered as extremely liable to suspicion. It is possible that the Euchites, by their knowledge of some of the hidden powers of nature, particularly of magnetism, may have been able to produce effects which excited the wonder of beholders.² The sect seems to have had a regular constitution ; their presiding officers were called apostles.³ Even at this early period, the sect was threatened with a persecution from Constantinople, and an imperial commissioner was appointed and despatched to carry it into effect.⁴

In *this* period, we obtain also more exact information respecting the sect of Athinganians ; and we find the remarks already made in the fifth volume (p. 349), concerning the derivation and meaning of this name confirmed ; but we must modify the remarks then made touching the relationship of this sect with the Paulicians. It is clear that this sect, which had its principal seat in the city of Amorion, in Upper Phrygia, where many Jews resided, sprung out of a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. They united baptism with the observance of all the rites of Judaism,

¹ L. c. page 21.

² P. 61, cites the example of a woman, who in a paroxysm, in which she was set by a wizard from Armenia, made use of the Armenian language, before unknown to her, then fell asleep, and afterwards had no further consciousness of what befel her. We leave it for others, who have more carefully examined the phenomena of magnetism and somnambulism, to judge of this story. We mention it only on account of its analogy with phenomena of both older and later times (comp. e.g. a similar story in the book of Pomponatius de naturalium effectuum admirandorum causis, p. 142 et seq., and as hinting at the means which such sects may have employed.

³ P. 18 : τοῖς προϊστάσι τοῦ δόγματος, εἰς οὓς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων καταϊράπτουσι προσσηγορίαν. In this there lies a resemblance to the Manichæans. See Vol. ii p. 207, and to the Paulicians, inasmuch as the latter were fond of giving apostolic names to the leaders and teachers of their sect, see Vol. v. p. 343.

⁴ If Michael Psellus represents himself under the name of "the Thracian," then he is himself the person who was charged to look after the Euchites, and he thence obtained his knowledge of the sect. See p. 61. He states here, that in a paroxysm of "enthusiasm," the leader of the sect predicted that a certain person whom he described as Michael Psellus, then unknown to him, would be sent to persecute them.

circumcision excepted. We may perhaps recognise in them a branch of the older Judaising sects; and it is possible that the sect, against which Paul contends in the epistle to the Colossians,¹ had been able to maintain itself until this time in Phrygia.²

Such sects, springing up in the East, extended themselves, amid the confusions of the tenth century, into the West.³ Many indications denote a diffusion of them from Italy; nor indeed can there be any doubt that the seeds of such sects had found their way into Italy from Greece and the adjacent districts. The corruption of the clergy furnished the heretics a most important vantage-ground from which to attack the dominant church, and its sacraments. The ignorance of the people on religious subjects exposed them to be continually deceived by those who were seeking on whatever side to work upon the minds of the multitude. The fickle populace were excited sometimes by the fiery appeals of the heretics, whose rigid abstemious lives had won their respect, to abhorrence of their corrupt clergy, and to enthusiasm for their new teachers; and sometimes, by the influence of the clergy, to fanatical fury against the heretics, who were represented as utterly irreligious and godless men. The awakened spirit of inquiry among the clergy of France in the eleventh century, procured ready admittance also among them for attacks upon the church doctrine. Amid the confusions of this century, such heretics—merely from the admiration they inspired by their strict, unmarried life, their abstinence from all animal food and intoxicating drinks—might become objects of veneration, while, by reason of their outward compliance with the observances of the church, they could propagate themselves without being known or disturbed. Thus we find them emerging at once in the eleventh century, in countries the most diverse, and the most remote from each other—in Italy, France, and even to the Harz districts in Germany.⁴ Some resemblance which was observed between these

¹ Col. ii. 21 et seq.

² The passage we here avail ourselves of is in Constant. Porphyrogenet. Continuat. l. ii. c. iii. f. 27. ed. Paris.

³ Certainly not less evident than the oneness of the Euchites of the eleventh, and the Bogomiles of the twelfth century, is the derivation from these of the sects that emerged in the Western Church during the eleventh century.

⁴ For in the Chronicle of Hermannus Contractus it is stated, at year 1052, that when the emperor Henry III. was celebrating Christmas in Goslar, quosdam ibi hæreticos Manichæos, omnis esum animalis execrantes, consensu omnium, ne

heretics and the Manichæans, so far as the latter were known from the reports of the older church fathers, was sufficient to cause them all to be branded with the name of Manichæans. To form any correct notion of the doctrines of a sect at war with the church, according as those doctrines were really connected together in the system of such a sect; to make any just discrimination between doctrines which were kindred and doctrines which were foreign to the system, was a thing utterly beyond the reach of the best capacities of those times. Hence we can expect no more than meagre notices touching the sects of this period.

In the eleventh century, connected with the church at Orleans, stood a flourishing institution for theological education, which threatened to become a seminary for the spread of false doctrines, the ecclesiastics who presided over it having become tinctured with them. For a long time already, the heretical tendency had been acquiring strength among them, without any notice being taken of it, as the clergy, who were seeking to bring their doctrines into general circulation, used great caution, and imparted them to those only whom, after suitable preparation, they found capable of receiving them. Thus it came about, that one of the canonical priests of the church at Orleans, the precentor Adeodat (Dieudonné), a member of this sect, died in the communion of the church; and not till three years after his death (when by circumstances presently to be mentioned, the heretical tendency which here prevailed was discovered), this person was found to have been a promoter of it; when his bones were commanded to be dug up and removed, as those of a heretic, from consecrated ground.¹ While *other* ecclesiastics, awakened by the influence of Augustin, and more especially of St Paul, placed the doctrines of grace and of redemption, and of the sanctification of human nature grounded therein, in opposition to the superstitious reliance on sacraments and the worship of saints, on holiness of works,

hæretica scabies serperet in plures, in patibulo suspendi fecit. Canisii lectiones antiquæ, ed. Basnage, T. iii. f. 272. The aversion to eating flesh, as well as their opinion that it was sinful to destroy animal life, sufficiently proves their oriental origin. When a bishop required them to slaughter a cock, they refused. See the *Acta Episcoporum Leodiensium in Martene et Durand collectio amplissima, T. iv. f. 902.*

¹ This is related by a contemporary monk, Ademar of Angoulême, in his *Chronicle*, year 1025, in *Labbe Nova bibliotheca manuseriptorum, T. ii.*

and whatever else furnished a prop to security in sin; *these ecclesiastics* likewise joined indeed in the same opposition, but the opposition in their case possessed the character of a *rationalising, mystical tendency*; and it is easy to see how a tendency of this sort might spontaneously manifest itself, especially among ecclesiastics of a certain culture, without any need of supposing that they had received an impulse from sects which sprung up in the Oriental church. Hence we should be authorised to regard that report of the trial held upon the members of this sect, which is the fullest in its details, and which makes no mention at all of its Manichæanism,¹ as the most correct account; and the other accounts of contemporaries,² by whom this sect is described as Manichæan, might be attributed to a misconception, arising from the fact that men were accustomed to consider the peculiarities which, in many appearances of the sectarian history of these times, were found to be held in common, to be common to *them all*,—a mistake not unfrequently committed in attempting to grasp together the several phenomena of a particular period. Yet, at the same time, since even in the above mentioned report of the trial held upon these ecclesiastics, which says not a word of their Manichæanism, some of their opinions are noticed, which admit of being most easily referred to a Gnostic or Manichæan mode of thinking, and since the origin of the sect is traced to Italy,³ which would confirm the supposition of its external connection with the sects of the Greek church, and since a mystical, rationalising tendency of the same sort was a feature by no means uncommon in those Gnostic and Manichæan sects, it still remains the most probable conjecture, that it was through the immediate influence of some such sect, that opposition to the church doctrine was first excited among the canonical clergy at Orleans.

The sect at Orleans combated the doctrine of Christ's supernatural birth, as a thing contrary to the laws of nature. That which contradicts the laws of nature, they asserted, can find no

¹ The gesta Synodi Aurelianensis in D'Achery Spicilegia, T. i. f. 604, also another contemporary, Glaber Rudolph, iii. 8, say not a word of their Manichæanism.

² As in the above cited Chronicle of Ademar, and in the fragment published by Du Chesne in the 6th vol. of his *Scriptores rerum Francar. Historia Aquitanica*, f. 81.

³ Glaber Rudolph names an Italian woman as the person who imported the seeds of these doctrines to France, and during a long residence in Orleans spread them abroad, particularly among the ecclesiastics of that city.

existence in creation.¹ This, however, is not so to be understood, as if they admitted the reality of the birth of Jesus, but denied the supernatural circumstances attending it; but they denied the reality of the birth of Jesus in the same sense as they denied the reality of his passion and his resurrection. As an argument in favour of their opinion, they adduced what was assumed by their opponents, namely, that Christ was born of a virgin; for as this would be impossible, the reality of the birth was disproved by its character. Their doctrine of Christ's humanity bordered, therefore, without any doubt, upon Docetism, or was *altogether* docetical.² If we find the doctrine ascribed to them by Glaberius Rudolphus, that heaven and earth had always existed, as they now are, yet we should remember that the report of a writer, who did not understand their system, and who presents everything in the worst colours, must fall very short of establishing the fact, that they took an altogether pantheistic view of the world; on the contrary, we have more reason to believe that their opposition to the church doctrine of the creation from nothing, an opposition which proceeded from some oriental doctrine of emanation combined with Dualism, that this opposition, wrongly understood and perverted, gave occasion to this charge. In consistency with their docetic views of the human nature of Jesus, they could not of course believe in any communication of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist; and their opposition to the church doctrine being based on mysticism, would necessarily affect, in a particular manner, the doctrine concerning the mass. They rejected also the sacrament of baptism with water, probably explaining it as the baptism of John, a teacher who was ignorant of the perfect, supreme God, and of his kingdom:³ but they substituted in its place a baptism of the Spirit, which was to be connected with the imposition of hands, as the symbol of initiation into their sect; and this again evidences their relationship to oriental sects and to the later Catharists. The rite was certainly the same thing with what was designated among these

¹ So they said at their trial, according to the above mentioned report in D'Achery: Quod natura denegat, semper a creatione discrepat.

² Comp. vol. v. p. 338, the doctrine of the Paulicians on this point. We shall have no more to say on this subject till we come to the doctrine of the Bogomiles and the Catharists in the following periods.

³ See *e. g.* the Apocryphal gospel of John in Thilo's Apocryphen. T. i. p. 893.

sects by the term *consolamentum* (form of communication of the *Comforter*, the *Paraclete*.) By virtue of this imposition of hands, whoever submitted to it in a spiritual frame of mind, would be filled with the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and purified from all sin; he would be made capable thereby for the first time of rightly understanding the deep things of Scripture. With a spiritual baptism, they held also to a spiritual eucharist, by which those who had received this baptism, would be refreshed, and find all their spiritual needs completely satisfied.¹ Whoever had once tasted of this heavenly food, said they, would abide steadfastly in the truth, and resist all temptations to apostasy.² Whoever received this baptism and this eucharist, would enjoy the sight of angels, and partake of high revelations;³ nothing would be wanting to him, for God, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom, would be with him.

Two ecclesiastics, Lisoï (Lisieux) and Stephen, who by their piety, their active benevolence, and their knowledge, had attained to high eminence and consideration both among the people and the great nobles, stood at the head of this sect. Stephen had been confessor to queen Constantia. Already had they made considerable progress in extending the sect from the school existing at Orleans, into the neighbouring towns, when, by a singular circumstance, the whole thing was discovered.⁴ Heribert, a young ecclesiastic from the castle of a certain nobleman of Normandy,

¹ *Cœlesti cibo pastus, interna satietate recreatus.* Comp. the doctrine of the Paulicians, vol. v. p. 340, and the apocryphal gospel of John, p. 893.

² The high virtues which they ascribed to this heavenly food, joined to the rumours, ever afloat respecting the assemblies of heretical sects, gave origin to the story that the ashes of a child murdered and burnt constituted this wonderful food, of which every member of the sect partook, and which was possessed of such magical virtue, that a person who had once partaken of it never became an apostate. When they spoke of an intercourse with higher spirits, which those enjoyed who had received their baptism and their eucharist, all they said about such apparitions was taken as literally true; and so it came about here as it did in Michael Psellus' account of the Euchites,—evil spirits were substituted for good ones, and the story arose that evil spirits appeared in their assemblies, and that the murdered child was born from intercourse with them.

³ Just as the Euchites taught.

⁴ According to the report of Glaber Rudolph, an attempt of theirs to win over a priest of Rouen, who resisted their efforts and betrayed them, led to the detection of the sect. This may have been so: but at all events, the report of the *Gesta*, published by D'Achery, which we follow, is the most exact one; and the deviations from it in the story of Glaber Rudolph may be easily explained as having arisen from the want of a better knowledge of the particular circumstances.

named Arefast, had been won over to the doctrines of the sect while pursuing his studies at the school in Orleans, and through him they came to the knowledge of his liege lord Arefast. The latter took measures to make king Robert of France aware of the danger that threatened the Catholic faith. For the purpose of tracing out the sect, and securing the means of convicting the guilty, Arefast was now directed to repair to Orleans, and to represent himself to the leaders as one who was desirous of being initiated into their mysteries. They fell into the snare, and deceived by the assurances of Arefast, gradually divulged all their doctrines to the man who was abusing their confidence for the purpose of plunging them in ruin. He immediately made his report to the king. In the year 1022 the king himself came to Orleans, where a numerous synod had assembled to try and pass sentence on the sect. Fallen upon during one of its secret meetings, of which information had been given by Arefast, all who were found present were arrested, together with Arefast himself, and conveyed in chains before the spiritual tribunal, where also the king and the queen assisted. The leaders of the sect endeavoured at first to evade the questions proposed to them ; but Arefast, who continued to play his assumed part, was employed to draw them out. When the latter presented before them the doctrines they had taught him, they no longer hesitated to avow openly their adherence to them ; but declared, " Think not that this sect, because ye have so lately come to the knowledge of it, has sprung up within a short period. For a long time we have professed these doctrines, and we expected that these doctrines would one day be admitted by you and by all others,—this we believe still."¹ When it was attempted to convince them of their errors, and in particular to state before them the doctrine of the creation from nothing, they replied : " Present such doctrines to men of earthly minds, to such as believe the ordinances of your dead Scripture learning. We have a higher law, one written by the Holy Spirit in the inner man ; we can believe nothing but that which God, the Creator of all things, has revealed to us. Do with us as you please ; already we behold our king reigning in

¹ Hoc diu est, quod sectam, quam vos jam tarde agnoscitis amplectimur, sed tam vos quam cæteros cujuscunque legis vel ordines in eam cadere expectavimus, quod etiam adhuc fore credimus, according to the citation of Glaber Rudolph.

heaven, whose right hand shall exalt us to an eternal triumph, and crown us with celestial joys." Except in the case of one ecclesiastic and one nun, all the pains which were taken to reclaim them from their errors, in other words, to induce them to recant, were to no purpose. The others, thirteen in number, were condemned to the stake, and died there.

Yet surely these doctrines were already too widely disseminated, to leave any reasonable ground for the expectation that a tendency of this sort would be suppressed by the death of a few individuals. It is very probable that we may perceive the influence of this sect among the ecclesiastics and monks in certain hints contained in a letter of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, to the abbot Adeodat, where he inveighs against the corrupt tendency of those carnally-minded men, who represented the sacraments as toys, holding it to be impossible that outward and earthly ordinances could produce any such effects as were ascribed to these forms.¹

Some years later, a sect was discovered in the districts of Arras and Liege, which, as well by its origin, having been traced to people who came from Italy, and particularly to Gundulf an Italian, as by the peculiarity of its doctrines, betrays its connection also with those Oriental sects. Thus, for example, they utterly rejected wedlock, and held the unmarried life to be absolutely necessary in order to a participation in the kingdom of heaven; from which we may infer, though we know nothing more about the doctrines of the sect on this subject, that these notions had originated in such theories touching the origin of the corporeal world, and the banishment of souls into it, and touching the character of original sin,² as led to these results in their system

¹ Quoniam comperimus, aliquos nimis carnaliter intuentes quædam horum, in quibus nostræ salutis mysterium constat, tanquam inania aut otioso deputare, hos a tam perniciosæ opinionis vanitate revocatos permoneremus. Fulberti ep. i. ad Adeodatum ed. de Villiers, Paris, 1608.

² They explained, namely, the marriage intercourse between Adam and Eve, as the first sin into which the apostate spirit Satanael enticed mankind. In this way he succeeded to bind fast their spirits in the corporeal world as well as to cause their propagation in this state of bondage. The genuine disciples of Christ, male and female, ought therefore to live together only in spiritual fellowship. From Luke xx. 34, 35, they would make it out, that only the children of this world married; but such as would become partakers of the kingdom of God must prove themselves to belong to it, and to be destined for the resurrection, by leading a life estranged from sense, and like that of the angels. See the apocryphal

of morality. The persons in Arras who were arrested as followers of this sect, seem to have been uneducated people of the lower class, who had perhaps appropriated no more of their doctrines than what was purely practical, and most consentaneous to the natural understanding and to the moral feelings, otherwise they dared not express openly their theoretical convictions. Like the others just mentioned, they were for removing everything out of the way which could serve as a substitute for one's own moral efforts, or as an excuse for moral inactivity. Each man, said they, must be holy by his own act and within himself—by that alone, and not by any magical operation of the sacraments, can man become pure. Outward baptism, and the outward eucharist, are nothing. To show the inefficacy of baptism, they pointed to the immoral lives of the clergy who performed the ceremony, to the immoral lives of the persons baptised, and to the fact that in the children on whom baptism was performed, not one of the conditions was to be found upon which such efficacy must depend;—no consciousness, no will, no faith, no confession. The doctrines which they had received from Gundulf, agreed in all respects, as they affirmed, with the doctrines of Christ and of the Apostles. It consisted in this, to forsake the world, to overcome the flesh, to support one's self by the labour of one's own hands, to injure no one, to show love to all the brethren. Whoever practised this, needed no baptism; where it failed, baptism could not supply its place. From these doctrines, we might be led to suppose that these people had imbibed thoroughly Pelagian principles, and opposed legal morality and moral self-sufficiency to the Augustinian doctrine of the church. The bishop so understood them, and hence unfolded to them in opposition to these tenets Augustin's doctrine of grace. But the theory of Augustin is directly at variance with the doctrine of that whole race of sectarians touching redemption as a communication of divine life to the spirits held bound in the corporeal world, touching the consolamentum, and all that is connected therewith. Even here then we find the practical consequences alone avowed by them, separated from the dogmatic grounds from which they were derived. They were also opposed to the worship of saints and of

relics, and ridiculed the stories told about the wonders performed by them. But it is singular to observe, that they at the same time held to the worship of the apostles and martyrs, which probably they interpreted, however, in accordance with their other doctrines, and in a different manner from what was customary in the church. They were opposed, like the Paulicians, to the worship of the cross, and of images; they spoke against the efficacy of the priestly consecration, the value of a consecrated altar, and of a consecrated church. The church, said they, is nothing but a pile of stones heaped together; the church has no advantage whatever over any hut where the divine Being is worshipped. They, like the older Euchites,¹ denounced church psalmody as a superstitious practice. People belonging to this sect, had first broached their doctrines in the territory about Liege.² They were arrested and brought up for trial, but succeeded, by their explanations, in deceiving the bishop. They were released, and then referred to this public justification to prove that it was impossible to convict them of any erroneous doctrine; and this served to procure for them a more general hearing. When they had spread to Cambrai and Arras, and the archbishop had obtained such information as sufficed to convict them, they at first denied, even under torture, the false doctrines imputed to them,³ till they were forced to confession by the testimony of a few individuals, to whom they had disclosed their opinions. The archbishop, in the year 1025, assembled a synod at Arras, before which the arrested members of the sect were compelled to make their appearance. After having entered upon an examination of their doctrines, he addressed to them a discourse in refutation of these tenets and in defence of the Catholic faith.⁴ They declared themselves convinced by this discourse, and were prevailed on, most probably by the fear of death, to subscribe a recantation with the cross;—thus they found it a very easy matter to obtain the absolution of

¹ See Vol. iii. p. 326.

² If D'Achery's conjecture is correct, that the bishop R. to whom the synodal letter of the archbishop Gerhard I. of Cambrai is directed, was bishop Reginald of Liege.

³ As doubtless may be inferred from the words: *ut nullis suppliciis possent cogi ad confessionem.* D'Achery Spicileg. T. i. f. 607.

⁴ Either in the language of the country, or else the Latin discourse was translated to them on the spot in the vernacular tongue, as well as the confession and the formulary of condemnation which were pronounced in Latin.

the bishop.¹ The only effect was to make them more cautious in the propagation of their tenets, and in this way they probably contrived to maintain their sect for a somewhat longer period. In the later times of the eleventh century, a sect of this sort once more made its appearance in the same diocese of Cambray and Arras. The archbishop Gerhard II. heard that a man, by the name of Ramihed, preached many heretical doctrines, and had found great acceptance with men and women. When seized and brought before the archbishop, he so adroitly answered every question proposed to him touching life and doctrine, that no advantage could be gained over him. For this reason, he was subjected to a closer examination before a synod in Cambray. But here also he testified his orthodoxy on every point; the archbishop therefore simply required of him, that he should receive the holy eucharist in testimony of his innocence.² To this, however, he refused to consent, declaring, that he could take the eucharist neither from the hand of abbot, of priest, nor of the bishop himself, because they were all guilty of simony, or of covetousness under some form or another. This sufficed to arouse against him the indignation of the clergy, who at once declared him a heretic. It is clear, however, that a process of this sort furnishes no ground for a certain judgment respecting the doctrines of this person. It may be, that he belonged to the class of sects which came from the East, and that, conformably to their principles, he felt justified in resorting to deception for the purpose of escaping out of the hands of his judges. But it is also possible, that he really had nothing in common with those sects, and that he had risen up entirely independent of them. Perhaps we may find in this case the indication of a separatistic reaction, a spontaneous movement of the Christian consciousness, of the pure interest of Christian piety, against the corruption of the clergy; such a reaction as would in fact be necessarily called forth by Hildebrand's plan of reformation.³ At all events, we may at least see in this example, how the complaints against a simoniacal clergy, which by the measures of the last popes had become generally known and were freely circulated among the laity,

¹ See the synodal letter of the bishop, cited in D'Achery, l. c.

² See respecting this test of innocence, p. 240.

³ See above, p. 149.

encouraged and facilitated the spread of sects opposed to the dominant church. The sectary of whom we are speaking was hunted down as a heretic by the fanatical vengeance of the populace; when seized, he followed his pursuers patiently and without fear. He was confined in a cabin; and while prostrated on the ground in prayer, a torch was applied to the building, and he was consumed in the flames. But as he had gained many followers by the purity of his life, so the enthusiasm of his friends would only be increased by the mode of his death. They gathered up his bones and his ashes, which they honoured as relics. His followers continued to multiply in the towns of this district till into the twelfth century, especially among the weavers, an occupation which, from its peculiar character, has ever been a favourite resort of mystical sects.¹

Though by means of these sects which came from the East, many errors were propagated among the laity, yet their influence was in some respects advantageous. They awakened in the ignorant and uninstructed people, who had been misled by incompetent priests to place the essence of religion in a round of ceremonies, a more lively interest in spiritual concerns,—called up in them the idea of a divine life, presented religion to them more as a matter of inward experience, and perhaps, too, since this was the peculiar bent of the Paulicians, made them better acquainted with the Scriptures; for there can be little doubt that by means of the Paulicians, translations of particular portions of Scripture were already circulated among the laity. And when the laity, thus awakened, spoke from their own religious experience, when in the attitude of polemics, and combating the additions foreign to Bible Christianity in the doctrine of the church, they were able to bring forward their arguments from the teachings of Christ and the apostles, it is easy to see how superior they would prove in disputation to the ignorant and incompetent clergy. Men could not fail to be struck with admiration at seeing uneducated, ignorant people, after they had received such doctrines, able to discourse with great fluency on religious things, and even put to silence the regular ecclesiastics.²

¹ The authority for this representation is the second appendix to Balderick's chronicle, edition of Le Glay. Paris, 1834, p. 356, etc.

² In a report relating to the spread of such a sect, whose tenets, the consolamentum, celibacy in strict abstinence, the sparing even of animal life, point

When archbishop Heribert of Milan, who administered this office from 1027 to 1046, came to Turin, in a tour of visitation through his archiepiscopal diocese, he heard of a sect which had its principal seat in the neighbouring fortress of Montfort, where it was particularly favoured by the nobles, as well as by the mistress of the place, a countess, and which was widely diffused among clergy and laity.¹ He summoned Gerhard, the presiding functionary of the sect, though in fact he proved to be only a subordinate, and hinted of other superiors (*majores*),² to appear before him, and give an account of himself. At first the respondent so accommodated himself to the phraseology of the church orthodoxy, that he might easily have been taken for an orthodox man; but when the archbishop pressed him more closely, and made him explain the sense of his words, he soon found that Gerhard attached to the same language a very different meaning from that of the church. The son of God, said he, is the soul beloved, enlightened of God: the Holy Spirit is the devout and true understanding of the sacred Scriptures. The birth of Jesus from the Virgin, his conception by the Holy Ghost, denotes the birth of the divine life in the soul from the holy Scriptures, by means of that right understanding of them, proceeding from a divine light, which is designated by the Holy Spirit. According to this it should seem, that the mystical-idealist element, which we find existing among these sects generally, had in this case been carried out in a more consistent and uncompromising manner than in other cases; that they pushed their idealism to such an extent as to consider the whole history of Christ as a myth, that Christ and his entire history was to them nothing but a symbol of the development of the divine life in each individual man. It is quite possible, however, that with this mystical, symbolical interpretation of our Sa-

clearly to an oriental origin, it is said: *Si quos idiotas et infacundos hujus erroris sectatoribus adjungi contingeret statim eruditissimis etiam catholicis facundiores fieri.* From a letter of Rodger II., bishop of Chalons sur Marne (*Catalaunum*) in the *Gestis episcoporum Leodiensium*, in Martene and Durand's *Scriptorum et monumentorum collectio amplissima*, Tom. iv. c. 59, f. 899.

¹ The most exact account is in Arnulph, senior hist. *Mediolanens.* l. ii. c. 27, in Muratori *Scriptores rerum Italicarum.* T. iv.—nothing but the fabulous in Glaber Rudolph. iv. 2.

² That this sect was not domesticated in Italy, but connected with a foreign stock, is evident from the following remark of Landulph respecting it: *ipsi a qua orbis parte in Italia fuissent eventi inscii.*

viour's history, as referring to Christ in the soul, Christ as he must be formed in every believer,—they by no means denied the objective reality of the history, of which they made this application. At any rate, we here recognise a coincidence of views with the Bogomiles, who called the soul of the enlightened man the true *ἱστορία*, and also with those older pantheistic Euchites, of whom we spoke in the history of the second period.¹ The same character of a mystico-idealist tendency is expressed also in everything else said by this Gerhard. Thus he declared they had a priest—not that Roman one, but another—who daily visited their brethren scattered through the world; and when God bestowed him on them, they received from him, with great devoutness, the forgiveness of sin. Besides this priest, who was without the tonsure, they knew of no other, nor did they acknowledge any other sacrament than his absolution. Thus we find in this sect, as in that at Orleans, the consciousness of a fellowship extending through different countries. By their priest they doubtless meant the Holy Spirit, which formed the invisible bond of this fellowship, and bestowed on them the inward cleansing from remaining sin, and the inward consecration of the divine life. This inward working of the divine Spirit stood to them in the place of all sacraments. As they refused to know of any other priest than this inward one, so they refused to know of any other sacrament than that which this inward priest imparted. This sect rejected marriage. The married persons, admitted among them, were ever after to live together in spiritual fellowship alone. If all men followed the same rule, they believed the human race would be propagated in a spiritual manner, and cease to inherit a perishable nature. As they probably ascribed the fact of the union of the soul and a material body to a fall, so they looked upon the end of life as a purification from that which is foreign, freedom from sense, penitence. Their life was to be a life of prayer, and of rigid abstinence, with the relinquishment of earthly possessions. The sufferings to which they were exposed on account of their doctrines, they encountered cheerfully, considering them as means of expiating sins committed before and in the present life, and of thus preparing them to return, purified, into the society of

¹ Vol. iii. p. 326.

the higher world of spirits. Those, therefore, who were deprived of the privilege of dying as martyrs, died cheerfully under self-inflicted tortures.¹

The archbishop despatched a party of soldiers to the fortress, and thus succeeded in getting a number of these sectarians into his hands. He caused them to be conveyed to Milan. There, contrary as it is said to the archbishop's will, the prisoners were led to the stake, and it was left to their choice, either to bow before a cross erected on the spot and confess the Catholic faith, or to die. Some chose to do the former; but the majority, placing their hands before their faces, plunged into the flames.

Though most appearances of this sort are to be traced to an impulse derived from sects which originated in the East, yet we find indications of heretical tendencies that are to be traced to other quarters. We ought not to be surprised to learn that the revived study of the ancient Latin authors in the ninth and particularly in the eleventh century called forth in many an antagonism of the cultivated understanding to the dominant church doctrine, and engendered many opinions, which were regarded as heretical. Probus, a man of the ninth century, who in the monastery of Fulda had occupied himself a good deal with these studies, and afterwards became a priest at Mayence, found it difficult, after meeting with so much that was good in these writers, to conceive how the better class among the heathen should all be damned, especially where by no fault of their own they were deprived of the opportunity of coming to faith in the Redeemer.² He was inclined to the opinion, that the effects of Christ's redemptive sufferings, and of his descensus ad infernos, extended also to the better class among the heathen. And if with this view he united, as it seems that he did, the doctrine of absolute predestination, the whole would probably shape itself somewhat after the same manner as the view which was afterwards entertained by Zwingli, that in the divine decrees of predestination are embraced all those, who before they have had opportunity of hearing anything

¹ Just as we find that the Catharists of a later period starved themselves to death (the *endura*), and poisoned themselves.

² Servatus Lupus says of him (ep. 20): *Ciceronem et Virgilium cæterosque opinione ejus probatissimos viros in electorum collegium admittat, ne frustra Dominus sanguinem fuderit et in inferno otium triveret, si verum sit illud propheticum: ero mors tua, o mors, morsus tuus ero, inferne. Hosea, xiii. 16.*

about the gospel, gave tokens in the development of their moral nature, of that agency of the divine Spirit, that preparatory grace, without which nothing good can be done. Now had it not been the good fortune of this Probus to be connected with a man of so mild and liberal a spirit as the abbot Servatus Lupus, he might easily have been stigmatised as a heretic for expressing such an opinion. Thus it was reported of a grammarian, Bilgard of Ravenna, belonging to the first part of the eleventh century, who had been much occupied with such studies,¹ that evil spirits haunted him, in the shapes of Virgil, Horace, Juvenal; and that, beguiled by their influence, he had taught many things contrary to the Catholic faith, holding that those ancient authors were to be believed in everything. In this tale, where fact is mixed up with fable, it is impossible, to be sure, to separate with certainty the truth from the fiction. But we may hold it as extremely probable, that this Bilgard had been led by his ardent study of the ancient authors, and by his fondness for them, to embrace many opinions considered as heretical; and on this account, he was condemned to death. According to the testimony of Glaberius Rudolph, it would be necessary to suppose, that the predilection for paganism had given birth, at the same time, to similar heretical tendencies throughout Italy, and in Sardinia; and he informs us that the individuals accused of these tendencies, were some of them beheaded, while others died at the stake.² But it is quite possible that this writer had not clearly discriminated the heretical appearances, and that we must suppose such to be here meant as had proceeded from the oriental influence.³ Since

¹ Worthy of notice is what Glaber Rudolph says (ii. 12): *Sicut Italis semper mos fuit, artes negligere cæteras* (therefore to neglect also the study of the sacred Scriptures, and of the church fathers) *illam (Grammaticam) sectari.*

² *Plures per Italiam tempore hujus pestiferi dogmatis reperti quique ipsi aut gladiis aut incendiis perierunt.*

³ In the case of Sardinia, we might, if Glaber Rudolph's story is correct, suppose with Gieseler that there was here a reaction of paganism; for as we learn from the letters of Gregory the Great, paganism maintained its ground in this island longer than elsewhere. But when he says that persons from Sardinia spread these false doctrines in Spain, *partem populi in Hispania corrumpentes*, we must assuredly believe, if the case were so, that oriental rather than pagan doctrines are here meant. Perhaps Glaber Rudolph took no pains to distinguish the different heretical appearances; and he may have confounded with others of an earlier date those which had proceeded from the oriental sects—for how is it possible to suppose that pagan doctrines could get admittance into Spain more than elsewhere?

the oriental sects spread from the Greek church to Italy, and from thence to France, the Netherlands and Germany ; so they may have spread also, in another direction, from Italy to Sardinia, and so onward to Spain.

Already, in the preceding volume, we cited examples of half-witted enthusiasts who found followers among the rude populace in France. This was a source of another opposition to the church. An example of the same kind occurs at the beginning of the eleventh century, in the person of an individual by the name of Leuthard, who appeared among the country people of Chalons-sur-Marne, if we may rely with entire confidence on the report of Glaber Rudolph.¹ From the accounts given of him, he would seem to have been a man who united enthusiasm with a naturally dogmatic understanding, fond of speculating, according to its own narrow views, on divine things—a psychological phenomenon of no rare occurrence. Once, exhausted with toil, he fell asleep in the field, where, as he imagined, he had a miraculous vision. Returning home, he informed his wife that, by the command of the gospel, he must separate from her.² After this, he went to a church to pray ; and, finding there a cross and an image of Christ, demolished them both. Not certainly out of spite to Christianity ; for he himself appealed to the sacred Scriptures ; but, most probably, because he imagined he saw in them something that savoured of idolatry. He gave out that he acted in this case by a special divine revelation, and he was believed by the multitude of ignorant country people. He told the people they were under no obligation to pay tithes to the church ; and, in support of all he said, quoted the testimony of the Scriptures. Yet he is said to have taught, at the same time, that the testimony of the Scriptures was not to be received on all subjects ; that the prophets had delivered some things which were profitable, and some which could not be believed. The bishop Gebuin afterwards succeeded in undeceiving the people ; and his mild and prudent course wins our esteem. He put down Gerhard as a maniac, and gave himself no further concern about him. The latter, on finding himself deserted by his followers, and disappointed in his ambitious projects, threw himself into a well.

¹ II. 11.

² Quasi ex præcepto evangelio fecit divortium.

There are many particulars, however, in this story, calculated to excite doubt. It is strange, that in these times a person should be found among the country people, who must have read the Bible, at least in part, and who was able to perceive the contradictions between what the sacred Scriptures taught and the prevailing customs of the church. He must have received a translation, at least, of many parts of the Scriptures into the vernacular tongue, since the Latin could then be no longer understood by the people in France. Now, it is possible, indeed, that, with a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, this person may have united partly the suggestions of a dogmatising understanding,—no rare thing, even where there is a want of intellectual balance,—and partly an enthusiastic imagination. It may be that partly disappointed ambition, and partly insanity, led him to commit suicide. But it is possible, also, that we have in this case a perverted, spiteful representation of facts ; and that his death, which may really have been brought about by the fanatical hatred of heretics, was represented by his enemies as an act of suicide. Again, it is to be remembered, that it was by means of those oriental sects that the Scriptures were diffused among laymen, and that such sects had found admittance in the district of Chalons-sur-Marne.¹ The dissolving of the marriage tie, by the supposed command of the gospel, the hostility to the sign of the cross and to images, the appeal to inward revelations, all this is in perfect harmony with the character of those sects ; and hence it remains to be questioned, whether we may not recognise in *this* appearance a mark of their influence.

Touching the mode of procedure against false teachers, it is to be observed, that it was Byzantine despotism which set the example of enforcing conviction by the fagot and the sword. The Western church had originally declared itself, though not with perfect consistency of principles, opposed to such a procedure, and to all application of capital punishments to heretics. But the fanaticism of this age found no punishment too severe for those who were regarded as godless outcasts ; and the clergy, in this case, followed the general current of the times ; and from common practice grew up the theory of the ecclesiastical law, which was

¹ See above, p. 444.

also supported by the grand mistake of confounding together the different positions of the Old and New Testaments. The fanatical fury of the people having been once aroused against heretics, and an abstemious life having come to be regarded as a characteristic mark of heretics who sprung from oriental sects, those men who distinguished themselves by the rigid severity of their lives were extremely liable to incur the opprobrium of heresy; insomuch that a writer of these times could say, that a pallid face was looked upon by the people as a sure sign of heresy, and that many good Catholics had fallen victims, with heretics, to the blind fury of the mob.¹ There was one man, however, who stood manfully forth against the unchristian spirit of the times, Wazo, bishop of Liege, who lived till the year 1047. He belonged to that better class of bishops who devoted themselves, with a truly earnest and unwearied zeal, to the good of their flocks. He may stand beside Theodore Studita and Peter Damiani as a representative of the genuinely Christian spirit, in contradistinction to the prevailing principles. When, during the spread of these false teachers in the diocese of Chalons-sur-Marne, his opinion was asked respecting the proper mode of proceeding with such persons, he gave the following: Though such doctrines must be condemned as unchristian, yet, after the example of our Saviour, who was meek and humble of spirit, who came not to strive or to cry, Matt. xx. 19, but rather to endure shame and the death of the cross, we, too, are bound to bear with such men. The parable of the wheat and the tares teaches us what should be done with such persons, according to the will of our compassionate Lord, who condemns not sinners at once, but waits with long-suffering for their repentance. By the servants, who were for instantly pulling up the tares as soon as they appeared, are to be understood over-hasty priests. Our Lord here recommends to them patience towards their erring neighbours, especially since they who belong to-day to the tares, may to-morrow be converted, and bring forth good fruit. "And let us beware ourselves," says

¹ See the *Gesta episcoporum Leodiensium*, published by Martene and Durand, in the *Collectio amplissima* T. iv. c. 50, where, concerning the *præceps Francigenarum rabies cædis, anhelare solita*, it is said: *Eos solo pallore notare hæreticos, quasi quos pallere constaret, hæreticos esse certum esset sique per errorem simulque furorem eorum plerosque vere Catholicorum fuisse aliquando interemptos.*

Wazo to the bishops, "lest while we think of exercising justice by inflicting punishment on the wicked, we may be counteracting the purposes of Him who wills not the death of the sinner, but seeks, by patience and long-suffering, to bring them back to repentance. Let these men be reserved, then, to the last harvest of the great Master of the house; as we ourselves also must wait for his sentence with fear and trembling; for the Almighty God can make those who now fight against us on the highway of the Lord, occupy in that heavenly country even a higher place than ourselves. We, bishops, ought certainly to remember, that we did not receive at our ordination the sword of secular power; and, therefore, that we did not receive from God any vocation to slay, but only the vocation to make alive." He then declared that they had nothing to do but to exclude such persons from the communion of the church, and to secure others from being infected by their doctrines. The genuinely Christian spirit here expressed, was transmitted downward in the church of Liege; for it was nothing else that moved the canonical priest of this church, who wrote *Wazo's Life*, to protest so earnestly as he did against the execution of the false teachers at Goslar, a proceeding which he denounced on the authority and by the example of Martin of Tours.¹

² See Vol. iv. p. 501. *Hæc dicimus*—says he, l. c. c. 61. f. 902—*non quia errorem tutari velimus, sed quia hoc in divinis legibus nusquam sancitum non approbare monstremus.*

GENERAL INDEX

TO

VOLS. V. & VI.

- Abbo, abbot of Fleury, vi. 178, 266
 Abderrhaman II., Arabian calif, vi. 91
 Achmed Ibn Fozslani, vi. 61
Αχειρο ποιήτα, v. 259
 Adalbero, bishop of Metz, vi. 187
 Adalbero, archbishop of Rheims, vi. 131
 Adalbero, bishop of Laon, vi. 177
 Adalbert, Markgrave of Toscana, vi. 129
 Adalbert, of Bremen or Hamburg, vi. 75
 Adalbert, of Prague, vi. 70, 83
 Adalbert, of Magdeburg, vi. 73
 Adaldag, archbishop of Hamburg and Bremen, vi. 28
 Adalhard, abbot, vi. 3
 Adalhard, abbot, vi. 4
 Adalward, bishop, vi. 30
 Adam, canonical of Bremen, vi. 30
 Adelaide, empress, vi. 139
 Adelard, abbot of Corbie, vi. 238
 Adelbert, Frankish errorist, v. 71. Opposed to churches dedicated to apostles, 72. Opposed to pilgrimages to Rome, 73. Respect paid to him, 75. A prayer of his, v. 74. His arrest, 76. Final fate, 80.
 Adelman, bishop of Brescia, vi. 309-313
 Ademar of Angouleme, vi. 430
 Adeodat (Dieudonne), vi. 430
 Adeodatus, pope, v. 249
 Adoptianism, its author, v. 203. Account of the doctrine, 204. Its opponents, 211. Its condemnation at Ratisbonne, 211. At Frankfort, on the Main, v. 213
 Adoptio, v. 203-210
 Advocati, v. 130
 Aeneas, bishop of Paris, vi. 396
 Afternach, v. 104
 Agatho, pope, v. 249
 Aggerhuus, a charitable foundation, vi. 38
 Agil, among the Bavarians, v. 47
 Agnes, empress, vi. 168
 Agnoëtism of Felix of Urgelis, v. 203-217
 Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, v. 217; vi. 108. His zeal against the corruption of the clergy, vi. 210. Against the too artificial psalmody, vi. 210. His book concerning images, vi. 211. Against the Tempestarios, vi. 212
 Agrestius, v. 48
 Ahito, bishop of Basle, vi. 243
 Aidan, bishop of Northumberland, v. 25. His conduct with respect to the difference in the time of celebrating Easter, v. 28
 Aix la Chapelle, diet at, vi. 194
 Albrich, v. 101
 Alcuin, abbot, his advice with regard to the Conversion of the Saxons, v. 97. Warnings addressed to Charlemagne, 99. Advice with regard to the mission amongst the Avars, v. 106. Opposed to the punishment of death, v. 133. Against the punishment of those who had taken refuge in an asylum, v. 135. On the spiritual power of the papacy, v. 155. His view of tribunals over the pope, 157. Zeal for the promotion of the predicatorial office, v. 159. On pilgrimages, v. 169. On the festival of All Saints, 173. Events of his life, 198. Master of the schola Palatina, 199. Improves the Latin version of the Bible, 200. Master of the school at Tours, 201. His death, 201. His stand against Adoptianism, v. 213. His proposal for the refutation of Felix, 215. His part in the composition of the libri carolini, v. 303
 Alexander II., pope, vi. 168
 Alfred the Great, vi. 262
 Alphanus, archbishop of Salerno, vi. 172

- Alubert, v. 94
 Alvarus of Cordova, vi. 97-90
 Amalarius of Metz, vi. 210
 Amandus, episc. regionar. in Ghent, v. 50.
 Among the Slavonians, 51. Becomes
 bishop of Maestricht, v. 51
 Amulo of Lyons, vi. 293
 Amund, Swedish king, vi. 29
 Anastasius, patriarch of Antioch, v. 149
 Anastasius, disciple of Maximus, v. 240
 Anastasius II., Greek emperor, v. 253
 Anastasius, patriarch of Constantinople, v.
 270
 Anathema, vi. 244
 Andrew, King of Hungary, vi. 87
 Andrew (Andreas), biographer of Ariald,
 vi. 160
 Anegrey, v. 37
 Angelarius, disciple of Methodius, vi.
 67
 Anglo-Saxons, in Britain, v. 12. Their
 conversion, 14. See Augustin, Britain
 Anna, Greek princess, wife of Wladimir,
 vi. 80
 Anschar (Ansgar), monk, vi. 3. His edu-
 cation, 3. His visions and longing after
 the missionary calling, 5. His labours
 in Denmark and Sweden, 6. Sent by
 Lewis the Pious to Pope Gregory IV.,
 9. Labours in Sweden, 17. His death,
 vi. 23
 Ansegis, archbishop of Sens, vi. 128
 Anselm, archbishop of Lucca, vi. 164.
 Chosen pope (Alexander II.), vi. 167
 Ansfid, archbishop of Nonantula, vi. 377
 Anverus, monk, vi. 76
 Anthropomorphism, vi. 230
 Anthropology in the Western church, vi.
 377
 Αντιφωνήτης, v. 274
 Apocrisarii, v. 150
 Apologeticus, martyrum of Eulogius, vi.
 97
 Apologies for Christianity against Moham-
 medanism, v. 113
 Arabians, religious condition of, in the
 time of Mohammed, v. 109
 Archicapellani, v. 140
 Archdeacons, their great authority, v. 142.
 Laws in relation to them, 142
 Ardgar, missionary in Sweden, vi. 13
 Arefast, vi. 434
 Arevurdis, or children of the Sun, vi. 423
 Argaum, v. 331
 Ariald preaches against the corruption in
 Milan, vi. 160. Assassinated at Milan,
 171
 Arians, their activity among the newly con-
 verted nations, v. 5
 Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, among the
 Avars, v. 106
 Arnolph of Carinthia, vi. 67
 Arnulph, archbishop of Orleans, vi. 132
 Arnulph, biographer of Ariald, vi. 160
 Arras. Sect there, vi. 435. Their doc-
 trines, 436. Synod against them, 437.
 Their reappearance, 438
 Artabasdu, usurper, v. 276
 Ascelin, monk, vi. 319
 Asceticism among the Irish monks, v. 25-
 35
 Asser of Sherburne, vi. 263
 Ασάροι, v. 343
 Asylums, v. 134
 Athinganians, sect, vi. 423
 Atto, bishop of Vercelli, labours to im-
 prove the church constitution, vi. 187.
 Against the corrupt manners of the
 clergy, 265. Against judgments of God,
 239. His writings, vi. 265
 Augustin, abbot in Rome, among the An-
 glo-Saxons, v. 13. Made a bishop, 16.
 Archbishop, 17. His primacy in the
 English church, 19. Seeks to form a
 union with the ancient British church,
 19. His death, v. 21
 Aurelius, fanatic, vi. 94
 Autbert, monk, vi. 7
 Avars (Huns), planting of Christianity
 among them, v. 105
 Avitus, bishop of Vienne, his labours
 among the Burgundians, v. 5. On the
 consecration of the churches of heretics,
 6. Opposed to judgments of God, v.
 167
 Aymar, reformer of monachism, vi. 197
 Azymites, vi. 418
 Baanes, δ ἑνκαρπός, head of the Paulicians,
 v. 324-344
 Bangor, v. 11
 Bardanes, see Philippicus
 Bardas, uncle of Michael III. His treat-
 ment of Ignatius, vi. 384
 Bardo, archbishop of Mentz, vi. 234
 Bartholomew of Crypta Ferrata, vi. 141
 Basilus II., Greek emperor, vi. 412
 Basilus Macedo, Greek emperor, vi. 397.
 Position taken by him in the controver-
 sies betwixt the Greek and Western
 churches, vi. 397
 Basilus of Cæsarea, vi. 361
 Basilus, teacher of the Bogomiles, vi. 427
 Bavaria, planting of Christianity in, v. 47.
 Heretical doctrines taught there, v. 48
 Beatus, opponent of Adoptianism, v. 211
 Bede, venerable, on the Scottish monks, v.
 28. Events of his life, v. 197
 Bela, King of Hungary, vi. 87
 Belitza, first seat of a bishopric in Moravia,
 vi. 60
 Benedictus Viscopius, abbot, v. 152
 Benedict of Aniane, abbot, v. 216
 Benedictus Levita, deacon, at Mentz, vi.
 106
 Benedictus, Polish monk, vi. 85
 Benedict of Aniane, reformer of monach-
 ism, vi. 192
 Benedict VI., pope, vi. 81
 Benedict IX. (Theophylact), pope, vi. 141
 Benedict X., pope, vi. 186
 Benefices, disposal of church, vi. 173
 Berengar II., Italian king, vi. 130
 Berengar of Tours, vi. 309. His efforts in
 behalf of science, vi. 266-310. His edu-
 cation, mode of teaching and controver-

- sies respecting the Lord's Supper (comp. doctrine of the Lord's Supper), vi. 312. Development of his doctrine, 334
- Berengarians, vi. 326
- Bergen, district in Norway, vi. 38
- Berno, of Burgundy, reformer of monachism, vi. 195
- Bernrieder, canonical priest, vi. 148
- Bernhard, bishop of Hildesheim, vi. 177
- Bersetkers, vi. 41
- Bertha, queen of Kent, v. 13
- Bertha, wife of Robert of France, vi. 139
- Bible, study of the, v. 161
- Bobbio, v. 42
- Bohemia, spread of Christianity in, vi. 68
- Bogomiles, vi. 427
- Bogoris, Bulgarian prince, vi. 50
- Boleslav the Cruel, of Bohemia, vi. 70
- Boleslav the Mild, vi. 70
- Boniface, father of the German church, his origin and education, v. 58. His first journey to Friesland, 58. In Utrecht and Rome, 59. In Thuringia, 59. With Willibrord of Utrecht, v. 59. In Hessia and Thuringia, 59. In Rome, 60. His confession of faith, ordination and oath, 60. Design of his mission, 61. His labours compared with those of the Irish missionaries, 61. Boniface in Thuringia, 63. Character and success of his labours, 63. His care to provide for religious instruction, 64. His preaching and study of the Scriptures, 65. His efforts to promote spiritual culture, 66. His opponents, 67. His scruples of conscience in respect to holding intercourse with such, 68. Boniface in Rome and Bavaria, 69. His influence with Charlemagne and Pipin, 70. His foundations of bishoprics and arrangement with regard to synods, 70. His report on Adelbert, 71. His conduct towards him, 75. Boniface not a worker of miracles, 76. Boniface on Clement, 76. On the hindrances to marriage arising from the relation of god-parents, v. 77. His controversy with Virgilius, 80. His plainness of speech towards pope Zacharias, 81. Boniface strives to give a fixed organisation to the German church, 81. Boniface appointed to the archiepiscopate without a particular diocese, 82. His quarrel with the bishop of Cologne, 83. His labours in behalf of the mission among the Frieslanders, 83. Boniface deposes Gewillieb, bishop of Mentz, 84. Wishes to make Lull archbishop, 86. Anoints the major-domo Pepin as king, 87. His solicitude for the English church, 88. His letter to Fulrad, 89. His quarrel with Hildegar, bishop of Cologne, 90. Boniface in Friesland, his martyrdom there, 92. His opposition to martial service by the clergy, v. 131. Against the abuse of the rights of patronage, v. 142. His influence in promoting the change of relations between the Frank and the Romish churches, v. 153. On changes in the system of church penance, v. 176
- Boniface IV., pope, v. 173
- Bonosus, whether his doctrines were spread among the Bavarians? v. 47
- Boruchtiarians, v. 55
- Borziwoi, duke of Bohemia, vi. 68
- Bozo, monk, vi. 72
- Bregenz, v. 42
- Bremen, bishopric there, v. 105
- Britain, seminaries for Christianity and Christian education, v. 11-31. Corruption of the clergy there, 11. Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy, 12. Relation of the ancient church there to the new church among the Anglo-Saxons, 19. Condition of the church there at the time of Augustin's death, 21. Differences betwixt the Brittanico-Scottish and the Anglo-Saxon Frankish (Romish) churches, 28
- Brunehault, v. 41
- Bruno, bishop of Segni, vi. 148
- Bruno, bishop of Toul (Leo. IX.), vi. 145
- Bulgaria, spread of Christianity in, vi. 50
- Bulosudes, Hungarian prince, vi. 81
- Burburg, v. 70.
- Burgundians, their conversion and Arianism, v. 4. Photinian doctrines among them, v. 49
- Cadalous, bishop of Parma (Honorius II.), vi. 167
- Caesarius, bishop of Arles, v. 4
- Callinice, v. 315
- Calliopas, Exarch, v. 240
- Camaldulensians, vi. 199
- Cambray, sect in, vi. 435. See Arras
- Canonical life of the clergy, v. 137
- Canonization of Saints, vi. 236
- Canterbury, archbishopric of, v. 19
- Canute the Great, vi. 27. Goes to Rome, 27. Zealous for Christianity, 27
- Capitula, v. 137. Ruralia, 142
- Capitularies of Charlemagne, on the admission of freemen into the spiritual order, v. 125. On admission of slaves into the monastic order, 129. On the participation of the clergy in the affairs of war, 131. On the treatment of persons sentenced to death, who took refuge in asylums, 134. On *Sends*, 138. On attendance upon parochial worship, 140. Against archdeacons taken from the laity, 143. On ecclesiastical language, 162. Against divination and amulets, 166. Against consulting the Scriptures for oracles, 167. On judgments of God, 168. On external works, 169. Against the worship of new saints, 171. Against vagabond penitents, v. 181
- Carbeas, Paulician, vi. 422
- Cardag, Nestorian missionary, v. 115
- Cardinal, signification of the title, vi. 157
- Carthwig, Hungarian bishop, vi. 84
- Cassiodorus, v. 195

- Castle priests, v. 140
 Catenae, v. 218
 Catharists, vi. 427
 Catholicus, vi. 435
 Celibacy made valid by Hildebrand, vi. 157
 Chapter of cathedral, origin of the title, v. 139
 Charibert, King of the Franks, v. 121
 Charlemagne endeavours to convert the Saxons, v. 97. Assigns to missionaries their spheres of labour, 97. Proposes to make Hamburg a metropolitan see, 108. Restores free ecclesiastical elections, 122. His ordinances with regard to general assemblies, 124. On the judicature of bishops, 135. Finds the Frank empire in Italy, v. 154. His coronation as emperor, 154. His disposition towards the popes, 156. Increases the territorial possessions of the Romish church, 159. Procedure with regard to Leo III., 159. A zealous promoter of preaching, 159. Procures the publication of a homiliarium, which he accompanies with a preface, v. 162. Approves of judgments of God, 168. A zealous promoter of learning, v. 199. His proceedings with regard to Adoptionism, 212. An opponent of the II. Nicene council, 303. See Capitularies, Libri Carolini
 Charles Martel, maj. dom. v. 57-59, v. 68
 Charles, duke of Lotharingia, vi. 131
 Charles the Bald, of France, promotes the sciences, vi. 254, 286, 302
 Chazars, inhabitants of the Crimea, vi. 60
 Childebert, king of the Franks, his law against idols, v. 10
 Childeric III., king of the Franks, v. 87
 Chilperic, king of the Franks, on the doctrine of the Trinity, v. 118. His complaints of the power of the bishops, v. 130
 China, Nestorians spread Christianity in, v. 115
 Chozil, son of Parviz, vi. 63
 Chosru Parovis, king of the Persians, v. 108
 Chramnus, v. 134
 Chrodegang of Metz, on the admission of bondmen into the spiritual order, v. 130. Founder of the canonical life of the clergy, his rule, 137. On preaching, 158. A zealous promoter of church psalmody, v. 164
 Chrysostom, vi. 202
 Church, in relation to the State, v. 117-136. Considered as a representative of God, 118. Influence of the Frank monarchs in it growing out of their power of appointing bishops, 119. Laws of the church, influence of the State upon them, 120. Exemption of the church from State burdens, 125. Protects slaves, 127. Its possessions, 130, 157. Insecurity of its landed estates, 130. Taxation of, 131. Influence of the church on administration of justice, 132. Asylums, 134. *Internal organisation* of the church, 136-157. Church visitations, 139. *Frankish church*, image-worship in it, 301. Participation of this church in the image-controversies under Charlemagne, 302. *Greek church*, state of learning in the, 217. Influence of monachism in it, 218. Dialectic mystical tendency in it, 219. Image-worship in it, 255. *Romish church*, efforts to enlarge its authority, 146. Relation to the English church, 152. To the Frankish church, 153. Image-worship predominant in it, 301. Its participation in the image-controversies, 301. Extension and limitation of the church in the fourth period, vi. 1-100. Relation of the church to the State, vi. 173-192. *Internal organisation* of the church, 183. *Western church*, 247-348. Its participation in the controversies of the Greek church, vi. 374-377. *Greek church*, vi. 346-374. Its relation to the Latin church, vi. 377-421. See the Table of Contents.
 Church penance, performed privately, v. 176. Instructions with regard to the administration of it, 176. Pecuniary fines introduced, 177. Severer kinds of penance, 180. Church penance in the fourth period, vi. 241-243
 Church offices, filling of them, vi. 173-183
 Church-psalmody, in the Frankish church improved by Pipin, v. 164. Remodelled by Charlemagne, 165. Influence of Gregory the Great on it, 183. Agobard of Lyons zealously opposed to it, vi. 210
 Church-constitution, History of it in the fourth period, vi. 100-210
 Church vessels, profaned by the iconoclasts, v. 280
 Church discipline, v. 179
 Church language, how the Latin came gradually to be recognised as such, v. 163
 Church bailiffs, v. 130
 Church elections, among the Franks, v. 122. Laws against interfering with the freedom of, 122. Restored by Charlemagne, v. 123
 Claudius of Turin, vi. 212. Accused of Arianism and of Adoptionism, 213. His doctrine, 214. His biblical commentaries, 214. Opposed to pilgrimages and to the worship of saints, 216. Accused as a heretic, 224. His death, 225
 Clement II., pope, vi. 144
 Clement, archbishop of Bulgaria, vi. 67. His labours in Bulgaria, vi. 67
 Clement, opponent of Boniface, v. 76. On the authority of the church-fathers and of councils, on the marriage of bishops, v. 77. On the hindrances to marriage as customarily received, v. 78. On the

- doctrine of Christ's descent to Hades, 78. On predestination and restoration, 78. Last events of his life, v. 80
- Clerici acephali, vi. 191
- Clotaire II., v. 121
- Clotilda, v. 6
- Clovis, king of the Sabian Franks, his conversion, v. 9. Its influence, 9
- Codex canonum, vi. 120
- Colbein, vi. 38
- Colmann, bishop of Northumberland, v. 29
- Columba, abbot among the Picts, v. 11
- Columban, abbot, missionary among the Franks, v. 36. His rule, 37. His contests and difficulties, 39. On synods, 40. His contests with Brunehaut and Thierry II. of Burgundy, v. 41. His banishment, 41. At Tuggen, 42. At Bregenz, founds Bobbio, 42. His conduct towards the Romish church, 43
- Comgal, v. 11
- Communion of infants, vi. 301
- Compositiones, v. 66, 177
- Constans, Greek emperor, his edict, *τύπος τῆς πίστεως*, v. 240
- Constantia, queen of France, vi. 433
- Constantine the Great, first creates a court-clergy, v. 140. Deeds of gift forged in his name, v. 156
- Constantinus, Pogonatus, Greek emperor, v. 249
- Constantinus Copronymus, Greek emperor, v. 276. Said to have been opposed to the worship of Mary and of the saints, 281. Enemy of the monks, opposed to relics, to devotionists, 284. Opposed to *θεοτόκος*, v. 287
- Constantinus the younger, Greek emperor, under the guardianship of Irene, v. 290
- Constantinus (Silvanus), head of the Paulicians, v. 319
- Constantinus, pope, v. 254
- Constantinus, bishop of Nacolia, v. 261; v. 265
- Constantinus, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 282. Executed, v. 288
- Constantinus philosophus (Cyrill), vi. 59
- Constantinus Monomachus, vi. 416
- Corbinian, among the Bavarians, v. 50
- Council, Irish (an. 456). On wives of the clergy, v. 67. I. at *Orleans* (an. 511). On consecration of the churches of heretics, v. 6. On admission to the spiritual order, v. 119. Against oracles taken from the sacred Scriptures, v. 166. At *Espaona* (an. 517), v. 6. On protection of slaves, v. 129. II. at *Orleans* (an. 533). On oblations in behalf of suicides, v. 132. At *Clermont* (an. 535), on ecclesiastical elections, v. 120. III. at *Orleans* (an. 538), on the interstia, v. 119. IV. at *Orleans* (an. 541), on the abuse of rights of patronage, v. 142. V. at *Orleans* (an. 549), on excommunication of masters who break their word, v. 129. On ecclesiastical elections, v. 119. On care for prisoners, v. 135. At *Paris* (an. 557), on ecclesiastical elections, v. 120. At *Xaintes* (an. 564), on account of the deposition of Emeritus of Xaintes, v. 121. II. at *Braga* (an. 572), on church-visitations, v. 138. At *Auxerra* (an. 578), on oblations in behalf of suicides, v. 132. Against superstition, v. 138. III. at *Toledo* (an. 589), on judges attending the assemblies of bishops, v. 135. At *Wigorn* (an. 601), on differences in the English church, v. 20. *Frank* council (an. 602), on diversity in ecclesiastical usages, v. 41. *Frank* (an. 613), for the spread of Christianity, v. 47. V. at *Paris* (an. 615), on free ecclesiastical elections, v. 121. At *Rheims* (an. 630), on archpresbyters from the lay order, v. 142. IV. at *Toledo* (an. 633), on admission to the spiritual order, v. 126. On the care of the bishops for the people, v. 141. On tonsure—on archdeacons, v. 136. At *Constantinople*, *συν εὐδημ* in behalf of the *ἐκθεις*, v. 233. At *Rome*, the *Lateran* (an. 648), against Monotheletism, v. 239. *Cabilonense* (an. 650), on private chapels, v. 140. IX. at *Toledo* (an. 655), on rights of patronage, v. 141. *Pharensis* (an. 664), v. 29. At *Merida* (an. 666), on episcopal delegates to councils, v. 142. At *Hartford* (an. 673), v. 31. VI. œcumenical III. at Constantinople, I. Trullan (an. 580), on the opposite views of the Greek and Roman churches, v. 250. *Quinisextum*, II. Trullan, at Constantinople (an. 691 or 692), v. 253. XVI. at *Toledo* (an. 693), on the authority of kings, v. 124. On the punishment of those who attempt suicide, v. 132. XVII. at *Toledo* (an. 694), on the transaction of affairs of church and state in public assemblies, v. 124. At *Soissons* (an. 744), on Metropolitanans, v. 82. At *Cloveshove* (an. 747), for the reformation of the English church, v. 89. On church visitations, v. 138. On qualifications of the clergy, v. 161. On good works, v. 178. Œcumenical at *Constantinople* (an. 754), against the worship of images, v. 277. At *Rome* against Adelbert, v. 74-75. Œcumenical at *Constantinople*, opened (an. 786), v. 295. Disturbances at this time, v. 296. Removed to *Nicea*, v. 297. At *Frankfort* on the *Main* (an. 774), against Adoptianism, v. 213. Against the worship of images, v. 314. At *Aix* (an. 799), on Felix of Urgellis, v. 216. At *Rome* (800), to decide on the matter of Leo III. v. 157. VI. at *Arles* (an. 813), on patronage, v. 142. At *Maynz*, on the number of festivals, v. 172. Against private masses, v. 175. II. at *Chalons* (an. 813), on schools, v. 162. On pilgrimages, 169. On libelli pœnitentiales, 176. On right penitence, 178. On external works, 179. On the divine forgiveness

- of sins and priestly absolution, 179. At *Rheims* (an. 813), on the homiliana, v. 163. III. at *Tours* (an. 813), on the homiliana, 163. At *Aix* (an. 813), confirmation of the rule of Chrodegang of Metz, v. 137. At *Constantinople* (an. 691), II. Trullan, vi. 382. At *Forum Julium* (an. 791), on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, vi. 379. At *Aix* (an. 809), on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, vi. 379. At *Constantinople* (an. 815), against the worship of images, vi. 360. At *Paris* (an. 825), on the use of images, vi. 374. At *Mentz* (an. 847), on penance, vi. 241. On sermons necessary in order to religious instruction, vi. 206. At *Chiersy* (an. 849), against Gottshalk, vi. 277. At *Pavia* (an. 850), on the anathematised, vi. 244. On the use of oil in the case of the sick, vi. 238. Against the clerici acephalia, vi. 191. At *Cordona* (an. 852), against fanatics, vi. 96. At *Chiersy* (an. 853), against the doctrine of Gottshalk, vi. 295. At *Pavia* (an. 853), on the doctrine of parochial worship, vi. 190. At *Valence* (an. 855), against the synod (an. 853), at Chiersy, vi. 296. Against judgments of God, vi. 239. On the maintenance of the right of ecclesiastical elections, vi. 173. On religious instruction, 206. At *Langres* and *Savoniers* (an. 859), on the founding of schools, 218. At *Constantinople* (an. 859), against Ignatius, 387. At *Constantinople* (an. 861), against Ignatius, 390. At *Rome* (an. 863), against Photius, Rhodoald, and Zacharius, 393. At *Soissons* (an. 863), against the bishop Rothad, vi. 117. At *Aix*, *Metz*, and *Rome* (an. 863), on the unlawful marriage of Lothaire of Lotharingia with Waldrade, vi. 112. At *Constantinople* (an. 867), against the adherents of Photius, vi. 396. At *Rome* (an. 868), against Photius, vi. 398. At *Constantinople* (an. 869), against those who held to two souls in man's nature, vi. 385. On the patriarchate of Photius and of Ignatius, vi. 399. At *Douzi* (an. 871), against Hinkmar of Laon, vi. 125. At *Constantinople*, eighth œcumenical (an. 879), on the patriarchate of Photius, vi. 408. On the pretensions of the pope to Bulgaria, vi. 408. On the choice of patriarch, on the general adoption of the Nicene creed, vi. 409. At *Rouen* (an. 879), on church attendance, vi. 208. At *Trosley* (an. 909), on the decline of monachism, vi. 195. At *Rome* (an. 963), against pope John XII., vi. 130. At *Rheims* (an. 991), against John XV., vi. 132. At *Muson* (an. 995), against Gerbert, vi. 138. At *Rheims* (an. 996), against Gerbert, vi. 138. At *Seligenstadt* (an. 1020), against the abuse of rights of patronage, vi. 191. At *Seligenstadt* (an. 1022), on penance, vi. 244. At *Orleans* (an. 1022), against the sects there, vi. 434. At *Arras* (an. 1025), against the sects there, vi. 437. At *Limoisin* (an. 1031), on the employment of the interdict, vi. 245. At *Rome* (an. 1050), against Berengarius, vi. 315. At *Vercelli* (an. 1050), against Berengarius, vi. 316. At *Paris* (?) against Berengarius, vi. 319. At *Mantua* (an. 1052), on the maintenance of the papal judicature, vi. 153. At *Tours* (an. 1054), against Berengarius, vi. 320. At *Rome* (an. 1059), against Berengarius, vi. 322. On the election of pope by the Cardinals, vi. 156. At *Osborn* (an. 1062), and at *Mantua* (an. 1064), on the recognition of Alexander II. as pope, vi. 168. At *Poitiers* (an. 1076), against Berengarius, vi. 330
- Court priests, v. 140
Crecentius, Roman usurper, vi. 203
Crimea, spread of Christianity in, vi. 60
Cultus, Christian, v. 158-181
Cunibert, bishop of Turin, vi. 150
Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, v. 82
Cypharas, monk, vi. 50
Cyrill, vi. 60
Cyrus, bishop of Phasis, becomes patriarch of Alexandria, v. 227. His compact with the Egyptian Monophysites, 223
- Dagobert, king of the Franks, v. 50
Dalen, Norwegian province, vi. 38
Damasius II., pope, vi. 144
Dambrowska, wife of Miesco, vi. 80
Damiani, bishop of Ostia, reformer of the papacy, vi. 142. Opposed to the serving of the clergy in war, vi. 154. Defends self-flagellation, vi. 241
Daniel, bishop of Winchester, v. 59. His advice to Boniface on the subject of religious instruction, v. 65
David, Nestorian bishop for China, v. 115
Decani, v. 138
Defensores, v. 145
Demetrius, deacon at Constantinople, v. 283
Denmark, Willibrord in, v. 56. Spread of Christianity in, vi. 1-8
Deoduin of Liege, vi. 318
Descensus Christi ad inferos, common view of this doctrine—views of Clement, v. 78
Desiderius, v. 71
Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, vi. 140
Detwig, Hessian prince, v. 59
Deynoch, abbot of Bangor, v. 20
Dicuil, monk from Ireland, vi. 39
Dierolf, Hessian prince, v. 59
Dies natalis invicti solis, vi. 32
Diocesan union, v. 138
Dionysius Areopagita, vi. 260. Influence of the writings under his name, v. 218. Their genuineness disputed and defended, 219. Diffusion of his writings, vi. 261
Dionysius Exiguus, vi. 102
Doctrine of the Trinity, Mohammed op-

- posed to, v. 111. Chilperic on the, 118
- Dorstatum (Wykte Duerstade), vi. 7
- Drahomira (Dragomir), Bohemian princess, vi. 69
- Drontheim, in Norway, vi. 38
- Druthmar, interpreter of Scripture, vi. 250
- Dungal, vi. 225
- Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, zealously contends against the corruption of the clergy, vi. 188; 264. Reforms the clergy in England, vi. 265.
- Dyothelitism, v. 233. Dominant in Rome and Africa, v. 241. Its triumph and establishment as an article of faith, v. 251
- Eadbald, king of Kent, idolater, v. 23. Converted, v. 23
- Easter festival, difference in the observance of, v. 28
- Ebbo (Eppo), Wendian priest, vi. 76
- Ebbo, archbishop of Rheims, vi. 2, 9
- Eberhard, of Friuli, vi. 272
- Eboracum (York), archbishopric, v. 19
- Edwin, king of Northumberland, his conversion and death, v. 23, 24
- Egbert, v. 54
- Egbert, archbishop of York, v. 198
- Egilo, abbot of Prüm, vi. 302
- Egino, bishop of Schonen, vi. 30
- Egypt, under the Mohammedans, v. 114
- '*Ἐκθεσις τῆς πίστεως*, v. 232
- Elbert (Albert), master of the school at York, v. 198
- Elfric, of Malmesbury, vi. 264
- Elias, ecclesiastic, vi. 407
- Eligius, v. 54
- Elipandus, archbishop of Toledo, v. 202. His controversy with Migetius, 202. Whether author of Adoptianism? 203. His conduct in this controversy, 211. His letter to Alcuin, 214. On the Romish church, v. 214
- Emeritus, bishop of Xaintes, v. 121
- Emma, wife of Canute the Great, vi. 27
- Emmerman, in Bavaria, v. 49
- Emmerich, Hungarian prince, vi. 86
- Emund, king of Sweden, vi. 29
- England, progress of the Christian church there, vi. 262-265
- Enthusiasts (sect). See Euchites
- Eoban, bishop of Utrecht, v. 83-93
- Eparchius, v. 133
- Epiphanius, of Ticinum, v. 34
- Episcopus, regionarius, v. 60
- Episcopus œcumenicus, v. 149
- Erfurt, v. 70
- Erimbert, vi. 18
- Erlembald, biographer of Ariald, vi. 160. Labours in Milan, vi. 170
- Esnig, Armenian bishop, v. 333
- Essex, Christianity there, v. 19. Suppression of it, v. 22
- Ethelbald, king of Mercia, v. 88
- Ethelbert, king of Kent, v. 13
- Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, vi. 264. Promotes the cause of schools, vi. 264
- Etherius, of Othma, opponent of Adoptianism, v. 212
- Eucharist, doctrine of the, vi. 298-346
- Euchites (sect), vi. 426. Their origin, 427. Their Docetic doctrines, different parties among them, vi. 428
- Eugenius, pope, v. 248
- Eugenius II., pope, vi. 374
- Eugippius, disciple of Severin, v. 31, v. 33
- Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, v. 148
- Eulogius, archbishop of Toledo, vi. 97
- Eusebius Bruno of Angers, vi. 321
- Eustasius, abbot of Luxeuil among the Bavarians, v. 47. Among the Waraskians, v. 48
- Excommunication, vi. 244
- Fareyingia Saga, vi. 49
- Faroe islands, spread of Christianity in the, vi. 48
- Faustus, bishop of Rhejii, v. 4
- Felix, bishop of Urgellis. Probable author of Adoptianism, v. 203. Whether urged on by the writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia? 205. His defence of Christianity against Mohammedanism, v. 205. Contends against the confounding together of the predicates of the two natures in Christ, v. 205. In what sense is Christ called Son of God and God? 206. Idea of adoption, 207. His appeal to Scripture, 207. Whence according to him the *ἀντιμεθίστασις τῶν ὀνομάτων*? 207. Opposed to calling Mary the mother of God; on baptism, 209. Agnœtism, 210. Character of Felix, 213. He recants at Regensburg and Rome, 213. His defence of himself against Alcuin, 214. His view of the church, 214. Felix in Aix la Chapelle, 216. Placed under the oversight of the archbishop of Lyons, 216. His death and posthumous works, v. 217.
- Fermentarians, vi. 418.
- Festival, Presentation of Christ in the Greek church. Fest. purificationis Mariæ in the Western church, v. 172. Assumptio Mariæ, 172. Circumcision of Christ, 172. Feast of St Michael, 172. Dies natalis apost. Petri et Pauli, 172. John the Baptist, 172. Natales Andreæ, 172. Remigii et Martini, 173. Festival of saints, 173. Festivals on the consecration of churches, 173. Of all saints, 173. Jol or Yule festival in honour of the Sun-god Freyr in Norway, the Dies natalis invicti Solis of the Scandinavian races, vi. 32. Day of the death of Olof the thick (July 29th 1033). General festival of the northern nations, vi. 39. Festival of orthodoxy (*πατήρυσις τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας*) in the Greek church, vi. 371
- Flora, enthusiast, vi. 92
- Florence, controversies there, vi. 171

- Florus of Lyons, vi. 291. Against Scotus
 Erigena, vi. 291
 Fontenay, v. 37
 Fosites-land, see Heligoland
 France, progress of Christianity in.
 Franks, the Salian, their conversion, v. 6.
 Renovation of the church among them,
 v. 10
 Fredegis, church-teacher, vi. 252
 Frederic, cardinal, vi. 417
 Freisingen, v. 70
 Freyr, Sun-god in Norway, vi. 43
 Frideburg, pious widow, vi. 15
 Fridolin, monk, v. 46
 Friedrich, bishop, vi. 40
 Friedrich, abbot of Monte Cassino (Ste-
 phen IX.), vi. 155
 Frieslanders, planting of Christianity
 among the, v. 50, 55
 Fröndafion, vi. 43
 Frollent of Senlis, vi. 316
 Frudegard, monk, vi. 301
 Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, vi. 181. His
 efforts to promote science, vi. 266
 Fulco, bishop of Amiens, vi. 199
 Fulda, monastery, founded by Sturm, v.
 96. Threatened by the Saxons, v. 97.
 Privileges of this monastery, v. 97
 Fulgentius of Ruspe, v. 5
- Gallus in Bregenz, v. 42. Founds St
 Gallen, 45. Dies in the castle of Arbon,
 v. 46
 Gauzbert (Simon), bishop, vi. 9
 Gebhard, bishop of Eichstadt (Victor II.),
 vi. 155
 Gebuin, bishop, vi. 444
 Gegnaesius, head of the Paulicians, v. 321.
 His trial at Constantinople, v. 322
 Geilane, wife of Duke Gozbert, v. 47
 Geisa, Hungarian prince, vi. 81
 Geismar, demolition of the oak there, v. 64
 Genesis, vi. 349
 Gentiliacum, assembly there, v. 301
 Georgius, patriarch of Constantinople,
 advocates Dyotheletism, v. 250
 Gerald, papal legate, vi. 327
 Gerald, Count of Aurilly, vi. 232
 Gerbert, master of the cathedral-school at
 Rheims, vi. 266. Stands forth against
 John XV., vi. 131. His efforts to pro-
 mote science, 266. See his views of the
 Lord's Supper, vi. 308
 Gerhard, bishop of Florence (Nicholas II.),
 vi. 156
 Gerhard, president of the sect in Montfort,
 vi. 440
 Gerhard I., archbishop of Arras and
 Cambrai, vi. 178
 Gerhard II., of the same, vi. 438
 Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople,
 friend of images, v. 262. Advocates
 Monotheletism. His reasons in favour
 of image-worship, v. 264. His trans-
 actions with Constantine of Nacolia,
 265. His letter to Thomas of Claudio-
 polis, 266. Resigns his office, v. 270
- Germany, spread of Christianity in, v. 31-
 50
 Gerold, bishop of Mentz, v. 83
 Gervin, abbot of Centulum, vi. 199
 Gewillieb, bishop of Mentz, v. 83
 Gildas on asceticism, v. 25
 Gislema, monk, vi. 8
 Gissur, vi. 43
 Glaber Rudolph, monk of Cluny, vi. 141 ;
 vi. 432
 Glossa ordinaria, vi. 250
 Goar, hermit, v. 35
 Goda, vi. 46
 Godalsacius, v. 79
 Godehard, bishop of Hildesheim, vi. 184 ;
 vi. 234
 Gorasd, disciple of Methodius, vi. 67
 Goslar, sect there, vi. 429
 Gottfrid of Tours, vi. 327
 Gottshalk, founder of the Wend empire,
 vi. 74
 Gottshalk, monk, vi. 269. His doctrine,
 271. Rabanus Maurus opposed to him,
 269, 273. His defence of himself, 274.
 Declared a false teacher, 275. His
 death, 279
 Gozachin, vi. 326
 Gozbert, Duke, v. 47
 Gratian, vi. 143
 Greek church, progress of the, v. 217-288
 Greenland, spread of Christianity in, vi.
 49
 Gregorius, governor of Frascati, vi. 205
 Gregory of Tours on Clovis, v. 7. On
 Martin of Tours, 7. His account of
 fanatics, v. 71. His resistance to Chil-
 peric, v. 118
 Gregory the Great, zealous for the conver-
 sion of the Anglo-Saxons, v. 12. His
 principles with regard to conversion,
 16. His warnings directed to Augus-
 tin, 17. On miracles, 17. His judg-
 ment with regard to the diversity of
 church-customs, to idolatrous temples
 and seasons of festival, v. 18. Founds
 archbishoprics in England, 19. Ascribes
 to himself sovereign power in the Wes-
 tern church, 19. His letter to Ethel-
 bert, 27. Seeks to abolish abuses in
 the bestowment of benefices among the
 Franks, v. 121. His controversy with
 the emperor Maurice, 125. On admis-
 sion to the spiritual order, 125. His
 reasons for the manumission of slaves,
 129. His manifold activity, 144. His
 conduct towards princes, 146. His
 pains to support the authority of the
 Romish church, v. 147. His proce-
 dure with Natalis of Salona, 147. On the
 use of Scripture, 148. Recognises the
 equal dignity of bishops, 148. His con-
 troversy with Johannes *νηστευτής*, 149.
 Exercises supreme judicial authority in
 Spain, v. 151. His relations with the
 Frankish church, 152. Friend to the
 notions of a magical influence connected
 with the Lord's supper, v. 174. Events
 of his life, 182. His influence on

- church-psalmody, 183. His zeal for preaching, 183. His *regula pastoralis*, 184. Influence of Augustin on him, 185. His doctrine of predestination, 185. On the relation of grace to free-will, 187. His treatment of ethical science. His *moralia*, 190. On love and the cardinal virtues, 191. Against mere *opus operatum*, 192. On false humility and truthfulness, 193. On the relation of "reason" to "faith," 193. On the ancient literature, 194. The commentary on the book of Kings ascribed to him, 194. On image-worship, 256. His transactions with Serenus of Marseilles, v. 257
- Gregory II., pope, v. 60-83. His letter to Leo the Isaurian, v. 272
- Gregory III., pope, on the mission of Boniface, v. 62. Creates him archbishop, v. 84
- Gregory, abbot, his first acquaintance with Boniface, v. 92. In Friesland, 93. His death, v. 94
- Gregory, bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, v. 298
- Gregory, governor in Africa, v. 237
- Gregory, archbishop of Syracuse, vi. 384
- Gregory IV., pope, vi. 123
- Gregory V., pope, vi. 139. Banishment and restoration, vi. 203
- Gregory VI. (Gratian), pope, vi. 142
- Gregory VII., pope, vi. 330
- Grimkil, English ecclesiastic, vi. 29
- Gualbert, abbot of Vallambrosa
- Gudbrand (Gudbrandlen), vi. 38
- Guido, archbishop of Milan, vi. 159
- Guitmund of Aversa, vi. 310, 341
- Gundobad, king of the Burgundians, v. 5. Defends judgments of God, 167
- Gundobald, vi. 212
- Gundulf, founder of a sect in Arras, vi. 435
- Gunild, wife of Harald Blaatand, vi. 24
- Guntbert, monk, vi. 278
- Gunther, archbishop of Cologne, vi. 112
- Guntram, king of the Franks, v. 153
- Gurm, king of Denmark, vi. 24
- Gylas, Hungarian prince, vi. 81
- Hacon, prince of Norway, vi. 31
- Hadelbod, bishop, vi. 7
- Hadrian, abbot, v. 30-196
- Hadrian I., pope, on the power of the Roman see, v. 155. His warnings addressed to Charlemagne, 156. On gifts of Constantine, 156. Zealous for church-psalmody, 164. On the Apostolical decree, 213. Conduct in the image controversy, 293. Sends a letter in reply to the *libri Carolini*, to Charlemagne, v. 314
- Hadrian II., pope, vi. 122. Contends for the recognition of the Pseudo-Isidorean decretals, vi. 122. His position to the Greek church
- Haimo of Halberstadt, vi. 250
- Halinardus, archbishop of Lyons, vi. 143
- Halitgar, archbishop of Cambrai, vi. 2. Directions respecting penance, v. 176. On penance and time of penance, v. 180
- Hallr of Sido, vi. 44
- Hamburg, central point of Northern missions, vi. 9. Destroyed, vi. 10
- Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, vi. 168
- Harald Krag, prince of Jutland, vi. 2. Becomes a Christian and is banished, 8
- Harald Blaatand, king of Denmark, successor of Gurm, vi. 24. Becomes a Christian, 24. Banished by his son, 26
- Hari, Horic's governor, vi. 21
- Heligoland, Willibrord there, v. 56. Liudger, planter of Christianity there, v. 102
- Henry, archbishop of Ravenna, vi. 156
- Henry I. of Germany, vi. 24
- Henry III. of Germany, vi. 143
- Henry IV. of Germany, vi. 166
- Henry II. of France, vi. 315
- Heraclius, Greek emperor, conquers the Persians, v. 109. His formulary of union for the purpose of uniting the Monophysites with the Catholic church, 226. See his edict *ἐκθεσις τῆς πίστεως*.
- Herard, bishop of Tours, vi. 207
- Heribald of Auxerre, vi. 302
- Heribert, ecclesiastic, vi. 434
- Heribert, archbishop of Milan, vi. 440
- Heridac, priest, vi. 1
- Herigar, of Laub, vi. 308
- Herigar (Hergeir), vi. 8
- Herluin, abbot of Bec, vi. 233
- Hermannus Contractus, vi. 429
- Hermits in Italy, vi. 197
- Hiallti, of Iceland, vi. 43
- Hierotheus, monk, vi. 81
- Hildebrand, monk (Gregory VII.), vi. 146. Friend of Gregory VI., 147. His journey to Rome, 148. His efforts to promote a reformation, 149-151. Made subdeacon of the Romish church, 155. See Gregory VII.
- Hilduin, of St Dennis, vi. 261
- Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, vi. 117, 174. His pastoral instructions, 209. His view of image-worship, vi. 227. His controversy with Gottshalk, vi. 276-278
- Hinkmar, bishop of Laon, vi. 125
- Holum, episcopal see in Iceland, vi. 47
- Homiliaria, the ancient falsified, v. 162. That of Paul the Deacon, v. 162
- Honorius, pope, in favour of Monothelism, v. 230. Anathematised, v. 252
- Honorius II., pope, vi. 167
- Horæ, canonicæ, v. 137
- Horic I., king of Denmark, vi. 9
- Horic II., his successor, vi. 12
- Hugo of Flavigny, vi. 330
- Hugo of Langres, vi. 313
- Hugo Capet, king of France, vi. 130
- Hugo, reformer of monachism, vi. 197
- Humbert, cardinal, vi. 415
- Hungary, spread of Christianity in, vi. 81-87
- Huns, see Avars

- Ibn-Wahab, on China, v. 115
 Iceland, spread of Christianity in, vi. 39-48
 Icia (Ida), vi. 10
 Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 372. His origin, 383. Controversy between the Greek and Roman Churches respecting his patriarchate, vi. 397
 Ignis purgatorius, v. 174
 Ignis Sacer, vi. 184
 Igor, Russian Grand Prince, vi. 77
 Ildefonsus, Spanish bishop, vi. 414
 Images, superstitious use of them in the Greek Church, v. 255. As sponsors at baptism, v. 259. Images specially worshipped, v. 259
 Image-controversies, v. 255-314. General participation in them, v. 255. In the time of Leo the Isaurian, v. 261. Of Constantine Copronymus, v. 276. Of Leo IV., v. 289. Of Constantine the younger and Irene, v. 290. Participation of the Western church in them, v. 301. In the Greek church, vi. 348-373
 Image-worship, gradual origin of, v. 256. Gregory the Great on, v. 257. In the Greek church, v. 259. Reaction against the extravagance of, 260. In the Romish church, 301. In the Frank church, 301. Combated by Agobard of Lyons, vi. 210. By Claudius of Turin, vi. 220. Views of Jonas of Orleans, vi. 225. Of Walafrid Strabo, vi. 226
 Ina, English king, on punishment in the church of criminals who took refuge there, v. 134
 Indiculus luminosus of Alvar, vi. 90
 Indulgences, origin of, v. 66, 178
 Infant baptism, vi. 296
 Inge-Olofson, Swedish king, vi. 28
 Interdict, vi. 245
 Interstitia, v. 119
 Ion, Irish bishop, vi. 49
 Iona, St, v. 11
 Irene, Greek empress, friend of images, her character, v. 289. Obtains the government, 290. Favours monachism, 290. Her efforts to promote image-worship, v. 291
 Ireland, seminary of Christian culture, v. 11. Monasteries in that island, 11; v. 35, 54
 Isaac, martyr, vi. 92
 Isidore, bishop of Hispalis, his writings, v. 195
 Isidore of Pelusium, abbot, his judgment respecting the holding of slaves, v. 127
 Isleif, vi. 47
 Israel, bishop, vi. 253
 Italy, orders of monks in, vi. 192-199. Progress of Christianity in, vi. 265
 Itzehoe, vi. 2
 Ized, Caliph, v. 262
 Jabdallaha, Nestorian missionary, v. 115
 Jacob Amund, Swedish king, vi. 29
 Jacob, Thondracian, vi. 424. His doctrine, vi. 424
 Jaroslaw (Yaroslaw), Russian prince, vi. 80
 Jeremiah, archbishop of Sens, vi. 376
 Johannes, bishop of Costnitz, v. 45
 Johannes Eleemosynarius, patriarch of Alexandria, on the treatment of slaves, v. 127
 Johannes, *ἡστυεύτης*, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 149
 Johannes III., pope, v. 153
 John of Damascus, defence of Christianity against Mohammedanism, v. 113. His doctrinal Manual, 218, 254. His origin, 266. His opposition to tales of dragons and fairies, 267. His discourse in favour of image-worship, 267. On the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, vi. 378
 John, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 253. His letter to Constantine of Rome, 254
 John, monk, v. 294
 John, whether rightly called founder of the Paulician sect? v. 315
 John of Oznun, v. 323
 John, bishop of Mecklenburg, vi. 76
 John, bishop of Heraclea, vi. 400
 John, bishop of Sabina (Silvester III.), vi. 142
 John, bishop of Veletri (Benedict X.), vi. 156
 John VIII., pope. His transactions with Methodius, vi. 62-66. Bestows the imperial throne of Germany on Charles the Bald, vi. 128. His position in relation to the Greek church, vi. 404
 John XII. (Octavian), vi. 129. Deposed on account of his immoralities by Otto I., vi. 130
 John XIII., pope, vi. 73
 John XV., pope, contends for the Pseudo-Isidorean Decretals, vi. 131
 John XIX., pope, vi. 413
 John Scotus Erigena, vi. 254. His theological system, 255-260. His doctrine of predestination, 289. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper, 305. His view of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, vi. 381
 John, founder of the congregation of Valambrosa, vi. 199
 Johanna (Joan), female pope (fabulous legend), vi. 130
 Johannes, abbot of St Gorze, vi. 98
 Johannes, martyr, vi. 91
 Johannes, archbishop of Placenza, vi. 203
 Johannes the Grammarian, vi. 350. Tutor of the emperor Theophilus, vi. 368
 Johannes Tzimisces, Greek emperor, vi. 422
 Jonas of Orleans, contends against Claudius of Turin, vi. 222. Against reliance on outward works, 242. His writings, vi. 251
 Joseph, head of the Paulicians, v. 323
 Joseph, (Economus of the church in Constantinople, vi. 354
 Judith, empress, vi. 2
 Judgments of God, v. 167
 Jurisdiction, spiritual, v. 243
 Justice, administration of, v. 132

- Justinian, Greek emperor, founder of rights of patronage, v. 141
Justinian II., Greek emperor, v. 253
- Karломann, v. 70
Kent, converted by Augustin, v. 13. Suppression of Christianity in, v. 22
Kopts (Copts), their Monophysitism; patriarchate founded among them, v. 114. The Nubians and Abyssinians subject to this patriarchate, v. 116
Kodran, vi. 40
Koran, moral element in the, v. 110. Gnostic elements in the, v. 110. On the mission of Mohammed, v. 112
Kyllean (Kilian) in Wurzburg; assassinated, v. 47
Κυνοχάρται, v. 331
Kupan, vi. 85
Kyrkujolsa (Slavonian), vi. 72
- Landrich, among the Frieslanders, v. 102
Landulf de Cotta, vi. 161
Landulf de St Paulo, vi. 159
Lanfranc, vi. 266, 314
Lanfrick, vi. 149
Lapides uncti, vi. 40
Last Judgment, expectation of the, vi. 265
Laurentius (Lawrence), presbyter, among the Anglo-Saxons, v. 13. Sent to Rome, 16. Augustin's successor, 21. His vision, v. 22
Leidrad, archbishop of Lyons, v. 216, 217
Leif, vi. 49
Leo III., pope, v. 133. Crowns Charlemagne emperor, v. 155. Complaints against him, 157
Leo the Isaurian, Greek emperor, enemy of image-worship, v. 261. His first ordinance against the idolatrous worship of images, 263. His transactions with Germanus, 265. His law against all religious images, 270. Why he was favourably disposed to the Paulicians? 322
Leo, bishop of Phoecea, v. 283
Leo IV., Greek emperor, enemy of images, v. 289. His conduct towards the friends of images; his death, v. 289
Leo the Armenian, persecutes the Paulicians, v. 330
Leo III., pope, vi. 379
Leo VIII., pope, vi. 130
Leo IX., pope, vi. 145. Finds a new epoch in the history of the papacy, 145. Fights against the Normans, 153. Canonized as a Saint, 155. Appears against Berengarius, 320. Against Michael Cerularius, vi. 415
Leo, consul, vi. 401
Leo, abbot, vi. 135
Leo, bishop of Achris, vi. 414
Leo the Grammarian, vi. 397
Leo Allatius, vi. 403
Leo the Armenian, vi. 349. His attempts to abolish image-worship, 350. His controversy on this subject with Nicephorus and Theodorus, 350-354. His measures for abolishing the images, vi. 356.
Leo VI., the Philosopher, Greek emperor, vi. 411
Leuderich, bishop of Bremen, vi. 11
Leuthard, fanatic, vi. 444
Lewis the Pious, vi. 108, 4, 9. On image-worship, vi. 374
Lewis III., of France, vi. 174
Liadag, bishop of Ripen, vi. 28
Libentius, archbishop of Bremen, vi. 26
Libelli pœnitentiales, v. 176
Liber pontificalis, vi. 107
Libri Carolini, their author, v. 303. Against fanatical destruction of images, 304. Against superstitious worship of images, 305. On the design and use of images, 305. On the opposition of the standing-points of the Old and New Testaments, v. 307. On the holy Scriptures; on the sign of the cross, 307. On relics, 318. On the use of images, and of incense, 308. Against miracles said to be performed by images, 309. Against the argument in favour of image-worship derived from dreams, 310. On the worship of Saints, 311. Against Byzantine Basileolatry, v. 311
Liege, sect there. See Arras
Life, the Christian, v. 158-176, vi. 206-246
Lissoi (Lisieux), president of the sect at Orleans, vi. 433
Liudger, his education, v. 101. His labours, 102. His death, v. 103
Livin, in Brabant, v. 53
Lögsögu, vi. 47
London, chosen by Gregory the Great for an archiepiscopal see, v. 19
Longobards, Arians, come over to the Catholic church, v. 151
Lorch (Laureacum), vi. 81
Lord's supper, idea of sacrifice in, v. 173. Magical effects of the, 173. Mischievous influence of this notion, v. 174
Lord's supper, doctrine of the, vi. 298. Doctrine of transubstantiation according to Paschasius Radbert, 299-301. Struggle for its recognition, 302. Compared with the doctrine of Ratramnus, 302. Doctrine of the Lord's supper according to John Scotus, 305. Ratherius of Verona, Gerbert, Herigar, on this subject, 307. Doctrine of Berengarius, 308. Controversies on this doctrine, 327. Eusebius Bruno on the doctrine of transubstantiation, 328. Triumph of this doctrine, 331. More particular account of the doctrine of Berengarius, 333. Comparison of his doctrine with that of Paschasius Radbert, 342
Lothaire of Lotharingia, vi. 111
Lothaire II., vi. 122
Luitprand, bishop of Cremona, vi. 130
Ludmilla, vi. 69
Lull, sent by Boniface to the pope, v. 88.

- Consecrated bishop, 89. At disagreement with abbot Sturm, v. 95
Luxeuil, v. 37
- Macarius, patriarch of Antioch, v. 249
Magnold (Magnus), v. 46
Majolus, reformer of monachism, vi. 197
Mansus ecclesiae, v. 131
Manuel, uncle of the young emperor Michael III., vi. 369
Mary, fanatic, vi. 94
Mary, virgin, opponents to the worship of, v. 111. Festival in her honour, see Festivals. Legend respecting her departure from the world, v. 172. Decree of the council of Constantinople (an. 754), with regard to her worship, v. 281
Maronites, their Monotheletism, v. 253
Marozia, vi. 129
Marun, abbot, v. 255
Martin of Tours, consideration in which he was held, miracles at his tomb, v. 7. Gregory of Tours, concerning him, 7. See Festivals
Martin I., pope, convokes the Lateran council (an. 648), v. 239. Defence of himself, 241. Political charges brought against him, 241. Deposed and imprisoned, 243. His trial, 244. His death, v. 246
Masses for the dead, v. 175
Mathfred, count, vi. 251
Maurice, Greek emperor, v. 125
Maurus, bishop of Fünfkirchen, vi. 85
Maximus of Turin, on the Arians, v. 5
Maximus, abbot, v. 220. On vassalage, 220. On the end of the creation and of redemption, 221. On the relation of the two natures in Christ, 222. On the progressive and continuous development of divine revelations, 223. On faith, 224. On love, 224. On prayer, 225. On the temporal and the eternal life, restoration, 225. Head of the Dyothelite party, 223. His arguments against Monotheletism, 237. His disputation with Pyrrhus, 237. His arrest, 247. His banishment and death, v. 248
Medshusik, Throndracenan, vi. 423
Melchites, v. 114
Mellitus, abbot, sent to the Anglo-Saxons, v. 17. Archbishop of London, 19. Banished from Essex, 22
Mentz, archbishopric of, v. 84
Methodius, monk, vi. 51
Methodius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 370
Metropolitan Constitution, in the German church, v. 143
Michael Curopalates (Rhangabe), Greek emperor, persecutes the Paulicians, v. 329
Michael (Bogoris), vi. 51
Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 413. Takes his stand against the Romish church, vi. 413
Michael II., Greek emperor, vi. 364
Michael III., Greek emperor, vi. 372
Miesco (Miescislaw), Duke of Poland, vi. 80
Migetius, Spanish errorist, v. 202
Milan, controversies there, vi. 159-166
Missæ privatae, v. 175
Missi, v. 157
Missions in Denmark and Sweden, vi. 1-39. In Iceland, vi. 39. In Hungary, v. 80-87
Mistiwoi, Wendish prince, vi. 73
Mohammed, his appearance, v. 109. His religious tone of mind, 110. His first intentions, 111. His opposition to idolators, to Judaism and Christianity, 111. His ground in opposition to the essence of Christianity, 112. His use of apocryphal gospels, 112
Mohammedanism, its character, v. 109. Its relation to Judaism, 110. Means of its advancement, v. 111
Monachism, its decline in France, v. 37. Its influence in the Greek church, v. 218. History of, in the fourth period, vi. 192. Reforms of, vi. 192
Monks, opponents of, v. 111, 284. *Oriental*, their principle to hold no persons as slaves, v. 128. Rising estimation in which they were held, v. 136. Extravagance of fanatical monkish asceticism in Italy; their resistance to the Iconoclasts, v. 289
Monkish rule of Benedict of Aniane, vi. 194
Monophysitism, among the Copts, v. 114. In the Armenian church, v. 338
Monotheletic controversies, v. 226-237. Internal and external causes of the same, 226. Dogmatic interests of the Monotheletic party, v. 229
Monotheletism, its approximation to Docetism, v. 235. Condemnation of it, 252. Its supremacy under Philippicus, v. 253. Among the Maronites, 255
Montfort, sect there, vi. 440. Its doctrines, vi. 441
Moravia, spread of Christianity in, vi. 61-68
Moaburg, vi. 61
Moymar, Moravian prince, vi. 61
Nalgod, disciple of Majolus, vi. 197
Natalis, bishop of Salona, v. 147
Naum, disciple of Methodius, vi. 67
Nazarius, preaches in Milan against the corruption of morals, vi. 162
Nefridius, bishop of Narbonne, v. 216
Nestorians, active in promoting the spread of Christianity, v. 114
Nicephorus, Greek emperor, conduct towards the Paulicians, v. 329
Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 329, vi. 348. His controversy with Leo the Armenian on the abolition of images, vi. 349-357. Deposed, vi. 357. His origin, vi. 350
Nictas, abbot, vi. 360

- Nicetas, ecclesiastic, vi. 373
 Nicetas, Pectoratus, vi. 417
 Nicetas (Ignatius), vi. 383
 Nicetius of Triers, v. 9
 Nicolaus, monk, vi. 362
 Nicholas I., pope, his prescripts to the Bulgarians, vi. 53. His conduct towards Lothaire of Lotharingia, vi. 110. His principles for the foundation of the papal monachism, vi. 119. His conduct in the controversy between Photius and Ignatius, vi. 388
 Nicholas II., pope, vi. 322
 Nicolaitism, vi. 170
 Nilus the Younger, vi. 200. His labours in Italy, vi. 411. In the Greek church, 200. His death, vi. 205
 Ninyas, among the Picts, v. 11
 Northumberland, Christianity there, v. 23
 Norway, spread of Christianity there, vi. 28-39
 Notker (Labeo), vi. 267
 Notting of Verona, vi. 272
Ναυαριοί, among the Paulicians, their business, v. 342
 Nubia, Christian realm of, under the Coptic patriarchs, v. 116
- Octavian (John XII.), vi. 130
 Odilo, reformer of monachism, vi. 197
 Odincar, bishop, vi. 28
 Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, vi. 23
 Odo, abbot of Cluny, vi. 231. Reformer of monachism, vi. 195
 Odoacer, v. 34
 Oecumenius of Tricca, vi. 347
 Offa, English king, v. 156
 Oil, consecration with. See Extreme unction
 Olga (Helena), Russian grand princess, vi. 78
 Olof, Swedish king, vi. 19
 Olof Stautkonnung, Swedish king, vi. 28
 Olof Trygweson, king of the Normans, vi. 34
 Olof the Thick of Norway, vi. 36
 Olopuen, Nestorian priest, in China, v. 115
 Olympius, Exarch of Ravenna, v. 240
 Oracles sought for in the Scriptures, v. 166. Of the saints, 166. Laws against, 166
 Orcaades, islands, spread of Christianity in, vi. 48
 Ordinationes absolutæ, v. 140
 Organ, v. 164
 Orleans, sect there, vi. 430. Docetic doctrines taught there, 431. Sacraments of the sect, vi. 432. Council against them, 434
 Orthorp, church there, v. 63
 Oswald, king of Northumberland, v. 24
 Oswin, king of Sussex, v. 29
 Otfried, German preacher, vi. 206
 Otho I., of Germany, vi. 72, 130
 Otho II., of Germany, vi. 83
 Otho III., of Germany, vi. 139, 193
 Otho of Freisingen, vi. 147
- Paderborn, diet of, vi. 4
 Pallium, badge of archiepiscopal dignity, v. 153
 Pandulf, prince of Capua, vi. 203
 Papa universalis, v. 148
 Papacy, v. 148. History of, vi. 101-172
 Paracondaces, abbot, v. 330
 Pardulus of Laon, vi. 281
 Paschal festival. See Easter festival
 Paschalis I., pope, vi. 217
 Paschasius Radbert, vi. 299. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper, vi. 299-305
 Passau, bishopric there, v. 70
 Pastoral instructions, vi. 208
 Pataria (Patarennes), popular party in Milan, vi. 164
 Patinus of Lyons, v. 49
 Patronage, rights of, first establishment of them, v. 141. Their enlargement, 142. Abuse of them, vi. 173
 Patrimonium Petri, v. 150. Enlarged, 156
 Paul I., pope, v. 302
 Paulicians, their origin, v. 315. Derivation of the name, 315. Their founder, 315. Their adherence to the New Testament, particularly to the writings of St Paul, 317. Distinguished preachers among them, 318. Persecutions against them, 320. Divisions among them, 321. Their opposition to image-worship, 322. Their spread in Asia Minor, v. 323. False accusations brought against them, 323. Their conspiracy and flight, 331. Their irruption into the Roman provinces, 331. *Doctrine of the Paulicians*, 332. On the creation of the world, 332. On the Demiurge, 332. On heaven, 333. On human nature, 333. On redemption and the person of the Redeemer, 337. Against the worship of the virgin Mary, 338. On the passion of Christ, 339. Against the adoration of the cross, 339. Against the celebration of the sacraments, 340. Their ecclesiastical institutions, 341. Church offices among them, 342. Their system of morality, 343. Written records of the faith among them, 346. Proceedings of the empress Theodora and of the emperor Tzimisces against them, vi. 422
 Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 245
 Paulinus, bishop of York, v. 23
 Paulinus, canonical priest at Metz, vi. 317
 Paulus Diaconus, his Homiliarium, v. 164
 Paulus, patriarch of Constantinople, resigns his office, v. 291
 Paulus, head of the Paulician sect, v. 315
 Penance, system of, v. 178, vi. 240. Self-castigation defended by Damiani, vi. 241. Private and public penance, v. 179. Grades of guilt distinguished, vi. 244
 Perfectus, martyr, vi. 91
 Perun, Slavonian idol, vi. 77
 Peswill, priest, vi. 334
 Peter, v. 146. Rejected by the Paulicians, v. 348. See Festivals
 Peter, monk among the Anglo-Saxons, v. 13. Sent to Rome, v. 16

- Peter, patriarch of Antioch, vi. 418
 Peter, archbishop of Amalfi, vi. 417
 Philagathus (John of Placenza), vi. 203
 Philippicus, Greek emperor, friend of Monothelism, v. 253
 Photin, his erroneous doctrines spread among the Waraskians, Bavarians, and Burgundians, v. 47
 Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, vi. 384. His erudition, vi. 346. An image-worshipper, 385. Controversy between the Greek and Roman churches respecting his patriarchate, vi. 405
 Pilgrim of Passau, vi. 81
 Pilgrimages, opposer of, v. 173. Advantages of, 152. Cautions against trusting in, v. 169
 Pipin of Heristal, maj. dom., v. 55
 Pipin, the little, maj. dom., v. 87. Anointed king, v. 87. Increases the patrimony of St Peter, v. 154. Improves the church psalmody, 164. Introduces organs, v. 165
 Placidius, vi. 299
 Platon, monk, v. 128—vi. 354
 Poland, spread of Christianity in, vi. 80
 Polycronius, monk, v. 251
 Pomilui (Slavonian), vi. 72
 Popes, their dependence on the East Roman emperors, v. 150. Relation to the Spanish church, v. 151. Declarations concerning their powers, v. 154
 Poppo, bishop of Brixen (Damasius II.), vi. 144
 Poppo, priest from North Friesland, vi. 25
 Preaching, v. 158-160
 Predestination, doctrine of, Clement on, v. 78. Injurious consequences of Augustin's, v. 98. In the fourth period, vi. 268-298
 Privinna, Moravian prince, vi. 61
 Probus, heretic, vi. 442
 Procopius, bishop of Caesarea, vi. 408
 Provincial synods, restored in France, v. 70. Against erroneous teachers, 71. Participation of monarchs in, 122. Gradually go out of use, v. 123
 Prozymites, vi. 418
 Prudentius of Troges, vi. 281-291
 Pseudo Isidorian Decretals, vi. 108
 Pyrrhus, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 237
 Rabanus Maurus, archbishop of Mentz, vi. 248. His rules of religious instruction, 249. His writings, 249. Opponent of Gottshalk's doctrine, 273. His doctrine of predestination, vi. 273
 Radbord, king of the Frieslanders, v. 55-59
 Radbod, archbishop of Utrecht, vi. 180
 Radbod, bishop of Triers, vi. 184
 Radegast, Wendish idol, vi. 76
 Radislav (Rastices), Moravian prince, vi. 61
 Radla, disciple of Adalbert of Prague, vi. 83
 Ramihed, president of the sect in Cambridge and Arras, vi. 438
 Ratherius of Verona, vi. 265. Contends against the rudeness of the clergy, vi. 265. His view of fasts, pilgrimages, vi. 228. Contends against the sensuous anthropomorphism, vi. 231. Against image-worship, 231. His writings, vi. 265. His view of the Lord's Supper, vi. 307
 Ratramnus of Corbie, his doctrine of predestination, vi. 278. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper, vi. 299-304. Defends the Latin church, vi. 396
 Recafrid, archbishop of Sevilla, vi. 93
 Reckared, king of the West Goths, goes over to the Catholic church, v. 151
 Regensburg, bishopric of, v. 70
 Reginald, bishop of Liege, vi. 437
 Regino of Prum, on Sends, v. 139
 Religious instruction, v. 160. To be promoted by the founding of schools, vi. 208
 Relics, worship of, vi. 234
 Remigius of Rheims, v. 7. See Festivals
 Remigius of Lyons, vi. 293
 Responsales, v. 150
 Restoration, doctrine of final, by Maximus, v. 234
 Rethre, principal seat of Wend idolatry, vi. 73
 Rhodoald, bishop of Porto, vi. 389
 Richard, ecclesiastic, vi. 316
 Richbald, arch-priest, vi. 63
 Riculf, bishop of Soissons, vi. 208
 Rimbart, disciple and biographer of Anchar, vi. 11. Missionary, 18
 Ripen, vi. 21
 Robert, king of France, vi. 240
 Romuald, founder of the Camaldulensian order, vi. 198
 Rothad, Roman bishop, vi. 117
 Rudbert (Ruprecht), bishop of Worms, among the Bavarians, v. 49
 Rugi, vi. 78
 Rurik, first Russian prince, vi. 76
 Russians, spread of Christianity among the, vi. 76
 Russi, vi. 78
 Sabbas, disciple of Methodius, vi. 67
 Sabaeism among the Arabians, v. 109
 Sabert, king of Essex, v. 19
 Sabigotha, enthusiast, vi. 95
 Sacraments, rejected by the Paulicians, v. 340
 Sagittarius, bishop of Gap, v. 153
 Saguin, archbishop of Sens, vi. 134
 Saint-worship, v. 170. Decree of the council of Constantinople on (754), v. 282
 Salonius, bishop of Embrun, v. 153
 Salzburg, bishopric there, v. 50-70
 Samson, abbot of Cordova, vi. 87
 Samson, on the imposition of hands, v. 81
 Sarolta, daughter of Gylas, vi. 81
 Saul, bishop of Cordova, vi. 94
 Saxons, first attempt to convert the, v. 55. Reasons of their opposition to Christianity, v. 96. Conquest of the, 100. Force used to convert them, v. 100

- Schola Palatina, v. 199
 Schools, foundation of, in France, vi. 208
 Schools, singing, v. 165
 Sects, history of, v. 314-359
 Selz, v. 100
 Sembat, Thondracian, vi. 423
 Sends, v. 138
 Sergius (Tychicus), reformer of the Paulicians, v. 324. False accusations brought against him, 327. Opponent of the crusades of the Paulicians, 331. His assassination, 331. A fragment of one of his epistles, v. 334
 Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople, his judgment respecting the formulary of union of Heraclius, v. 228. His view of the Monothelitan controversy, 229. His good understanding with Honorius of Rome, 230
 Serenus of Marseilles, v. 256
 Servatus Lupus, abbot of Ferrieres, vi. 248. His doctrine of predestination, 282
 Severians, v. 219
 Severinus among the Germans, v. 31. His origin, 31. His labours, 32. His miracles, v. 34
 Sidonius, v. 80
 Sido—Hallr, vi. 44
 Siegmund, king of the Burgundians, adopts the Catholic faith, v. 5
 Sigfrid, English ecclesiastic, vi. 29
 Sigmund, Bresterson, vi. 48
 Sigtuna, vi. 8
 Sigurd, vi. 33
 Silvester II. (Gerbert), pope, vi. 140
 Simon (Gauzbert), bishop, vi. 9
 Simony, in the Frank church, v. 119. With patronage of parochial offices, 141. In the fourth period, vi. 162
 Skalholt, episcopal see in Iceland, vi. 47
 Skara, in West Gothland, vi. 29
 Slavonians, pagan, in North Germany, v. 108. Spread of Christianity among the, vi. 71
 Sophronius, monk, opponent of the compact with the Monophysites, v. 229. Is made patriarch of Jerusalem, 230. His circular letter expressing Dyothelitism, v. 231
 Spain, influence of the church in that country on the State, v. 124. Relation of the Spanish to the Romish church, v. 151. Renewal in that country of the contests of the Antiochean and Alexandrian schools, v. 202
 Stefner, missionary, vi. 42
 Stenkil, king of Denmark, vi. 30
 Stephanus, v. 275
 Stephanus, leader of the monks in favour of image-worship, v. 283. His conduct before the emperor, v. 285
 Stephen II., pope, v. 91. Solicits the aid of Pipin against the Longobards, v. 154. Arrogates to himself the right of confirming marriages among princes, 155
 Stephen, president of the sect at Orleans, vi. 433
 Stephen, Hungarian prince, vi. 84
 Studius, vi. 354
 Sturm, abbot, v. 94. Finds the monasteries of Hersfeld and Fulda, 95. Labours and death, 96. Difficulties with archbishop Lull, v. 96
 Sueno (Sven-Otto) son of Harold Blaa-tand, vi. 24
 Suicide, judgment of the church on, v. 132
 Suidger, bishop of Bamberg (Clement II.), vi. 144
 Sun, children of the, vi. 423
 Superstition, promoted by the clergy, v. 166
 Sussex, Christianity in, v. 27
 Svidbert, among the Boruchtuarians, v. 55
 Symeon (Simeon), sent against the Paulicians, v. 320. Becomes head of the sect under the name of Titus, 321. His death, v. 321
 Simeon, monk, vi. 201
 Symeon (Simon), magister, vi. 397
 Συνεκδημοι, among the Paulicians, v. 342
 Σύνοδος πενθέκτη, v. 253
 Synods, see councils
 Syria, v. 114
 Sweden, spread of Christianity in, vi. 28
 Talanos, Spanish monastery, vi. 92
 Tangmar, priest, vi. 184
 Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 291
 Tempestarii, vi. 212
 Thangbrand, priest from Bremen, vi. 35. Goes to Iceland, vi. 43
 Theoctista, vi. 369
 Theodelinde, Longobardian queen, goes over to the Catholic church, v. 151
 Theodemir, abbot, vi. 217
 Theodo I., duke of Bavaria, v. 49
 Theodo II., duke of Bavaria, v. 50
 Theodora, vicious Roman woman, vi. 129
 Theodora, Greek empress, vi. 369. Introduces image-worship, vi. 370
 Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, promotes customs of the Romish church in England, v. 30. First exercises the rights of a primate, 30. Promotes culture in England, v. 196
 Theodore Abucara, Defender of Christianity against Mohammedanism, v. 113
 Theodore, bishop of Pharan, head of the Monothelite party, v. 233
 Theodore, patriarch of Constantinople, v. 249
 Theodore, presbyter, defender of the genuineness of the writings ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, v. 219
 Theodore, bishop of Caria, vi. 399
 Theodore, monk, vi. 368
 Theodore, protospatharius, vi. 400
 Theodorus Studita, abbot, against the holding of slaves, v. 128. On the difference of the image controversies of the earlier times, v. 255. On the œcumenical council held at Constantinople under Irene, v. 295. Against bloody

- persecutions of heretics, v. 329. His education, vi. 354. Contends in favour of image-worship against Leo the Armenian, vi. 354. His tendency to sensuous Realism in this controversy, vi. 358. Appears anew against the emperor, vi. 360
- Theodorus, head of the Paulicians, v. 321
- Theodosius of Ephesus, v. 277
- Theodota, vi. 354
- Theodrad, vi. 3
- Theodulf, archbishop of Orleans, zealously promotes the cause of religious instruction, v. 161. On external works, 168. On pilgrimages, 169. Against private masses, 175. On the forgiveness of sin and penitence, v. 180
- Theognist, abbot, vi. 393
- Theophanes, monk, vi. 368
- Theophanes, jurist, vi. 373
- Theophilus, Greek emperor, vi. 368
- Theophilus, bishop of Caesarea, vi. 103
- Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, vi. 103
- Theophilus, protospatharius, vi. 387
- Theophylact, see Benedict. IX., vi. 140
- Theophylact, archbishop of Achrida, vi. 419
- Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, vi. 66
- Thierry, king of the Burgundians, v. 41
- Thietberga, wife of Lothaire of Lotharingia, vi. 111
- Thietgaud, archbishop of Triers, vi. 112
- Thomas, bishop of Claudiopolis, enemy of image-worship, v. 265
- Thomas, monk, v. 294
- Thomas, of Neocaesarea, Inquisitor of the Paulicians, v. 330
- Throndracians (Sect), vi. 423. Their doctrines, vi. 424
- Thor, idol-god of the Norman, vi. 33
- Thorgeir, priest, vi. 46
- Thorwald, Icelandic, vi. 40
- Thrand, Norwegian province, vi. 37
- Thrudpert, v. 46
- Thurget, English ecclesiastic, vi. 29
- Thuringia, Boniface in, v. 63. Erroneous teachers there, v. 64
- Thyra, Harald Blaataand's mother, vi. 24
- Timotheus, Nestorian patriarch in Syria, v. 115
- Tonsure, of the clergy, v. 136
- Treuga Dei (truce of God), vi. 183
- Trinity, doctrine of, opposed by Mohammed, v. 111
- Tudun, prince of the Avars, v. 106
- Turholt (Thoroult), monastery in Flanders, vi. 9
- Tuventar, Slavonian prince, vi. 64
- Tythes, opposed by the Saxon, v. 97. Laws respecting, v. 130
- Tzanio, v. 331
- Ulric, bishop of Augsburg, vi. 179. Canonised, 238. His letter (perhaps not genuine), to Nicholas I., on celibacy, vi. 188
- Uction, extreme, vi. 237
- Unni, archbishop, vi. 24
- Upsala, central-point of pagan worship in the North, vi. 29
- Urban II., pope, vi. 345
- Uzziah, vi. 154
- Valombrosians, vi. 199
- Vassal, vassalage, influence of Christianity on, v. 127. Maximus on, 220
- Vice domini, v. 130
- Victor, Roman bishop, vi. 103
- Vilgard (Bilgard), heretic, vi. 443
- Virgilius, Bavarian priest, controversy with Boniface, v. 80. View of the Antipodes, 80. He is made bishop of Salzburg, 81
- Vitalianus, pope, v. 249
- Wala, abbot of Corbie, vi. 108
- Walafrid Strabo, vi. 226, 248, 269
- Walcher, vi. 326
- Waldrade, vi. 111
- Waragians, Norman tribe, vi. 76
- Waraskians, v. 48
- Warnefrid, see Paulus Diaconus
- Wazo, bishop of Liege, vi. 446. His conduct towards heretics, vi. 447
- Welanao (Wilna), vi. 2
- Wends, spread of Christianity among them, vi. 71
- Wenilo, of Sens, vi. 291
- Wenzeslav, of Bohemia, vi. 69
- Western church, history of its development, vi. 247-346. Its participation in the controversies of the Greek church, vi. 374-377
- Western Sects, vi. 430-447
- Wibert, arch-deacon at Toul, vi. 145
- Wibold, archbishop of Cambrai, vi. 187
- Wichin, bishop, vi. 64
- Wigbert, among the Frieslanders, v. 54
- Wigbert, abbot, v. 94
- Wilderod, archbishop of Strassburg, vi. 132
- Wilfrid, bishop of York, banished, labours in Sussex, v. 27
- Wilfrid, presbyter, v. 22
- Will, free, defence of Christianity against Mohammedanism on, v. 113
- Willebad, among the Frieslanders and Saxons, v. 103. In Wigmodia, Rome and Afternach, 104. Is made Bishop of Bremen, v. 105. His death, 105
- William, abbot, of Dijon, vi. 177, 199
- William the Conqueror, king of England, vi. 345
- Willibald, v. 58, 63
- Willibrord, presbyter, among the Frieslanders and Saxons, v. 54. Archbishop of Utrecht, 55. In Denmark and in Heligoland, v. 56. His death, 57
- Willimar, v. 42
- Williram, vi. 267
- Wilteburg, v. 55
- Winfrid, see Boniface
- Witiza, king of Spain, v. 152
- Witmar, monk, vi. 8
- Wittekind, v. 102. Consequences of his rebellion, v. 104
- Wittekind, monk, vi. 25

- Wladimir, Wassily, Russian prince, vi. 79
- Wolfgang, monk, vi. 82
- Works, external, Charlemagne on, v. 168.
False reliance in, v. 179
- Wratislav, duke of Bohemia, vi. 69
- Wulf, see Wulfach
- Wulfach, Stylite, v. 35
- Wulfram, bishop of Sens, among the Frieslanders, v. 55
- Wulfred, English ecclesiastic, vi. 29
- Wurzburg, bishopric there, v. 70
- Yago de Compostella, place of pilgrimage in Spain, vi. 166
- Yarl Hakon, Governor of Harald, vi. 34
- York, see Eboracum
- Yule, festival, vi. 32
- Zacharias, bishop of Anagni, vi. 389
- Zacharias, archbishop of Chalcedon, vi. 400
- Zacharias, pope, v. 68. His conduct towards Adalbert and Clement, v. 79. His conduct towards Virgilius, 80. His decision on the petition of Boniface, that Lull might be made Archbishop of Mentz, v. 85
- Zacharias, head of the Paulicians, v. 323
- Zephyrinus, Roman bishop, vi. 103
- Zöerard, Polish monk, vi. 85.
- Zwentibald, (Swatopluk), Moravian prince, vi. 63

PASSAGES FROM ANCIENT WRITERS.

EXPLAINED.

<p>Acta Sanctor. edit. Bolland. mens. Septbr. T. i. f. 544, vi. 86</p> <p>Adelmanni ep. Berengar. ed. Schmidt. p. 5, vi. 313</p> <p>Alcuin epp. ed. Froben. T. i. ep. 75, vi. 414</p> <p>Berengar, ep. ad. Ascelin. in operib. Lan- franc. ed. D'Achery, f. 19, vi. 319</p> <p>Berengar. de sacra coena in ed. Vischer p. 100, vi. 340</p>	<p>Libri Carolin. pag. 379, v. 308</p> <p>Phot. c. Manich. i. c. 7, p. 23, v. 339</p> <p>Photii epp. in ed. Montac. ep. 113, vi. 384, ep. 118, vi. 398, ep. 98, 398</p> <p>Rimberti vita Anschar. in Poetry monum. Germ. hist. T. ii. § 27, vi. 20</p> <p>Theodor. Studit. Antirhuetes ii. f. 84, vi. 351, ep. 151, vi. 366</p>
--	---

CRITICISM OF THE TEXT.

Dionys. Areopag. ep. iv. ad Caium, v. 237.

EMENDATIONS.

<p>Alcuini ep. 176, v. 133</p> <p>Alcuini ep. 37, v. 136</p> <p>Alcuin c. Felic. ii. f. 809, vi. 210</p> <p>Berengar. de sacra coena ed. Vischer. p. 36, vi. 315</p>	<p>Martene et Durand. Thesaurus novus anec- dotor. i. f. 196, vi. 316</p> <p>Michael Psellus <i>διάλογος περί ενεργείας</i> <i>δαιμόνων</i> ed. Gaulmin. p. 5, vi. 426</p> <p>Nicolaus i. ep. 2 ad Michaelem iii. in Har- duin. Concil. vi. f. 125, v. 308</p>
--	--

PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE.

<p>Genes. xix. 9, vi. p. 103</p> <p>Exod. xx., v. p. 267</p> <p>Deuteron. xxv., v. p. 77</p> <p>Joshua iv., v. p. 267</p> <p>1 Kings iii, vi. p. 86</p> <p>Psalms xviii. 40, 41, v. p. 166, xxxi. p. 179, lxviii. 30, v. p. 167, cxv. p. 239, cxvii. vi. p. 64, lxxxiii. 1, 2, vi. p. 90, xcvi. 7, p. 90, lxxxii. 1, vi. p. 103, xxii. 29, p. 123, xxxvii. 27, p. 194, lxxviii. 24, vi. p. 304, xxxix. 1, vi. p. 400</p>	<p>Isaiah, xlv. 7, v. p. 186</p> <p>Isaiah xl., vi. p. 350, lxiv. 4, p. 270</p> <p>Proverbs viii. 16, vi. p. 123</p> <p>Jeremiah xvii., vi. p. 211</p> <p>Ezekiel xiv. 14, vi. p. 222, xxxiii. 11, p. 281</p> <p>Daniel iv. 17, vi. p. 123</p> <p>Hosea xiii. 14, vi. p. 442</p> <p>Micah vi. 8, vi. 230</p> <p>Matthew vi. 22, v. p. 327, vii. 22, v. p. 17, 190, 324, viii., v. p. 259, viii. 12, v. p.</p>
--	---

- 324, x., vi. p. 98, x., v. p. 155, x. 23, p. 104, x. 20, vi. p. 253, xi. 19, v. p. 146, xii. 27, vi. p. 341, xii. 19, vi. p. 446, xiii. 29, v. p. 330, xv. 17, vi. p. 344, xvii. 19, vi. p. 231, xviii., vi. p. 169, xix. 6, vi. p. 382, xx. 28, vi. p. 281, xxii. 46, vi. p. 341, xxiii. 12, vi. p. 223, xxiii. 16, vi. p. 178, xxiii. 19, vi. p. 38, xxiv. 13, v. p. 86, xxv. 21, v. p. 160, xxvii. 7, vi. p. 250
- Mark vi., vi. p. 237, xiii. 32, v. p. 209
- Luke ii. 25, v. p. 172, x. 20, v. p. 16, xviii. 19, v. p. 207, xvi. 15, vi. p. 208, xi. 42, vi. p. 234, xx. 34, 35, vi. p. 435, xxii. 25, vi. 165
- John i. 9, v. p. 347, i. 11, v. p. 346, iii. 16, v. p. 207, v. 37, v. p. 333, x. 8, v. p. 346, x. 35, v. p. 209, xiii. 35, v. p. 17, xv. 26, vi. p. 65, xx. 17, vi. p. 213, iv. 21, vi. p. 230, vi. 54, vi. p. 274, xii. 35, vi. p. 341, iii. 10, vi. p. 313, vi. 37, vi. p. 356
- Acts iii. 13-15, v. p. 207, x. 38, v. p. 207, xv., v. p. 98, xx. 34, v. p. 98, iii. 21, vi. p. 336, xv. 7, vi. p. 382
- Romans ii. 23, vi. p. 232, viii. 24, v. p. 306, viii. 9, v. p. 312, viii. 32, v. p. 207, viii. 26, vi. p. 284, viii. 35, vi. p. 136, ix. 30, vi. p. 275, x. 8, v. p. 306, xii. 19, v. p. 167, xiii. 2, vi. p. 100, xiv. 3, v. p. 148
- I. Corinth. i. 10, vi. 396, iv. 11, v. p. 343, vi. 18, v. p. 334, vii. 27, vi. p. 382, vii. 2, vi. p. 151, viii. 8, vi. p. 305, ix. 27, v. p. 188, ix. 15-18, v. p. 98, x. 33, v. p. 159, x. vi. p. 412-416, xi. 6, p. 234, xii., v. p. 270, xiii., v. p. 278, xiv. 3, xiv., vi. p. 65, xv. p. 10, vi. p. 186
- II. Corinth. iii. 18, v. p. 306, v. 19, v. p. 207, v. 16, vi. p. 336-279
- Galat. i. 8, v. p. 270, ii. v. p. 349, iii. 13, v. p. 340, vi. 2-5, vi. p. 222, v. 2, vi. p. 285, iii. 6, vi. p. 214
- Ephes. v. 2, p. 207, iv., vi. p. 355
- Philipp. ii. 8, 9, v. p. 207, ii, 11, vi. p. 56
- Coloss. ii. 21, v. p. 349, ii. 8, vi. p. 197, ii. 21, vi. p. 429, ii. 15, v. p. 226, iv., vi. p. 56
- II. Thessalon. iii. 8, v. p. 99
- I. Timoth. v. 17, v. p. 160, v. 23, v. p. 189, ii., vi. p. 224, ii. 4, vi. p. 282, vi. 8, vi. p. 48
- II. Timoth. ii. -25, v. p. 330, ii. 14, v. p. 286
- Titus ii. 5, v. p. 313
- Hebrews ix. 13, vi. p. 103, xiii. 4, vi. p. 382
- James iv., vi. p. 123, v. 14, 15, vi. p. 237
- John ep. I., v. 16, vi. p. 59, ii. 3, vi. p. 232
- Revelation xxii. 17, v. p. 159

N.B.—The Indices to Vols. 1 and 2 will be found at end of Vol. 2, and to Vols. 3 and 4 at end of Vol. 4.



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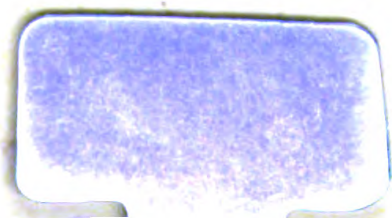
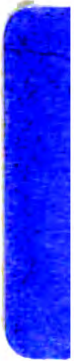
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