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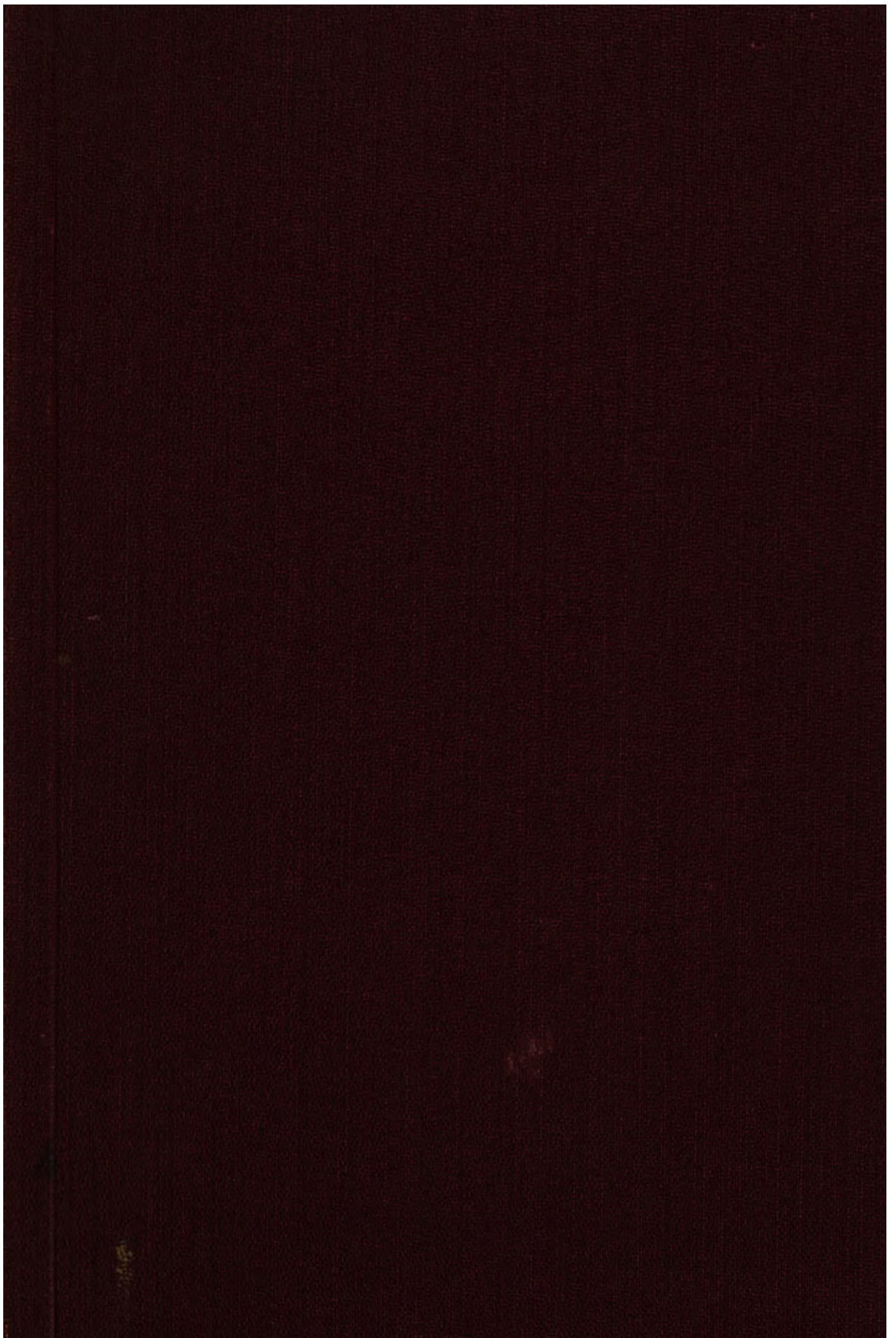
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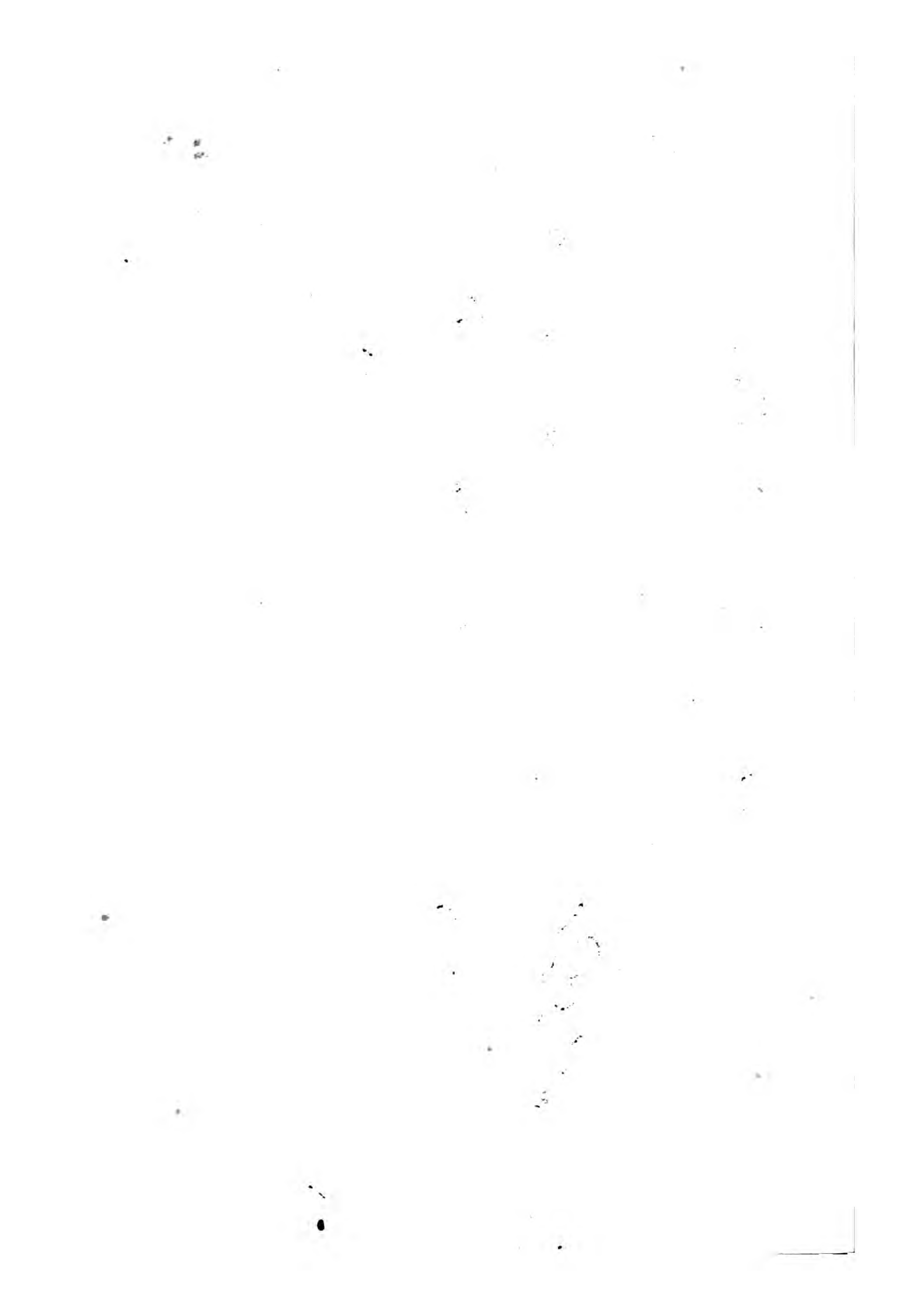


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# ST PETER NON-ROMAN

IN HIS

## MISSION, MINISTRY, AND MARTYRDOM

BY THE

REV. ROBERT MAGUIRE, M.A.,  
VICAR OF CLERKENWELL.



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## P R E F A C E.



A CHAIN of many links, if it is to have any effect upon the object intended, must be brought into direct contact with that object. If to move a ship, it must be attached or fastened to the ship ; if to any other object, it must be brought into connection therewith. For example, a train of many carriages may be ready to start, freighted with many passengers ; the engine with all its steam up. The bell rings, the signals fall, the shrill steam-whistle sounds, and the engine starts and whirls along at forty miles an hour ; but if that engine has not been attached by the coupling-irons *to the train*, the train and all its passengers are left behind !

The Atlantic cable consists of many links ; by it messages are sent across the ocean. It is not enough that it should be just such a length, or extend just so far, or be complete in all its parts. It may be perfect in all these, but if it is not attached, in its *first link*, to “ Heart’s Content,” or “ Valencia,” it



carries no message ! All the links, for that one want, are practically dead !

Now, that is just what this book is designed to show respecting the Papal Claims—that in working back, they *fail to touch* that point which is alleged to be the Source of all ! Thus, even though we should grant a long succession of Roman Bishops, Pontiffs, Popes,—yet so long as they claim “succession to St Peter,” and yet fail to connect their cable by its first link with Peter, their claim is naught, and fails to carry.

Even though we grant all that the Church of Rome says about the “Rock,” and about “St Peter” as the Rock ; and about “the Church,” as built upon the Rock,—still, if there is no loop on the Rock, whereby to fasten their chain, that Rock is plainly no strength to them.

Even though we were to admit all that the Church of Rome asserts about primacy, supremacy, papacy, infallibility, as connected with St Peter and at Rome,—yet until she connects St Peter with Rome, she has done nothing !

Therefore, if the purport of this book should seem to be but limited, it is because it professes to deal with *that first link*, and with that only. That link failing, all the rest of the chain is useless !

That which is “first” is indispensable in every-

thing. What would a building be without its first stone? or a tree without its first planting? or a railway without its first sod upturned? or a river without its spring? or a life without its first breath? or an education without its alphabet? So, what are the Papal Claims without—*Peter*? And at *Rome*?

In this book, I have no objection (if only for sake of argument) to allow everything to pass unchallenged, save one thing; that one thing I boldly challenge all through—namely, the Claim that St Peter was first Roman pontiff! This failing, all other Claims become a dead letter, and worthless.

The purport of this work is to show from authentic and unquestioned evidence:—

That St Peter was not Bishop of the Roman See.

That no early or sufficient evidence warrants us in saying that St Peter was ever in Rome at all.

That the Papal Claims, high and lofty as claims could possibly be, are founded not on faith, but on doubt; not on settled history, but on growing fable; and receive support from neither the Word of God, nor the testimony of man.

The whole effect of this argument is in the direction of the Spiritual Power of the Roman Pontiff—that power which has ever been the most effective arm of the Papal service, and which, owing to recent

political changes, is now the only strength on which the Papacy can depend. The Temporal Power has ceased; but the Spiritual Power continues. The Temporal Power had effect only in Rome and its suburbs; but the Spiritual Power extends throughout the world, and is owned, or at least claimed, in all lands. This latter power is reviewed in this book—as to its origin, its rise, the extent of its claims, and the force of its argument. Diligent search and research has been made in gathering the materials together; and I now send forth my book as a contribution to the literature of Truth; and trust it may have its use in the service of God, and in the instruction of my fellow-men.

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“ And this is all the Rock, whereof they boast,  
As Rome will one day find unto her cost.

. . . . .  
As Sin in Greece a Prophet was before,  
And in old Rome a mighty Emperor ;  
So now being Priest, he plainly did profess  
To make a jest of Christ's three Offices :  
From Egypt he took petty deities,  
From Greece oracular infallibilities,  
And from old Rome the liberty of pleasure,  
By free dispensings of the Church's treasure.  
Then, in memorial of his ancient throne,  
He did surname his palace, *Babylon !*”

—GEORGE HERBERT.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE PAPAL CLAIMS.

THE whole structure of the Papal authority is built upon the claim of "succession to St Peter." It is not the fact of residence at Rome that makes a Pope ; for pontiffs have ruled from Avignon as well as from the Vatican. It is not the possession of the temporal power that constitutes the pontificate ; for it was but late in history when the Roman bishops began to claim or to hold an earthly sovereignty, and we ourselves have lived to see a Pope bereaved of his temporal dominion. It is on the assumption that he is "Successor to St Peter," that the Roman pontiff holds the spiritual sway and sovereignty with which he is invested. For this purpose, in the Papal theory, St Peter must needs be somehow localised at Rome. Popes may reside where they will, or where they can ; but St Peter must, as a matter of Papal necessity, be associated with the city of the Cæsars. Roman Catholics allege that in the person of St Peter originated the race of their pontiffs, with Rome the family birthplace. On this plea the Roman pontiff is accounted as supreme bishop—"Bishop of bishops"

—“ Universal Bishop ; ” and it is on this same plea that he has recently been still further invested with the character of “ Infallibility.” Each of the pontifical claims may be opposed in detail ; but this is *the root* of the whole matter. If, then, the axe be laid to the root of the tree, all the branches must ere long lie withered and dead. The purpose of this book is to cut off the Papacy from connection with any such claim ; and to prove that the earlier history of the Christian community in Rome is in no way associated with, or indebted to, the labours of the apostle St Peter.

It will be necessary, first of all, to state explicitly what are the Roman Catholic claims in this matter. The Creed of Pope Pius IV. (tenth novel article) states as follows :—“ I promise and swear true obedience to the Bishop of Rome, *Successor of St Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles, and Vicar of Christ,” &c. Again, the whole question is referred back to its alleged foundation-stone, in the following statement of Cardinal Bellarmine, who would establish the *jus successionis* of the Roman pontiffs thus :—“ The right of succession of the Roman pontiffs *is founded on this*, that Peter placed his see at Rome, at the Lord’s command, and continued there until his death.” \*

Bellarmino subsequently alleges this as one of his proofs for the infallible character (*non posse errare*),

\* “ Quoniam autem jus successionis Pontificum Romanorum *in eo fundatur*, quod Petrus Romæ sedem suam, jubente Domino, collocavit, atque ibidem usque ad mortem sederit.”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 1.

not only of the Roman pontiff, but also of the Roman Church, thus :—“ It is also proved on this wise, that God himself ordered that the apostolic see of Peter should be fixed at Rome. Now, what God orders cannot be altered by man.” \*

Most of us would be extremely curious to know at what time, and on what occasion, this “ command ” of our Lord was given to St Peter. It is, however, scarcely necessary for us to spend any time on this matter, inasmuch as the earliest authority alleged by Bellarmine for this “ divine command ” is that of a Roman bishop of the fourth century—Marcellus—and this without any accurate reference, and without quotation ! †

Now, foundation-stones ought to be firmly and securely laid, beyond question, deeper than doubt, *commanding* confidence. But it is evident that Bellarmine holds this, his own statement, with a loose and uncertain hand, for he elsewhere drops from assurance to doubt, as when he says, “ It is *not improbable* that our Lord openly gave command, that Peter should fix his see at Rome, that the Roman bishop might absolutely succeed him. But however this may be, it is certain that this reason of succession is not from the

\* “ Hoc idem probari potest ex eo, quod Deus ipse jussit Romæ figi Apostolicam Petri sedem ; quæ autem jubet Deus, mutari ab hominibus non possunt.”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. iv., c. 4.

† “ And afterwards he (Bellarmine) asserts that Peter did so by command of Christ, and he cites as his authority a letter of Marcellus, which that Pope certainly did not write.”—SANDERSON ROBINS’ *Claims of the Roman Church*, p. 262.



first institution of the pontificate, as read in the gospel.”\*

Thus, on no less a claim than that of “divine right,” does Bellarmine profess to establish the succession of the Roman pontiffs—as from St Peter’s alleged episcopate at Rome.

In working out the particulars of the Roman Catholic argument, Bellarmine thus further states the indispensable requirements of this question:—  
“It is to be observed that four things are called in doubt—1. Whether Peter was at Rome? 2. Whether he died at Rome? 3. Whether he was bishop of Rome? 4. Whether he never resigned the Roman episcopate?”

In dealing with these questions, Bellarmine proceeds to particularise their value and importance respectively, thus:—

“Of these four, only the last is necessarily required, and is sufficient,” &c.

“For that the first is not required, nor would suffice, is plain, seeing that many Roman pontiffs never were at Rome at all, as Clement V.” (and five others named).

“That the second is not required, nor would suffice, many Roman pontiffs attest who died out of Rome, as Clement I.” (and six others named).

\* “Non est improbable Dominum etiam aperte jussisse, ut sedem suam Petrus ita figeret Romæ, ut Romanus episcopus absolute ei succederet. Sed quidquid de hoc sit, saltem ista ratio successionis non est ex prima institutione pontificatus, quæ in Evangelio legitur.”—  
BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 12.

“That the third is required, but would not suffice, because Peter was Bishop of Antioch, and transferred his seat elsewhere.

“Therefore the fourth alone is required, and is sufficient.” \*

It is of the first and last importance that we keep these “requirements” well in mind throughout our discussion of this question. Bellarmine most distinctly states that St Peter’s mere residence in Rome would not suffice to establish the Papal claims, nor yet his martyrdom there, even though both residence and martyrdom could be identified with the Imperial City. The alleged reasons are, that Peter was bishop of the Roman See; that his episcopate continued there even to the last; and that the pontiffs are his “successors”—on *these* grounds are the Papal pretensions built. In a word, Bellarmine insists upon St Peter’s Roman *episcopate* as a claim that is essentially necessary to be established; and he further pledges himself to this statement—“*He really sat at Rome for twenty-five years.*” †

We lay all the greater emphasis on these statements, because there must be no flinching from this essential requirement of Bellarmine. It is the twenty-five years, or nothing! The whole question turns on this; for it is on this theory the whole Papal system rests. From the second year of Claudius (A.D. 43)—

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 1.

† “Vere enim sedit Romæ annis xxv.”—*Ibid.*, lib. ii., c. 6.

this is the starting-point from which all proceeds ; and this is the date that is given by Eusebius, of whose testimony more by and by. It is not that St Peter may have come, or did come, at the last to Rome, and die there. This we dispute as a question of *fact* ; for as a question of *controversy* it is of no consequence one way or the other. The idea (even if it were a fact) of St Peter coming to Rome at the last, and dying there, would constitute him neither founder nor bishop of that Church, and could give no ground for the establishment of the Roman Catholic claims.

St Peter's residence in Rome (even if proved) would no more establish St Peter's supremacy, than St Paul's residence in Rome (of which we have an ample narrative) would establish that apostle's supremacy over the Church. Nor would St Peter's death in Rome (if *that* also were proved) give any right of precedence to that city ; for, surely, Calvary would, for a greater reason, claim such privilege for Jerusalem—a greater than Peter is here ! And thus, even on that score also, would Jerusalem, and not Rome, be “the mother of us all.” We have, happily, on our side, no theory to be subserved by this controversy ; but it calls in serious question the very *foundations* of the Roman Catholic system.

The Roman Claims, then, on this question, imperatively demand the following elements, and all associated with the name of Peter :—(1.) That the place (Rome) was marked out by the divine command ; (2.) that St Peter was bishop of that place ; (3.) that his

episcopate was without translation or removal to any other see; (4.) that it continued throughout a session of five and twenty years' duration; (5.) that his session was terminated by his martyrdom there.

Now, to be of any value or worth, these elements must all work in and coalesce harmoniously, consistently, and on authority unquestioned and unquestionable. Any doubt, incoherence, or uncertainty vitiates the claim, inasmuch as it is put forth, not as a merely incidental circumstance, but as a fundamental principle, essential and indispensable, as a foundation must always be to the building built upon it.

But to each and all of these elements we oppose a complete denial and refutation, and allege—(1.) That Rome was not thus marked out by the divine command; (2.) that St Peter was not bishop there; (3.) that the alleged continuance of the episcopate, and (4.) the matter of the twenty-five years' duration, are mere fable and fiction; and (5.) that no valid authority of the ancients connects St Peter's martyrdom with Rome. And when we shall have fully reviewed all these elements of the question, we shall be prepared to pursue the subject to its last resort, and to examine the grounds on which it is alleged that St Peter was ever in Rome at all.

We have no sooner entered on the consideration of this subject than we are met by the conflicting opinions and theories of Roman Catholic authors. Some, following Baronius and Bellarmine, boldly assert that St Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years;



others deny this lengthened episcopate, and simply claim the arrival of the apostle in Rome during the last year of his life, and allege his death in the Imperial City; while there are others who reject both of these, and hold that St Peter was never in Rome at all. The whole matter is involved in doubt, dispute, uncertainty, and confusion. Beyond the fact of St Peter's martyrdom, which we have every reason to believe in, according to our Lord's prediction (John xxi. 18), all the rest is simply unknown. The testimony of Spanheim sums this up in a single sentence:—"Peter the apostle was most certainly crowned with martyrdom, according to Christ's prediction; but it is doubtful whether he was crucified or beheaded; whether at Rome, as people greatly wish, or in Babylon; whether on the same day or in the same year with Paul, or on a different day or year. For there is no measure to the fables and doubtful stories." \* The truth of this last remark will appear more and more as we proceed with our review of this question.

Thus, for example, we shall find that Eusebius asserts the arrival of St Peter in Rome in the second year of the Emperor Claudius; but Valesius, the learned Roman Catholic commentator of Eusebius, shows this to have been impossible when tested by the narrative

\* " Petrus apostolus martyrio certissime coronatus, prædicente Christo (Joh. xxi. 18). Dubium vero an suffixus cruci, an decollatus; an Romæ, ut constanter volunt, an Babylone; an eodem die et anno cum Paulo, an diversis. Nec enim fabulis aut incertis narrationibus est modus."—F. SPANHEIM, *Introd. Sæc.*, i.

in the Acts of the Apostles.\* Lactantius,† writing in the same century as Eusebius (the fourth), asserts a very late date for St Peter's alleged Roman visit, bringing the apostle in merely for his martyrdom. Surely a difference of twenty-four years out of twenty-five is something startling, we might even say ridiculous. The whole question is one of conflicting dates and doubtful testimonies. It is plainly outside the record of the New Testament; as plainly it forms no accredited element of the history of the Church for the first three hundred years. The foundation-stone laid by Bellarmine is deposited on the shifting sands of extreme doubt and uncertainty, incapable of any absolute proof; yea, *against* evidence. What shall be said, then, for the structure that has been built thereon?

Where, then, shall we look for a certain groundwork, and a sure foothold and handhold in this matter? Most assuredly our first resort must be to the narrative of the Holy Scriptures. In the New Testament we have much of St Peter's life and ministry recorded. We have also the collateral history of St Paul, shedding its light upon the highway of the true history of St Peter, and casting its shadow upon the bypaths of mere tradition, as associated with that apostle's name. Between the narratives of the two apostles it is possible to construct a sufficiently ample

\* VALES. *in Euseb.*, lib. ii., c. 16.

† "Or whoever is the author of the 'Book of the Deaths of the Persecutors.'"—Dr LARDNER.

account of the lives and labours of both to show at least that St Peter must be excluded altogether from any personal share in the establishment or the administration of the Church in the city of Rome.

As to the origin of the Papal claims, as they now exist, and as they have existed for many centuries past, the following negative answers may at all events be given, before we enter on more positive proof. The claim of primacy, supremacy, infallibility, and such like, is derived:—

Not from Christ, our Lord. His own words were, “My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight” (John xviii. 36). Now, the Papal kingdom has been for centuries “of this world,” and *therefore* the Pope has had soldiers to fight with the carnal sword for the retention of the carnal or earthly kingdom. The kingdom of Christ was not so; it was intended to be a sovereignty over men’s hearts and consciences. His own example was designed to be a perpetual rule to all—“Is the servant above his master? or he that is sent above him that sent him?” And how unlike to Christ is he that calls himself the “Vicar of Christ,”—how unlike in pomp and circumstance, in temporal dominion; what diplomacies, what politics, what wiles of statecraft, what wars, revolutions, seditions, swords! All these on the one side, and none of these on the other!

Nor yet is it derived from St Peter. The Bible is wholly silent as to any supremacy belonging to that

apostle. Rather is the Bible eloquent the other way. If any apostle needed admonition more than the rest, it was St Peter. He was more forward and ready than the rest, but only to learn the lesson of humility by a fall. He was the one to walk unbidden on the waters, and he was the one to sink. He was the first to pledge himself offhand to his Master's cause, yea, even to death, and yet he was the one, and on very slight provocation, to deny his Lord. He was the first to draw the sword in his Master's defence (who needed no such defender), and he was the first to receive the rebuke, "Put up again thy sword into his place;" with this very significant sentiment superadded, "For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword" (Matt. xxvi. 52). It is also evident that the apostles had no idea of St Peter's supremacy; else how could the contention have arisen as to which of them should be the greatest—a contention which was at once (and ought to have been for ever) set at rest by the words of Jesus, showing the contrast between secular and spiritual offices—"Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. *But it shall not be so among you*" (Matt. xx. 25, 26); and again, "For one is your Master, even Christ, *and all ye are brethren*" (Matt. xxiii. 8).

## CHAPTER II.

### TESTIMONY OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THE New Testament narrative includes much of the life and ministry of St Peter, and yet more of the life and labours of St Paul. The two together constitute a chain of evidence, both positive and negative, by which the Roman claims in this controversy may well be tested. In the traditional story, the two apostles are spoken of as working together; in the Scripture narrative they are almost always separate and apart. In the Papal claims, it is St Peter that is personally and officially associated with Rome; in the New Testament narrative it is St Paul that is in all things the apostle of the Imperial City. At the end of their ministry, the Church of Rome would have them to be at the same place, and "in their deaths not divided;" and yet, so far as we can gather from the testimony of Scripture, the two apostles were at that period widely severed, both as to the sphere of their mission and the scene of their martyrdoms. And most assuredly the tidings we have in St Paul's own writings as to the last days of his eventful life, go far to prove that he had not the advantage of the presence or encourage-



ment of his brother apostle to support him when at last he was "ready to be offered, and the time of his departure was at hand" (2 Tim. iv. 6-10, &c.) The two narratives—of Paul and Peter—act and re-act the one upon the other; but they cannot, by any context or connection, be brought, for any length of time, into the same groove or channel of joint work in any place, and certainly not in the city of Rome.

The New Testament narrative of St Peter's apostleship, so far as it bears upon this subject, may be gleaned from the Acts of the Apostles, as well as from frequent allusions, positive and negative, in the Epistles of St Paul. It would be as follows:—On the day of Pentecost, among the many Jews and "devout men" (proselytes) who were present at Jerusalem, were "strangers of Rome" (Acts ii. 10). St Peter preached to these, as also to the rest—St Peter, not individually, but as the spokesman of the other apostles:—"But Peter, *standing up with the eleven*, lifted up his voice," &c. (Acts ii. 14). These Roman Jews would return home, bearing the "glad tidings" of the things they had both heard and seen on that foundation-day of the Christian Church. It cannot but be supposed that some influence of that day in due time reached the Imperial City and became the first germ of the gospel there. From the day of Pentecost the only mention we have of St Peter, until the conversion of St Paul, is limited to his apostolic labours in Jerusalem; and, subsequently to that event, he extended his ministry to Lydda, Saron, Joppa, &c.; but never as yet beyond

the Jewish frontier. His ministry was exclusively to the Jews, for as yet he had not realised the wider extent of the gospel message (Acts ix. 32-43).

It was at this stage of his ministry, while still tarrying at Joppa, that his mind was opened and expanded by the vision he saw in a trance, to conceive a wider scope for the power of the gospel than to the Jews only. His divine call to Cæsarea, to Cornelius, the Roman centurion, was as necessary for the opening of his own mind as it was for the enlightenment, through him, of his brethren the apostles, as to the enlargement of the field of Christian enterprise. On Peter's return to Jerusalem, he recited the events that had opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles, and a new era of Christian work began (Acts xi.) We next hear of St Peter in his imprisonment at the hands of Herod, and his miraculous deliverance; and at that point the record of his history stops for a while (Acts xii. 17).

When we next resume the narrative of St Peter, it is on the occasion of the celebrated council held in Jerusalem on the subject of circumcision (Acts xv.) On this occasion St Peter earnestly pleaded for the free and full admission of the Gentiles into the Christian covenant. Nevertheless, St Peter's own personal ministry seems to have been to the Jews rather than to the Gentiles; and that a divinely-appointed and mutually-recognised partition of the world was effected, and on this very occasion, too, between the two apostles, Peter and Paul, as in St Paul's words to the



Galatians—"But when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the gospel of the circumcision was unto Peter; for He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me toward the Gentiles" (Gal. ii. 7, 8). From and after this, the labours of St Peter were directed to the circumcision—the Jews. All that we read of the subsequent labours of these two apostles is consistent with this division of labour. Of St Paul we need not speak; and as to St Peter, though so little is recorded, yet we nowhere read (after this) of any labours of his among the Gentiles; his epistles are addressed chiefly to the Jews of the dispersion; and he writes from Babylon, at that time the residence of many Jews. But of this more by and by.

Now, within the period that had elapsed from St Peter's deliverance from prison and his appearance at the council at Jerusalem, the Roman Catholic theory lays the whole story of his going to Rome, but without the least sanction from any well-grounded facts. What shall we say to Cardinal Bellarmine's strange hypothesis, when he says, in reply to a very natural objection, "When Paul withstood Peter at Antioch (Gal. ii.), the council of Jerusalem had been held, and yet Peter had not been to Rome?' I answer, *he had gone, and had returned!*" ?\* This is, somewhat in advance, a specimen of Bellarmine's "proofs"—of his

\* "Respondeo, iverat et redierat."—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 7.

*assertions* rather; of which more, as our subject develops itself. When we shall have stated, in subsequent chapters of this work, the many and strange incidents that Romish tradition crowds into the interval, as associated with St Peter's alleged visit to Rome, we may well express our surprise that St Peter should, at the council, have made not the slightest allusion to any such "going" and "returning;" not to say anything of all the interval between—an interval which, on the Roman Catholic theory, would have been so signally spent in Rome! The Roman Catholic claims would fain have us to believe that the traditionary "twenty-five years" had begun; that St Peter was at that time "Bishop of Rome," with all the rights and claims and titles and supremacies and infallibilities belonging to the office. And yet St Peter did not call or convene the council; did not preside at it; did not pronounce the decree; did not send it forth to the church; and it was after this council, and, as it would seem, for something very like Peter's own personal infringement of its decree, that St Paul "withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed!" (Gal. ii. 11). Strange treatment this for the "Bishop of Rome," with his "pontificate" already begun! Why are we not here told (for this would be the time and place to tell) about St Peter's visit to Rome, about his conflict with Simon Magus there, and all the manifold traditions that time and superstition and design have woven as the foundation of the Roman claims? So, where God has not filled a blank with

His "oracles," man has presumed to fill it with fables!

In a word, the whole Scripture narrative is barren of any evidence as to this alleged visit of St Peter to Rome. Of the Roman Catholic assertion I would here (though somewhat in anticipation) quote the testimony of Schaff in his "History of the Apostolic Church," who says, "This view contradicts the plainest facts of the New Testament, and cannot stand a moment before the bar of criticism." \*

And this will appear all the more remarkable when contrasted with the large and full particulars given of the occupation of the field by St Paul. While the New Testament makes not one solitary reference to St Peter at Rome—early or late—the details of St Paul's intercourse with that Church, in person and by letter, are peculiarly significant in this controversy, as really leaving no room or place for any visit of St Peter to fit in, or naturally, or even by force, to be received into the narrative of the foundation of Christianity in Rome. And yet the Romish theory is, that St Peter went to Rome in the second year of Claudius Cæsar (say A.D. 43), and continued there for twenty-five years (till A.D. 68).

Now, it so happens that, with regard to this very interval, we have the fullest and most ample details. It was during this period that most of the New Testament was written, containing much of St Peter's personal life and ministry; and yet there is, throughout

\* SCHAFF'S *History of the Apostolic Church*, vol. ii., p. 25.

the whole narrative, not one solitary allusion to any such residence in Rome. All the greater stress may be laid on this, when we take into consideration the fact that during that period frequent reference is made in the New Testament to Rome and the Christian community there. How oft are the allusions to Rome occurring in the collateral history of St Paul! For example, during that period of twenty-five years, St Paul had at least six opportunities of communicating with or from Rome. Let us examine our subject in the light of these six occasions.

First of all, we would mention St Paul's Epistle to the Romans. The writing of this epistle is dated somewhere about A.D. 57, or, later still (as in the authorised version), at A.D. 60; that is, from fourteen to seventeen years after the commencement of St Peter's alleged twenty-five years' episcopate. Now, what light does this epistle cast on our subject? It was written in advance of St Paul's own personal visit to the Imperial City. It is written without any apology for any supposed interference with the sphere of another man's labour. Indeed, it distinctly states that the apostle would not "build upon another man's foundation" (xv. 20). The apostle plainly ignores anything like an apostolic visit to Rome hitherto, and looks forward to his own projected sojourn and ministry, "That I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end ye may be established" (i. 11); and he speaks all through the epistle without making the least allusion to any past or present ministry of St Peter.



But the most conclusive evidence of all is that which is gathered from the Epistle to the Romans, in which, at the conclusion of the epistle, St Paul sends so many greetings and salutations to the leading members of that Church, but the name of St Peter is not among them. We can count as many as twenty-seven persons mentioned by name, and others mentioned by description, in that concluding chapter; but of St Peter, by name or description, no mention at all! Is it reasonable to suppose that St Peter was then in Rome, and its bishop too, and that he would have been passed over in silence by that very apostle whom he himself calls his "beloved brother Paul?" (2 Pet. iii. 15). There would be something so very unlike St Paul's usual manner in this as to constitute the omission of all or any allusion to the name of St Peter as a positive argument that St Peter had never set foot in the Roman metropolis, and still more as an argument against his alleged episcopate there for so many years before. This will appear all the more forcibly when we consider Bellarmine's great concern on the subject of "the salutations" in the Epistle to the Romans—a concern which proves how vital he considers that argument to be.

Bellarmino labours very sedulously to refute this argument from "the salutations." He argues thus:— (1.) "That it would equally follow that John and James were not respectively bishops of Ephesus and Jerusalem, because they are not saluted by name, the one in the Epistle to the Ephesians and the other in

that to the Hebrews.”\* But the Cardinal gains nothing by this; for, apart from other reasons that might be mentioned, there are no salutations at all included in either of these epistles, the Ephesians or the Hebrews. But in the Epistle to the Romans the apostle makes it quite an element, a feature, of his communication to enumerate many names of the members of the Church in Rome.

And yet again (2.) Bellarmine continues the struggle:—“Moreover, I say that Paul did not order Peter to be saluted, because he wrote his epistle at a time at which Peter had returned from Rome, and was engaged in Syria!”† It is very surprising how conveniently Bellarmine maps out St Peter’s journey to suit his own convenience! We have just seen how he makes Peter to have “gone to Rome,” and to have “returned” in time for the council at Jerusalem; and now, in order to account for the omission of his name from the salutations in the Epistle to the Romans, he brings him once more back to Syria! Verily, Bellarmine has full command of the board, and moves his men at pleasure! But, even supposing the return of the apostle from Rome, would not St Paul have been led to make some allusion to his labours thus for a

\* “Nam sequeretur, Johannem non fuisse episcopum Ephesi, neque Jacobum Hierosolymis, quia Paulus scribens ad Ephesios, et ad Hebræos, non meminit Johannis et Jacobi.”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 7.

† “Deinde dico, Paulum non jussisse Petrum salutari, quia scripsit epistolam eo tempore, quo Petrus redierat ex Roma, et versabatur in Syria.”—*Ibid.*

time suspended? This would be consistent with the apostle's manner in other epistles. Thus, he comforts the Philippians by the promised return of Epaphroditus (Phil. ii. 28), and associates the name of Timothy with the Church of Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 2), and Epaphras with Colosse (Col. i. 7), and Apollos with Corinth (1 Cor. iii. 6). Surely the apostle who was thus large-hearted and generous in acknowledging fellowship of labour in other Churches, would not have withheld his acknowledgment of Peter's help in Rome, *if* that apostle had in any way contributed (and especially by an official residence of so many years) to the establishment of the Christian community there!

But it is evident that Bellarmine's mode of dealing with this argument is not regarded as sufficient, even by Roman Catholics. The Rheimist annotators have added their interpretation also. Their account of this matter is contained in their "note" appended to Romans xvi. 16, thus:—

*“ Salute one another.—Never sectmasters made more foul or hard shifts to prove or defend falsehood than the Protestants; but in two points, about St Peter specially, they pass even themselves in impudency. . . . And so the omitting to salute him can prove no more but that then he (Peter) was not in Rome; but it proveth not so much neither, because the apostle might, for respect of his dignity and other the Church's affairs, write unto him special letters, and so had no cause to salute him in this common epistle;*



or how know they that this epistle was not sent enclosed to St Peter, to be delivered by his means to the whole Church of the Romans in some of their assemblies? It is very like it was recommended to some one principal man or other that is not here named; and *twenty causes there may be, unknown to us, why he saluted him not!* ”—(See *Rheimist Test.*, Rom. xvi.)

Yes, “twenty causes;” perhaps more! but this is all of no avail. The fact stands uncontradicted, yea, acknowledged, and withal unaccounted for, that St Paul sent many salutations to the Christians in Rome, but none to Peter! Who would write a theological letter to Rome now and ignore in it the existence of the Pope? or what ecclesiastical authority would indite a public letter to the Church of England, and make no mention in it of the Archbishop of Canterbury? From St Paul’s Epistle to the Romans it stands confessed that, up to the date of its writing, St Peter had personally taken no part in the formation or instruction of that Church.

And yet again, St Paul wrote at least five of his epistles *from* Rome to Churches or individuals in other places, viz., to Philemon, the Colossians, the Ephesians, the Philippians, and, last of all, his second Epistle to Timothy. Throughout most of these he makes frequent allusion to his fellow-Christians in Rome, and yet never a word about St Peter! Here, again, Bellarmine, after suggesting all sorts of expedients by way of escape from the difficulty, at last

falls back upon his old resort, that neither during the time of St Paul's imprisonment was St Peter resident in Rome!\* Then, will Bellarmine inform us as to *when* St Peter *was* in Rome? At every point of contact of Scripture with the Papal claims, St Peter is found to be mysteriously and ominously absent. For example, for the council of Jerusalem, St Peter must needs be brought back from Rome! When St Paul writes to the Romans, St Peter has again somehow departed! and when St Paul writes *from* Rome during his two years' residence there, St Peter has again withdrawn himself from the Imperial City! And yet once more is he absent when Paul, during his second imprisonment, and shortly before his death, writes his second Epistle to Timothy! One stands aghast at this free handling of St Peter's locomotion by the Roman Cardinal! And now that we have heard so much of St Peter's *absence* from Rome, is it not time for the Cardinal to fix some period of his *presence* there, consistently with the New Testament narrative and with the Papal claims of the twenty-five years' episcopate?

The second Epistle to Timothy yields its own special contribution of evidence on this question. This is allowed to be the last of St Paul's epistles, written during his final imprisonment in Rome, and a short time before his death. In this epistle he details many of the

\* " Responderi posset, eo tempore quo Paulus Romam pervenit, et quo scripsit eas epistolas, Petrum non fuisse Romæ."—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 8.

harder circumstances of his sufferings for Christ and the gospel's sake; and among these the following:—"Only Luke is with me" (iv. 11). Where was St Peter then? And again: "At my first answer no man stood with me, but all men forsook me: I pray God it may not be laid to their charge" (iv. 16). Does this charge and guilt rest upon Peter? Did he, if present, forsake his brother Paul in his affliction, and thus once more prove faithless? Bellarmine feels the weight of this argument, and attempts to refute it by saying that "Peter was not able to assist Paul, seeing that he was himself not less hateful to Cæsar than Paul was."\* But this is not so; for nowhere do we read, even in the traditionary tales, of any close imprisonment of Peter in Rome. Tradition makes him to be free, and even as having influence with Nero; out and about, accompanied by his wife and his daughter; and quite in a position to express at least sympathy with his brother Paul. It was not from prison, but from an attempt to escape by flight, that Peter is represented, in the tradition, as proceeding to his death.

And how strongly, all this time, does the inspired narrative of St Paul's connection with Rome contrast with the traditional connection of St Peter with that city! St Paul—himself a Roman citizen—the apostle of the Gentiles (Rom. xi. 13)—is specially interested in the matter of Rome by meeting Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth, when banished by the edict of Clau-

\* "Cum ipse non minus Cæsari inuisus esset quam Paulus." — BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 8.

dius (Acts xviii. 2); forms an intention of going thither (Acts xix. 21); writes an epistle to Rome; has already many friends there, whom he salutes with greetings (Rom. xvi.); is divinely commissioned to bear witness for the gospel at Rome (Acts xxiii. 11); at length is, by a remarkable series of providences, conducted thither (Acts xxvii., xxviii.); is affectionately met and welcomed by companies of Christians on his way; finds the Jews in Rome (St Peter's proper charge, *if* he had been already for many years in the Imperial City) quite ignorant of the merits of Christian doctrine, almost ignorant of the very name of Paul, regarding the Christian Church as a "sect" that was "everywhere spoken against," and desiring to learn something, and as though for the first time, about it (Acts xxviii. 17-22); meets with success hitherto unknown in Rome; propels the gospel into the very "palace" and "household" of Cæsar (Phil. i. 13; iv. 22); the once dispirited members "waxing confident" by his bonds (Phil. i. 14); in poverty, and suffering want, and indebted to the bounty of the Philippian Church for his means of support (Phil. iv. 10). Now, where in all this can we find room or place for St Peter's interposition, much less for any claim to a twenty-five years' residence, or any result thereof? At the date of St Paul's arrival in Rome, on his appeal to Cæsar, St Peter would, according to the Roman Catholic theory, have been bishop there for as long as eighteen years; and with what result?—only to leave the Jews of Rome to that day ignorant of the doctrines



of the Christian "sect!" And again, on St Paul's final visit, St Peter would be accomplishing the alleged "years of Peter"—twenty-five; and with this still worse result, to leave Paul friendless and forlorn, without encouragement or support, the lone witness of the Lord, as in a strange city! Would this be the likely issue of a twenty-five years' episcopate on the part of Peter? The Roman theory cannot point out one single occasion or circumstance of St Peter's presence, nor one act of his co-operation with St Paul, at Rome. This, surely, is not a consistent theory. It answers to nothing that we read in the New Testament narrative; yea, it is incompatible with the whole recorded history of the earlier days of the Roman Church, and especially of St Paul's connection with it and with its members.

Nor must we omit the argument that may be gathered from St Peter's own epistles. His first epistle is addressed to no Western Church or Churches, but to the "dispersed" throughout the provinces of Asia Minor (1 Pet. i. 1). It is written from Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13), and not from Rome. His second epistle was written shortly before his death (i. 14), and evidently to the same places or persons as the former letter:—"This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you" (iii. 1). In neither of these epistles does the apostle make the slightest allusion to Rome. And yet we are gravely required to believe that journeys to and from Rome had been made by the apostle; and the Church founded there by his means; and a

last journey about to be taken thither; and all the time not the least shadow of allusion to any such circumstances in the epistles of St Peter! If tradition has been so eloquent on this period, why is Scripture so very silent respecting it? If Bellarmine writes so much about it, and builds so much upon it, why does St Peter himself say just nothing at all—not a word—about Rome, or any mission, ministry, or martyrdom, on his part, as connected, or likely to be connected, with the Imperial City?

It now remains for us to ask, in the light of the Scripture narrative, such questions as these:—If this matter of St Peter's connection with Rome was designed to be of such vital importance to the Church universal; if the *jus successionis* of the pontiffs was to be dated from it; if the whole chain was to receive its authority and life, in every link of it, from this beginning,—is it reasonable to suppose that it would be just that one point on which the Scripture narrative would yield no evidence, yea, maintain an unbroken silence, and give no solitary sign to authenticate it?

We have thus examined the narrative of the New Testament on this subject, and have found no evidence to support the Papal claim; yea, we find a large and varied evidence *against* it. Whither, then, shall we next direct our steps, for further search? We shall extend our inquiries into the age next following that of the apostles, and see what testimonies may there be yielded on this topic. But through what kind of country are we about to pass? If only to induce a

proper spirit of caution, let me place upon record here a preliminary “note of the way” from Rome’s great annalist, Cardinal Baronius, who writes thus as to the character of evidence likely to be derived from the records of the post-apostolic age. His words are these :—

“As to the history of the apostles after they once separated, we are quite in the dark (*res perobscura est*). For as (with the exception of our canonical Scriptures) acts and writings that pass under the names of the apostles are known to be supposititious, and as nothing that has been related about the apostles by real and trustworthy writers is now to be found at all in its original and uncorrupted form, we are in despair of being ever able to ascertain anything that really and truly took place.” \*

This, it must be confessed, does not look very hopeful. It seems to be like entering a dark tunnel, feeling one’s way, and groping in the dark. Let us not forget, however, that we leave light behind us—in the testimony of the Holy Scriptures. Let us ever look back on this, and we shall find that it is strong enough to propel its rays through the darkness of the ages following, and to cause us all the more to prize its aid, and to walk in the light thereof.

\* BARONIUS, *Annal. in A.D. 44*, par. 42.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

WE have already stated the nature and extent of the Roman Claims on this question. We have examined and reviewed the apostolic history, and have ascertained that the Roman Claims have no groundwork or sanction there. The New Testament narrative furnishes not one single hint or idea of any such presence, or any presence at all, of St Peter in Rome. We are now about to proceed, in our review, to the age next following that of the apostles, and are about to make search for some evidence there, if such can be found, that would seem to suggest any such residence as is alleged for St Peter in the Roman metropolis. Let us endeavour to keep in mind the cautionary note of the way, quoted from Baronius at the conclusion of the preceding chapter ; and, considering we are about to grope our way through darkness, let us be all the more careful and wary. Above all, let us take care that we lose not sight, for a single moment, of the light shed forth by the narrative of the Scriptures. That light will cast its ray of interpretation on all we meet, and will make all clear that else may seem but

dark. And if we thus extend our inquiry beyond the range of the Scripture narrative, it is because of the *historical* character of our subject; and we read on, in the records of the Church, simply to ascertain whether there is anything that could at all mitigate the decisiveness of the New Testament narrative, or supply any blank place that the Scripture story may have left unfilled. And I think we shall find that, whatever may be contained in the history following next after the apostolic age, everything will be found to be not only strongly confirmatory of the positive statements of the Scriptures respecting St Peter, but also exceedingly corroborative of the fact that, throughout the whole Scripture narrative, there is neither place nor power attributed to that apostle in connection with the Imperial City.

Now, in such an historical review, next after the Holy Scriptures we would naturally look to those who are called the "Apostolic Fathers." These were Clement, Polycarp, Ignatius, Barnabas, and Hermas. In the writings of these Fathers are preserved to us almost the only records we have of the first two centuries after Christ; that is, besides the Holy Scriptures. Now, within the writings of these men is there any evidence as to St Peter's residence or episcopate at Rome? any evidence corroborative of the Papal Claims? *Not a single sentence!*

And this is all the more damaging to the Roman Claims, inasmuch as Clement was St Paul's friend in Rome (mentioned Phil. iv. 3), and must have been St

Peter's friend too, *if* St Peter had been Bishop of Rome. Clement was himself the third Bishop of Rome, as Irenæus testifies, naming Anacletus second, and Linus *first*. (I am perhaps anticipating, but I cannot help it; yet such is the succession of the Roman episcopate as given by Irenæus, plainly excluding St Peter altogether from the *episcopal* office in Rome; and in whatever he does say of St Peter's *alleged* visit to Rome, he always couples him with St Paul. But we reserve the full consideration of Irenæus until we have arrived at the proper period. This is only in passing.) Well, Clement, as Bishop of Rome, writes a letter to the Corinthian Church; and one would surely expect to find in that epistle some information about St Peter, if he had spent twenty-five years of his life in Rome, and as its episcopal head, or even if he had died there. And yet Clement of Rome writes nothing of the kind; not even that he came into the West at all. The same omission of all reference to any Roman connection on the part of Peter is noticeable here as in the Scriptures. Yea, and just as in the case of the Scripture narrative, it becomes positive evidence in our favour. There is an allusion to St Peter, and a yet larger mention of St Paul, in Clement's epistle. I quote it:—Clement is speaking of the brave sufferers of the old dispensation; he then proceeds to those of his own times:—

“ But, not to insist upon ancient examples, let us come to those worthies that have been nearest to us, and take the brave examples of our own age. Through

zeal and envy, the most faithful and righteous pillars of the Church have been persecuted, even to the most grievous deaths. Let us set before our eyes the holy apostles. Peter by unjust envy underwent, not one or two, but many sufferings; till at last, being martyred, he went to the place of glory that was due unto him. For the same cause did Paul in like manner receive the reward of his patience. Seven times he was in bonds; he was whipped, was stoned; he preached both in the East *and in the West*, leaving behind him the glorious report of his faith; and so, having taught *the whole world* righteousness, and for that end travelled even to the utmost bounds *of the West*, he at last suffered martyrdom, by the command of the governors, and departed out of the world, and went unto his holy place, being become a most eminent pattern of patience unto all ages." \*

Now, in this there are many points to be noted; that is, in the light of the Roman Catholic pretensions respecting St Peter. Clement, writing from Rome, and as its bishop, to the Corinthians, merely mentions the fact of St Peter's martyrdom, but associates it with no particular place; he mentions also the martyrdom of St Paul, and states that it was "before the governors," a phrase which has always been interpreted as the governors of Rome. Clement pointedly alludes to the fact that St Paul had preached "both in the East and *in the West*" (by which he also means

\* CLEMENS ROMANUS, 1 *Ep. Cor.*, c. 5 (quoted from Archbishop Wake's edition).

Rome), but makes no allusion to any preaching or ministry of St Peter there. That is, St Paul had preached in the East, as St Peter also did; but he preached also in the West, which St Peter did not. And if St Peter had travelled "*to the West*," as well as St Paul, why would Clement withhold that fact in the case of St Peter, which he causes to redound so greatly to the praise of his brother apostle? Moreover, why should Clement have thus enlarged so much more on St Paul than on St Peter? And why thus localise the ministry and martyrdom of the one and not of the other? Was it not because St Paul's life and death were associated with Rome, while no such local association would attach to the memory of St Peter? And would it not also arise from the fact that Clement, one of St Paul's successors, would feel more locally interested in the Roman labours of the Apostle of the Gentiles? On this testimony as to St Peter's martyrdom, I may here quote the words of Salmasius:—"Nor does he (Clement) say in what place this happened, for this was then not known."\*

Nor is any allusion made to any residence of St Peter at Rome in any other of the Apostolic Fathers—neither in Polycarp, nor Ignatius,† nor Barnabas, nor

\* "De Petro nihil late, sed simpliciter, cum tamen de eo prius narrationem instituerit, martyrium esse passum perhibet. Nec dicit quo in loco hoc illi contigerit, quia scilicet hoc tunc ignorabatur."—SALM., *De Primatu*, p. 15.

† We can pay no regard to Bellarmine's appeal to the testimony of Ignatius, who, in his Epistle to the Romans, observes—"I do not, as Peter and Paul, command you. They were apostles, I am a condemned man; they were free, but I am even to this day a servant."—*Ep. to*



Hermas. Here, then, are the next links of the chain of evidence completely barren of any mention or justification of the Roman Catholic Claims.

And no assertion having been made, during all this time, of any such residence or episcopate, there could have been, of course, no denial of it. If, therefore, we are asked "to adduce the authority of any one ancient writer in opposition" to the Romish theory, we are asked to do what is inconsistent with the law of evidence. The theory did not exist, had not been started; and therefore could not have been "opposed." We have sought for evidence in the Scriptures; we have now advanced the search a further stage, into the writings of the Apostolic Fathers; and yet no sign or intimation that St Peter had any connection with Rome; but every allusion, every incident, every evidence, tending rather to the contrary.

*Rom.*, sec. 4. A cause must be hardly driven for support, when it grasps at such a straw as this—the mere mention of the names of Peter and Paul together, without any allusion whatsoever to any time, or place, or circumstance, or topic in debate on this question. It is but due to Bellarmine to say, that he can scarcely mean to set this forth as a serious argument; for, regarding the value of the quotation to his purpose, he says that in these words Ignatius only "*seems to allude* (videtur alludere) to the death of the apostles."—*De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 3. Still Bellarmine has quoted the name of Ignatius in support of his theory, and has encouraged others, since his time, to do the same, though his copyists generally omit to adduce the words of the quotation—which, however, makes all the difference.



## CHAPTER IV.

### EUSEBIUS—VALUE OF HIS TESTIMONY.

OUR review of the early authorities of the Christian Church has already extended over a wide and important range of testimony—from the narrative of the Holy Scriptures to the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. In all we have found the same silence respecting St Peter, in connection at least with Rome. And, indeed, when mention of his death is made at all, as by Clement of Rome, it is without any reference to the Imperial City; while the same paragraph distinctly localises St Paul's martyrdom, and other circumstances of the later days of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

For evidence as to the history of the Christian Church for the first three centuries, independently of the narrative of the New Testament, we are for the most part indebted to the writings of Eusebius, who wrote about A.D. 325. As the name of Eusebius has already been quoted in this work, and will be quoted further still, I may as well state here somewhat respecting the value attaching to his "Ecclesiastical History." Eusebius is accounted, and is sometimes

called, "the Father of Ecclesiastical History," because he was the first to undertake to write a narrative of the events of the Church; and indeed it is greatly to the cost of early Christian history that this is only too true. Writing as he did in the fourth century, it is obvious that if he was the first writer of the record of events, much uncertainty must attach to all the period intervening from the time of the apostles to the age of Eusebius. This has been the cause of much doubt and difficulty respecting the earlier ages of the Christian era. We have, doubtless, had proof enough of this in the review of this controversy respecting St Peter. Upon such a groundwork, however, of doubt and uncertainty, the Church of Rome has chosen to lay the main foundations of her system.

True history must be a matter of contemporary writing, while the actors and the witnesses are still alive to verify the tale. The tide of history must be taken as it flows. And, even then, its narrative is open to criticism; and, under the scrutiny of contemporary criticism, imperfections are supplied, inaccuracies rectified, prejudices corrected, and events settled upon a solid basis of truth and certainty. Heavy arrears are inconsistent with a correct account of things. The fact of centuries passing away without record or arrangement of their transactions, means accumulation; and accumulation, of that kind, and for so long a time, means "moth and rust;" decay, injury, and loss; and "thieves breaking through to steal;" and everything that is inconsistent with a

due collection of materials, and a wholesome “digestion” of the same. These drawbacks and difficulties were just those obstacles that Eusebius had to contend against in writing his “Ecclesiastical History.”

When Eusebius undertook to write the history of the Church, he found but scanty materials made ready to his hand. Of written books there were but few, and these considerably corrupted or partially lost. He was therefore driven to gather his information as best he could. He drew largely on the *tradition* of his age—unhappily too far removed from the apostolic times to insure accuracy or correctness. The consequence was, that he opens his History with a very fitting and becoming apology, which, after all, gives as good an estimate of the value of his writings as can be desired. In the opening chapter of his “Ecclesiastical History” Eusebius thus introduces himself to his readers:—

“But here, acknowledging that it is beyond my power to present the work perfect and unexceptionable, I freely confess it will crave indulgence, especially since, as the first of those that have entered upon the subject, we are attempting a kind of *trackless and unbeaten path*. Looking up with prayer to God as our guide, we trust, indeed, that we shall have the power of Christ as our aid, though we are *totally unable* to find even the *bare vestiges* of those who have travelled the way before us; unless, perhaps, what is only presented in the *slight intimations*, which some in different ways have transmitted

to us in certain *partial narratives* of the times in which they lived," &c.\*

This is a true and honest statement of the historian, both as to the drawbacks and difficulties of his path, and the scantiness of materials at his disposal for the construction of his narrative. We honour and respect him all the more for the unpretending modesty with which he introduces his labours to the world. But we must not forget to carry the thought of this acknowledged imperfection all through our study of the records of his History; or, as it has been well expressed by Daillé, in his work on the writings of "the Fathers:"—“And this was the cause of so much trouble to Eusebius in the beginning of his history, who had little or no light to guide him in his undertaking; treading, as he saith, ‘in a new path, unbeaten by any that had gone before him.’” †

It will further help us to a right appreciation of the labours of Eusebius, if we quote the testimony of the Roman Catholic historian Dupin on this matter. Dupin was, as the title-page of his work informs us, “Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Paris.” In his review of the History of Eusebius, he states as follows:—

“That, for the most part, those authors and their works which were more ancient than Eusebius have been lost since his death by the injury of time; and therefore we are mightily obliged to him, who hath

\* EUSEB., *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. i., c. 1.

† DAILLÉ on *The Right Use of the Fathers*, c. i.

preserved in his History, not only the memory of those authors, but some considerable fragments of their works. In short, without the History of Eusebius, we should scarce have any knowledge, not only of the history of those first ages of the Church, but even of the authors that wrote at that time, and their works, since no other writer but he has given an account of these things. . . . Nevertheless, it must be confessed, that even the History of Eusebius is not altogether so perfect as were to be wished, for it is not written smoothly, *neither is it always exact.*" \*

It must also be borne in mind, that many valuable and useful criticisms have been passed on the writings of Eusebius in the learned work of Valesius, a distinguished Roman Catholic writer, who issued an edition of the "Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius, with his own "Annotations" thereon. The testimony of Valesius will be frequently quoted throughout this work; and will be all the more telling on those who adhere to the Roman theory, inasmuch as he is a strong advocate for St Peter's connection with Rome; though not as bishop there.

Now, over against the confessedly imperfect histories of man, we have the genuinely true history of the New Testament. No such drawbacks occur in this. Here we recognise the pre-eminent providence of God, which has presided over both the authorship

\* In his note on this last remark, Dupin instances many inaccuracies in the History of Eusebius; and, among others, he mentions, as a class, those "which he committed by taking things upon hearsay."  
—DUPIN, *Eccl. Writ.*, vol. i., p. 154.



and the preservation of the Holy Scriptures. While the memorials and records of the post-apostolic age have been lost or tampered with, no such misadventure has befallen the Word of God. And is not this, in itself, as a voice speaking to us, and bidding us take heed, lest we should allow the narrative of the Scriptures to be negated or opposed by anything that may be alleged from the insufficient testimony of the after-ages of the Church? Whatever credit may attach to the narratives as given by Eusebius, it is plain they cannot compete with the histories recorded in the New Testament. Traditional tales must never be allowed to displace or supplant the inspired records of the apostolic labours—whether at Rome or elsewhere. Uncertainty must always yield to certainty; and that which is human to that which is divine. Besides, these traditions are by far too late to carry any weight of evidence, to any further settlement of the question than as the Scripture narrative has left it. With this additional note of warning we now proceed to the next stage of our review.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE GROWTH OF THE TRADITION.

WE have in the preceding chapters been pointing out the utter silence of Holy Scripture on the subject of St Peter's alleged connection with Rome—the fulness of the Scripture narrative respecting St Paul's relationship to the Christian Church in that city—circumstances and allusions in St Paul's history so frequent and so full as to enable us almost to construct the earlier history of the Church in Rome, and certainly to the *exclusion* of St Peter's personal presence altogether. We pursued the review into the age immediately following that of the apostles; and in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers we searched, but equally in vain, for any testimony that would support the Roman Catholic view. The testimony quoted from Clement, himself a bishop of the Church in Rome, was precisely to the same effect as that of the Scripture narrative, excluding all idea of St Peter's connection with Rome, while at the same time laying great stress on the fact of St Paul's connection with that Church. Beyond the age of the Apostolic Fathers we proposed to extend our inquiries, which we now

accordingly proceed to do. Let us, however, bear well in mind the extract already quoted from Rome's chief annalist, Baronius, as to the extreme uncertainty attaching to the history of the apostles after we have left the beaten track of the inspired narrative ;—“ *res perobscura est* ” are the Cardinal's words, with others much more strong ; words of caution as to how we accept the traditionary tales that have been built upon the silence and darkness of an age that had no historian to chronicle its transactions—a period which has been left almost without contemporary record of any of its events.

We now proceed to a very important branch of this subject—the Growth of the Tradition. To many it will be an interesting study to trace the natural history of a story on which so vast a fabric has been erected, and such large pretensions built.

The first stone of this strange tradition seems to have been unwittingly laid by Justin Martyr, as quoted by Eusebius. It will be seen by the quotation itself that the story as given by Justin is altogether unconnected with any allusion to St Peter, either at Rome or elsewhere. The testimony, as given by Eusebius, is in substance as follows :—

“ That Simon Magus came to Rome, and by his insidious artifices attached many to his views. That this is attested by Justin, who was one of our distinguished writers, not long after the times of the apostles, the reader may see for himself, in the first

defence of our religion, addressed to Antonine, where he (Justin) writes thus—‘ And after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, certain men were suborned by demons as their agents, who said that they were gods. These were not only suffered to pass without persecution, but were even deemed worthy of honours by you. Simon, a certain Samaritan of the village called Githon, was one of the number who, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, performed many magic rites by the operation of demons, was considered a god in your imperial city of Rome, and was honoured by you with a statue as a god in the river Tiber (on an island) between the two bridges, having the superscription in Latin, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, which is, To Simon the Holy God; and nearly all the Samaritans, a few also of other nations, worship him, confessing him as the supreme God.’ . . . Such is the testimony of Justin, with which also Irenæus coincides.” \*

Now, in this testimony, it will be observed, there is no reference to St Peter at all. It is evident that Justin Martyr, though writing “not long after the times of the apostles,” had not learnt to connect the name of St Peter with Rome, even when he speaks of that which has since become the very basis of the tradition—the alleged visit of Simon Magus to the Imperial City. But we cannot accept even this testimony of Justin. Albeit he was so near to the apostolic age, the evidence on this subject has been proved to be worthless, and Justin himself to have been mis-

\* EUSEB., *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. ii., c. 13.

led and deceived. Here I must quote the testimony of Valesius, the distinguished Roman Catholic annotator of Eusebius. His criticism on this part of Eusebius, and on the testimony of Justin Martyr, is as follows:—

“Learned men,” writes Valesius, “have now for some time observed that Justin had erred through want of skill in the Latin language, who thought a statue placed ‘Semoni Sanco,’ was dedicated to Simon Magus, deceived by the resemblance of names. Certainly that statue which Justin had seen in the island of the Tiber was not long since digged up, with the inscription I have mentioned—*Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio*. Sancus was a god among the Sabines, who presided over compacts and covenants, and was called so ‘*a sanciendo*,’ ‘from sanctioning;’ whence also he was called ‘Deus fidius,’ ‘*a fide*,’ ‘from faith,’ for the Romans also were accustomed to swear by him. Certain Samaritans deceived Justin, persuading him that that statue was set up to Simon Magus; as if the Romans would have consecrated or deified a magician and prestidigitateur whilst he was alive, or as if they would have called him a ‘god,’ with the addition of the epithet ‘holy.’”\*

The foundation, then, of the whole tradition is false; and we might, therefore, well afford to dismiss all that is built upon it as a baseless vision. But we shall, nevertheless, work on, and trace out the next stage of the story, in which Eusebius, *without naming*

\* VALES., *Annotat. Euseb.*, lib. ii., c. 13.



*any authority whatsoever for his statement*, proceeds to associate St Peter's name with this alleged visit of Simon Magus to Rome. Eusebius (writing A.D. 325, or 280 years after the supposed event) states:—

“Immediately the aforesaid impostor being smitten, as to his mental eye, by a divine and supernatural brilliancy, as when, on a former occasion in Judea, he was convicted of his wickedness by the apostle Peter, he undertook a great journey from the East across the sea, and fled to the West, thinking that this was the only way for him to live according to his mind. Entering the city of Rome, by the co-operation of that malignant spirit which had fixed its seat there, his attempts were soon so far successful as to be honoured as a god, with the erection of a statue by the inhabitants of that city. This, however, did not continue long; for immediately under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great apostle, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind. He, like a noble commander of God, fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the East to the West, announcing the light itself, and salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the kingdom of God.”\*

In disproof of this alleged visit to Rome, it will be important to insert here the argument of Valesius, in his “Annotations” on Eusebius. His criticism is as

\* EUSEB., *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. ii., c. 14.

follows:—"Eusebius, in his 'Chronicon,' mentions a visit of Peter to Rome, in the second year of Claudius, which was the notion of Baronius, Petavius, and others. But this notion is found to be refuted by the Acts of the Apostles; for there it is clear that Peter remained constantly in Judea and Syria until the last year of Agrippa's reign, and Agrippa died at Cæsarea, after having imprisoned Peter in Jerusalem, as recorded by St Luke. Since, therefore, Agrippa died, as we are all agreed, in the fourth year of Claudius, Peter could not have gone to Rome prior to that year. This view is strongly corroborated by Apollonius, an ancient writer, who composed an able work against the heresy of Montanus." \*

Such, then, is the progress of fables—first in the shell, and then somewhat more developed. First of all, Eusebius quotes the authority of Justin, which is subsequently proved to have been worse than worthless; and now, on his own unsupported authority, or, at least, without reference to any other authority than that of his own statement, Eusebius enlarges the legend so as to introduce St Peter into it, and thereby calls forth the strong protest of his learned annotator. Yet, such is the evidence on which this stupendous "rock" of the Papacy is built!

But yet more remained to be added; the prolific root of the traditionary tree will have yet another season for growth and development. The next stage opens on the alleged authority of Ambrose (who wrote

\* VALES. *in Euseb.*, lib. ii., c. 14.

A.D. 400), the celebrated and distinguished Bishop of Milan. We are referred, by both Baronius and Bellarmine, to certain sermons of Ambrose, in one of which (that "against Auxentius") he is supposed to yield the next fruits of this wonderful story. I need not spend any time in pointing out that these "Sermons" attributed to Ambrose are not found among his genuine works; \* for, even if they were, the enlargement of the legend would, at such a date, be by far too late for any credit to be attached to it. The legend, however, as under the assumed authority of Ambrose (and if Ambrose's, its date would be some 350 years after the time of St Peter), runs on thus:—That when Peter came to Rome, he confronted Simon Magus, and put him to shame, by outdoing the magician in the working of miracles. Platina, a Roman Catholic historian, in his "Lives of the Popes," takes up the story, and relates the sequel thus:—

"On this account Simon Magus, being angry, undertook to fly, in the sight of the people, from the Capitoline to the Aventine, if Peter would follow him; and by this means it would be ascertained which of them was the more holy and the more dear to God. While the magician was on his flight, Peter, stretching out his hand to heaven, prayed God that he would not allow the people to be deluded by magical arts, whereupon Simon fell, and broke his leg." †

\* See T. C. SIMON'S learned work, *The Mission and Martyrdom of St Peter*, pp. 225, 226.

† PLATINA, *De Vit. Pontif.*, p. 7.

Now, taking this new phase of the story for what it is worth, it appears to me that a wrong is done to the honour of St Peter; for it was certainly on the understanding that Peter should follow him in his flight, that Simon Magus took to the air at all! Peter did not even attempt to follow him, and so the magician might have complained of lack of fair play! But this only in passing. Such silly fables are worthy only to be laughed at!

Indeed, it would seem as though a good deal more damage than that already mentioned had been caused to the Samaritan sorcerer by his untimely flight and fall. Platina is sparing of the wizard's wounds; for we read in the "Acta Sanctorum," that a much worse fate must have befallen him than the mere fracture of a limb. We there read Petrarch's account of the transaction:—"Petrarch, in his epistle to Philip, says, You will perceive the stone sprinkled with the brains of Simon, and, not far off, the rock with the marks of the knees of the apostle."\* Dr Newman informs us in his "Life of St Wilfrid," that a visit to Rome "made Petrarch almost an infidel."† Would not this sad result be a good deal owing to his observation of such absurd tokens as these, commemorative of nothing but fables?

And then follows a still later development of this

\* "PETRÆRCA in *Epistola ad Philippum* :—'Cernes lapidem infando Simonis cerebro maculatum : ab hoc autem non longe aberat apostolicis genibus notatum saxum, de quo supra.'"—*Acta Sanct.*, 29 June, p. 432.

† J. H. NEWMAN'S *Life of St Wilfrid*, p. 10.



clumsy fable. And here the name of Hegesippus is quoted. This writer lived about A.D. 180; but the work attributed to him is not genuine, but comes of a much later age. I quote still from Platina, who, after speaking of the increasing influence of the apostle at Rome, proceeds as follows:—

“For this reason, Nero, being angry, sought the death of the man. Whereupon Peter, his friends advising him to escape the envy and wrath of the Emperor, departed from the city by the Appian Way; and at the first milestone (to use the words of Hegesippus) he was met by Christ, to whom he (Peter) said—‘Lord, whither goest thou?’ Then Christ replied—‘I go to Rome, again to be crucified.’ A chapel stands where these words were spoken. Peter, understanding that the words were spoken concerning his own martyrdom, returned to the city, and immediately consecrated Clement as bishop.”\*

Need I add this further item of the story, about the posture of the martyr—“head downwards?” Although this is popularly received as a true statement, we would, however, simply remind our readers of the fact that it was never so stated until it was started by Origen (A.D. 250), some two hundred years after the apostle’s death?

In writing out this connected review of the fable about St Peter’s assumed connection with Rome, I

\* PLATINA, *De Vit. Pontif.*, p. 8. It is important to observe how the name of “Clement” is mentioned here as next after Peter, whereas Linus is the name mentioned by Eusebius and others, and then Anacletus, and then (thirdly) Clement!



have not quoted any of the absurd, and worse than absurd, stories recorded in a spurious work, attributed to Hegesippus. This work is entitled "The Golden Legend about the Learned Dogs and the Fiery Chariot of the Samaritan Impostor at Rome." Here is fable more fabulous still. Though asserting an early date, it has been discovered to have been written in the 13th century, by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa; and yet many of its grotesque details are imported by Cardinal Baronius into his celebrated "Annals," thus giving to the work an air of genuineness and authority which in itself it possesses not. This fabulous piece is a worthy top-stone to the not less worthy foundation—the "Semo Sanco" stone, as in the blunder of Justin. The "Golden Legend" relates about St Peter's "speaking dog"—absurd conversations and altercations between the wizard and the apostle—miracles and counter-miracles—Petronilla, St Peter's daughter, and her "introduction" to Titus, the son of Vespasian, and future conqueror of Jerusalem—is solicited in marriage by Flaccus, a Roman noble—refuses him—dies suddenly—the flight of the magician in the air (not a mere flight, as in Platina, but in a fiery chariot, drawn by four fiery horses). Can these legends possibly compare with any seeming parallels of Scripture wonders? or can any testimony authenticate them, coming as they do so late in the traditions of men? And if not these, then how much less can be said for a whole host of still more unworthy, yea (for the sacredness of the person spoken

of) utterly impious details of the "Legend" which has had so much to do with forming the erroneous opinion about St Peter's connection with Rome, to dispose of which is my simple and earnest effort in these pages.

Now, surely, we may say that if any of these traditions were ever true, they must have been true in St Peter's own lifetime. Then (working backwards) how comes it to pass that the tales of the "Golden Legend" were unknown to Ambrose?—that the stories attributed (but falsely) to Ambrose were unknown to Eusebius?—that the tradition of Eusebius, connecting St Peter with Simon Magus in Rome was unknown to Justin? How can we account for the fact that the nearer we approach to the life and ministry of St Peter, the traditions are fewer? And that it was left for times far removed from his mission and his memory to initiate all that is reported concerning the apostle beyond the revealed narrative of the Holy Scriptures? I cannot conceive it to be possible that the story of Simon Magus should have been true, and that of St Peter's conflict with him at Rome true also, and that Justin should mention the one, and omit all mention of the other.\* Nor can I conceive how, if the narrative attributed to Ambrose were correct, it should not have been already known to so full a narrator as Eusebius. This surprise is still more intensified when

\* The learned Cave notices this, saying that Justin and Irenæus, speaking of the sorcerer, "say not the least word about Peter" (*ne verbum habent.*)—CAVE, *Sæc. Apost.*, vol. i., p. 10.

I think of Origen's statement as to the manner of St Peter's martyrdom—head downwards. Admitting for the moment this to be true, it would be so very singularly demonstrative a martyrdom as that it would be just that sort of death that would draw to it the talk of men, on the spot, and from the very moment; and if in Rome, it would *from the very first* have formed a subject—and a very tempting topic too—for the earlier Christian writers, especially those connected with Rome, such as Clement and others. But instead of this, this circumstance of the posture of the martyr was never once hinted at until two hundred years after the event? And once more, although it may be accounted a trifling observation—but really I mention it in all sober seriousness—if the brains of the sorcerer were dashed out by his fall, why does the earlier tradition state that he merely “broke his leg?” Even in this matter, the story advanced from bad to worse; and the tale, with progressive inconsistency, wound itself up to the “bitter end!” Thus tradition did its work, at frequent but long intervals. Surely, true history is not written piecemeal after this fashion; nor is the development of one man's life thus spread over centuries before it is completed!

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE TWENTY-FIVE-YEAR THEORY—ITS ORIGIN AND RISE.

It will no doubt have been observed, that the details of the preceding chapter do not include any mention of the twenty-five-year theory, the theory which is the very essence of this whole question. I shall devote this chapter to a research as to that essential department of our subject. Throughout all the undergrowth of tradition, for full four hundred years, there occurs not one word about the claim to the twenty-five years' episcopate. So far this part of the story had not been developed. It came, however, in due time ; and has since played its part most faithfully in the hands of its inventors, as the head corner-stone of the Papal Claims.

The origin of this remarkable element of the tradition is on this wise :—Besides his “Ecclesiastical History,” Eusebius was the author of a work called “The Chronicon of Eusebius.” The Greek original of this work was lost within the very century that produced it. Only a few fragments remained. St Jerome (about A.D. 420) gathered what could be found of these, and reproduced them in a Latin translation.

This translation by Jerome is admitted to be a very imperfect work. Jerome himself, in his preface, admits that he had “added and interpolated many things.”\* There are also continuations of the “Chronicon” by an author named Marcellinus. The whole work (*i.e.*, Jerome’s translation, with Marcellinus’ continuations) was edited and published by the learned and eminent scholar Joseph Scaliger in the sixteenth century; and as the original had been greatly tampered with, Scaliger appended to the work his “Animadversions” (a stronger word than “Notes”). Of this whole work, all that we can say is, that whether it be the original or the translation, it is regarded as worthless, even by Roman Catholics. As a proof of this, it will suffice to mention that Baronius pronounces it to be a “wearisome” work, and a “labyrinth of error.”†

It is in this work (Jerome’s version of the “Chronicon” of Eusebius), that the first mention is made of the twenty-five-year theory; and this as a gratuitous addition to Eusebius’ own testimony, for Eusebius himself never stated any such thing. The “Animadversion” of Scaliger—on his own reproduction—of Jerome’s Latin translation—of the broken fragments—of the Greek original—of Eusebius’ “Chronicon” (how many removes does that make?)—is as follows:—

\* “Nunc addita, nunc mixta sunt plurima.”—*HIERON., Prolegom.*

† “Lectorem inutiliter fatigaret . . . intexeret non tam Chronicon quam labyrinthum erroris.”—*BARONIUS, Annal. in A.D. 325, par. 215.*



“*Twenty-five years he continued bishop of the same city.* These words are *added on* by Jerome; and from the same are repeated in the ‘Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.’ *The Greek has them not.* From the ascension of the Lord to that time in which Peter was cast into prison by Herod Agrippa, Peter was continuously in Palestine or in Syria. Herod Agrippa died in the fourth year of Claudius. How then could he (Peter) have gone to Rome in the second year of Claudius? How could he have continued five and twenty years at Rome?” \*

In this same paragraph Scaliger mentions a curious mode of reckoning, as after a Petrine era, in a quotation from Marcellinus, thus:—“Marcellinus writes, Philoxenus and Probus being consuls, that in A.D. 525, John, Bishop of Rome, came to Constantinople in the year 485, of the session of Peter. Therefore Peter came to Rome in the year of our Lord 40, two years before the time assigned by Eusebius.” † This conclusion (“*ergo*”) of Marcellinus is quoted by

\* “*xxv annis ejusdem urbis Episcopus perseverat.*—Adjecta sunt ab Hieronymo; et ab eodem repetuntur in Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiast. Græca enim non habent. Ab assumptione Domini, ad id tempus, quo Petrus coniectus fuit in vincula ab Herode Agrippa, Petrus semper fuit in Palestina aut in Syria. Herodes Agrippa obiit quarto anno Claudii—Quomodo igitur anno secundo Claudii profectus est Romam? Quomodo viginti quinque annos Romæ perseveravit?”—J. SCALIGER, *Animad. in Chron. Euseb.*, p. 174.

† “Marcellinus comes scribit, Indictione iii, Philoxeno et Probo Coss., hoc est, anno Christi dxxv., Johannem Episcopum Romæ Constantinopolim venisse anno cccclxxxv sessionis Petri. Ergo Petrus venit Romam anno Christi xl., numero lvi., biennio ante tempus ab Eusebio assignatum.”—*Ibid.*

Scaliger to show that, after the tradition had taken root, it caused a " Petrine," as well as a Christian, era to be recognised in reckoning. This circumstance, in itself, is an evidence of the modern date of the theory; no such mode of reckoning having been known among the ancients.

Thus the first mention of the celebrated " years of Peter " is traced back to an interpolation in the " Chronicon," for which there is no warrant or authority whatsoever in Eusebius' Greek original. This fact must be duly and diligently noted; for it is, in truth, the real foundation of the whole theory of the twenty-five years' episcopate, which now constitutes the foundation-stone of the Papal Claims. Worthy source for an assumption so utterly unhistorical, and so devoid of any foundation in fact! No marvel that Scaliger says of that work:—" Never did any work come to our hands blotted over with so many extensive corrections, overspread with so many inaccuracies, and so marvellously corrupt, as are the MSS. of this Latin ' Chronicon ' of St Jerome's." \*

Roman Catholic writers refer, and some of them very boastfully, to what are called the " Catalogues " of the pontiffs; and particularly to that which is called the " Liberian Catalogue." But this, again, is insecure ground, and nothing worth. The learned Cave calls them all in question—all such " Catalogues "—saying, " But what confidence is to be reposed in these catalogues, nobody knows; seeing

\* SCALIGER, *Prolegomena*.

that they have suffered various additions at various hands, and interpolations from time to time.”\* And as to the Liberian Catalogue, he alleges against it such charges as these:—That it is depraved by the grossest errors of the librarians; that discrepancies abound; that it contains in it many contradictions, and many things contrary to Irenæus, Epiphanius, Optatus, Augustine, and others; that it inserts the precise number of years and months and days of each pontifical reign, whereas this reckoning was unknown to the ancients, and did not come into use before the sixth century.† This leads Cave to quote the additional authority of Dodwell, “who deems the author of this Catalogue to be later than the age of Liberius, and that the work must be set down as belonging to the sixth century.” And at the very earliest, Cave insists upon this:—“Nevertheless it must be confessed, that the sentence respecting ‘the twenty-five-years of Peter’ has no authority earlier than the year of our Lord 354.”‡

Now, referring to this last-named date (A.D. 354), could it be—to put the most charitable construction on this matter—that this claim of the

\* “Verum quanta sit horum catalogorum fides, nemo nescit; qui varias a variis additiones, et interpolationes, suo quisque tempore, passi sunt.”—CAVE, *Sæc. Apost.*, vol. i., p. 10.

† “Fœdissimis librorum erroribus depravatus est—multa habet secum pugnantia, &c. Præter annos, menses etiam, diesque pontificum emortuales adjicit, antiquioribus ignotos, et vix ante sextum sæculum usurpari solitos.”—*Ibid.*

‡ Fatendum tamen erit, sententiam de Petri annis xxv, nullum habere testem anno cccliv, vetustiore.”—*Ibid.*

Church of Rome could have arisen out of a mistake as to the meaning of certain words attributed to Lactantius? Speaking of the labours of the whole apostolic body, Lactantius writes as follows:—"They (the apostles) were dispersed through all the world, for the preaching of the gospel, as their Lord had commanded them; and *for twenty-five years*, even to the beginning of the reign of Nero, they laid the foundations of the Church through all the provinces and cities of the empire."\* Here there is, indeed, allusion to a period of "twenty-five years;" but it is a period in no way associated with the ministry of St Peter particularly, but of all the apostles; nor with reference to Rome only, but to *all* states and cities. Did some blundering hand take this general testimony, and attribute it to Peter only? or reduce the scope of the gospel from its universal extent, and limit it to Rome itself? If this is, as a charitable construction, to be regarded as the origin of this unwarrantable claim of the Papacy, then the sooner the literary blunder is corrected the better? But it is simply inexcusable that a claim of such gigantic magnitude as that which Rome builds upon it, should be allowed to exist for a single day longer! A mistake perpetuated, in the face of better knowledge, becomes—something worse than a mistake—a falsehood!

Looking back now upon the successive stages of

\* "Dispersi sunt per omnem terram ad evangelium prædicandum sicut illis Magister Dominus imperaverat, et per annos xxv, usque ad principium Neroniani Imperii per omnes provincias et civitates Ecclesiæ fundamenta miserunt."—LACTANT., *De Mort. Persec.*, c. ii.



the Growth of the Tradition, and upon the criticisms that have been brought to bear upon the twenty-five-year theory, what shall we say about this stupendous figment? So long as the Holy Writers continue their testimony, Rome heeds them not; but rather builds her theory upon their silence. When the Divine oracle closes, fable begins. Just think of the "rock" of Rome built upon the silence of God, and on the fables of man! Ah! 'tis true, then, that tales have been invented in the gaps of history. This is what the eminent Scaliger means when he bears this remarkable testimony, which, to my mind, gives a clear account of the whole process:—"The ancient Christians, who grieved so much, that from the end of the Acts of the Apostles to the time of Trajan, nothing certain existed in Christian history, in order to fill up the *hiatus* of the period, invented many fables, with too much license, and foolishly, concerning the arrival of Peter in Rome," &c.\* But all this must end now; the story must be exploded, and the fiction dispelled for ever! We may well adopt the words of Dean Alford on this topic, where he speaks of this alleged episcopate of St Peter:—"His twenty-five years' Popedom is the veriest and silliest fable." †

\* "Veteres Christiani, quibus a fine Actorum Apostolicorum ad tempora Trajani nihil certi extare in historia Christiana dolebat, ut illum hiatus temporum explerent, multa licenter et inepte de Petri Romam adventu, deque ejus prima sede fabulati sunt."—J. SCALIGER, *Notæ in Nov. Test.*, p. 381.

† ALFORD'S *How to Study the New Testament* (The Epistles, 1st Section), p. 159.



## CHAPTER VII.

### BELLARMINE'S PROOFS.

ST PETER AT BABYLON.—1 Pet. v. 13.

FAILING proof of the Roman episcopate of St Peter, and, still more, of the “twenty-five-year theory,” the Church of Rome retires into her last parallel, and, as in the argument of Bellarmine, earnestly contends that at least “St Peter was at some time or other in Rome.”\* To this last resort we follow in our review. Under the main heading, “That Peter was at Rome,” Bellarmine adduces four arguments. We shall now take these arguments in succession, and see what help they render, in the hands of Rome’s greatest and mightiest one, in support of the Roman Claims on this deeply-fundamental question.

Of Bellarmine it may truly be said that he generally “puts his best foot foremost;” and—to his credit be it spoken—he strives to establish his theory on the evidence of Holy Scripture. And he does well in so doing; for, after all, there is no testimony short of that of the New Testament that can settle this ques-

\* “S. Petrum Romæ aliquando fuisse.”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

tion. In that Book, both the early history of the Church in Rome, and the narrative of St Peter's general ministry, together with that of St Paul, are given in sufficient fulness to warrant us in saying, that if the Roman Claims are not found there, they cannot be proved at all; and, still more, that if those claims are contrary to all we read in the apostolic narrative, no other testimony can possibly authenticate them.

Now, Bellarmine starts with the purpose of working out this proposition—"That Peter was at Rome." \* His *first* proof is from the Scriptures, and this proof is the *only* definite one he alleges from Holy Writ. Then, the first of all his proofs, being also the first, last, and only testimony from the Word of God, ought to be a very choice and irresistible proof indeed. However, Bellarmine shall speak for himself. His words are these :—

"*That Peter was at Rome.*—And that we may begin from the beginning, we show that St Peter was at some time at Rome from the testimony of Peter himself, who thus says at the end of his first epistle—'The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Marcus, my son.' For that this epistle was written from Rome, which by Peter is called Babylon, Papias, a disciple of the apostles, testifies, according to Eusebius (lib. ii. hist., c. 15). 'Papias,' says Eusebius, 'states this, that Peter in his first epistle, which he wrote from Rome, makes

\* "Quod Petrus Romæ fuerit."—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

mention of Mark, in which, by a figure of speech, he calls Rome Babylon, when he says, 'The Church which is,' " &c.\*

Let it here be well borne in mind—(1.) That this is the only definite proof alleged by Bellarmine from the Holy Scriptures on this subject; (2.) that it says nothing, and therefore proves nothing, of Peter's alleged bishopric in Rome; (3.) still less does it speak of a twenty-five years' episcopate. Thus, none of the vital points of this question are even alluded to in this argument of Bellarmine. It yields no support to any of the essential claims of Rome; and is adduced merely for the comparatively barren purpose of proving that "St Peter was some time or other (*aliquando*) in Rome."

But even for this small purpose, what is the worth of Bellarmine's argument? I answer—

1. That Papias would be an unworthy and indifferent authority at the best.
2. That the statement quoted by Bellarmine, as from Papias, was never uttered by Papias at all.
3. That Eusebius mentions, on his own authority, a vague rumour, an *on dit*, of the fourth century.
4. That St Peter never called Rome by the name of "Babylon;" and,
5. That, if he did, it would be a term that would cut both ways, and prove disastrous to the

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

Papal Church, pledging it to recognise Rome in the Babylon of the Apocalypse, but in a very different context, and with very different results.

It is well worth our while to sift this argument thoroughly, for it underlies the whole controversy on this subject, and will well repay any attention that may be bestowed upon it. So let us take the foregoing points *seriatim* :—

I. That Papias would be an unworthy and insufficient authority at the best :

All that we know concerning Papias is what is contained in the “ Ecclesiastical History ” of Eusebius. One whole chapter is devoted to this subject, entitled “ The Writings of Papias.” \* From this chapter it appears—(1.) That Eusebius had no extant written documents of Papias to proceed upon at all ; for he speaks of his works as having only a traditional existence—“ *There are said to be five books of Papias,*” &c. (2.) That Bellarmine is not correct when he calls Papias a “ disciple of the apostles,” for Papias himself disclaims this, as Eusebius says—“ But Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, by no means asserts that he was a hearer and an eyewitness of the holy apostles, but informs us that he received the doctrines of faith from their intimate friends.” (3.) That Papias preferred oral tradition to the authority of written books :—“ I do not think,” he says, “ that I derived so much benefit from books as from the living

\* EUSEB., lib. iii., c. 39.

voice of those who are still surviving.” (4.) That he recorded, on mere hearsay, “strange tales, and some other things rather too fabulous.” \* (5.) That Eusebius himself gravely distrusts the judgment of Papias, for he says he was “very limited in his comprehension ;” †—and (6.) deplors the effect of his testimony on those that came after him :—“ Yet he (Papias) was the cause why most of the ecclesiastical writers, urging the antiquity of the man, were carried away by a similar opinion ; as, for instance, Irenæus,” &c.

We can do no better now than quote the summary of the character of Papias, as given by Dupin, the Doctor of the Sorbonne, who, in his “ History of Ecclesiastical Writers,” thus sums up the value of this writer and his writings :—

“ The judgment that ought to be given concerning him (Papias) is that which hath been already given by Eusebius ; that is to say, that he was a good man, but very careless, and of very mean parts, who delighted much in hearing and telling stories and miracles. And since he was exceedingly inquisitive, and inclined to believe everything that was told him, it is not to be admired [wondered at] that he hath divulged divers errors and extravagant notions as the judgments of the apostles, and hath given us fabulous narrations for real histories, which shows that nothing is so dangerous in matters of religion as lightly to believe, and too greedily to embrace, all that hath the

\* “ Ξένος παραβολάς, καὶ ἄλλα μυθικώτερα.”—EUSEB., lib. iii., c. 39.

† “ Σφόδρα σμικρὸς ὦν τὸν νοῦν.”—*Ibid.*



appearance of piety, without considering in the first place how true it is." \*

After this summary by a Roman Catholic historian, we may well ask whether this man, Papias, would be considered so worthy an authority, either as to his personal qualifications or as to his sources of information, as that he should become the basis of this part of the Romish theory about St Peter's connection with Rome? But it is scarcely necessary we should discredit the authority of Papias; for we can show—

2. That the statement quoted by Bellarmine, as from Papias, was never uttered by Papias at all.

Bellarmino quotes a passage from Eusebius. On referring to that passage, † I find a tradition spoken of as to the writing of St Mark's Gospel, and the pleasure it gave to St Peter when he heard of it. It is for this tradition (which has nothing to do with our present subject) that Eusebius quotes the authority of "Clement, in the sixth book of his Institutions, corroborated by that of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis." Eusebius then begins quite a new sentence and subject, for which he quotes no authority whatsoever, saying—"Peter makes mention of Mark in the first epistle, which *they say* [another *on dit!*] he composed at the same city of Rome, and that he indicates this by calling the city by an unusual [or too strong] figure of speech—Babylon." In this, it will be observed, there is no reference to the authority of Papias at all.

\* DUPIN, *Eccl. Writ.*, vol. i., p. 62.

† EUSEB., lib. ii., c. 15.

That Bellarmine was incorrect in attributing the statement of Eusebius to the authority of Papias is further evidenced by Valesius, of whom I have already spoken as the learned Roman Catholic annotator of Eusebius. Valesius appends the following note to this statement of Eusebius:—"Ruffinus understood this as if it was related by Papias; and Musculus, in his translation, adopted the same error. But we have kept these words perfectly distinct (*omnino sejunximus*) from the preceding, and I find that this has been carefully done even by Jerome and Nicephorus." \*

We find a similar testimony given by Dupin in his Preliminary Dissertation (note on Section V.):—"Eusebius, b. ii., c. 15, of his History, says that it is Rome that St Peter calls Babylon in this place. Some have thought that Papias and St Clemens, cited by Eusebius, were of this opinion, but he does not cite them upon this subject." †

From such evidences as these we may safely say that Eusebius does not here quote for this interpretation any authority of Papias at all; and this conducts us on to our next head—

3. That Eusebius mentions, on his own authority, a vague rumour, or *on dit*, of the fourth century.

Eusebius abounds in *on dits*; and this undoubtedly is one of them—"Which epistle *they say* he composed at Rome." Eusebius does not even profess to

\* VALES. *in Euseb.*, lib. ii., c. 15.

† DUPIN, *Eccl. Writ.*, vol. i., p. 29.

offer any authority for the interpretation beyond that of his own report of the tradition. It is evident, too, that he is not by any means satisfied with the interpretation, calling it "an unusual, or too strong figure of speech." \* So we pass on to our next point—

4. That St Peter never called Rome by the name of "Babylon."

For why should he? I have never seen any reason that would at all account for any such mystical name, except, indeed, what would be unworthy of St Peter. For example, hear the testimony of Baronius:—"I may here add," observes the Cardinal, "without any disadvantage to our cause, that Peter's reason for not calling Rome by its proper name was his not wishing it to be publicly known where he went to live after his escape from prison at Jerusalem!" † So it comes to this, that St Peter practised a pious fraud, in order to cut off the scent of his track from his pursuers; and that the inspiration of God lent itself to this unworthy subterfuge! God forbid! Nor does Baronius stand alone in this absurd supposition; for the same idea is hazarded by Calmet, Ceillier, and others. But is this right? Is it in keeping with the apostle's better and bolder spirit? Do Roman Catholics mean to say that St Peter still continued to be the timid, waver-

\* *Τροπικώτερον*, not "*tropicè*," as in Bellarmine's very insufficient rendering of the original word.

† "Nec me imprudenter dicturum existimo si his addiderim, Petrum non esse usum proprio Urbis nomine, quod Hierosolymis fuga lapsus e carcere, ubi ageret, non ab omnibus percipi vellet."—BARONIUS, *Annal.*, in A.D. 45, par. 17.

ing disciple as at the first? Is this the way to establish him as the "Bishop of bishops?" Nay, this was not the spirit that then possessed the mind of the apostle. In this very epistle he plainly writes in the midst of threatening persecutions, and with a fearless and undaunted spirit. Not only is he not afraid of these himself, but he encourages others to bear them also. Such exhortations, for example, as these:—"And who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good? But if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye; and be not afraid of their terror, neither be troubled" (1 Pet. iii. 13, 14). And again—"Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing happened unto you; but rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings. . . . If any man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed: but let him glorify God on this behalf" (1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 16).

Are these the words of a man who was either afraid of his enemies or ashamed of his cause? St Peter was not then the faint-hearted Peter of the earlier days. The end was better and bolder than the beginning. Yet such is the plea for the Papal Claims! Surely, a cause or a theory that needs such a defence as this must be utterly indefensible!

That Babylon means Rome in the Apocalypse is no reason it should mean Rome in the Epistle of St Peter. There is no analogy between the two cases. St Peter mentions in his epistle many other localities besides



Babylon, such as "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." Are any of these to be figuratively interpreted? And if the places *to* which he wrote are actual, and not figurative, why should the place *from* which he wrote be accounted as figurative, and not actual? *From* "Babylon" *to* "Pontus," &c.—is it not clear that the literal names of places are mentioned throughout? Again, St John, in the Apocalypse, was writing a confessedly figurative book; but St Peter, in this part of his epistle, was inditing the suffix to an ordinary letter, in which all was pure matter of fact. Thus St John speaks of "Sodom" and "Egypt" (Rev. xi. 8), and of both figuratively, as meaning Jerusalem; but when St Peter speaks of "Sodom," as in his epistle (2 Pet. ii. 6), he speaks of the actual city. And even St John himself, in that part of the Apocalypse which is not figurative, when addressing the angels of the Churches, uses the actual and literal names of the cities in which those Churches were (Rev. ii., iii.) Nor, indeed, does St John call Rome "Babylon;" he calls it "Babylon the Great;" and, "*Mystery, Babylon the Great*"—thus indicating the figurative meaning of the term (Rev. xvii. 5).

There was also a propriety in that once great city of the Euphrates being made the scene of St Peter's residence and labours. Here we revert to the appointed direction of the apostle's mission—to the "circumcision" (Gal. ii. 7-9); "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x. 6). There were



many Jews at Babylon—the seed of the captivity. Josephus, a contemporary of St Peter, speaks of “several myriads” (*i.e.*, tens of thousands) of the chosen race abiding there.\* Indeed, all the testimonies of those days go to prove that a Jewish population worthy of the apostle’s special care was gathered at Babylon. So that while St Paul was labouring among the Gentiles in Rome and other cities, St Peter had directed his steps to the “lost sheep,” and there was “feeding the lambs” and “feeding the sheep” of his Lord.

Moreover, there is a geographical reason for holding to the literal meaning of the word Babylon, as the place from which St Peter writes. The apostle addresses the Asiatic Christians (1 Pet. i. 1); and, writing from the East, he enumerates the localities in geographical order, as from an Eastern standpoint; beginning with the region nearest to him (Pontus), and thence the more westerly provinces (Galatia, Cappadocia), terminating his thoroughfare view of the Churches with the westernmost localities (Asia and Bithynia). If he had written from Rome, he would certainly have reversed this order of enumeration.†

And yet again, the great preponderance of the

\* “So King Herod immediately took the high priesthood away from Ananelus, who was not of this country, but one of those Jews that had been carried captive beyond Euphrates; for there were not a few myriads [tens of thousands] of this people that had been carried captive, and dwelt about Babylonia, whence Ananelus came.”—JOSEPHUS’ *Antiq.*, lib. xv., c. 3.

† “The order in which the countries are mentioned (1 Pet. i. 1) agrees with Ancient Babylon, for the writer begins with the nearest,

opinion of learned men and commentators on the Holy Scriptures is on the side of the literal meaning of the word. Thus Schaff enumerates such names as these—Neander, Steiger, De Wette, Weiseler, Hug (of whom he speaks as “the distinguished Roman Catholic theologian”). To these Davidson adds—Erasmus, Drusius, Beza, Lightfoot, Basnage, Beausobre, Cave, Wetstein, Benson, Credner, Neudecker, Michaelis; and joins his own opinion with many excellent reasons superadded. Dr Bloomfield in his “Notes on the Greek Testament,” adds the names of Calvin, Scaliger, Salmasius, Le Clerc, Bengel, Bishop Conybeare, Rosenmuller, and Adam Clarke. And I would append to all these the additional names of Dupin, Bishop Pearson, Lange, Archibald Bower, Pole (“Synopsis”), Mill, Matthew Henry, Scott, Kitto, Barnes, Alford, &c.\* This constitutes a large array of authorities—master-minds, representing all creeds and churches—against this most extraordinary interpretation which the Church of Rome has put upon the simple matter of fact mention of “Babylon” in the Epistle of St Peter.

There is but one<sup>v</sup> further point remaining for me to urge under this head of our subject, and it is this:—It is this mission of St Peter to Babylon on the Euphrates, and his probable martyrdom there, that accounts for all the doubt and uncertainty, yea, the

and ends with the territory most remote from himself. This is not so, if he wrote from Egypt or Italy.”—DAVIDSON'S *Introd.*, vol. iii., p. 363.

\* It must be observed that some of these authorities think it was Babylon in Egypt.

*oblivion*, which have clouded and obscured the latter days of that eminent apostle of our Lord. If his mission and his memory had been associated with Rome, the records of writers and of the Church would not have given so uncertain a sound on the subject; they would have been, at least, as eloquent about St Peter, as they are about St Paul, in connection with the Imperial City. But St Peter having, as his own epistle indicates, chosen Assyria and Babylon as the sphere of his mission after he had left Jerusalem; and all the records of those times and places having perished by age and loss and conquest, the Church has been left bereaved of any *certain* narrative of the later days of St Peter; and thus it is that so much uncertainty enshrouds a history that every Christian would desire to be better acquainted with. And this being so, men ought to be modest in the narratives they weave out of the scanty materials at their disposal; and, above all, ought to refrain from laying the foundation-stones of systems and churches and thrones and infallibilities, on a ground so shifting and so uncertain. Therefore is it that we object to the Roman Catholic Claims on this question; and altogether and entirely resist that fundamental axiom of Bellarmine (already quoted):—"The right of succession (*jus successionis*) of the Roman pontiffs is founded on this, that Peter placed his see at Rome, at the Lord's command, and continued there until his death."\* Was there ever a foundation so hazardously

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 1

exposed as this is to the vehemence of wind and flood and stream of historical truth and testimony? All that now remains for me to do, on this branch of the argument, is to make a few observations on my fifth and last point.

5. That if St Peter did call Rome by the name of "Babylon," it would cut both ways, as when used by St John in the Apocalypse.

One feels almost inclined to grant the Roman Catholic his desire in this, if only to see how he would drink the same cup, when he comes to the dregs of it, in the application of the word "Babylon" in the Book of the Revelation! But Bellarmine has anticipated us in this. It may possibly surprise many of our readers when we inform them that on this very sore point with Roman Catholics—the identity of Rome with "Babylon the Great" in the Apocalypse—Cardinal Bellarmine fully admits the allusion and accepts the appellation. In this his vain attempt to place St Peter in Rome, he admits that "John in the Apocalypse everywhere calls Rome Babylon." \* This is nothing short of a suicidal admission; and well did our good Bishop Andrewes express his astonishment:—"These men so greedily desire to find Peter's residence at Rome somewhere in the Scriptures, that they would rather give the name of Rome to Babylon, where he was, than that he should not have been at Rome." †

\* "Præterea, Ioannes in Apocalypsi passim Romam vocat Babylonem."—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

† "Ita avide avent homines hi Petrum Romæ alicubi in Scripturis



Bellarmino, then, being obliged to admit that Babylon in the Apocalypse means Rome, strives to avert the point of the Divine wrath pronounced against it, by distinguishing between Rome as *a Pagan city*, and Rome as *a Christian Church*; and asserts that the woes were pronounced against her in the former, but not in the latter capacity.\* But Bellarmine seems to shut his eyes to the fact that St John, in that vision, was constituted a *prophet*, and was enabled to see the whole thoroughfare of the history, not only of the city of Rome, but also of all after associations of that city, whether Pagan, or Christian, or Papal. And, certainly, the seer himself made no such distinction as Bellarmine would desire to maintain.

Nevertheless, such is the argument of Bellarmine: that Babylon in the Apocalypse means Rome, *Pagan Rome*. This Babylon was to be destroyed—"Babylon is fallen, is fallen." And this, saith Bellarmine, "has been almost accomplished; for did not the Goths and Vandals, Huns and Lombards, reduce the empire of the Roman city almost to nothing?"\* Bellarmine means to say, that at that time, and under these circumstances, the prediction was accomplished, and that then Babylon fell; nay, not "fell," but

reperire, potius ut Babylonem velint esse Romanam, ubi Petrus fuit; quam ut Petrus Romæ non fuerit."—BP. ANDREWES, *Tortura Torti*, sec. clxxxiii., p. 217.

\* "Babylonem vocari non Romanam Ecclesiam, sed Romanam urbem, qualis erat Ioannis tempore."—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

† "Id quod jam fere factum esse cernimus; an non enim Gothi, Vandali, Hunni, Longobardi, Romanæ urbis imperium fere ad nihilum redegerunt?"—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.



“*almost*,” says Bellarmine.\* But the ruin of Babylon was not to be “almost;” it was to be *altogether* a desolation; a total, absolute, and irremediable fall. The Cardinal stops short of this; but he must *not* stop short just here! We read on—“Babylon the Great is fallen, is fallen, and is become an habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird” (Rev. xviii. 2). The verse, when read in full, records not only the fall, but also *the sequel* of the fall, of Babylon. How, then, will the Church of Rome interpret these greater woes that were to follow upon the destruction of the Roman city? That is to say, if Rome, as a Pagan city, was Babylon, and, as such, was doomed to destruction; and if that destruction had been already dealt out, in the overthrow of the Pagan city, is not the predicted sequel also fulfilled, which makes Rome an “habitation of demons, and of foul spirits, and of every unclean and hateful bird?” And this an *irremediable* woe, from which the city should never rise—“And shall be found no more at all!” (Rev. xviii. 21).†

Now, I ask, is any Roman Catholic prepared to admit that this is the present state of Rome, and

\* “*Fere factum est*”—“*fere ad nihilum.*”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

† Archbishop Manning says, in reference to the fall of the Temporal Power—“Rome will see many changes yet; but there is one which will never change—the See of St Peter, and the voice of the Vicar of Christ.”—(*Times*, October 24, 1870). But, if Babylon means Rome, as Bellarmine admits, either its fall has been accomplished, and its sequel too, and Rome is a desolation, and can see no further change; or else, the fall is yet to be, and what shall then become of “the See of St Peter (!), and of the voice of the Vicar of Christ?”

that it has been its character ever since the downfall of the Pagan deities from the niches of the Pantheon? Why, even we ourselves say not—are far from saying—that this is the present condition of Rome! But to Bellarmine, and any one who holds his interpretation, there is no possible way of escape out of the dilemma. Choose ye!—either Babylon is Rome in all its phases, all through the history of the world since the days of the Apocalypse—Rome of to-day, with her destruction and its woeful sequel all yet to come; or else Babylon means Pagan Rome only, and its “fall” already accomplished. If the latter, then the prediction (Rev. xviii. 2) describes what that once Pagan city has become, and what that city now is! That is to say—the City of the Popes, the “Holy City,” the City of the Vatican, the City of the “Œcumenical Council,” the City of “Infallibility,” the “Capital of Christendom,”\* the “ETERNAL City,” has been all these many centuries, and still is, and must ever be (Rev. xviii. 21) “the habitation of demons, foul spirits, and of every unclean and hateful bird.” Yes, this is the great dilemma. It is *the* point of Vitranga’s eloquent appeal, by which he presses Bossuet so closely. Then, will Roman Catholics inform us, if such be the state of Rome—its predicted fall having been accomplished—who are the “demons,” and who the “foul spirits,” and who the “unclean and hateful birds,” that make it their “habitation”? There must be no

\* The title of a sermon by Archbishop Manning, preached at Kensington, after the overthrow of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.

flinching from consequences ; and this is the inevitable consequence of Bellarmine's theory, which sees Babylon in Pagan Rome only, and votes the predicted "fall" to have been already accomplished ! \*

Such is our review of Bellarmine's very first argument by which he would endeavour to prove that "Peter was at some time or other in Rome"—and this his first, last, and only proof quoted from any authority of the Holy Scriptures ! It is worthy our special consideration—(1.) because of its priority of place ; and (2.) because of its pretension to Scripture authority. And now, what has come of it ? And what shall become of the structure raised upon it ?

\* "How can it be said that Rome 'is burnt with fire?' and that 'the smoke of her burning ascends to heaven?' Has the voice of harpers and musicians ceased within her ? Has she been taken up, 'like a great millstone, and plunged into the sea ?' No ; the voice of melody is still heard in her princely palaces ; they are still adorned with noble pictures and fair statues. The riches of her purple and silk and scarlet, and pearls and jewels, are still displayed in the splendid attire of her Pontiff and his hierarchy in their solemn conclaves. The cavalcades of horses and of chariots with gorgeous trappings, and the long trains of her religious processions, still move along her streets ; the clouds of frankincense still float in her temples, which, on high festivals, are hung with tapestry and brocade and gay embroidery ; her precious vessels still glitter on her altars ; her rich merchandise of gold and silver is still purchased ; her dainty and goodly things are not yet departed from her. She still sits as a queen, and glorifies herself, and says, 'I am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.' She wears the title of Divinity, and calls herself ETERNAL."—BISHOP WORDSWORTH'S (Lincoln) *Lectures on the Apocalypse*, p. 372.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### BELLARMINE'S PROOFS.

#### WHOLESALE REFERENCES ALLEGED.

WE have in the preceding Chapter written at some considerable length on the argument elicited by Bellarmine from the allusion to Babylon in 1 Pet. v. 13. I laid all the more stress on that argument, chiefly because it is the only one that the Cardinal professes to establish on the evidence of the Holy Scriptures. "The only one," did I say; for how could we possibly dignify by the name of even an attempted argument from Scripture the Cardinal's "second proof," which he alleges to be "from the last chapter of the Acts, and from the Epistle to the Romans?" This is such a general and wholesale mode of arguing from Scripture as to baffle any attempt we could make to come to particulars. To extend both hands and all the fingers in order to direct the wanderer on his way, is both absurd and misleading. It is *the index finger* that is needed for that! Then, why does not the Cardinal particularise some verse or some passage of the places indicated, so as to give us some definite means of tracing out his allusions? That we should be referred to a whole chapter and to an entire epistle in proof that St

Peter had been "at some time or other" at Rome, is quite too vague, especially as there is not one word about St Peter, or any of his movements, in either the whole chapter or the entire epistle referred to! But Bellarmine's bold defiance of all legitimate argument and proof will the better appear from the full quotation of the passage, which is as follows:—

"Secondly, it is proved [*i.e.*, "that St Peter was at Rome some time or other"] from the last chapter of the Acts and from the Epistle to the Romans. For it is evident from these places, that there were many Christians at Rome, yea, that there was a large and flourishing Church there, before Paul came thither. Therefore I ask, Who made these Christians, if Peter was not at Rome? For that Peter first of all preached to the Romans, and founded the Church before Paul ever came there, many of the ancients write; but that any other person did so, cannot be demonstrated by any sound argument."\*

Now, to any one able to appreciate a good argument, such a "demonstration" as this is simply intolerable! And to any Roman Catholic sincerely desiring proofs, such a proof as this would be simply vexatious and disappointing. Indeed, I can well afford to say, that such an argument as this is unworthy even of Bellarmine! He first alleges two massive portions of Scripture, and yet fails to give one single fact in allusion to St Peter from either of these; and falls back on one of his own petulant questionings

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.



(a too common resort of Bellarmine)—“There were Christians in Rome before Paul came there; then, who made these Christians, if Peter was not at Rome? \* But why *Peter*? Why should he, as a matter of such extreme necessity, be the only Christian teacher or apostle to whom the success of the gospel at Rome was as a matter of course to be attributed? Bellarmine refers most pointedly, and by name, to these two passages of the New Testament; well, then, if in either of those passages—and they are long and copious enough—if in either there could be pointed out the least mention of, or allusion to, the apostle Peter or his labours, the Cardinal’s question would be somewhat nearer to an answer than it is. But Bellarmine, as though quite aware of the weakness of his argument, soon takes flight from his Scripture references, and contents himself with saying that “there was a large and flourishing Church in Rome before the arrival of St Paul.” But that is another matter altogether, and one that we most readily admit, and on the authority of St Paul himself, who wrote an epistle, not only *about* but *to* that Church, before his personal visit. Our present business, however, is to ascertain what evidence about *St Peter*, and about *St Peter at Rome*, is supplied by “the last chapter of the Acts and by the Epistle to the Romans;” and, on inquiry, we find that there is no verse, and no

\* “Constat enim ex his locis, Romæ multos fuisse Christianos, &c. Peto igitur quis hos Christianos fecerit, si Petrus non fuit Romæ?”  
—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

passage, in either of these references, to justify Bellarmine's question built upon them! It is a foreign and *forced* question, and is in no respect warranted by anything that is contained, whether in the last chapter of the Acts, or in the Epistle to the Romans—portions of Scripture which do not profess to render any account of St Peter's mission or ministry, at any time or place, or under any circumstance whatsoever. This argument, then, of Bellarmine is utterly meaningless and vain.

Yea, more than this, in the last chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, there is positive evidence that at the date of St Paul's arrival in Rome, St Peter had never been there; for the Jews of Rome (who would have been St Peter's special charge had he been at Rome) were unacquainted with Paul himself, and knew but little of the Christian Church, regarding it as "a sect" that was everywhere spoken against, and desiring to hear something about it from the lips of the distinguished prisoner (Acts xxviii. 21-24). And in the Epistle to the Romans there are salutations sent by St Paul to the chief members of the Christian community in that city, but none to St Peter; nor is there one solitary allusion to any visit of St Peter to Rome, nor to any intervention of his in the affairs of the Church of that city. Yea, St Paul states explicitly in that epistle that he would not there, any more than elsewhere, "build upon another man's foundation" (Rom. xv. 20). I would, however, refer my readers to the fuller account of this branch of our subject, as

in our chapter on "The Testimony of Holy Scripture." We shall have occasion yet again to revert to the scriptural argument. I may here content myself with quoting what Schaff says on this matter—(and all that I have been able to gather only too fully justifies his words):—"The Acts of the Apostles and Paul's epistles on to the year 63 or 64, give no hint of his (St Peter's) presence in this city, but incontrovertible proof of his absence from it. . . . The whole Epistle to the Romans knows nothing of Peter's labouring, either then or before, in the great metropolis, but rather, as already remarked, supposes the contrary." \*

And yet Bellarmine appeals to "the last chapter of the Acts and to the Epistle to the Romans," in proof of St Peter's presence in Rome! Why, so far from rendering any help to the Cardinal in his argument, the fact is, that these two portions of Scripture happen to contain not so much as one solitary mention of even the very *name* of Peter!

\* SCHAFF'S *History of the Apostolic Church*, vol. ii., p. 27.

## CHAPTER IX.

### BELLARMINÉ'S PROOFS.

#### ST MARK'S GOSPEL—SIMON MAGUS.

As a further instance of grasping at straws, in order to help their theory about St Peter's connection with Rome, we proceed to Bellarmine's next argument (his "thirdly"), and the effort there made to associate St Mark with St Peter (and at Rome), and to connect the writing of St Mark's Gospel with the alleged residence of St Peter in the Imperial City. We shall now address ourselves to this phase of our subject, and judge of the force of the main theory by the value of this element of its defence.

I must premise that all the information we have on this subject for the first three centuries (so far as Bellarmine's argument is concerned), is gathered out of broken fragments of the "Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius. There certainly is no internal evidence in the Gospel of St Mark itself which would guide us to any certainty as to the time, the place, or any other circumstance of its writing; and Eusebius, who wrote in the fourth century (A.D. 325), professes to do no more than to give at intervals throughout his History

certain traditions on the subject that were current in his day, and the names of authors who are said to have been associated with those traditions.

Let us, then, turn to this "third proof" of Bellarmine, which he alleges in testimony that "Peter was at some time or other in Rome" (still far from the claim of the twenty-five years' episcopate!) The Cardinal writes as follows:—

"Thirdly, it is proved from the history of the Gospel of St Mark. For the most weighty authors allege, that Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, even as he had heard Peter preaching there. Eusebius writes thus (lib. ii. hist., c. 15) from Papias and Clement of Alexandria. Irenæus asserts the same," &c.\*

It is clear from the above that Bellarmine strives to build up his theory on certain alleged traditions respecting the writing of St Mark's Gospel. He would evidently have us to understand that Eusebius quotes Papias, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, &c., to prove that St Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome, and that he was thereby in some way associated with St Peter there.

Now, to us it is a matter of perfect indifference whether St Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome, or in Alexandria (in which latter place St Chrysostom says he wrote it). The writing of St Mark's Gospel in Rome would still be very far from proving St Peter's presence there. There is, indeed, authority in the New Testament connecting St Mark with the city of

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.



the Cæsars, but it is in the company of *St Paul*, and not of *St Peter*! Mark is mentioned as the companion of Paul in the Epistle to Philemon (ver. 24) and to the Colossians (iv. 10), both of which were written from Rome during *St Paul's* imprisonment there; and again in Paul's message to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 11), to bring Mark with him to Rome. If any one will have it so (that *St Mark* wrote his Gospel in Rome, during any of these visits to the city), then, as a matter of *opinion*, let it be; but if the demand is made as a matter of established *fact*, and with a view to build up a theory upon it, and especially this theory (of *St Peter's* Roman episcopate), then we put the matter upon proof. And as Bellarmine so uses it, we dispute the statement. I shall now proceed to show what the Cardinal is likely to gain, in the way of help, by this course of argument; that is, so far as the uncertainty and inconsistency of writers quoted on the subject will enable us to judge.

And, first of all, Papias is quoted by Bellarmine as alleging that *St Mark* wrote his Gospel *at Rome*. We have already\* seen what reliance is to be placed on the evidence of Papias; but, once more, in this case also, it so happens that Papias says nothing of the kind. I shall gather out here all the testimonies quoted by Eusebius on this point. For example, Papias is thus quoted:—

“ We shall now,” says Eusebius, “ subjoin a *tradition*, which he (Papias) sets forth concerning Mark,

\* See Chapter VII. of this work.

who wrote the Gospel, thus :—‘ And John the presbyter also said this: Mark being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he received he wrote with great accuracy, but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord; for he neither heard nor followed our Lord, but, as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instructions as was necessary, but not to give a history of our Lord’s discourses. Wherefore Mark has not erred in anything, by writing some things as he has recorded them; for he was carefully attentive to one thing, not to pass by anything that he knew, or to state anything falsely in these accounts.’ Such is the account of Papias respecting Mark.” \*

Now, in this quotation, where is there the least allusion to any connection of all this matter with Rome? The paragraph simply states, what has generally been believed in the Church—that St Mark was much in the company of St Peter, and that his Gospel was to some extent written from the reports of our Lord’s ministry as contained in the preaching of St Peter. We lay this much stress on the absence of all or any allusion to Rome in this testimony of Papias, because (supposing the tradition there given to be true) he is the earliest writer quoted by Bellarmine; and this testimony of his, though it is not the place alluded to by the Cardinal, is the only positive *quotation* from Papias on this subject given by Eusebius, and affords no warrant at all for what Bellarmine states, that St

\* EUSEB., lib. iii., c. 39.

Mark's Gospel was written in Rome. Still less could any one, by any forcing of the passage, prove from it anything about any supposed connection of St Peter with Rome.

The authority quoted by Bellarmine from Eusebius is that of Clement of Alexandria, with whom is joined the name of Papias.\* The place referred to is the sequel of the apocryphal story of Simon Magus, respecting which we have already said enough in our chapter on "The Growth of the Tradition." In this reference Eusebius gives *no actual quotation* from either of his alleged authorities; but narrates the tradition in general terms, as follows:—

“So greatly, however, did the splendour of piety enlighten the minds of St Peter's hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the gospel of God, but they persevered in every variety of entreaties to solicit Mark, as the companion of Peter, and whose Gospel we have, that he should leave them a monument of the doctrine thus orally communicated, in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and had thus become the means of that history which is called the Gospel according to St Mark. *They say also*, that the apostle (Peter) having ascertained by revelation of the Spirit what was done, was delighted with the zealous ardour expressed by these men, and that the history obtained his authority for the purpose of being read in the Churches. This ac-

\* EUSEB., lib. ii., c. 15.

count is given by Clement, in the sixth book of his *Institutions*, whose testimony is corroborated by that of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis.”\*

On these testimonies quoted from Eusebius I have a few observations to make—(1.) That no actual quotations are given by Eusebius; (2.) that Eusebius takes care to narrate the circumstances as “a tradition,” and on hearsay; (3.) that the tradition is exposed to many inaccuracies and inconsistencies, such as will appear on a comparison of the following particulars:—

*a.* Eusebius reports, on the traditional authority of Papias, that St Mark wrote according to St Peter’s “instructions” (lib. iii., c. 39).

*b.* Eusebius reports, on the traditional authority of Papias and Clement of Alexandria, but without any definite quotations, that St Mark was pressed by the Romans to write his Gospel, which greatly pleased Peter (lib. ii., c. 15).

*c.* Eusebius on the same authority, reports that St Peter heard supernaturally—“by revelation of the Spirit,”—of the completion of the Gospel, and authorised it to be read in the Churches (lib. ii., c. 15).

*d.* Eusebius, in another place, quotes the traditional authority of Clement, yea, the very self-

\* EUSEB., lib. ii., c. 15. “The words of this chapter (Euseb., ii. 15) have been generally regarded as a quotation from Clement; but they rather contain Eusebius’s own view, drawn in substance from Clement and Papias. In the former case, Clement is made to contradict himself; in the latter, Eusebius, quoting from memory, is mistaken in thinking that Clement and Papias attest his opinion.”—DAVIDSON, *Introd.*, vol. i., p. 144.



same passage as before, in which Clement is reported as saying that when St Peter was informed of the completion of the Gospel "he neither hindered nor encouraged it" (lib. vi., c. 14). [This account is inconsistent with the former, although emanating from the same authority!]

*e.* Eusebius reports yet again, on the traditional authority of Irenæus, that St Mark's Gospel was written "*after the death of Peter and Paul*" (lib. v., c. 8). [This account is inconsistent with all the foregoing.]\*

*f.* And throughout all these testimonies it is not stated by any of these "most weighty authors" that St Mark wrote his Gospel in Rome!

Indeed it would seem that St Peter and St Mark were *not together* at the date of writing the Gospel; for it was "by information," or "by revelation," that St Peter is said to have heard of it at all. Hence, the Roman theory is in this dilemma,—If Peter was in Rome, Mark did not write his Gospel at Rome, which contradicts Bellarmine's theory; or, if the Evangelist wrote in Rome, Peter must have been absent from the Imperial City, which contradicts just the very thing that Bellarmine means to prove by it!

I would further add to these the fact, that the testi-

\* Davidson pronounces the diverse statements of Clement and Irenæus to be "irreconcilable." One or other must give way; he prefers that of Irenæus.—DAVIDSON, *Introd.*, vol. i., p. 144.



mony of Chrysostom is, that Mark wrote his Gospel in Egypt or Alexandria, of which latter place St Mark was appointed bishop or presiding presbyter.

Once more, is it possible to suppose that St Peter had been preaching among the Jews of Rome, and preaching with such success as that they should importune St Mark to write out the teaching, and yet that on St Paul's subsequent arrival in Rome he should have found this very Jewish population almost ignorant of his own name, as a distinguished Christian teacher, and knowing but little of the existence and doctrine of the Christian Church?

One thing, at all events, may be depended on, and that is, that the critical and vexed question as to the place in which St Mark wrote his Gospel is not to be decided by an *ex parte* dash of Bellarmine's pen; and still less that a structure so gigantic as the Papacy can be safely built upon it. Even the Roman Catholic Father Calmet says, on this matter—"Some mentioned by Chrysostom were of opinion that Mark wrote in Egypt. Others affirm that he wrote after St Peter's death. These different sentiments are enough to prove that the circumstances of time and place *are uncertain* when and where St Mark composed his Gospel."\*

When I mention that the "fourth" and last argument of Bellarmine in proof that "Peter was some time or other in Rome" is derived "from the history

\* CALMET'S *Dict. of Bible*, art. "Mark."

of Simon Magus, who was most gloriously vanquished by Peter at Rome," I think I may say we have exhausted this branch of our subject. Of Simon Magus we have heard enough; and I do not suppose we are likely to think much of an argument drawn from such a story!

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Such are Bellarmine's four great proofs that "Peter was at some time or other in Rome!" And what are they worth? His first argument, derived from the identification of Rome with Babylon as the place of St Peter's ministry, has singularly broken down, on historical, geographical, and theological grounds. His second argument, professing to be derived from "the last chapter of the Acts, and the Epistle to the Romans," is simply an absurd appeal to a testimony that does not profess to speak about St Peter at all, and is therefore an argument that *does not apply* to the case in hand. The third "proof"—that from the place from whence St Mark's Gospel was written, is itself a matter of too much doubt and uncertainty to warrant any use of it to establish any theory; it is the *obscurum per obscurius!* And the fourth argument, founded on the tradition about Simon Magus, carries its own condemnation in the very face of it, as shown in our chapter on "the Growth of the Tradition." And all these "proofs," be it remembered, are for the purpose of establishing the theory of Peter's presence, "at some time or other," in Rome; a

theory which, even though it were proved, would be still far, very far, from establishing St Peter's episcopate there.

And what shall we now say? We can afford to look on and wonder. We would again observe that on our side there is no theory to be subserved. All we ask is, that in the matter of the Scripture narrative, and of the silence and darkness of the post-apostolic age, things may be left as they are; but, certainly, that no advantage shall be taken of these circumstances to *invent facts* (!), to create fables, to fill up the gaps of history, to build up theories, and on those theories to erect the throne of a pontiff, and then to array that pontiff with primacy, precedence, supremacy, infallibility, and such like! Illustrations have already been given in abundance in these pages to show how eagerly the Church of Rome grasps at shadows, and makes foundation-stones of groundless traditions, yea, of things which have not even any alleged tradition to support them. And the theories and principles chiefly built up upon such phantasies are those very theories and principles which are the most vital and the most indispensably essential to the establishment of the high-sounding claims of the Roman Catholic system and doctrine; that is, just those theories and principles that no truth-loving man can afford to grant without strongly challenging their authority and proof.

## CHAPTER X.

### EVIDENCE ALLEGED FROM TRADITION.

#### DIONYSIUS CORINTHIUS AND OTHERS.

WE proceed now to trace chronologically the authorities and testimonies quoted by those who would uphold the idea of St Peter's personal connection with Rome. These authorities, indeed, are not many. They are but few and scanty—mere scraps from authors, some of whom have no existence now for either test or verifying—some of those “bare vestiges,” without context or connection, which Eusebius has gathered in his “trackless and unbeaten path”—testimonies too late and too fragmentary to be of any value—and, at the very best, of double or doubtful meaning, as I now proceed to show:—

The *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, or “Peter's Proclamation,” is an apocryphal or forged document, respecting which but a few words need be spoken. This work was, in the dark ages, ascribed to St Peter's own authorship. We need hardly assure our readers that it is not genuine. Of this work Eusebius says:—“As to that work, however, which is ascribed to him, called ‘The Preaching and the Revelations of Peter,’ we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic

writings, since neither among the ancient nor the ecclesiastical writers of our own day has there been one that has appealed to testimony taken from them." \*

PAPIAS.—Of Papias we have already spoken sufficiently; and nothing further than what we have referred to in former chapters is alleged for this subject on his authority.

DIONYSIUS CORINTHIUS (A.D. 170–190).—The next in order that is quoted on this topic is Dionysius Corinthus, who lived towards the close of the second century, and was Bishop of Corinth. The traditional testimony of Dionysius is recorded by Eusebius in the following words:—

“And that both suffered martyrdom about the same time, Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, bears the following testimony in his discourse addressed to the Romans:—‘Thus likewise you, by means of this admonition, have mingled the flourishing seed that had been planted by Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth. For both of these, having *planted us at Corinth*, likewise instructed us; and having in like manner taught in Italy, they suffered martyrdom about the same time.’ ” †

So far as Dionysius speaks on what Eusebius quotes him to prove, his testimony refers rather to the *time*, than to the place, of St Peter’s martyrdom. He merely states that the two apostles suffered martyrdom “*about the same time.*” And of this there can be no

\* EUSEB., lib. iii., c. 3.

† *Ibid.*, lib. ii., c. 25.



doubt ; for, whether at Rome or at Babylon, the fury of Nero extended to both ; indeed the Neronian persecution extended throughout the then known world, wherever Christians were to be found. Baronius testifies to this fact :—“ It was not only at Rome and in the places adjoining to that city, but *in other states and in other provinces*, that we find the Christians to have suffered martyrdom in this reign of Nero ; for Orosius, the historian, tells us that orders were given by Nero that the Christians should be persecuted throughout all the dependencies of the empire with as much severity as at Rome.” \* And again—“ That Nero’s persecution was carried on with the greatest imaginable severity, not only in the capital, but throughout the whole world then under the sway of Rome.” † Indeed Eusebius, in this very chapter, admits the same, for he quotes Tertullian as saying that, “ after Nero had subdued all *the East*, he exercised his cruelty against all at Rome.” ‡

But looking to the general character of the testimony of Dionysius, what can he mean by asserting that St Peter had “ *planted* ” the Church of *Corinth* ? Is there any evidence corroborative of such a notion ? None whatsoever ! And yet this man, himself bishop of that very Church at Corinth, quotes St Peter as joint founder of both Churches—Corinth and Rome ! Now, all we need ask is—Is this true ? Here again

\* BARONIUS, *Annal. in A.D. 68*, par. 45.

† *Ibid.*, in A.D. 69, par. 46.

‡ EUSEB., lib. ii., c. 25.

is Paul's work as good as ignored. We read in the New Testament of St Paul's visits to Corinth; of his establishing the Church there; of his two epistles written to that Church; but not a word about any labours of St Peter there. Yea, St Paul himself leaves no room for St Peter in the history of the "founding" of that particular Church; for, on the subject of its "planting," he writes—"I have planted, Apollos watered" (1 Cor. iii. 6). And let it be noted, the same Greek word (for "*planting*") is used by both Dionysius (*φύτευσαντες*) and St Paul (*ἐφύτευσα*); thus tending to show how exceedingly literal the antagonism may become if persisted in.

So far as any immediate co-operation with St Paul at Corinth is concerned, it proceeded from Apollos, and not from Peter; and Paul is not backward in acknowledging the co-operation, which, indeed, is amply justified by the account of the labours of Apollos at Corinth, as in Acts xviii. 27, 28; xix. 1. Would not the apostle have been equally ready and equally generous to acknowledge a similar co-operation on the part of St Peter, *if* he had so wrought together with him in Achaia? If the apostle would not in Rome build upon another man's foundation (Rom. xv. 20), so was he alike jealous of his handiwork at Corinth—"And not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand" (2 Cor. x. 16); and again—"For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus *I have begotten you* through the gospel" (1 Cor. iv. 15).

And considering that this testimony is adduced in order to support a theory appertaining rather to the Church of Rome than to that of Corinth, I can hardly forbear saying, what others have said, that if Dionysius, who was *of* Corinth, contradicts the known history of his own Church, how can we believe him when he would volunteer to inform us on the affairs of the Church of *Rome*?

But I am not disposed to deal so harshly with the testimony of Dionysius. I would rather say that he uses the word "planting" in a sense that is true, but yet not meaning to involve the personal presence of Peter at Corinth. And, indeed, I mention this now, because it will anticipate a similar expression at a later stage of our review of the traditional testimonies of the ancients.

Is there, then, any *true sense* in which it may be said that St Peter "planted" the Church of Corinth? I think there is; for, although there is no record of Peter's personal interference with the establishment of the Church there, and a very strong argument to the contrary in the jealous language of St Paul respecting his own work in that city, yet there are traces of St Peter's *influences* there. Thus, amid the schisms of the Corinthian Church, some said, "And I of Cephas" (1 Cor. i. 12)—a schism which deeply grieved the heart of Paul, and which seems to have been caused or promoted, not by St Peter's personal presence there (of which there is no record), but by emissaries that had come to Corinth with "letters of

commendation" (2 Cor. iii. 1)—persons of perhaps as high authority as those "certain that came from James," and disturbed the Church at Antioch (comp. Acts xv. 24, with Gal. ii. 12). From such allusions as these, it may well be supposed that the influence of Peter would be ever ready to support the work of his "beloved brother Paul" at Corinth. But St Paul's own words most emphatically forbid us to accept the testimony of Dionysius in its full and literal sense; for Paul said—"I have planted;" and when he acknowledges the concurrent or subsequent labour of a Christian brother, he says, "*Apollos watered.*" And again, to the same Church, the apostle writes—"As a wise master-builder, *I have laid the foundation,*" &c. (1 Cor. iii. 10). But in no case, and at no time, does Paul acknowledge any co-operation at Corinth at the hands of Peter.

If, then, the *influence* of St Peter in the history of the Church of Corinth, and not his presence, be all that is meant, so far from resisting the idea, I feel bound strongly to support it. And as Dionysius includes Rome with Corinth in this matter of St Peter's intervention, I have no reason to doubt that St Peter's *influences* were felt in like manner at Rome also. Only, my loyal adherence to the text of the Divine Word prohibits me from accepting any interpretation of the words of Dionysius that would be directly contrary to the testimony of St Paul. Surely, it must be allowed that St Paul, if only as the "planter" of the Corinthian Church, and apart from the inspiration of



his writings, must be the best judge and authority in the matter. So far, indeed, from "planting" (in the full and literal sense of the word), we find that Peter had not even "watered" that which Paul had planted!

It is important that we should here bear in mind how strong is the groundwork made for us in the narrative of the New Testament. Whatever is the testimony or evidence adduced from the uncertainties of history, there is always something in the sure and certain Word of God to correct and set it right. This applies almost as much to history as to doctrine. When once we have diligently read this matter in the light of the Scripture narrative, there is nothing, from any other source or authority whatsoever, that can oppose or resist it. The testimony of the Scriptures, at every possible point of contact with the subject, is to *exclude* St Peter altogether from any personal participation in the affairs of the Christian community at Rome; and there is nothing from the earlier writings, or even among the earlier traditions, that can satisfactorily *work in* St Peter, as any element whatsoever, in his life or in his death, and much less in his episcopate, in connection with the Roman city or the Roman Church. And yet it is on the groundless assumption that he was its first bishop, and for a space of "twenty-five years" (no small space for so steadfast a silence of all authority) that the Church of Rome has built up its vast proportions, its loud professions, and its unhistorical pretensions!



HEGESIPPUS (A.D. 180).—We have already referred to the name of this writer in our chapter on “The Growth of the Tradition.” The references there given will have already prepared our readers for the information that no genuine work of Hegesippus gives any warrant for the Roman theory. The “Golden Legend,” attributed to this writer, is the work of a much later date, traced even to so late an age as the thirteenth century. This work, the “Golden Legend,” is identical with a portion of a book called “The Destruction of Jerusalem,” which, though by some attributed to Hegesippus, is by many centuries removed from his authorship. Dupin testifies to this effect, in his “History of Ecclesiastical Writers,” as follows:—“We have besides, under the name of Hegesippus, an History of the Wars of the Jews, and of the Taking of the City of Jerusalem, divided into five Books. But it is certain that this work does not belong to Hegesippus, it being evident that it was written by an author who lived after the reign of Constantine the Great. . . . Others, as Vossius and Miræus, affirm that this book was compiled since the time of Nicephorus Phocas, that is to say, after the tenth century,” &c. And as to the real character and origin of the work, Dupin further states that it is a kind of an imperfect epitome of Josephus; and that for “Joseppi” the Latin interpreters ignorantly substituted “Igisippi!” \*

\* DUPIN, *Ecl. Writ.*, vol. i., p. 64.

## CHAPTER XI.

### EVIDENCE ALLEGED FROM TRADITION.

IRENÆUS (A.D. 180–200).

SOMEWHAT later than the time of Dionysius, referred to in the preceding chapter, is the next testimony that is alleged by Roman Catholic writers on this subject. It is that of Irenæus, who lived and wrote at the end of the second century (A.D. 180–200).

The testimony of Irenæus is on the subject of the succession of bishops in the Roman Church, which he traces back to “the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul,”—of whom he also speaks as the “founders” of that Church. The three passages quoted on the Roman Catholic side are the following:—

1. On the subject of the “founding” of the Church in Rome, Irenæus makes the following allusion:—

“We shall simply indicate that apostolic tradition and that declared faith of the greatest and most ancient and universally known Church, founded at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul, which has come down even to us through the succession of her bishops.”\*

\* IREN. *adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii., c. 3.

2. Irenæus is further reported by Eusebius, as indicating a mark of the time referred to:—

“Of those who have transmitted the traditions respecting the sacred Scriptures, Irenæus is one. Let us now give his words, and first of all what he has said of the Holy Gospels:—‘Matthew, indeed,’ says he, ‘produced his Gospel written among the Hebrews in their own dialect, whilst Peter and Paul proclaimed the gospel, and founded the Church at Rome.’” \*

3. Irenæus then proceeds to record the appointment of *the first bishop* of the Roman Church, and to enumerate the succession of bishops to his own time. This enumeration is particularly useful, inasmuch as Irenæus not only recounts the names of the bishops, but also at intervals notes the numerical order of their succession, thus:—

“The blessed apostles, then, founding and building up that Church, delivered the office of the episcopate to Linus. Of this Linus Paul makes mention in his epistles to Timothy. He was succeeded by Anacletus; and after him Clement held the episcopate, the *third* from the apostles. Clement was succeeded by Euarestus, and Euarestus by Alexander. Xystus followed as the *sixth* from the apostles, after whom was Telesphorus; than came Hyginus, and after him Pius. He was followed by Anicetus; and as he was succeeded by Soter, the *twelfth* from the apostles in the episcopate now is Eleutherus.” †

\* EUSEB., lib. v., c. 8.

† IREN. *adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii., c. 3. [This extract is quoted by Eusebius, lib. v., c. 6.]

We have thus, in these quotations from Irenæus, these three points—(1.) The alleged “founding” of the Roman Church; (2.) a circumstance marking the *time* of that alleged founding; and (3.) the line of succession of its bishops from the first. We have thus ample testimony from Irenæus, and ample scope in the Scripture narrative also, for purpose of deliberate comparison, so as to form a true judgment in the matter. This we accordingly now proceed to do, taking the above-mentioned passages respectively as the text of our review.

1. ON THE “FOUNDING” OF THE ROMAN CHURCH.—We have already found that the word “planted,” as used by Dionysius of Corinth, does not involve the personal presence of the person alluded to. The word “founded,” as used by Irenæus, may be similarly interpreted; indeed, *must be*, unless we are prepared to throw overboard altogether the whole range of the Scripture narrative respecting the earliest days of the Christian community at Rome.

But looking to the first of the passages quoted above from Irenæus, and taking the word “founded” in its literal sense, I ask these questions—Did St Peter *found* the Roman Church? Yea, is it even true that *St Paul* founded it? We have not the slightest intimation in the Acts of the Apostles, or in any portion of the New Testament, that St Peter was ever at Rome; or that he ever contributed in any way, by his presence in the city, to gather or instruct the

members of that Church. And we know that St Paul, some years before his arrival in Rome, had addressed an epistle to that Church; that he there bears testimony to that Church that it had already existed for some time, and borne good fruit (Rom. i. 8); that there were many opportunities for St Paul in that epistle to note the labours of St Peter, if there had been any to record: and that no such notice anywhere occurs throughout the epistle, but rather indications to the contrary. We are therefore utterly at a loss to discover the consistency of the words of Irenæus with the known facts of Scripture—that is, on the interpretation of the words in their literal sense.

Are we, therefore, driven to reject the testimony of Irenæus altogether? By no means; for there is a sense in which his words are true; and it is only when so interpreted that they can be considered as in agreement with the New Testament history and the true facts of the case.

There was one great commission given to the apostles, which, in the fulfilment of it, made them to be the “founders” of all Churches; namely, their Lord’s command—“Go teach *all nations*” (Matt. xxviii. 19). There was, again, one great occasion which gave early first-fruits of this great enterprise; namely, the day of Pentecost. Among the representatives of “all nations” present on that occasion were “strangers of ROME” (Acts ii. 10). It is further testified that “Peter, standing up with the eleven,” preached that day. The Spirit had come, and the first great ingather-



ing of the Church was the result. In that day, and on that occasion, Peter might be said to have “founded” the Roman Church, as well as many other Churches besides. That was the great “foundation-day” of the apostolic ministry. To this view, indeed, this very Irenæus himself agrees; for, speaking of that day of Pentecost, and of the words of St Peter then uttered, he says, “These are the words of that Church [*i.e.*, at Jerusalem] *from which every other Church had its beginning.* These are the words of *the metropolis of the citizens of the New Testament*; the words of the apostles, made perfect by the Spirit after the ascension of our Lord.” \*

Baronius, too, unites in the same testimony; for he thus quotes the words of St Chrysostom—“Peter pleaded the cause of Christ on behalf of our Lord’s other eleven apostles, as well as his own. He was the first who collected a Church, and that not of the Jews only who belonged to Jerusalem, but of the Jews of Parthia, and of the Medes, and of the Phrygians, of the Africans, of the Egyptians, of the Arabs, *of the Romans*, and of others.” †

Then see how St Paul speaks of this: he writes to the Christian community at Ephesus, as a Church “built upon the *foundation of the apostles and prophets*” (Eph. ii. 20). Now, St Paul was himself personally the “founder” of that Church, and we do not read of the visit of any other apostle to Ephesus

\* “Hæ voces ecclesiæ, ex qua habuit omnis ecclesia initium (*αρχήν*),” &c.—IREN. *adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii., c. 12, par. 5.

† BARONIUS, *Annal. in A.D. 34*, par. 243.

up to the date of the epistle ; and yet it is said to have been built on " apostles " as a " foundation," and on " the prophets " too, who plainly had never been there at all. The meaning is, that the Church of Ephesus, like the whole Church Universal, was founded on the doctrine, and writings, and teachings, and other *influences* of " apostles and prophets." Hence that beautiful collect in our Prayer-book—the collect for St Simon and St Jude's day: " O Almighty God, who hast built Thy Church upon the *foundation* of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone, grant us so to be joined together in unity of spirit *by their doctrine*, that we may be made an holy temple acceptable unto Thee."

Thus good old George Herbert expresses the same idea in his quaint poem on " Peace : "—

" There was a Prince of old  
At Salem dwelt, who lived with good increase  
Of flock and fold.  
He sweetly lived, yet sweetness did not save  
His life from foes.  
But after death, out of His grave  
There sprang *twelve stalks of wheat* ;  
Which many, wondering at, got some of those  
To plant and set.  
It prospered strangely, and did soon disperse  
*Through all the earth.*"

It was not at all necessary, even in actual and particular instances, that the personal presence of an apostle should be essential to the founding of a Church. For example, it is generally admitted that the Church of the Colossians was one of the Pauline

foundation ; and yet St Paul had not been personally at Colosse up to the date of writing his epistle to that Church ; for he writes to the Colossians as to those who “ have not seen my face in the flesh ” (Col. ii. 1). The Church of Colosse was the result of one of the many *influences* of Paul, which went forth from Ephesus :—“ And this continued by the space of two years ; so that *all they which dwelt in Asia* heard the word of the Lord Jesus, both Jews and Greeks ” (Acts xix. 10).

There is, however, a very remarkably conclusive evidence to this effect from the admissions of Cardinal Baronius himself, to which I must very specially call attention : Baronius is speaking of the “ founding ” of the Church of Antioch in Syria, which is largely associated with the name of St Peter, who is, indeed, accounted as its “ founder ” and first bishop. According to the Roman Catholic Claims as to the “ founding ” of Churches, Antioch and Rome would be precisely parallel cases—both *claiming* St Peter as founder and first head. Now let us see how Baronius deals with the claims of Antioch in this respect. He writes as follows :—“ Supposing, then, that Peter is said to have founded the Church of Antioch, and presided there for seven years ; they are greatly mistaken, in my opinion, who suppose that Peter must have gone to Antioch for this purpose, and continued there for seven years.” \*

Baronius thus admits the fact of an absentee

\* BARONIUS, *Annal. in A.D. 39*, par. 16.

founder in the case of the Church of Antioch. He speaks even more strongly in the case of the Alexandrian Church, which boasted the possession of the "Chair of Peter:"—"Then the see of Alexandria, in which it cannot be proved that Peter ever was, was *founded* by that apostle. It must be evidently understood that *not the presence of Peter, but rather his authority*, was necessary to the establishment of any patriarchal see. When, therefore, we say that the Church of Antioch was *founded* or constituted by Peter, it is not to be understood that Peter was the first to preach the gospel there; for it is sufficiently proved by the testimony of St Luke that that was done by those disciples who were driven from Jerusalem after the death of Stephen. . . . There is really no necessity that St Peter should have gone to Antioch." \*

Baronius having thus admitted that Peter was not the first to visit Antioch, and was not the first to preach there; having acknowledged that a Church had been gathered there during Peter's absence, and long before he came; still feels that he can commence his next paragraph with this sentence:—"Thus, then, the Church of Antioch was established and *founded* by Peter." †

The argument necessarily deduced from these quota-

\* "Non præsentiam Petri, sed ejus potissimum requisitam esse auctoritatem ad constituendam sedem aliquam patriarchalem. . . . Nulla profecto incubuit necessitas ut Petrus abierit Antiochiam."—BARONIUS, *Annal. in A.D. 39*, par. 16.

† "Sic igitur erecta atque *fundata* a Petro ecclesia Antiochena."—*Ibid.*, par. 17.

tions of Baronius is, that if the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria were said to have been “founded” by St Peter, and founded during his absence, and simply through his *influence*, does not the same principle apply to the “founding” of the Church of Rome, as stated by Irenæus? Why should the principle of “not his presence, but his authority” apply to Antioch and Alexandria, and then be deemed inapplicable to Rome?

2. ON THE ALLEGED DATE OF ST MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.—We proceed now to the second of the quotations from Irenæus, in which a mark of *time* is indicated for this alleged “founding” of the Roman Church. Irenæus makes the period to synchronise with the writing of St Matthew's Gospel; and yet, I fear, his statement has contributed little towards settling *that* point. We have different theories of dates for the Gospel of St Matthew, ranging from A.D. 37 to A.D. 61. The latter date is fixed by some (*e.g.*, Mill, Michaelis, Bishop Percy, &c.) on the supposed authority of Irenæus; because, whatever might be said about St Peter in Rome, it is certain St Paul was not there till A.D. 61. But against this theory is the strong resistance of Baronius, who argues earnestly, and I think successfully, for a very much earlier date (A.D. 41). He seems, however, to be very desirous of getting rid of St Paul's presence and “founding” altogether; and as he cannot accomplish this, he says of the theory of Irenæus that “the most



absurd results would follow" from accepting it.\* If Baronius thus deals with the authority of Irenæus, I am, at least, not singular in calling his testimony into question. If his testimony is impugned by those who quote him as an authority, it is clear he can be no absolute authority to us.

But in this argument, and amid so many theories, I think we are justified in making use of the date commonly accepted in the Church of Rome. For example, Baronius, and Eusebius (in his "Chronicon"), fix it at A.D. 41; but even their ruling is not accepted by all; for I find in the popular edition of the Rheimist Testament (Roman Catholic Bible) a note prefixed to St Matthew's Gospel urging a still earlier date:—"He wrote about *six years after our Lord's ascension.*" That would make the date to be A.D. 39. [Horne in his "Introduction" says A.D. 37, or at the latest A.D. 38.]

Now, if somewhere between A.D. 39 and A.D. 41, St Matthew was (according to Roman Catholic computation) writing his Gospel, how could Peter and Paul be at the same time "founding the Church in Rome," seeing that, even on Roman Catholic evidence, St Peter was at that date in Judea, and would continue there for four or five years longer; and St Paul would not arrive in Rome until full twenty years later still? This is an argument founded on Roman Catholic *data*. They must settle their own inconsistencies for them-

\* "Magna profecto inde sequerentur absurda."—BARONIUS, *Annal.* in A.D. 41, par. 15.

selves ; and they ought to have a very certain answer, seeing the enormous fabric they presume to leave dependent on such uncertainties and doubts !

Again, just a word or two more as to the time of the founding of the Church in Rome. Even on the date that Eusebius alleges for the coming of Peter to the city (A.D. 44), it would be nearly twelve years after the Ascension before a Christian Church was founded there. Now, is it reasonable to suppose that so long a time would elapse before the Christian system would find a lodgment in the Imperial City? There were Roman Jews at Jerusalem on the occasion of the first Pentecost after the Ascension. Can we suppose that these men would be the only persons who would receive no blessing on that memorable day? Would they carry back no tidings to the place from whence they came? Was there no seed sown that day, which in due time would reproduce itself in Roman soil, and become the germ of the future Church of the Imperial City? St Paul salutes in Rome his two kinsmen, Andronicus and Junia, of whom he says, "who also were in Christ before me" (Rom. xvi. 7). And as St Paul's conversion was but a year or two after our Lord's ascension, certainly many years before A.D. 44, here is an evidence (supposing these two to have been permanent residents at Rome) that the Christian Church was "founded" long in advance of even the earliest date alleged for St Peter's (unhistorical) arrival. And even supposing it could be proved for St Peter, we would yet have to wait for nearly twenty years be-

fore the arrival of St Paul; for until his arrival and his joint action with Peter, the testimony of Irenæus (literally taken) would not be correct.

Well does Dean Alford express himself, when writing on this subject, he says—"It (the Roman Church) had been founded by no apostle, but apparently owing to the concurrence of all men from all parts at the capital. This had brought together Christian converts in sufficient numbers to form a considerable Church. It is an absolute historical necessity to assume this origin of the Christian body at Rome."\*

Thus is Rome driven from point to point—whether of date or other argument. It remains, that *if* Peter and Paul were "founding" the Roman Church while Matthew was writing his Gospel, they must have been "founding" it in their absence (which I quite believe they were), and by the *influences* they were enabled to bring to bear on those who dwelt in the metropolitan city, or on those who would become residents there. There was no place so open to such influences as Rome; the constant traffic and transit from all parts of the world to the great metropolis, and from the metropolis to the provinces again, would bring the apostles oftentimes into personal contact and communication with the Christians of Rome; and this without necessarily setting foot in Rome itself. Of this there can be no better proof than that long list of greetings with which St Paul concludes his Epistle to the Romans. This apostle had

\* ALFORD'S *How to Study the New Testament* (The Epistles, 1st Section), p. 159.

not as yet visited Rome; and yet he evidently possessed a rich inheritance of souls in that community.

And how did Paul thus come to enjoy such fruits in the Imperial City before his actual arrival there? Was it not through meeting with those Roman Christians elsewhere? Thus he had met with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth on the occasion of their flight from Rome (Acts xviii. 1, 2), and he subsequently greets them in his Epistle to the Romans, they having meantime returned to the city (Rom. xvi. 3). He greets Epænetus as "the first-fruits of *Achaia* unto Christ" (Rom. xvi. 5), that is, one of his own Corinthian converts, but now, through change of residence, a member of the Church in Rome. The familiarly friendly greeting to "Rufus, and his mother and mine" (ver. 13), points to a very close intimacy, which must have been at some other place than Rome itself. Again he greets some as his "helpers" (ver. 3, 9); others as his "kinsmen" and "fellow-prisoners" (ver. 7, 11); and several "households" with which he seems to have been intimately acquainted (ver. 10, 11). Truly, the apostle's fame preceded him as well as his personal interest in the community of Roman Christians!

Thus we learn that St Paul had been largely instrumental in "founding" the Roman Church long before his personal arrival there. And so might St Peter also; and so, no doubt, he had been; not only by his influence on the Roman Jews at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, but on other occasions also; as, for example, that of his visit to Cornelius, the Roman



centurion—"of the band called the Italian band,"\*—who was quartered with his soldiers at Cæsarea (Acts. x. 1., &c.) This man, now himself brought to the faith of Christ, would naturally use his influence to promote the Christian faith among his soldiers; and these would in their turn extend it among their friends in Italy, and thus largely co-operate in laying the foundations of the Roman Church. Such events as these were the true "planting" and the real "founding" of the Christian community at Rome. So that at whatever time St Matthew was writing his Gospel, it was still true that the apostles were contributing to the "foundations" of the Roman Church. The statement of Irenæus cannot be otherwise interpreted; and, for lack of *this* interpretation, Baronius can make out nothing but "absurdity" from his testimony!

And yet, although we are ready to grant that St Peter had *by his influence*, and from a distance, aided in forming the Church in Rome, there is no comparison, but only a glaring contrast, between his connection with that Church, and the connections, which were so much more personal, of the apostle of the Gentiles with the Church of that city. Witness the direct command of God to the apostle to testify at Rome (Acts xxiii. 11); witness his loving letter

\* "Cornelius was an officer in the Roman army. No name was more honourable at Rome than that of the *Cornelian House*. It was the name borne by the Scipios, and by Sulla, and the mother of the Gracchi. . . . The corps to which Cornelius belonged seems to have been a cohort of Italians separate from the legionary soldiers, and hence called the 'Italian cohort!'"—CONYBEARE AND HOWSON'S *Life and Epistles of St Paul*, vol. i., p. 114 (People's Edition).



addressed to that Church, and all his greetings to the brethren there; witness the two bands of Christian members who proceeded forth to meet the distinguished prisoner on his journey towards Rome—some, whose affectionate zeal and strength would bring them so far, at Appii Forum, and others at the Three Taverns (Acts xxviii. 15). But where have we such blessed associations connecting St Peter's name with Rome? We have nothing of the kind—no greetings to Rome, no greetings from Rome, no such fruits at Rome! And even if we had, would not the words of Baronius respecting the “founding” of the Church at Antioch be equally applicable here—“NOT HIS PRESENCE, BUT HIS AUTHORITY”?

3. ON THE SUCCESSION OF ROMAN BISHOPS.—It now remains that we turn our attention to the last of the passages cited from Irenæus, which more particularly appertains to the succession of bishops in Rome (see quotation above—p. 102). This is a branch of the testimony of Irenæus on which very important issues depend in the matter of this controversy, as we shall now proceed to point out.

Much—very much—of the Roman Claims on this question turns upon the alleged “episcopate” of St Peter in Rome. The point, indeed, is not now of the “twenty-five years;” for we must regard that claim as utterly indefensible by those who have advanced it, and who have the chief right to defend it. The question of the episcopate of Rome, pure and simple,

and unencumbered by any alleged length of session, is that on which our present quotation calls us to speak. Irenæus testifies to a certain act of appointment on the part of Peter and Paul in delivering to Linus the episcopate of Rome. Does this necessarily involve the presence of either or of both in the city of Rome? It appears to me that if the act of "founding" the Church did not involve personal presence, still less would the nomination or appointment of its bishops necessitate that Peter or any one else should have left the East to accomplish it. Appointment to any office may be performed at a distance. St Peter's concurrence could have been obtained from the East, and St Paul was present in Rome to give practical effect to the joint determination or appointment. Thus we have already seen that St Peter appointed Mark to be Bishop of Alexandria, although it is confessed by Baronius that St Peter was never himself in that African city.

Indeed, the appointment to the early episcopate was generally attributed to "the apostles"—one or more, or all of them together; that is, the apostolic office was, as such, the source from whence the episcopal office was communicated. Thus Irenæus says—"WE are able to number up them who *by the apostles* were made bishops *in the Churches*."\* So also Irenæus speaks of Polycarp as "not only taught by the apostles, but also *by the apostles* sent into Asia to be

\* "Habemus annumerare eos qui ab apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis."—IREN. *adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii., c. 3.

Bishop of Smyrna.”\* And again, in his epistle to the Church at Antioch, Irenæus bids them—“Remember Evodius, who was appointed *by the apostles* as your head.”† It would certainly not follow from these historical references that the “apostles” must have been present “in the Churches” to which they appointed bishops.

But a larger subject comes to view from this testimony of Irenæus. It would appear that the office of the episcopate was not generally held by apostles even in the Churches that were undoubtedly established by them. For example, St Paul personally founded the Church of Ephesus, yet he was not bishop there, but appointed Timothy to that office: as he likewise appointed Titus to superintend the Churches of Crete. Thus, Eusebius writes—“Timothy, indeed, is recorded as having first received the episcopate at Ephesus, as Titus also was appointed over the churches of Crete.”‡

At all events, the enumeration given by Irenæus is plainly *exclusive of the apostles*; and in this Eusebius follows Irenæus. Thus Irenæus cites the bishops not only by name, but also by number—“Clement, *third* ;” “Xystus, *sixth* ;” “Eleutherus, *twelfth* ;” as bishops of Rome. Eusebius distinctly names Linus as “first bishop” of Rome. The heading of chapter 2., lib. iii. (Euseb. Eccl. Hist), is as follows—“*The first (πρῶτος) that presided over the Church at Rome* ;” and in that chapter *Linus* is the person so mentioned. Again

\* IREN. *adv. Hæres.*, lib. iii., c. 4.

† IREN., *Ad Antioch.*, c. 7. Vid. HOOKER'S *Eccl. Pol.*, lib. vii., c. 3.

‡ EUSEB., lib. iii., c. 4.

(lib. iii., c. 4), Eusebius says—"Clement also, who was appointed *the third bishop* of this Church." Thus the following is the list of the first twelve bishops of Rome as given by Irenæus and Eusebius :—

1. Linus, "*first*" (πρῶτος)—Euseb. iii. 2.
2. Anacletus.
3. Clement, "*third*"—Irenæus.
4. Euarestus.
5. Alexander.
6. Xystus, "*sixth*"—*Ibid.*
7. Telesphorus.
8. Hyginus.
9. Pius.
10. Anicetus.
11. Soter.
12. Eleutherus, "*twelfth*"—*Ibid.*

Then, again, a most vital point of this subject is elicited in one of the learned annotations of Valesius. In the following note he shows that the expression "from Peter and Paul" does not mean that they were themselves bishops of Rome; thus :—"Truly Irenæus, as our Eusebius also, says that Peter and Paul, the apostles, did found the Roman Church, but by no means does he reckon them in the order of bishops. In the same way Epiphanius says that Hyginus held the ninth place of episcopal succession *after James, Peter, and Paul*. If any one from this passage should contend that *James* was bishop of the city of Rome together with Peter, he would be esteemed truly ridiculous." \*

\* VALES. *in Euseb.*, lib. iii., c. 21.

The effect of such a testimony as this, quoted by Valesius, on the authority of Epiphanius, gives a new and important turn to this controversy. Here we find that the method of dating the episcopal era in *Rome* was, in the form of a *phrase*, sometimes—"after Peter and Paul;" and at other times—"after *James*, Peter, and Paul." It is admitted from this by Valesius that it would be "ridiculous" to argue, from the use of the larger phrase, that "James" was Bishop of Rome, and so we may argue, from the shorter phrase, that it would be equally "ridiculous" to assert that *Peter* was so. Yea, we may push this argument home to the very citadel of the Roman Claims, and say, that as the larger phrase would not mean that "James" had been *in Rome*, so the shorter expression would not mean that *Peter* had ever been there! See, how deep calleth unto deep, in these intricate cross-testimonies of Roman Catholic authorities! The fact is, the Church throughout the whole world, in all its branches, recognised the apostles (as a body) as the founders of *all* Christian communities; they were *all* built upon "the foundation of apostles and prophets." Thus the phrase, "after Peter and Paul," or "after James, Peter, and Paul," meant precisely the same thing—to indicate the apostolic origin and sanction, *but not necessarily the apostolic presence*.

But one remark we are bound to offer here with reference to the systematic attempt of the Church of Rome to thrust St Paul out altogether, and to place St Peter as first, last, everything! Whatever is said



about St Peter is equally and conjointly said of St Paul. Then, could there have been two bishops over the one see—two co-ordinate bishops over one jurisdiction? and could these two bishops, during their lifetime and episcopate, appoint a *third* to occupy the episcopate with them? One of the great drawbacks to the Roman Claims is this uniform association of the two names “Peter and Paul,” or sometimes “Paul and Peter.” Thus, interpreting their office by the Roman Catholic demands, could there be two bishops, two supremacies, two infallibilities, in the one see, at one and the self-same time? and much less could there be *three*? I may here quote the words of Bishop Pearson (who is, by the way, a strong advocate of St Peter’s martyrdom at Rome). Speaking on this subject he says:—“This novel idea of two or three bishops presiding at Rome at the same time was not known to any of the ancients.”\*

I am led to make these observations because I notice in my study of this controversy the very disingenuous efforts made—even to the extent of mis-translation—to “rob *Paul* to pay *Peter*!” Thus, Cardinal Bellarmine does not hesitate to pervert the passage from Irenæus. He writes thus—“Irenæus says that the Roman Church was founded by Peter and Paul; that is, *first by Peter, and then by Peter*”

\* “Novum igitur erat hoc commentum de duobus aut tribus episcopis simul Romæ præsentibus, nec veterum cuiquam cognitum.”—PEARSON, *Op.*, diss. ii., c. 3.

*and Paul together.*” \* This is simply an ungenerous perversion and misrepresentation of the words of Irenæus, as my readers now already know for themselves. Surely, if the testimony of Irenæus were in favour of the Roman Claims, the Cardinal could afford to quote him correctly, and not to mistranslate his words! But what can be more unjust than thus deliberately to mistranslate a few plain words of Latin, and to foist in a total misrepresentation of what a writer has left in his writings? In this case there is a double wrong committed—to Irenæus, in the misrepresentation of his words; and to St Paul, in the attempt to ignore his well-known Roman labours, in favour of the unrecorded and unhistorical tradition about St Peter.

Again, another Cardinal of more recent date has, with equal disingenuousness, mistranslated Irenæus. Cardinal Wiseman, in his “Moorfields’ Lectures,” gives the following quotation in inverted commas—“‘To Peter,’ as Irenæus observes, ‘succeeded Linus, to Linus Anacletus, then, in the third place, Clement.’” † The readers of these pages will have an advantage over Cardinal Wiseman’s hearers; for we now know, by reference to the quotation (p. 102), that Irenæus said no such thing! Whatever Irenæus said about St Peter, he said also about St Paul! Irenæus says nothing of Linus “*succeeding* Peter;” but that

\* “Id est, primum a Petro, deinde a Petro et Paulo simul.”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 2.

† WISEMAN’S *Moorfields’ Lectures*, vol. i., p. 278.

the episcopate was “*delivered to*” him; and that, not by St Peter only, but by “Peter and Paul.” Then, why does Cardinal Wiseman thus mistranslate the statement of Irenæus? Why not fairly give his very words, and let him speak for himself? We know very well why these crafty “suppressions” are made. It is because only one can claim to be Roman bishop, pontiff, pope, infallible at the same time; but here there are, most awkwardly (for the Papal purpose) and most persistently, *two coeval and co-ordinate men!* There might, indeed, have been two *apostles* present, but there could only have been *one bishop* presiding. Therefore, to suit the Papal purpose, one must needs be sacrificed, and that one is that very one with whom alone are connected all the apostolic associations of Rome; he that God specially commissioned to Rome; he that dwelt two whole years in Rome; he that wrote the epistle to Rome; he that was the prisoner of Christ in Rome; he that was in Rome condemned; he that died a martyr’s death in Rome—that one is PAUL! *He* is sacrificed to the lust of Papal power, and truth suffers accordingly; one is taken, the other left; the last is first, the first last! Yet, tell me, was it not from Paul that the greeting came—“To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be saints: Grace to you, and peace, from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ!” (Rom. i. 7). Show me any words like these to bind the mission and the memory of Peter to the Roman Church. By their fruits ye shall know them! Show

me the fruits of Peter in the Imperial City,—any friends he made there; any Christians he greeted there! See, while the apostle of the Gentiles sends his many greetings before him, and is anticipated on his arrival by the affectionate zeal of friends who go forth to meet him, no such associations with Rome are connected with St Peter's name—nothing but absurd apocryphal tales, absurd *because* apocryphal. Simon Magus and his fiery flight! and the tale of the “Golden Legend!”—this is the sum and substance of even the legendary account, which is the only account we have, of any fruits or labours of St Peter in the city of the Cæsars!

There is just one further element of my review appertaining to the evidence of Irenæus, to which I now proceed. It is this: The line of succession of the earlier bishops of Rome is open to serious doubt and uncertainty, owing to the diversities of tradition, and the contradictions of Roman Catholic writers. The succession in Rome starts with Linus. Irenæus names Anacletus as second in order; then Clement (“third”); and after him Euarestus. But other lists of succession, as sanctioned by Baronius, Bellarmine, &c., make Cletus second, Clement third, and then Anacletus (or Anacletus). In Platina's “Lives of the Popes” the latter enumeration is given—viz., Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Euarestus, &c. Platina even contradicts himself; for he elsewhere states that St Peter, on his return to Rome from his attempted flight, consecrated *Clement* as his immediate



successor.\* All the witnesses are at variance with themselves, and with one another. It is endless and hopeless confusion !

Thus the respective, but contradictory, lines of succession would be as follows :—

<p><i>Succession according to Irenæus and others :—</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Linus.</li> <li>2. <i>Anacletus</i> (= <i>Cletus</i>).</li> <li>3. Clement.</li> <li>4. Euarestus.</li> </ol>	<p><i>Succession according to Bellar- mine and others :—</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Linus.</li> <li>2. <i>Cletus</i>.</li> <li>3. Clement.</li> <li>4. <i>Anacletus</i>.</li> </ol>
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Thus, according to Irenæus, Cletus and Anacletus were one and the same person; but according to Bellarmine, Platina,† and other authorities, the two names represent two distinct individuals! This circumstance has given rise to a rather curious and amusing controversy—curious and amusing *to us*, but of the most vital and essential moment to the Roman Catholic pretensions, and especially on this subject of the Papal succession.

No doubt most persons would say at once that this diversity was to be accounted for by the similarity of names; and that Cletus and Anacletus might very easily be made to be one and the same person. To my mind, nothing seems more natural than this.

\* “Tunc Petrus ad urbem rediit, ac statim Clementem episcopum consecrat, eique cathedram et Ecclesiam Dei commendat,” &c.—PLATINA, *De Vit. Pontif.*, p. 8.

† There is this peculiarity about Platina’s book (the edition in my possession, Coloniae Ubiorum, A.D. 1600), that each narrative is headed by a medallion likeness of its bishop; and there is a likeness of Cletus, and a likeness also of Anacletus!



And yet, for all that, it cannot be; for the strangest part of the matter is, that the weight of Roman Catholic testimony is in favour of the theory that the names represent *two* persons—two distinct pontiffs!

For example, their martyrologies are distinct—the one being celebrated on the 26th of April, and the other on the 13th of July. I refer to the Roman Breviary—the book which all Roman Catholic priests are bound by the law of their Church to read in every day. Thus, on the 26th of April, we read to this effect respecting Cletus:—

April 26th.—Feast of Cletus, pope and martyr. That Cletus was a Roman by birth; his father's name was Æmilianus. His pontificate was during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus. The number of presbyters he ordained is given. The length of his pontificate is stated, even to the number of the *days*—"twelve years, seven months, and two days." He was martyred during the reign of Domitian. Such are the details of the life and pontificate of Cletus, on the authority of the Roman Breviary!\*

We now turn to the Breviary for the 13th of July,

\* "Cletus Romanus, patre Æmiliano, de regione quinta, e vico Patricio, imperatoribus Vespasiano et Tito, ecclesiam gubernavit. Is ex præcepto principis apostolorum in urbe viginti-quinque presbyteros ordinavit. Primus in litteris verbis illis usus est: Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Qui ecclesia optime constituta, cum ei præfuisset annos duodecim, menses septem, dies duos, Domitiano imperatore, secunda post Neronem persecutione, martyrio coronatus est, et in Vaticano juxta corpus Beati Petri sepultus."—BREVIAR. ROM., *die xxvi. Aprilis.*

and there we find the following details respecting Anacletus :—

July 13th.—Feast of Anacletus, pope and martyr. That Anacletus was an Athenian by birth; that his pontificate was during the reign of Trajan. The number of presbyters, deacons, and bishops that he ordained is given. The length of his pontifical reign is also accurately chronicled—“ nine years, three months, and ten days.” These are the records of the Breviary respecting Anacletus.\*

Now, there can be no mistake about these two personages, so far as the Roman Breviary is concerned; and its authority must be, I should suppose, unquestionable, inasmuch as it is the “ daily portion ” of all Roman Catholic priests. How could these two men, by any possibility, be welded into one? There is nothing alike between them, except that they are both said to have been bishops of Rome. They are different in country, and parentage; held the pontificate under different emperors, and for different periods of time; and by many other particulars are asserted to have been two distinct individuals. Moreover, the authorised “ Catalogues ” of the Popes—that of Liberius,

\* “ Anacletus Atheniensis, Trajano imperatore, rexit ecclesiam. Decevit, ut episcopus a tribus episcopis, neque a paucioribus, consecraretur : et clerici sacris ordinibus publice a proprio episcopo initiarentur : et ut in Missa, peracta consecratione, omnes communicarent. Beati Petri sepulchrum ornavit, pontificumque sepulturæ locum attribuit. Fecit ordinationes duas mense Decembri, quibus creavit presbyteros quinque, diaconos tres, episcopos sex. Sedit annos novem, menses tres, dies decem. Martyrio coronatus, sepultus est in Vaticano.”—*BREVIAR. ROM., die xiii. Julii.*

for example—and other accredited lists, support this view, making Cletus and Anacletus to be two distinct persons, and two individual pontiffs!

And yet they are also accounted as one. Cletus is not included by Irenæus in the list of the first twelve bishops of Rome, because, evidently, he considered him to be the same as Anacletus. Eusebius acquiesces and accepts the traditional list of Irenæus. Valesius argues that they are one person. Cyprian, Optatus, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, all urge identity. And then, on the other hand, Baronius and Bellarmine adhere to the Breviaries, and make Cletus and Anacletus to be two persons! Bellarmine particularly urges the distinction between the two, because of “the authority of the Church, which celebrates two feast days in their memory;” and he evidently feels that the character of the “Universal Church” would otherwise be seriously compromised—“For it is incredible,” says he, “that in such a matter the Universal Church should be deceived.”\* So what are we to say to this significant controversy?

Now, if these men were really two, and both pontiffs, then why is only one included in the list of Irenæus? He wrote within one hundred years of St Peter's death; why could he not give a true and unquestionable enumeration of the bishops of Rome for that comparatively brief period?

But if these two names represent one and the same

\* “Nec enim credibile est in re tanta Ecclesiam Universam falli.”—BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 5.

person, what shall be said about the Breviary, and Baronius, and Bellarmine, and the double martyrology, and the pontifical "Catalogues," which make them to be two? I do declare I have never known a more evenly balanced conflict. The belligerents are, on both sides, the strongest of their race. It is a sore battle too, and they must fight it out between them; for I am decidedly "neutral!"

And yet Cardinal Wiseman, after misquoting and mistranslating Irenæus, and with a full knowledge of this confusion in the list of succession, adds—"From that moment [the episcopate of *Clement*] the series of Popes is uninterrupted and certain to the present day!"\* I would only ask—Did Cardinal Wiseman read his Breviary carefully? And did he ever read Bellarmine? If he did (and of course he did) he must have known that the above sentence was far, very far, from the real truth of the case! Nothing is less clear, nothing more uncertain, than the succession of *the first four bishops of Rome!*

This, then, is the dilemma—the Breviary or Irenæus? Irenæus or all the counter-testimonies? "Under which king, Bezonian?" Irenæus is quoted by Roman Catholics for the succession of the pontiffs. Will they give him up, and hold to the Breviary? Or will they hold to Irenæus, and reject the book of the prescribed daily reading of their priesthood? It is evident there is something wrong somewhere; the second layer of the foundation is loose, or missing, or

\* WISEMAN'S *Moorfields' Lectures*, vol. i., p. 278.



what not? Did we not say we were in a dark tunnel? Verily, it is so dark just about this point, that I do not know whether there are two men, or only one, beside me. If only one man, there are two voices, and two lives, and two pontificates, and two martyrdoms! and if two men, I cannot, for the darkness, distinguish between them!

The force of the argument in the present controversy is, that Irenæus is quoted as against us, and in support of the Papal Claims; and lo! it is Roman Catholics, such as Baronius and Bellarmine, that are the first to reject his testimony! Then, why should Roman Catholics, to serve their own purpose, require of us to accept a testimony, against which the Church of Rome herself rebels?

May we not now very fairly ask—What advantage has the Church of Rome gained by the appeal to the testimony of Irenæus? We have reviewed all the points and pleas which they have derived from his writings; we have gone patiently, and at considerable length, through a review of these; and in none of them do we find the least authority for the Papal Claims as to any episcopate of St Peter in the Roman Church. Neither mission, nor ministry, nor martyrdom there can be proved from the writings of Irenæus. (1.) The allusion to the “founding” has been traced to the *influences* of St Peter; for there is no possibility of discovering any plea for his *presence* there. And on this topic it is very true what Davidson



says—" We know that when they speak of Peter laying the foundation of the Roman Church, either by himself or in connection with Paul, they must be incorrect." \* (2.) Whatever Irenæus may mean to indicate as to the date of St Matthew's Gospel, it is plain he has established nothing to the satisfaction of commentators and critics ; for to this day the date of the first Gospel is a matter of grave dispute, especially among Roman Catholics ; and the date most commonly ascribed is not arrived at upon any authority of Irenæus at all. His allusion is by far too vague, and fixes nothing. (3.) The episcopal succession in the Roman Church, as given by Irenæus, is plainly exclusive of the apostles, and begins with Linus as " first bishop." And nothing can be more confused or confounding than the succession following immediately after Linus. In this, the testimony of Irenæus is discredited, and even rejected, by the most distinguished teachers, formularies, and institutions of the Church of Rome, leaving his authority about as good as naught in this controversy, and returning the whole question back into our hands precisely the same in all its parts as we found it to be in the record of the Holy Scriptures !

\* DAVIDSON, *Introd.*, vol. iii., p. 360.

## CHAPTER XII.

### EVIDENCE ALLEGED FROM TRADITION.

#### CAIUS, TERTULLIAN, AND CYPRIAN.

CAIUS (about A.D. 220).—The next testimony, in chronological order, which is quoted by Roman Catholics, is that of Caius. For the quotation we are once more indebted to Eusebius (lib. ii., c. 25). Eusebius connects the words of Caius with the names of Peter and Paul; but in the actual quotation from Caius there is no mention of any names at all. The testimony of Caius, as quoted by Eusebius, is to the following effect:—

“But I can show,” says he, “the trophies of the apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this Church.” \*

The points supposed by Roman Catholics to be favoured by this testimony would be these—that, by “the apostles,” Caius means only Peter and Paul; that Peter’s “trophy” or memorial was erected in Rome; that a “trophy” would necessarily contain the martyr’s relics; that these “trophies” contained the relics of Peter; and that, *therefore*, St Peter was

\* EUSEB., lib. ii., c. 25.

martyred at Rome. [I feel assured I need not remind my readers that, even taking this and such like quotations at their very best for the Church of Rome, they are still far from proving the Roman episcopate of Peter, and still less the "twenty-five-year theory."]

But, looking to this testimony, the following observations occur to me:—The words of Caius speak of the trophies of "the apostles." It is very likely that, at the beginning of the third century, there were many memorials of "the apostles" in Rome. But there were twelve apostles, and they were all "foundations;" but surely they did not all suffer death in Rome! It is altogether a gratuitous interpretation of the words of Caius to limit them to Peter and Paul. He mentions no apostles by name.\*

But even granting, for the sake of argument, that Caius, under the term "apostles," means specially to include St Peter, and to say that memorials were erected to his honour in Rome; it would still be far from proving the Roman Catholic theory of even his *death* in the Imperial City, much less his episcopate there.

The ulterior argument, however, that is founded on

\* How little this quotation from Caius serves the purpose of Rome will appear from the wanton mistranslation of the passage, as given by Mr M'Corry, who renders the quotation thus—"I can point out to you the trophies of the apostles *Peter and Paul*," &c. If Caius had really said this, he might be adduced as evidence to a certain extent; but he does *not* say this. Mr M'Corry has foisted in the names of "Peter and Paul," for which there is no authority in the writings of Caius. These mistranslations are glaring evidences of Rome's lack of both truth and truthfulness.

this testimony of Caius is, that these “trophyies” or memorials contained *the relics* of the apostles (emphasis being again laid on the relics of *St Peter*, although he is not at all named by Caius). But, surely, even the relics of a martyr contained in a memorial would not argue that the place of the memorial was the scene of the martyrdom.

However, to establish such a connection between the two, Bellarmine falls back upon his usual resort—his querulous questions, arguing from their “sepulchres” [but Caius speaks not of their “sepulchres,” but of their “memorials”]. Bellarmine asks these questions—“If they did not die at Rome, who brought their bodies to Rome? Whence, and when, and by what witnesses, were they brought? If they perchance should answer that the apostles’ bodies are not at Rome, where, then, I ask, are they?” \*

These “questions” are not *proofs*. They argue ignorance or doubt, not knowledge and certainty! The Cardinal might as well ask, Where is the body of Moses? or raise doubts about the lawgiver of Israel, because “no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day.” That all these are dead, and in their sleeping-beds, is enough for us to know. Their bodies have long since returned to dust, their spirit to God who gave it; and the sweet savour of their names continues to be the rich inheritance of the Church.

But the fact is, that *nobody knows* where the bodies of the apostles are, whether of Peter or Paul or any

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 3.

other! And this much more I am bound to say, that the question of *Roman relics* is not the question that will settle this matter of St Peter's alleged residence, or episcopate, or death at Rome! As for the stories and traditions about the bodies of Peter and Paul, a great deal too much has been said, and too absurdly said, to render any service to the Roman Claims. I would be really and truly thankful to that man who would make a clear digest of all the theories and traditions on this subject, from the massive pages of the *Acta Sanctorum*; all the tales about the translation of the relics from the Vatican to the Catacombs, and from the Catacombs to somewhere else; all about Pope Callistus and the Emperor Heliogabalus; all about the thunders and lightnings that hindered unlawful attempts at removal; all about Pope Sylvester, and his doubts as to which was the body of Peter and which of Paul; all about the voice from heaven that told the strange distinction; all about the porphyry stone on which the dust of the twain was weighed and divided; all about the inscription on that porphyry stone, itself a relic of the Vatican—"Upon this stone of porphyry the bones of the holy apostles Peter and Paul were divided and weighed by St Sylvester, the Pope, A.D. 319, when this church was built;" and all about the final result of the whole matter, that one half of the body of each is placed in St Peter's, the other half at St Paul's, on the Ostian way; and the two heads at the Church of St John Lateran! I say that I would be thankful to that



man who would unravel all these labyrinths of legend and of story, and place before the world and the Church anything approaching to a well-digested, not to say a duly accredited, narrative of the whole! \*

But, even granting (which we are very far from doing) that the bodies, or relics, of St Peter were in Rome, still, even for that reason, we could not allow that the apostle had died there. Baronius himself is our authority for recognising at least the possibility of the *translation* of relics. The great annalist states as follows:—"It is certain that at this time several bodies of saints, both martyrs and confessors, *were brought into Europe*, and placed in different cities, either at *Rome*, or *Venice*, or elsewhere." †

And do we not know that this traffic and trade and transit of "relics" has been the great scandal of the Romish Church? Have we not all seen, especially in foreign travel, "relics" far removed from the localities with which they are said to be associated? I have myself sat on *Jacob's Well* in the Lateran Church in Rome! I have myself seen the *Braxen Serpent* coiled on his pillar in the Church of St Ambrose, in Milan! (See 2 Kings xviii. 4.) And in the "*Manuel des Cérémonies pendant la Semaine Sainte*," which I purchased at Rome, I find, amid scores of "relics," some

\* See *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. v. (June), pp. 432-38. It would also be desirable that Section V. of the *Analecta* (pp. 438-40) were well set before the mind of the superstitious, showing how much fraud has had to do with the multiplication of the (supposed) relics of the two apostles Peter and Paul.

† BARON., *Annal. in* A.D. 637, par. 1.

such as these:—"The lance and staff and skull of St George"—did the "fabulous" St George live and die in *Rome*?—"a tooth of St Dominic"—was that tooth necessarily drawn in Rome?—also, "a finger of St Patrick"—an Irish relic!—and—(alas! for the wanton irreverence of the system!)—but I will not write out, amid more trifling things, the alleged associations of the Cross of Jesus in the relics exhibited at Rome in Holy Week!

Baronius tells us that the body of Ignatius was conveyed from Rome to Antioch.\* The Roman annalist further tells us, in the same context, that "each city imagined itself possessed of the martyr's body, because of the trophy being there."† Indeed, I am not quite sure but that St Peter may be at this moment reposing at Canterbury; for we find in the "Ecclesiastical History" of the Venerable Bede that Pope Vetalian sent the relics to Oswy, King of the Saxons (A.D. 665), with a letter to this effect:—"We have ordered the blessed gifts of the saints—that is, the relics of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the holy martyrs Laurentius, &c.—to be delivered to the bearers of these our letters, to be by them delivered to your excellency."‡

My purpose in quoting these at all is to point out that the existence of relics in a place (even supposing those relics to be true) would not necessarily associate the relics or their antecedents with the place of their

\* BARON., *Annal. in A.D. 55*, par. 17.

† *Ibid.*, par. 15.

‡ BEDE, *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. iii., c. 29.

present abode. So neither would the relics of St Peter, even though they were at Rome, prove either his residence or his martyrdom there.

Yet, Bellarmine makes much of this argument (and of what argument does he not make a good deal more than it is worth?) He would have it that "Eusebius made so much of this argument, as that he considered it superfluous to seek any further proofs." Bellarmine, however, does Eusebius a great injustice in saying this; and with a definite reference to Eusebius (lib. ii., c. 25), he puts into the mouth of the historian words which are not found in his History.\*

One more very significant testimony I must quote on this subject—it is from the writings of St Augustine, who wrote far on into the fifth century (about A.D. 430). Did he believe that St Peter's relics were at Rome? Hear his testimony—"Men say (*dicunt homines*) that the body of Peter is at Rome. The body of Paul is at Rome, and of Laurentius," &c.† Mark the difference between the manner in which Augustine speaks of St Peter's body and of St Paul's. Of the one he affirms with certainty; of the other he affirms nothing, but simply reports the *on dit*, the "*dicunt homines!*"

TERTULLIAN (A.D. 250).—The writings of Tertullian are more copious and extensive than those, perhaps,

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 3.

† AUGUSTINE, *Serm.* 296, *in Natal. Apost.*

of any of the writers of the Ante-Nicene age. He was of Carthage, an African Church. His style, and the character of his writings, forbid us to look to him for any accurate historical information. He was more given to rhapsody and figure of speech than to actual history-writing. Dupin says of him—"He had not all that exactness and clearness that might have been wished. He often stretches things too far. He is warm and transported almost upon everything. He is full of figures and hyperboles."\* In this full and voluminous writer, the Roman Catholic search has found two passages, which they seek to press into the service of their theory.

1. The former of these is from his work "On Baptism," in which, among other things, he says—"Nor is there any distinction between those whom John baptized in the Jordan, and those whom Peter baptized in the Tiber."† We may admit that if there were a preponderant balance of testimony in favour of St Peter's connection with Rome, this might be reckoned as evidence. But in the face of the Scripture narrative, and of the absence of the testimony of antiquity, it avails nothing. And more particularly are we justified in saying this, seeing that Tertullian himself warrants us in an interpretation of his words, which places the matter in a metaphorical light altogether. Tertullian, in a subsequent chapter of this same treatise, writes as follows:—"But behold, say they, the Lord

\* DUPIN, *Eccl. Writ.*, vol. i., p. 94.

† TERTULL., *De Bapt.*, c. iv.



came and baptized not : for we read, ‘Nevertheless He baptized not, but His disciples.’ As if John had preached that He should Himself actually baptize with His own hands ! Surely it ought not to be so understood, but as having been spoken simply by a common form of speech. As we have, for instance, ‘The emperor propounded a decree,’ or ‘The Prefect beat him with clubs !’ Doth the one propound, or the other beat, *in person* ? He is always said to do the thing for whom it is ministerially done.” \*

According, then, to Tertullian’s own rule, we interpret Tertullian’s own words. He recognises a delegated authority in what is recorded as the personal act of Christ ; and so, in the face of all the historical evidence against St Peter’s connection with Rome, we feel bound to recognise the delegated authority, and not the personal act of Peter, in the baptism of Roman converts. Tertullian amply interprets his own metaphorical style and the figures of speech which he employs.

2. The second passage gathered out of Tertullian is still less calculated to render help to the Papal theory. Tertullian is speaking of the Universal Church, and of the various countries and nations of which it is composed, and, so far from laying special honour upon St Peter, or allowing to Rome a primacy of place, he seems to designate as the chiefest churches

\* “Sicut est, verbi gratiâ, Imperator proposuit edictum, aut Præfectus fustibus cæcidit; numquid ipse proponit, aut numquid ipse cædit? Semper is dicitur facere, cui præministratur.”—TERTULL., *De Bapt.*, c. xi.



those to which *St Paul's* epistles (the "authentic writings," as he calls them) were addressed, making them the central sees, or metropolitans, of their respective countries; such as Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, and Rome—most clearly selected as the Churches of the Pauline Epistles. He then breaks into a rapturous apostrophe to the Church in all its branches—the Church Universal. His words are these:—

“Go through the Apostolic *Churches*, in which the very seats of the apostles, in this very day, preside over their own places; in which their own authentic writings are read, speaking with the voice of each, and making the face of each present to the eye. Is Achaia near thee? thou hast Corinth. If thou art not far from Macedonia, thou hast Philippi and the Thessalonians. If thou canst travel into Asia, thou hast Ephesus. But if thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, where we also [*i.e.*, of Africa] have an authority close at hand. What a happy Church is that, on which the apostles poured out all their doctrine, with their blood! where Peter had a like passion with the Lord; where Paul took for his crown the same death with John; where the apostle John was plunged into boiling oil, and suffered nothing, and was afterwards banished to an island.” \*

This is a most unfortunate quotation for the Papal purpose. It clearly ignores the idea of any supremacy or precedence as connected with Rome—beyond a

\* TERTULL., *De Præscript. Hæret.*, c. xxxvi.

merely provincial primacy "for Italy;" giving a like place and power to Corinth, Philippi, &c., for their respective provinces. And having mentioned these individual parts, he then addresses the Church as a whole, enumerating some of the brave sufferers and witnesses out of many Churches and many places. And if only to show how vain is the attempt to limit the allusion to Rome, I need only to point out the reference to the scene of the apostle St John's traditional suffering. This certainly was not Rome, but Ephesus, of which latter city he was the presiding presbyter or bishop, and from whence he was banished to the Isle of Patmos. No tradition associates the memory or sufferings of St John with Rome; and Tertullian associates his sufferings with the glory of the Universal Church, several chief provinces of which he had just enumerated. This conclusion, then, of the passage quoted from Tertullian, speaks not of Rome, nor of the Church in Rome, but of that which the *Te Deum* calls "the Holy Church throughout all the world," within which, and for which, Peter also suffered!

And, after all, even though these extracts were favourable to Rome (as indeed they are not), how little would be gained for the Papal Claims in their fulness! In these quotations there is not one word about any episcopate of St Peter in Rome, and still less of the twenty-five years' duration, as asserted and claimed by Bellarmine. *These* are the real points at issue, and on these Tertullian says not a word.

CYPRIAN (A.D. 250).—There is just this one further testimony remaining to be considered, and then we are done with this traditionary review. To pursue our inquiry beyond the middle of the third century would be supererogatory indeed. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, speaks of “Peter’s Chair;” and from this the advocates of the Roman theory desire to derive some help to their cause. We have, however, already quoted from the authority of Baronius, showing how he speaks of the see (*sedes*) of Alexandria, which was accounted as of St Peter’s founding, and testifies that St Peter was never there, and never sat in it.\*

But with reference to “Peter’s Chair” † at Rome, we must not omit the interesting testimony of Bower, in his “Lives of the Popes.” ‡ He thus writes:—

“They (the bishops of Rome) had, as they thought, till the year 1662, a pregnant proof not only of St Peter’s erecting their chair, but of his sitting in it

\* BARON., *Annal. in* A.D. 39, par. 16.

† “Only one amongst the rest (of the memorials) must not be forgotten: there being kept that very wooden chair wherein St Peter sat when he was in Rome, by the only touching whereof many miracles are said to be performed. But, surely, Baronius, his wisdom and gravity were from home, when speaking of this chair; and fearing that heretics would imagine that it might be rotten in so long a time, he tells us, that it is no wonder that this chair should be preserved so long, when Eusebius affirms that the wooden chair of St James, Bishop of Jerusalem, was extant in the time of Constantine. But the Cardinal, it seems, forgot to consider that there is some difference between three, and sixteen, hundred years.”—CAVE, *Antiq. Apost.*, p. 48.

‡ Archibald Bower is styled, as on title-page of his *History*, as “Public Professor of Rhetoric, History, and Philosophy, in the Universities of Rome, Fermo, and Macerata, and, in the latter place Counsellor of the Inquisition.”

himself; for till that year the very chair in which they believed, or would make others believe, he had sat, was shown and exposed to public adoration on the 18th of January, the festival of the said chair. But while it was cleaning, in order to be set up in some conspicuous place of the Vatican, the Twelve Labours of Hercules unluckily appeared engraved on it! Our worship, however, says Giacomo Bartolini, who was present at this discovery, and relates it, was not misplaced, since it was not to the wood we paid it, but to the Prince of the Apostles, St Peter." \*

Again, with regard to this alleged "Chair of St Peter" in Rome, there are many uncertainties and doubts to be particularly noticed. For example, I find in the "Roma Sotterranea" of Dr Northcote, President of the Roman Catholic College at Oscott, some strange allusions to this "Chair." We are there informed that this wonderful relic had not been seen for full two hundred years, from the time of Alexander VII., until, in 1867, "Pope Pius IX. commanded this venerable relic to be exposed for the veneration of the faithful." † And why thus hide such a light under a bushel for two hundred years? If it is what it professes to be, it ought to have been more generally seen, and more widely known! Then, we have the confession of this book that the testimony of Bower, just now quoted, is perfectly correct:—"The ivory

\* BOWER'S *Lives of the Popes*, vol. i., p. 3.

† NORTHCOTE and BROWNLOW'S *Roma Sotterranea*, Appendix, Note C., p. 389.



ornaments which cover the front panel of the chair are square plates of ivory, disposed in three rows, six in a row, and have the Labours of Hercules engraved upon them.”\* A heathen chair for a Christian Bishop! And, as though to mystify this subject, this otherwise learned work introduces to our notice a rival “Chair of St Peter,” which is said to be “in the cemetery of Ostrianus:” † and, consistently with all the doubt and legend and mythology surrounding the subject, we are informed that there are “two Feasts of St Peter’s Chair,” ‡ *i.e.*, January 18th, and February 22d. Some would try to account for this fact, by associating the latter feast with the chair “at Antioch;” but we are informed in the very same page, that “De Rossi observes that ancient documents, anterior to the eighth century, make no allusion to Antioch in connection with the Feast of February 22d.” § And, as to rendering a reason for the double feast, we are informed that “it is impossible to determine with any certainty.” || Into such legendary tales and puerilities are we lowered when we follow the reasonings of Roman Catholic writers on such a topic as this!

\* NORTHCOTE and BROWNLOW’S *Roma Sotterranea*, Appendix, Note C., p. 390.

† *Ibid.*, p. 396.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 399.



## CHAPTER XIII.

### ROMAN CATHOLIC MISQUOTATIONS.

THROUGHOUT the course of this work there have appeared not a few occasions on which the Roman Catholic advocates have not scrupled to pervert a testimony, either by misquotation or mistranslation. In this chapter several instances of both kinds will be proved against known and accredited authorities in the Romish Church. It is a great pity it should be so; but Roman Catholics are not always scrupulous to a point in the rendering they give of the testimonies of men. The more popular the work, and the more unlearned the constituency of readers or hearers, the more lax is the advocate in the ways and means of promoting his cause. The consequence is, that in reading Roman Catholic arguments, it is necessary to verify every alleged authority, to test every quotation by reference to the original; in a word, to take nothing upon trust.

Among the most remarkable illustrations of this system of misquoting authors, are the references made by Roman Catholics to the writings of distinguished Protestant divines. We are not surprised to find that Baronius and Bellarmine are dead against us; but

when the most learned divines of the Reformation, and literary writers of the Reformed Churches, are quoted in favour of the Roman Claims, this is an argument that we would necessarily feel as the going forth of our strength, and as the passing over of our force to the side of the enemy. We know how bitter is the sting expressed in the words—"It was not an enemy that reproached me, but," &c. This weapon of offence has been brought largely into play against our cause in this controversy; some of our "standard-bearers" having been quoted as favouring the Papal Claims on this question.

For example, Cardinal Wiseman quotes the names of Cave, Pearson, Usher, Young, and Blondel, as in favour of the Roman Catholic theory, saying they "have both acknowledged and supported it." \* The Cardinal, however, adduces no quotations from any of these writers—not one—to justify his mention of their names. In a like general way, he coolly says that, "among the moderns, it may be sufficient to observe, that no ecclesiastical writer of any note pretends to deny this fact." Of the truth of this we shall be better able to judge by the time we have got to the end of this chapter! The Cardinal then proceeds to give that palpable mistranslation of the testimony of Irenæus, to which we have already called attention in its proper place.† We now proceed to test the Cardinal's alleged authorities.

The distinguished names of Cave, Pearson, and

\* WISEMAN'S *Moorfields' Lectures*, vol. i., p. 278.

† See our Chapter (XI.) on "The Testimony of Irenæus," p. 121.

Usher are worthy of every attention. The name of Young is not familiar to me as one of any authority; indeed, I do not know what author is alluded to under that name (the Cardinal gives neither quotation nor designation to indicate the person referred to).\* The name of Blondel recalls to mind the protest of the French Protestants of the seventeenth century, of which body he was a recognised leader. Did any of these men "acknowledge and support" the Roman Claims that St Peter was Bishop of Rome, and continued as such for twenty-five years?

CAVE is one of those Protestant writers who allege St Peter's arrival in Rome at the last, and his martyrdom there. He quotes, as his authorities, the names of Papias, Dionysius, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Caius, and (strange to say) that of Ignatius also.† We are in a position now, at this stage of our review, to form an opinion of these testimonies, and the value of them to the question in dispute. But the idea of St Peter's arrival in Rome at the last, and merely to die there, is not the sum and substance of the Roman Claims in this matter. Rome claims, not one year, but *five-and-twenty years*, for Peter's

\* In the very learned and researchful work of the Rev. Sanderson Robins, on "The Claims of the Roman Church," Young is supposed (p. 253) to be a person of that name who was librarian to Charles I., better known as "Patricius Junius." His testimony, however, supplies nothing for the Cardinal's object; and, if it did, his authority is too slender for anything to depend seriously upon it.

† See note on p. 33 of this work, for reference to the testimony of Ignatius.

residence, as founder and bishop. How often have we been reminded in this work, that a brief sojourn at the last would not constitute him as either one or the other of these? Bellarmine's fundamental rules distinctly state that the mere death of the apostle in Rome would not suffice to establish the Roman Claims.\* As a matter of controversial value, it would count for nothing in this dispute, even if it were true. Therefore, the adhesion of Cave to this opinion is of no value to the Roman Catholic theory.

But when this learned writer (Cave) comes to the real question—the Claim of the twenty-five years' episcopate, see what his testimony is! He writes as follows:—"But, nevertheless, that he (Peter) held his see there for twenty-five years, we resolutely deny. The apostolic history refutes it; the Pauline epistles refute it, as well as the whole course of the life of St Peter; *a thousand difficulties*, arising from antiquity, refute it, that no pretence of sophistry can solve." † He quotes Origen and Lactantius, in disproof of Eusebius, that Peter came only at the end of his life. ‡ He shows, by his own calculations, that even if the apostle had come to Rome in the second year of Claudius, even so there would be an interval of only

\* BELLARM., *De Rom. Pont.*, lib. ii., c. 1.

† "Ipsam tamen hanc cathedram, per 25 annos tenuisse constanter pernegamus. Repugnat historia apostolica; repugnant epistolæ Paulinæ, totiusque vitæ S. Petri cursus; repugnant mille, quæ ex antiquitate oriuntur, difficultates, nullis sophismatum fucis solvendæ."—CAVE, *Sæc. Apost.*, vol. i., p. 7.

‡ "Petrum sub vitæ demum finem, et imperante jam Nerone, Romam venisse."—*Ibid.*

*twenty-one* years.\* He refers to Paul's interviews with Peter, in disproof of the twenty-five-year theory; and, speaking of the Epistle to the Romans as an element in the question, he observes that there is in it "not the slightest mention of Peter." † He says that "the much-talked-of fable concerning the meeting of Peter with Simon Magus was only a deception; from what uncertain and silly tradition derived, I know not." ‡ And speaking of the reference to Simon Magus by Justin and Irenæus, he lays emphasis on the fact that "they have not the least word" of allusion to St Peter in that matter; § and further adds:—"The nature of the apostolic office hardly allows that he should have been attached to the see of Rome as its peculiar bishop; and no record of primitive antiquity informs us that he was." ||

Again, with a still more direct reference to the very core of the Roman theory—the twenty-five years' episcopate—Cave thus comments on the whole argument of Baronius:—"That which caused Baronius to split upon so many rocks, was not so much want of

\* "Optime etiam cum hac supputatione consistere Petri Romam adventum Claudii anno 2, nec ulli alii convenire."—CAVE, *Sæc. Apost.*, vol. i., p. 7.

† "De Petro ne levissima mentio."—*Ibid.*, p. 9.

‡ "Fucum bono viro fecisse videtur decantatissima de Petri cum Simone congressu fabula, nescio ex qua incerta et insulsa traditione hausta."—*Ibid.*, p. 10.

§ "Justinus Martyr, et Irenæus, qui tamen de Petro ejusvæ cum Simone Romæ congressu, ne verbum habent."—*Ibid.*

|| "Romanæ vero Cathedræ tanquam peculiarem episcopum affixum esse, ægre patitur numeris apostolici ratio; nec ulla nos docent primæ vetustatis monumenta."—*Ibid.*, p. 11.



seeing them—which a man of his parts and industry could not but in a great measure see—as the unhappy necessity of defending those unsound principles which he had undertaken to maintain. For being to make good Peter's five-and-twenty years' presidency over the Church of Rome, he was forced to confound times, and dislocate stories, that he might bring all his ends together. What foundation this story of Peter's being five-and-twenty years Bishop of Rome has in antiquity, I find not, unless it sprang from hence—that Eusebius places Peter's coming to Rome in the second year of Claudius, and his martyrdom in the fourteenth of Nero, between which there is the just space of five-and-twenty years; whence those that came after concluded that he sat bishop there all that time. It cannot be denied, but that in St Hierom's translation, it is expressly said that he continued five-and-twenty years bishop of that city. But, then, it is as evident that *this was his own addition*, who probably set things down as the report went in his time, *no such thing being to be found in the Greek copy of Eusebius.*"\*

\* CAVE, *Antiq. Apost.*, p. 58. Cave's general opinion as to this whole question may be gleaned from his own statement in his "Life of St Peter:"—"The truth is, the learned men of that Church are not well agreed among themselves, to give in their verdict in this case. And, indeed, how should they, when the thing itself affords no solid foundation for it? Onuphrius, a man of great learning and industry in all matters of antiquity, and who (as the writer of Baronius' Life informs us—(HIER. BARNAB., *De Vit. Baronii.*, lib. i., c. 18)—designed before Baronius to write the history of the Church, goes away by himself, in assigning the time of St Peter's founding his see, both at Antioch and Rome. For, finding by the account of the sacred story, that Peter did

What shall we now say to Cardinal Wiseman's reference claiming the authority of Cave as a "support" to the Roman Catholic theory? If we may quote from this learned writer once more:—"The matter is so clear from ancient history," says Cave, "that by the mere force of truth, such men as these have openly abandoned this plea (*causam*) of their own Church—Valesius, Henschenius, Papebroche, Baluze, Norisius, Pagius, Toinardus, the leading men in chronologico-ecclesiastical history." \*

Bishop PEARSON also resists the twenty-five-year theory, and simply pleads for Peter's martyrdom in Rome. His principal authority for this is the testimony of Clement, Bishop of Rome, which, so far from being an argument for Rome, is a direct argument the other way. We have already shown that the testimony not leave Judea for the ten first years after our Lord's Ascension, and consequently could not in that time erect his see at Antioch, he affirms that he went first to Rome, whence returning to the Council at Jerusalem, he thence went to Antioch, where he remained seven years, till the death of Claudius, and having spent almost the whole reign of Nero in several parts of Europe, returned in the last of Nero's reign to Rome, and there died. An opinion for which he is sufficiently chastised by Baronius (*Annal. in A.D. 39, n. 12*), and others of that party. And here I cannot but remark the ingenuity (for the learning sufficiently commends itself) of M. Valois (Valesius), who freely confesses the mistake of Baronius, Petavius, &c., in making Peter go to Rome A.D. 44, the second year of Claudius; whereas it is plain, says he, from the history of the Acts, that Peter went not out of Judea and Syria till the death of Herod (Claudii Anno iv.), two whole years after. Consonant to which, as he observes, is what Apollonius, a writer of the second century, reports from a tradition current in his time, that the apostles did not depart asunder till the twelfth year after Christ's Ascension, our Lord himself having so commanded them.—CAVE, *Antiq. Apost.*, p. 57. \* CAVE, *Sec. Apost.*, p. 7.

mony of Clement amounts to almost positive evidence that St Peter's martyrdom did *not* occur in Rome.\* Indeed, Pearson himself seems to grant as much, as, when controverting Salmasius, he admits that Clement "does not make any mention of the place in which Peter suffered." †

Archbishop USHER is the third of the Cardinal's referees; but no reference is given to any words of his on the subject. I have, however, searched for some allusion of Usher to this question, and found it. It is from his celebrated "Annals," as follows:—

"On the 29th of June, Paul was slain at Rome with the sword, as the records of both the Eastern and Western Church confirm. Wherefore Chrysostom does not hesitate to assert that the day of his death is more notable than that of Alexander himself. Also, Dionysius, bishop of the Corinthians, affirms in his epistle to the Romans, that at the same time Peter suffered martyrdom with him. And that he was crucified at Rome with his head downwards (at his own request), Origen relates in the third volume of his 'Commentary on Genesis;' the prediction of Christ (John xxi. 18, 19) being thus fulfilled." ‡

\* See Chapter III. of this work.

† "Neque meminit loci in quo passus est Petrus."—PEARSON, *Minor Works*, vol. ii., p. 362.

‡ "Junii die 29, Paulus Romæ gladio, cæsus est: ut tam orientalis quam occidentalis ecclesiæ tabulæ confirmant. Unde diem mortis illius notioem quam ipsius Alexandri esse, asserere non dubitat Chrysostomus. Eodem quoque cum eo tempore Petrum subiisse martyrium affirmat in epistola ad Romanos Dionysius Corinthiorum episcopus.

In this quotation, then, we may observe—(1.) That Usher does not give his authority that *Peter and Paul*, but *Paul only*, suffered at Rome; (2.) that the records of both the Eastern and Western Church are not quoted as relating to *St Peter's* death, but only to *St Paul's*; (3.) that when Usher speaks of *St Peter's* death as associated with Rome, he speaks not his own opinion, but simply states that Dionysius affirms it; (4.) that when he refers to the tradition of the “head downwards,” he quotes the tradition that was first started by Origen; and (5.) only when he speaks of *St Paul's* martyrdom does he yield his own unqualified words of assent, and quote the support of “the records of both the Eastern and Western Church.” And is not this the uniform character of the testimony on this subject?—*St Paul's* martyrdom being involved in no doubt, as to either time or place; but no such certain testimony recording the facts of *St Peter's* death. The two are distinctly separated in the very form of the words and phrases by which each is respectively spoken of.

As to Usher's own view of this question, I would quote a passage from the Archbishop's “Speech in the Castle Chamber, Dublin, on the Oath of Supremacy, A.D. 1622.” Usher on that occasion, objecting to the claim of Papal Supremacy, says—“Especially seeing Rome hath little else to *allege* for this prefer-

Quem et Romæ, capite (ut expetierat) deorsum statuto, crucifixum fuisse; tom. 3 Commentarium in Genesim refert Origines: impleta Christi predicatione ad eum facta, Johann. xxi. 18, 19.”—USHER'S *Annal. in* A.D. 67.



ment, but only that St Peter was crucified in it, which was a very slender reason to move the apostle so to respect it." He further pronounced the ground of the claims of the Bishop of Rome to be "vain and frivolous." Such is the testimony of Usher in reference to the Papal theory; and yet he is quoted by Cardinal Wiseman as having "both acknowledged and supported it!"

BLONDEL has also expressed himself on this subject; but in what respect he can be claimed by the Cardinal as on his side of the question, is more than I can account for. It will suffice to quote one sentence from this author. In his work "On the Primacy," he says—"The assignment of the bishopric of Rome to St Peter in particular, is contradicted by St Irenæus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and others, who commence their reckoning of the bishops of Rome from the apostles Peter and Paul, *whom they formally except from the catalogue*; showing that, properly speaking, neither Peter nor Paul were bishops of Rome."\* Thus is Cardinal Wiseman's last reference wrested from him; and so far from his words being true, there is not one of these names respecting which it could be with any truth asserted, that he "acknowledged and supported" the Romish theory.

I observe that other distinguished names are quoted by other writers as favouring the Papal theory. For

\* BLONDEL, *De la Primauté*, p. 588.



example, Mr M'Corry, a Roman Catholic priest, quotes the names of Calvin and Scaliger as supporters of the Roman Claims respecting St Peter.\* 'Tis true that Mr M'Corry's book is utterly worthless, whether taken in a literary or a theological point of view. His translations are grotesque to a degree, arguing a total innocence either of honesty or of Latin! Yet these smaller and more popularly written tracts are often more likely to mislead than the more weighty literature on the subject. And how thankful the Church of Rome is for any plea that may be made on this subject will appear from the fact that, notwithstanding the utter worthlessness of the work as a literary defence, the author received the thanks of Cardinal Wiseman for his "interesting pamphlet," which kindly notice is duly acknowledged in the author's preface! Mr M'Corry, however, quotes the names of Calvin and Scaliger, as on his side. But we shall see!

CALVIN is not only named, but quoted, thus: "The Reformer John Calvin himself writes, 'I cannot withstand the consent of those writers who prove that Peter died at Rome' (Instit., lib. iv.)" †

We now refer to Calvin's works to test this quotation. The great reformer is writing on the two theories—one, that of the Church of Rome, that St Peter was bishop of that see, and for the space of twenty-five years; the other, that he came at last to Rome, and

\* M'CORRY'S (J. S.) *Was St Peter ever at Rome?* Lectures delivered at Perth, 1851.

† *Ibid.*, p. 39.

died there. Now, in dealing with these theories, Calvin strengthens all that we have been saying on the subject, viz., that the death at Rome or otherwise is of no controversial importance whatever, and that the twenty-five-year theory is untenable. But to our quotation. Calvin's testimony is as follows:—"But I do not see that any credit is due to their allegation of St Peter's occupation of the Roman see. Certain it is that the statement of Eusebius, that he presided over it for twenty-five years, is easily refuted."\* He continues in the following section—"In short, the affairs of that period are so involved, from the variety of opinions, that credit is not to be given rashly to anything we read concerning it; and yet, from this agreement of authors, I do not dispute that he (Peter) died there, but that he was bishop, particularly for a long period, I cannot believe." †

Here it must be observed, that, as a matter of *controversy*, Calvin does not care to resist the idea of St Peter's *death* in Rome; but he utterly denies the assertion of the lengthened residence and of the episcopate altogether.

But Calvin has written yet more on this subject, to which I must now call attention. When Calvin comes to deal with the martyrdom of St Peter as connected with Rome, he disputes it as a matter of *fact*. In his commentary on 1 Peter v. 13, alluding to the Romish idea of "Babylon" being interpreted to mean Rome, Calvin writes—"But this old comment has no colour

\* CALV., *Instit.*, lib. iv., c. 6, sec. 14.

† *Ibid.*, sec. 15.

of truth in its favour; nor do I see why it was approved by Eusebius and others, except that they were already led astray *by that error*, that Peter had been at Rome." \* And yet again, commenting on 2 Peter i. 14 (St Peter's near anticipation of his decease), Calvin writes—"When he says that it had been revealed to him by Christ, he refers not to the kind of death, but to the time. But if he received the oracle at Babylon respecting his death being near, how was he crucified at Rome? It certainly appears that he *died very far from Italy, except he flew in a moment over seas and lands.*"† So much for the claim put forth for Calvin's support to the Roman Catholic theory!

Again, this same writer, who received the Cardinal's thanks for his labours in defence of the Papal Claims, quotes the name of SCALIGER, as one of "many distinguished Protestant writers who express their amazement that this great leading fact of Church history should become matter of litigation!" No quotation, however, is hazarded, nor even a reference given to point us to such "expression of amazement" on the part of Scaliger. Nor will any of my readers expect such, for they are already in possession of Scaliger's

\* "Atqui vetus illud commentum nihil habet coloris: nec video cur Eusebio et aliis placuerit, nisi quia illo errore jam occupati erant, Petrum Romæ fuisse."—CALV., *Comment. in 1 Pet. (in loc.)*

† "Quod dicit revelatum sibi esse a Christo, hoc non ad genus mortis, sed ad tempus pertinet. Quomodo autem si Babylone oraculum accepit de propinqua morte, Romæ crucifixus est? Certe, nisi maria et terras momento transvolaverit, procul ab Italia mortuum esse constat." CALV., *Comment. in 2 Pet. (in loc.)*

views on this subject, as quoted in a former chapter ; and those extracts will have already exempted him, in the minds of my readers, from any charge of complicity with the defence of the Roman Claims.\* One further passage I will quote, and that will suffice. Scaliger writes thus—"When, therefore, the early Christians conjectured rightly enough about Peter's crucifixion (from the passage in John), but fondly dreamed that he suffered at Rome, I know not whence they fished up the idea (*unde expiscati sint*), for from Christ's Ascension to the fourth year of Nero it is most assuredly certain that Peter had not come to Rome." † And yet again, speaking of the idea of St Peter's martyrdom at Rome, Scaliger says—"But it could not have been at Rome, seeing he never was at Rome. For as to his coming to Rome, and his see there for twenty-five years, and his martyrdom there, no one who has the least pretension to learning could believe it." ‡

How comes it to pass, then, that such names and men as these are quoted by Roman Catholic authorities as supporters of their theory? Is it done with design? or is it the result of ignorance? Does this latter charge

\* See Chapter VI. of this work (pp. 54, 55).

† "Quum igitur veteres Christiani de cruce Petri, ex eo loco Johannis recte conjecerint, quod Romæ passum somniant nescio unde expiscati sint, nam a Christi in cœlum receptu ad iv annum Neronis certo certius est Petrum Romam non venisse."—SCALIGER, *Notæ in Nov. Test.*, p. 383.

‡ "Sed neque Romæ potuit, quam Romæ nunquam fuerit. Nam de ejus Romam adventu, sede 25 annorum, et supremo capitis supplicio, ibidem, nemo qui paulo humanior fuerit credere posset."—*Ibid.*, p. 384.



apply to Cardinal Wiseman? I should think not! It is perfectly marvellous to me how such statements as these can be thus publicly hazarded in an age like this, and with criticism all around. Is the experiment considered as less dangerous because of the ignorance of the readers or hearers that are addressed? What, for example, shall we say to such a mode of "proof" as the following, from the "interesting pamphlet" which drew forth Cardinal Wiseman's expression of thanks to its author! Mr M'Corry writes thus (the italics are his own)—"The New Testament, forsooth, does not tell us that St Peter went to Rome or died there; therefore we are to conclude that he was not crucified there! This certainly is not a *sequitur*. The New Testament does not tell us that St Peter died at Rome; are we then to infer that *he did not die at all*? If the holy apostle did not die at Rome, will our adversaries please enlighten the world by pointing out distinctly where *he did die*?" (p. 41). The best reply, perhaps, to such a mode of dealing with serious questions of history, may be simply to quote another sentence of this author, who seems to be conscious that he is not quite carrying his hearers with him, as when he says, "There are many (perhaps some present here) who smile at the wonderful simplicity of [Roman] Catholics for believing what they choose to call downright trumpery!" &c. (p. 36). There is, it must be confessed, a great force of truth in this last observation!

It occurs to me, however, to observe, that the bear-



ings of such a mode of advocacy on the question now before us must be obviously plain to every one; for surely, a cause that is strong in its own merits, and based on the solid foundations of truth, would not resort to such expedients as those which have rendered it necessary for me to add this chapter to my book. It is utterly shameless work, thus to pervert the testimonies of authors, and to distort their meanings. It is reckless trifling with evidence—the only means we have of arriving at the truth; and worthy only the contempt of true and honest men. What with the interpolations of some, and the mistranslations of others, and the misquotations of not a few, the Papal Claims are not without a defence; but how it reflects upon the character and honour of the defenders, and on the validity of their claims! Would a just cause stoop to such a mode of advocacy, or allow itself to stand indebted for a single moment to such expedients as these? “*Non tali auxilio*”—but such help Rome *has* sought; and we must judge herself and her cause accordingly!

## CHAPTER XIV.

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

OUR readers may be supposed to have now before them a tolerably clear idea of the merits of this controversy respecting the alleged connection of St Peter with Rome. We have been enabled to bring forth things new and old ; and now, at least, we may be permitted to take a bird's-eye view of the whole matter, and express ourselves accordingly.

We have carefully considered the Claims of the Papacy on the topic before us ; that is to say—

Whether St Peter was Bishop of Rome ; and (if so)

Whether he continued for twenty-five years to hold that office.

To the Papal Claims on these topics we have opposed the most undeniable testimonies from the Holy Scriptures ; from the Apostolic Fathers ; in fact, from the whole chain of evidence of the Ante-Nicene period. We have endeavoured to trace the progressive stages of the Growth of the Tradition ; and have discovered both *when* and *how* the “ twenty-five-year theory ” had its very questionable—its worse than questionable—origin and rise. All this is just so much light thrown upon a very dark page of

Church history, and upon an age respecting which a vast amount of ignorance has too long prevailed.

Among the items of evidence elicited by our inquiry, we may specially indicate the following by way of summary :—

That the Scripture narrative is altogether opposed to the Papal theory, leaving no place for St Peter in the formation or government of the early community of Christians in Rome.

That St Paul, and not St Peter, must be regarded as the apostle of the Imperial City.

That the immediate contemporaries and successors of the apostles wrote on this subject in strict conformity with the New Testament narrative—associating the ministry and martyrdom of St Paul with Rome, and maintaining a reserved silence as to the time and place and manner of *St Peter's* death. Even Clement of Rome, himself the third bishop of that city, makes no allusion to St Peter's connection with that see, though making much of St Paul's ministry and martyrdom there.

That the Growth of the Tradition exhibits, not the settled facts of historical truth, but rather the progressive development of legendary tales—each successive age adding to the tradition some element that had not been known before. Thus the earlier narrators omit the more striking and demonstrative items of the story, leaving these elements to subsequent writers to relate. But these later details would have been just the very circumstances that would have

commanded the attention of the earlier writers, if only those circumstances had been true.

That the "Twenty-five-year Theory" is definitely traced to so late an age as the fifth century; and even then its origination was owing to an unwarranted interpolation in Jerome's Latin translation of fragments of the Greek original of Eusebius' "Chronicon," A.D. 420. And when the "Liberian Catalogue" is quoted in defence of the theory, even this, as Cave says, would give no earlier date than A.D. 354, the year in which that "Catalogue" is said to have been compiled by Liberius, Bishop of Rome; although every evidence goes to prove that so far from being the work of the fourth century, it must have been a sixth-century production.

The evidence adduced in the earlier chapters of our work can leave no doubt upon our minds but that these main facts of the case are true; and that the Papal Claims as to St Peter's alleged Roman episcopate are untenable.

Another important element of our inquiry has been the time alleged for St Peter's arrival in Rome. It has been shown, on the authority of Roman Catholic writers, such as Valesius and others, that the date traditionally reported by Eusebius is utterly out of the question, when tested by the narrative of the Acts of the Apostles. Nothing could be more unhistorical, nothing more inconsistent with the details we are possessed of, than the idea of a visit of St Peter to Rome

in the second year of Claudius Cæsar. There is really *no authority* for such a statement; indeed, every authority is *against* such a theory. The only attempt Bellarmine can make is in the form of gratuitous questions and purposeless interrogations, which only leave the real question at issue all the more indefensible on Roman Catholic principles.

When we consider, for example, how the story of Simon Magus began, in the blunder of Justin Martyr, owing to the deception that had been played off upon him by the Samaritans, we may well express a serious doubt as to whether the sorcerer of Samaria ever had any associations with Rome at all; or, if he had, it is certain that St Peter was in no way mixed up with his doings in Rome; else, how should Justin Martyr, in mentioning the sorcerer, have omitted to mention the apostle? The one story would naturally and historically suggest the other—the lesser personage the greater, and the pretensions of the magician the overcoming might of the disciple! But it is evident that, in Justin Martyr's age, the story of St Peter had not yet been added to that of Simon Magus. And thus, from age to age, some new author added some new thing; and the story became a mere legend, overwhelming itself with its own weight and unwieldiness! The traditions about the "planting" and the "founding" of the Church in Rome, as connected with St Peter, have been proved to be both improbable and impossible, when viewed in the light of the literal meaning of the words, and of the deliberate



statements of the New Testament. In a word, the theory of the earlier date possesses no authority of any real value or worth.

And then, as to the theory of the later date, here the difficulty becomes greater than ever. Schaff, after pointing out the extreme difficulty of fixing the earlier date, says—"It is far *more difficult* to show that Peter was in Rome all the time, or even for any considerable period, *from the reign of Claudius onward*.\* And surely it was a quiet irony of Bishop Bull when he said—"In the reign of Claudius, as Eusebius relates it, St Peter came to Rome (and certainly *then* he came, *if ever!*") †

A theory can be judged of only by the strength of its defence and proof; and we have observed what manner of defence Bellarmine sets up, even for the comparatively barren purpose of proving that St Peter "was at some time or other in Rome"—merely hypothetical "proofs," and weak defences. And if there be no sufficient proof that St Peter was ever in Rome at all, what kind of evidence may we expect to prove that he was bishop there, and for so long a space as five-and-twenty years! If history is silent as to Peter's presence in Rome, it is as good as eloquent against the idea that he was bishop there; and as for "the twenty-five years"—that theory must be abandoned altogether!

\* SCHAFF, *History of the Apostolic Church*, vol. ii., pp. 25-29.

† BISHOP BULL'S *Works*, vol. ii., p. 193.

Then, what becomes of the "*jus successionis*" of the Roman pontiffs? By what "right of succession" does Pius IX. call himself the "Successor of St Peter," and, as such, the "Roman Pontiff"? Bellarmine asserts that "the right of succession *is founded on this*—that Peter placed his see at Rome, at the Lord's command, and continued there until his death." That foundation-stone we have called in question; we have proved it to have been laid where it will not, and cannot, hold; and, therefore, with the baseless foundation, must fall the baseless fabric! The weights themselves have been weighed in the balance, and have been found wanting!

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