History of the Christian Church Vol II Ante Nicene Christianity AD 100-325

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HISTORY

of the

CHRISTIAN CHURCH [1]

by

PHILIP SCHAFF

Christianus sum. Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

VOLUME II

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIAINITY

a.d. 100-325.

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[1] Schaff, Philip, History of the Christian Church, (Oak Harbor, WA:

Logos Research Systems, Inc.) 1997. This material has been carefully

compared, corrected, and emended (according to the 1910 edition of

Charles Scribner's Sons) by The Electronic Bible Society, Dallas, TX,

1998.

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PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION REVISED

A few months after the appearance of the revised edition of this

volume, Dr. Bryennios, the learned Metropolitan of Nicomedia, surprised

the world by the publication of the now famous Didache, which he had

discovered in the Jerusalem Monastery of the Most Holy Sepulchre at

Constantinople. This led me, in justice to myself and to my readers, to

write an independent supplement under the title: The Oldest Church

Manual, called the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, etc., which is now

passing through the press.

At the same time I have taken advantage of a new issue of this History,

without increasing the size and the price, to make in the plates all

the necessary references to the Didache where it sheds new light on the

post-apostolic age (especially on pages 140, 184, 185, 202, 226, 236,

239, 241, 247, 249, 379, 640).

I have also brought the literature up to date, and corrected a few

printing errors, so that this issue may be called a revised edition. A

learned and fastidious German critic and professional church historian

has pronounced this work to be far in advance of any German work in the

fullness of its digest of the discoveries and researches of the last

thirty years. ("Theolog. Literatur-Zeitung," for March 22, 1884.) But

the Bryennios discovery, and the extensive literature which it has

called forth, remind me of the imperfect character of historical books

in an age of such rapid progress as ours.

The Author.

New York, April 22, 1885.

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FIFTH EDITION

The fourth edition (1886) was a reprint of the third, with a few slight

improvements. In this fifth edition I have made numerous additions to

the literature, and adapted the text throughout to the present stage of

research, which continues to be very active and fruitful in the

Ante-Nicene period.

Several topics connected with the catechetical instruction,

organization, and ritual (baptism and eucharist) of the early Church

are more fully treated in my supplementary monograph, The Teaching of

the Twelve Apostles, or The Oldest Church Manual, which first appeared

in June, 1885, and in a third edition, revised and enlarged, January,

1889, (325 pages).

P. S.

New York, July, 1889.

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This second volume contains the history of Christianity from the end of

the Apostolic age to the beginning of the Nicene.

The first edict of Toleration, A. D. 311, made an end of persecution;

the second Edict of Toleration, 311 (there is no third), prepared the

way for legal recognition and protection; the Nicene Council, 325,

marks the solemn inauguration of the imperial state-church.

Constantine, like Eusebius, the theologian, and Hosius, the statesman,

of his reign, belongs to both periods and must be considered in both,

though more fully in the next.

We live in an age of discovery and research, similar to that which

preceded the Reformation. The beginnings of Christianity are now

absorbing the attention of scholars.

During the present generation early church history has been vastly

enriched by new sources of information, and almost revolutionized by

independent criticism. Among the recent literary discoveries and

publications the following deserve special mention:

The Syriac Ignatius (by Cureton 1845 and 1849), which opened a new

chapter in the Ignatian controversy so closely connected with the rise

of Episcopacy and Catholicism; the Philosophumena of Hippolytus (by

Miller 1851, and by Duncker and Schneidewin, 1859), which have shed a

flood of light on the ancient heresies and systems of thought, as well

as on the doctrinal and disciplinary commotions in the Roman church in

the early part of third century; the Tenth Book of The

Pseudo-Clementine Homilies (by Dressel, 1853), which supplements our

knowledge of a curious type of distorted Christianity in the

post-apostolic age, and furnishes, by an undoubted quotation, a

valuable contribution to the solution of the Johannean problem; the

Greek Hermas from Mt. Athos (the Codex Lipsiensis, published by Anger

and Tischendorf, 1856); a new and complete Greek MS. of the First

Epistle of the Roman Clement with several important new chapters and

the oldestwritten Christian prayer (about one tenth of the whole),

found in a Convent Library at Constantinople (by Bryennios, 1875); and

in the same Codex the Second (so called) Epistle of Clement, or

post-Clementine Homily rather, in its complete form (20 chs. instead of

12), giving us the first post-apostolic sermon, besides a new Greek

text of the Epistle of Barnabus; a Syriac Version of Clement in the

library of Jules Mohl, now at Cambridge (1876); fragments of Tatian's

Diatessaron with Ephraem's Commentary on it, in an Armenian version

(Latin by M�singer 1878); fragments of the apologies of Melito (1858),

and Aristides (1878); the complete Greek text of the Acts of Thomas (by

Max Bonnet, 1883); and the crowning discovery of all, the Codex

Sinaiticus, the only complete uncial MS. of the Greek Testament,

together with the Greek Barnabus and the Greek Hermas (by Tischendorf,

1862), which, with the facsimile edition of the Vatican Codex

(1868-1881, 6 vols.), marks an epoch in the science of textual

criticism of the Greek Testament and of those two Apostolic Fathers,

and establishes the fact of the ecclesiastical use of all our canonical

books in the age of Eusebius.

In view of these discoveries we would not be surprised if the

Exposition of the Lord's Oracles by Papias, which was still in

existence at Nismes in 1215, the Memorials of Hegesippus, and the whole

Greek original of Irenaeus, which were recorded by a librarian as

extant in the sixteenth century, should turn up in some old convent.

In connection with these fresh sources there has been a corresponding

activity on the part of scholars. The Germans have done and are doing

an astonishing amount of Quellenforschung and Quellenkritik in numerous

monographs and periodicals, and have given us the newest and best

critical editions of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists. The English

with their strong common sense, judicial calmness, and conservative

tact are fast wheeling into the line of progress, as is evident from

the collective works on Christian Antiquities, and the Christian

Biography, and from Bp. Lightfoot's Clementine Epistles, which are soon

to be followed by his edition of the Ignatian Epistles. To the

brilliant French genius and learning of Mr. Renan we owe a graphic

picture of the secular surroundings of early Christianity down to the

time of Marcus Aurelius, with sharp glances into the literature and

life of the church. His Historie des Origines du Christianisme, now

completed in seven volumes, after twenty year's labor, is well worthy

to rank with Gibbon's immortal work. The Rise and Triumph of

Christianity is a grander theme than the contemporary Decline and Fall

of the Roman Empire, but no historian can do justice to it without

faith in the divine character and mission of that peaceful Conqueror of

immortal souls, whose kingdom shall have no end.

The importance of these literary discoveries and investigations should

not blind us to the almost equally important monumental discoveries and

researches of Cavalier de Rossi, Garrucci, and other Italian scholars

who have illuminated the subterranean mysteries of the church of Rome

and of Christian art. Neander, Gieseler, and Baur, the greatest church

historians of the nineteenth century, are as silent about the catacombs

as Mosheim and Gibbon were in the eighteenth. But who could now write a

history of the first three centuries without recording the lessons of

those rude yet expressive pictures, sculptures, and epitaphs from the

homes of confessors and martyrs? Nor should we overlook the gain which

has come to us from the study of monumental inscriptions, as for

instance in rectifying the date of Polycarp's martyrdom who is now

brought ten years nearer to the age of St. John.

Before long there will be great need of an historic architect who will

construct a beautiful and comfortable building out of the vast material

thus brought to light. The Germans are historic miners, the French and

English are skilled manufacturers; the former understand and cultivate

the science of history, the latter excel in the art of historiography.

A master of both would be the ideal historian. But God has wisely

distributed his gifts, and made individuals and nations depend upon and

supplement each other.

The present volume is an entire reconstruction of the corresponding

part of the first edition (vol. I p. 144-528), which appeared

twenty-five years ago. It is more than double in size. Some chapters

(e.g. VI. VII. IX.) and several sections (e.g. 90-93, 103, 155-157,

168, 171, 184, 189, 190, 193, 198-204, etc.) are new, and the rest has

been improved and enlarged, especially the last chapter on the

literature of the church. My endeavor has been to bring the book up to

the present advanced state of knowledge, to record every important work

(German, French, English, and American) which has come under my notice,

and to make the results of the best scholarship of the age available

and useful to the rising generation.

In conclusion, I may be permitted to express my thanks for the kind

reception which has been accorded to this revised edition of the work

of my youth. It will stimulate me to new energy in carrying it forward

as far as God may give time and strength. The third volume needs no

reconstruction, and a new edition of the same with a few improvements

will be issued without delay.

Philip Schaff.

Union Theological Seminary,

October, 1883.

Illustrations from the Catacombs.

Alphabetical Index.

SECOND PERIOD

ANTE-NICENE CHRISTIANITY

or,

THE AGE OF PERSECUTION AND MARTYRDOM

from the

DEATH OF JOHN TO CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

a.d. 100-325.

"The blood of martyrs is the seed of the church"

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� 1. Literature on the Ante-Nicene Age

I. Sources

1. The writings of the Apostolic Fathers, the Apologists, and all the

ecclesiastical authors of the 2nd and 3rd, and to some extent of the

4th and 5th centuries; particularly Clement of Rome, Ignatius,

Polycarp, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian, Cyprian,

Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Epiphanius, and

Theodoret.

2. The writings of the numerous heretics, mostly extant only in

fragments.

3. The works of the pagan opponents of Christianity, as Celsus, Lucian,

Porphyry, Julian the Apostate.

4. The occasional notices of Christianity, in the contemporary

classical authors, Tacitus, Suetonius, the younger Pliny, Dion Cassius.

II. Collections of Sources, (besides those included in the

comprehensive Patristic Libraries):

Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn: Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Lips., 1876;

second ed. 1878 sqq.

Fr. Xav. Funk (R.C.): Opera Patrum Apost. T�bing., 1878, 1881, 1887, 2

vols. The last edition includes the Didache.

I. C. Th. Otto: Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum saeculi secundi.

Jenae, 1841 sqq., in 9 vols.; 2nd ed. 1847-1861; 3rd ed. 1876 sqq.

("plurimum aucta et emendata").

Roberts And Donaldson: Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Edinburgh (T.& T.

Clark), 1868-'72, 25 volumes. American edition, chronologically

arranged and enlarged by Bishop A. C. Coxe, D. D., with a valuable

Bibliographical Synopsis by E. C. Richardson. New York (Christian

Literature Company), 1885-'87, 9 large vols.

The fragments of the earliest Christian writers, whose works are lost,

may be found collected in Grabe: Spicilegium Patrum ut et Haereticorum

Saeculi I. II. et III. (Oxon. 1700; new ed. Oxf. 1714, 3 vols.); in

Routh: Reliquiae Sacrae, sive auctorum fere jam perditorum secundi,

tertiique saeculi fragmenta quae supersunt (Oxon. 1814 sqq. 4 vols.;

2nd ed. enlarged, 5 vols. Oxf. 1846-48); and in Dom. I. B. Pitra (O. S.

B., a French Cardinal since 1863): Spicilegium Solesmense, complectens

sanctorum patrum scriptorumque eccles. anecdota hactenus opera, selecta

e Graecis, Orientialibus et Latinis codicibus (Paris, 1852-'60, 5

vols.). Comp. also Bunsen: Christianity and Mankind, etc. Lond. 1854,

vols. V., VI. and VII., which contain the Analecta Ante-Nicaena

(reliquicae literariae, canonicae, liturgicae).

The haereseological writings of Epiphanius, Philastrius,

Pseudo-Tertullian, etc. are collected in Franc. Oehler: Corpus

haereseologicum. Berol. 1856-61, 3 vols. They belong more to the next

period.

The Jewish and Heathen Testimonies are collected by N. Lardner, 1764,

new ed. by Kippis, Lond. 1838.

III. Histories.

1. Ancient Historians.

Hegesippus (a Jewish Christian of the middle of the second century):

Hupomnemata ton ekklesiastikon praxeon (quoted under the title pente

hupomnemata and pente sungrammata). These ecclesiastical Memorials are

only preserved in fragments (on the martyrdom of James of Jerusalem,

the rise of heresies, etc.) in Eusebius H. Eccl., collected by Grabe

(Spicileg. II. 203-214), Routh (Reliqu. Sacrae, vol. I. 209-219), and

Hilgenfeld ("Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftliche Theol." 1876, pp. 179

sqq.). See art. of Weizs�cker in Herzog, 2nd ed., V. 695; and of

Milligan in Smith & Wace, II. 875. The work was still extant in the

16th century, and may be discovered yet; see Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift"

for 1880, p. 127. It is strongly Jewish-Christian, yet not Ebionite,

but Catholic.

\*Eusebius (bishop of Caesarea in Palestine since 315, died 340, "the

father of Church History," "the Christian Herodotus," confidential

friend, adviser, and eulogist of Constantine the Great): Ekklesiastike

historia, from the incarnation to the defeat and death of Licinius 324.

Chief edd. by Stephens, Paris 1544 (ed. princeps); Valesius (with the

other Greek church historians), Par. 1659; Reading, Cambr. 1720;

Zimmermann, Francof. 1822; Burton, Oxon. 1838 and 1845 (2 vols.);

Schwegler, T�b. 1852; L�mmer, Scaphus. 1862 (important for the text);

F. A. Heinichen, Lips. 1827, second ed. improved 1868-'70, 3 vols. (the

most complete and useful edition of all the Scripta Historica of Eus.);

G. Dindorf, Lips., 1871. Several versions(German, French, and English);

one by Hanmer (Cambridge; 1683, etc.); another by C. F. Crus� (an Am.

Episc., London, 1842, Phil., 1860, included in Bagster's edition of the

Greek Eccles. Historians, London, 1847, and in Bohn's Eccles. Library);

the best with commentary by A. C. McGiffert (to be published by "The

Christian Lit. Comp.," New York, 1890).

The other historical writings of Eusebius, including his Chronicle, his

Life of Constantine, and his Martyrs of Palestine, are found in

Heinichen's ed., and also in the ed. of his Opera omnia, by Migne,

"Patrol. Graeca," Par. 1857, 5 vols. Best ed. of his Chronicle, by

Alfred Sch�ne, Berlin, 1866 and 1875, 2 vols.

Whatever may be said of the defects of Eusebius as an historical critic

and writer, his learning and industry are unquestionable, and his

Church History and Chronicle will always remain an invaluable

collection of information not attainable in any other ancient author.

The sarcastic contempt of Gibbon and charge of willful suppression of

truth are not justified, except against his laudatory over-estimate of

Constantine, whose splendid services to the church blinded his vision.

For a just estimate of Eusebius see the exhaustive article of Bishop

Lightfoot in Smith & Wace, II. 308-348.

2. Modern Historians.

William Cave, (died 1713): Primitive Christianity. Lond. 4th ed. 1682,

in 3 parts. The same: Lives of the most eminent Fathers of the Church

that flourished in the first four centuries, 1677-'83, 2 vols.; revised

by ed. H. Carey, Oxford, 1840, in 3 vols. Comp. also Cave's Scriptorum

ecclesiasticorum historia literaria, a Christo nato usque ad saeculum

XIV; best ed. Oxford 1740-'43, 2 vols. fol.

\*J. L. Mosheim: Commentarii de rebus Christianis ante Constantinum M.

Helmst. 1753. The same in English by Vidal, 1813 sqq., 3 vols., and by

Murdock, New Haven, 1852, 2 vols.

\*Edward Gibbon: The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman

Empire. London, 1776-'88, 6 vols.; best edd. by Milman, with his own,

Guizot's and Wenck's notes, and by William Smith, including the notes

of Milman, etc. Reprinted, London, 1872, 8 vols., New York, Harpers,

1880, in 6 vols. In Chs. 15 and 16, and throughout his great work,

Gibbon dwells on the outside, and on the defects rather than the

virtues of ecclesiastical Christianity, without entering into the heart

of spiritual Christianity which continued beating through all ages; but

for fullness and general accuracy of information and artistic

representation his work is still unsurpassed.

H. G. Tzschirner: Der Fall des Heidenthums. Leipz. 1829.

Edw. Burton: Lectures upon the Ecclesiastical History of the first

three Centuries. Oxf. 1833, in 3 parts (in 1 vol. 1845). He made also

collections of the ante-Nicene testimonies to the Divinity of Christ,

and the Holy Spirit.

Henry H. Milman: The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ

to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire. Lond. 1840. 3 vols.;

2nd ed. 1866. Comp. also the first book of his History of Latin

Christianity, 2d ed. London and New York, 1860, in 8 vols.

John Kaye (Bishop of Lincoln, d. 1853). Ecclesiastical History of the

Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from the writinqs of

Tertullian. Lond. 1845. Comp. also his books on Justin Martyr, Clement

of Alex., and the Council of Nicaea (1853).

F. D. Maurice: Lectures on the Eccles. Hist. of the First and Second

Cent. Cambr. 1854.

\*A. Ritschl: Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche. Bonn, 1850;

2nd ed. 1857. The second edition is partly reconstructed and more

positive.

\*E. de Pressens� (French Protestant): Histoire de trois premiers

si�cles de l'�glise chr�tienne. Par. 1858 sqq. The same in German

trans. by E. Fabarius. Leipz. 1862-'63, 4 vols. English transl. by

Annie Harwood Holmden, under the title: The Early Years of

Christianity. A Comprehensive History of the First Three Centuries of

the Christian Church, 4 vols. Vol. I. The Apost. Age; vol. II. Martyrs

and Apologists; vol. III. Heresy and Christian Doctrine; vol. IV.

Christian Life and Practice. London (Hodder & Stoughton), 1870 sqq.,

cheaper ed., 1879. Revised edition of the original, Paris, 1887 sqq.

W. D. Killen (Presbyterian): The Ancient Church traced for the first

three centuries. Edinb. and New York, 1859. New ed. N. Y., 1883.

Ambrose Manahan (R. Cath.): Triumph of the Catholic Church in the Early

Ages. New York, 1859.

Alvan Lamson (Unitarian): The Church of the First Three Centuries, with

special reference to the doctrine of the Trinity; illustrating its late

origin and gradual formation. Boston, 1860.

Milo Mahan (Episcopalian): A Church History of the First Three

centuries. N. York, 1860. Second ed., 1878 (enlarged).

J. J. Blunt: History of the Christian Church during the first three

centuries. London, 1861.

Jos. Schwane (R.C.): Dogmengeschichte der vornic�nischen Zeit. M�nster,

1862.

Th. W. Mossman: History of the Cath. Church of J. Christ from the death

of John to the middle of the second century. Lond. 1873.

\*Ernest Renan: L' Histoire des origines du Christianisme. Paris,

1863-1882, 7 vols. The last two vols., I' �glise Chr�tienne, 1879, and

Marc Aur�le, 1882, belong to this period. Learned, critical, and

brilliant, but thoroughly secular, and skeptical.

\*Gerhard Uhlhorn: Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum. 3d

improved ed. Stuttgart, 1879. English transl. by Profs. Egbert C. Smyth

and C. J. H. Ropes: The Conflict of Christianity, etc. N. York, 1879.

An admirable translation of a graphic and inspiring, account of the

heroic conflict of Christianity with heathen Rome.

\*Theod. Keim, (d. 1879): Rom und das Christenthum. Ed. from the

author's MSS. by H. Ziegler. Berlin, 1881. (667 pages).

Chr. Wordsworth (Bishop of Lincoln): A Church History to the Council of

Nicea, a.d. 325. Lond. and N. York, 1881. Anglo-Catholic.

A. Plummer: The Church of the Early Fathers, London, 1887.

Of the general works on Church History, those of Baronius, Tillemont

(R.C.), Schr�ckh, Gieseler, Neander, and Baur. (the third revised ed.

of vol. 1st, T�b. 1853, pp. 175-527; the same also transl. into

English) should be noticed throughout on this period; but all these

books are partly superseded by more recent discoveries and discussions

of special points, which will be noticed in the respective sections.

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� 2. General Character of Ante-Nicene Christianity.

We now descend from the primitive apostolic church to the Graeco-Roman;

from the scene of creation to the work of preservation; from the

fountain of divine revelation to the stream of human development; from

the inspirations of the apostles and prophets to the productions of

enlightened but fallible teachers. The hand of God has drawn a bold

line of demarcation between the century of miracles and the succeeding

ages, to show, by the abrupt transition and the striking contrast, the

difference between the work of God and the work of man, and to impress

us the more deeply with the supernatural origin of Christianity and the

incomparable value of the New Testament. There is no other transition

in history so radical and sudden, and yet so silent and secret. The

stream of divine life in its passage from the mountain of inspiration

to the valley of tradition is for a short time lost to our view, and

seems to run under ground. Hence the close of the first and the

beginning of the second centuries, or the age of the Apostolic Fathers

is often regarded as a period for critical conjecture and doctrinal and

ecclesiastical controversy rather than for historical narration.

Still, notwithstanding the striking difference, the church of the

second and third centuries is a legitimate continuation of that of the

primitive age. While far inferior in originality, purity, energy, and

freshness, it is distinguished for conscientious fidelity in preserving

and propagating the sacred writings and traditions of the apostles, and

for untiring zeal in imitating their holy lives amidst the greatest

difficulties and dangers, when the religion of Christ was prohibited by

law and the profession of it punished as a political crime.

The second period, from the death of the apostle John to the end of the

persecutions, or to the accession of Constantine, the first Christian

emperor, is the classic age of the ecclesia pressa, of heathen

persecution, and of Christian martyrdom and heroism, of cheerful

sacrifice of possessions and life itself for the inheritance of heaven.

It furnishes a continuous commentary on the Saviour's words: "Behold, I

send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves; I came not to send

peace on earth, but a sword." [2] To merely human religion could have

stood such an ordeal of fire for three hundred years. The final victory

of Christianity over Judaism and heathenism, and the mightiest empire

of the ancient world, a victory gained without physical force, but by

the moral power of patience and perseverance, of faith and love, is one

of the sublimest spectacles in history, and one of the strongest

evidences of the divinity and indestructible life of our religion.

But equally sublime and significant are the intellectual and spiritual

victories of the church in this period over the science and art of

heathenism, and over the assaults of Gnostic and Ebionitic heresy, with

the copious vindication and development of the Christian truth, which

the great mental conflict with those open and secret enemies called

forth.

The church of this period appears poor in earthly possessions and

honors, but rich in heavenly grace, in world-conquering faith, love,

and hope; unpopular, even outlawed, hated, and persecuted, yet far more

vigorous and expansive than the philosophies of Greece or the empire of

Rome; composed chiefly of persons of the lower social ranks, yet

attracting the noblest and deepest minds of the age, and bearing, in

her bosom the hope of the world; "as unknown, yet well-known, as dying,

and behold it lives;" conquering by apparent defeat, and growing on the

blood of her martyrs; great in deeds, greater in sufferings, greatest

in death for the honor of Christ and the benefit of generations to

come. [3]

The condition and manners of the Christians in this age are most

beautifully described by the unknown author of the "Epistola ad

Diognetum" in the early part of the second century. [4] "The

Christians," he says, "are not distinguished from other men by country,

by language, nor by civil institutions. For they neither dwell in

cities by themselves, nor use a peculiar tongue, nor lead a singular

mode of life. They dwell in the Grecian or barbarian cities, as the

case may be; they follow the usage of the country in dress, food, and

the other affairs of life. Yet they present a wonderful and confessedly

paradoxical conduct. They dwell in their own native lands, but as

strangers. They take part in all things as citizens; and they suffer

all things, as foreigners. Every foreign country is a fatherland to

them, and every native land is a foreign. They marry, like all others;

they have children; but they do not cast away their offspring. They

have the table in common, but not wives. They are in the flesh, but do

not live after the flesh. They live upon the earth, but are citizens of

heaven. They obey the existing laws, and excel the laws by their lives.

They love all, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet

they are condemned. They are killed and are made alive. They are poor

and make many rich. They lack all things, and in all things abound.

They are reproached, and glory in their reproaches. They are

calumniated, and are justified. They are cursed, and they bless. They

receive scorn, and they give honor. They do good, and are punished as

evil-doers. When punished, they rejoice, as being made alive. By the

Jews they are attacked as aliens, and by the Greeks persecuted; and the

cause of the enmity their enemies cannot tell. In short, what the soul

is in the body, the Christians are in the world. The soul is diffused

through all the members of the body, and the Christians are spread

through the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but it is

not of the body; so the Christians dwell in the world, but are not of

the world. The soul, invisible, keeps watch in the visible body; so

also the Christians are seen to live in the world, but their piety is

invisible. The flesh hates and wars against the soul, suffering no

wrong from it, but because it resists fleshly pleasures; and the world

hates the Christians with no reason, but that they resist its

pleasures. The soul loves the flesh and members, by which it is hated;

so the Christians love their haters. The soul is inclosed in the body,

but holds the body together; so the Christians are detained in the

world as in a prison; but they contain the world. Immortal, the soul

dwells in the mortal body; so the Christians dwell in the corruptible,

but look for incorruption in heaven. The soul is the better for

restriction in food and drink; and the Christians increase, though

daily punished. This lot God has assigned to the Christians in the

world; and it cannot be taken from them."

The community of Christians thus from the first felt itself, in

distinction from Judaism and from heathenism, the salt of the earth,

the light of the world, the city of God set on a hill, the immortal

soul in a dying body; and this its impression respecting itself was no

proud conceit, but truth and reality, acting in life and in death, and

opening the way through hatred and persecution even to an outward

victory over the world.

The ante-Nicene age has been ever since the Reformation a battle-field

between Catholic and Evangelical historians and polemics, and is

claimed by both for their respective creeds. But it is a sectarian

abuse of history to identify the Christianity of this martyr period

either with Catholicism, or with Protestantism. It is rather the common

root out of which both have sprung, Catholicism (Greek and Roman)

first, and Protestantism afterwards. It is the natural transition from

the apostolic age to the Nicene age, yet leaving behind many important

truths of the former (especially the Pauline doctrines) which were to

be derived and explored in future ages. We can trace in it the

elementary forms of the Catholic creed, organization and worship, and

also the germs of nearly all the corruptions of Greek and Roman

Christianity.

In its relation to the secular power, the ante-Nicene church is simply

the continuation of the apostolic period, and has nothing in common

either with the hierarchical, or with the Erastian systems. It was not

opposed to the secular government in its proper sphere, but the secular

heathenism of the government was opposed to Christianity. The church

was altogether based upon the voluntary principle, as a self-supporting

and self-governing body. In this respect it may be compared to the

church in the United States, but with this essential difference that in

America the secular government, instead of persecuting Christianity,

recognizes and protects it by law, and secures to it full freedom of

public worship and in all its activities at home and abroad.

The theology of the second and third centuries was mainly apologetic

against the paganism of Greece and Rome, and polemic against the

various forms of the Gnostic heresy. In this conflict it brings out,

with great force and freshness, the principal arguments for the divine

origin and character of the Christian religion and the outlines of the

true doctrine of Christ and the holy trinity, as afterwards more fully

developed in the Nicene and post-Nicene ages.

The organization of this period may be termed primitive episcopacy, as

distinct from the apostolic order which preceded, and the metropolitan

and patriarchal hierarchy which succeeded it. In worship it forms

likewise the transition from apostolic simplicity to the liturgical and

ceremonial splendor of full-grown Catholicism.

The first half of the second century is comparatively veiled in

obscurity, although considerable light has been shed over it by recent

discoveries and investigations. After the death of John only a few

witnesses remain to testify of the wonders of the apostolic days, and

their writings are few in number, short in compass and partly of

doubtful origin: a volume of letters and historical fragments, accounts

of martyrdom, the pleadings of two or three apologists; to which must

be added the rude epitaphs, faded pictures, and broken sculptures of

the subterranean church in the catacombs. The men of that generation

were more skilled in acting out Christianity in life and death, than in

its literary defence. After the intense commotion of the apostolic age

there was a breathing spell, a season of unpretending but fruitful

preparation for a new productive epoch. But the soil of heathenism had

been broken up, and the new seed planted by the hands of the apostles

gradually took root.

Then came the great literary conflict of the apologists and doctrinal

polemics in the second half of the same century; and towards the middle

of the third the theological schools of Alexandria, and northern

Africa, laying the foundation the one for the theology of the Greek,

the other for that of the Latin church. At the beginning of the fourth

century the church east and west was already so well consolidated in

doctrine and discipline that it easily survived the shock of the last

and most terrible persecution, and could enter upon the fruits of its

long-continued sufferings and take the reins of government in the old

Roman empire.

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[2] r. 4:10; Rom. 8:36; Phil. 3:10 sq. Col. 1:24 sq.; 1 Pet. 2:21

[3] ect, as well as affection; for theirs was the fervor of a steady

faith in things unseen and eternal; theirs, often, a meek patience

under the most grievous wrongs; theirs the courage to maintain a good

profession before the frowning face of philosophy, of secular tyranny,

and of splendid superstition; theirs was abstractedness from the world

and a painful self-denial; theirs the most arduous and costly labors of

love; theirs a munificence in charity, altogether without example;

theirs was a reverent and scrupulous care of the sacred writings; and

this one merit, if they had no other, is of a superlative degree, and

should entitle them to the veneration and grateful regards of the

modern church. How little do many readers of the Bible, nowadays, think

of what it cost the Christians of the second and third centuries,

merely to rescue and hide the sacred treasures from the rage of the

heathen!"

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CHAPTER I:

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

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� 3. Literature.

I. Sources.

No statistics or accurate statements, but only scattered hints in

Pliny (107): Ep. x. 96 sq. (the letter to Trajan). Ignatius (about

110): Ad Magnes. c. 10. Ep. ad Diogn. (about 120) c. 6.

Justin Martyr (about 140): Dial. 117; Apol. I. 53.

Irenaeus (about 170): Adv. Haer. I. 10; III. 3, 4; v. 20, etc.

Tertullian (about 200): Apol. I. 21, 37, 41, 42; Ad Nat. I. 7; Ad Scap.

c. 2, 5; Adv. Jud. 7, 12, 13.

Origen (d. 254): Contr. Cels. I, 7, 27; II. 13, 46; III. 10, 30; De

Princ. l. IV. c. 1, � 2; Com. in Matth. p. 857, ed. Delarue.

Eusebius (d. 340): Hist. Eccl III. 1; v. 1; vii, 1; viii. 1, also books

ix. and x. RUFINUS: Hist. Eccles. ix. 6.

Augustin (d. 430): De Civitate Dei. Eng. translation by M. Dods,

Edinburgh, 1871; new ed. (in Schaff's "Nicene and Post-Nicene

Library"), N. York, 1887.

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Mich. Le Quien (a learned Dominican, d. 1733): Oriens Christianus. Par.

1740. 3 vols. fol. A complete ecclesiastical geography of the East,

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Antioch, and Jerusalem.

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I. 68-79

Wiltsch: Handbuch der kirchl. Geographie u. Statistik. Berlin 1846. I.

p. 32 sqq.

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the Empire, which goes from Julius Caesar to Marcus Aurelius, Lond. &

N. York, 7 vols.

Edward A. Freeman: The Historical Geography of Europe. Lond. & N. York

1881. 2 vols. (vol. I. chs. II. & III. pp. 18-71.)

Comp. Friedl�nder, Sittengesch. Roms. III. 517 sqq.; and Renan:

Marc-Aur�le. Paris 1882, ch. xxv. pp. 447-464 (Statistique et extension

g�ographique du Christianisme).

V. Schultze: Geschichte des Untergangs des griech-r�mischen.

Heidenthums. Jena, 1887.

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� 4. Hindrances and Helps.

For the first three centuries Christianity was placed in the most

unfavorable circumstances, that it might display its moral power, and

gain its victory over the world by spiritual weapons alone. Until the

reign of Constantine it had not even a legal existence in the Roman

empire, but was first ignored as a Jewish sect, then slandered,

proscribed, and persecuted, as a treasonable innovation, and the

adoption of it made punishable with confiscation and death. Besides, it

offered not the slightest favor, as Mohammedanism afterwards did, to

the corrupt inclinations of the heart, but against the current ideas of

Jews and heathen it so presented its inexorable demand of repentance

and conversion, renunciation of self and the world, that more,

according to Tertullian, were kept out of the new sect by love of

pleasure than by love of life. The Jewish origin of Christianity also,

and the poverty and obscurity of a majority of its professors

particularly offended the pride of the Greeks, and Romans. Celsus,

exaggerating this fact, and ignoring the many exceptions, scoffingly

remarked, that "weavers, cobblers, and fullers, the most illiterate

persons" preached the "irrational faith," and knew how to commend it

especially "to women and children."

But in spite of these extraordinary difficulties Christianity made a

progress which furnished striking evidence of its divine origin and

adaptation to the deeper wants of man, and was employed as such by

Irenaeus, Justin, Tertullian, and other fathers of that day. Nay, the

very hindrances became, in the hands of Providence, means of promotion.

Persecution led to martyrdom, and martyrdom had not terrors alone, but

also attractions, and stimulated the noblest and most unselfish form of

ambition. Every genuine martyr was a living proof of the truth and

holiness of the Christian religion. Tertullian could exclaim to the

heathen: "All your ingenious cruelties can accomplish nothing; they are

only a lure to this sect. Our number increases the more you destroy us.

The blood of the Christians is their seed." The moral earnestness of

the Christians contrasted powerfully with the prevailing corruption of

the age, and while it repelled the frivolous and voluptuous, it could

not fail to impress most strongly the deepest and noblest minds. The

predilection of the poor and oppressed for the gospel attested its

comforting and redeeming power. But others also, though not many, from

the higher and educated classes, were from the first attracted to the

new religion; such men as Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathaea, the apostle

Paul, the proconsul Sergius Paulus, Dionysius of Athens, Erastus of

Corinth, and some members of the imperial household. Among the

sufferers in Domitian's persecution were his own near kinswoman Flavia

Domitilla and her husband Flavius Clemens. In the oldest part of the

Catacomb of Callistus, which is named after St. Lucina, members of the

illustrious gens Pomponia, and perhaps also of the Flavian house, are

interred. The senatorial and equestrian orders furnished several

converts open or concealed. Pliny laments, that in Asia Minor men of

every rank (omnis ordinis) go over to the Christians. Tertullian

asserts that the tenth part of Carthage, and among them senators and

ladies of the noblest descent and the nearest relatives of the

proconsul of Africa professed Christianity. The numerous church fathers

from the middle of the second century, a Justin Martyr, Irenaeus,

Hippolytus, Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, excelled, or at least

equalled in talent and culture, their most eminent heathen

contemporaries.

Nor was this progress confined to any particular localities. It

extended alike over all parts of the empire. "We are a people of

yesterday," says Tertullian in his Apology, "and yet we have filled

every place belonging to you--cities, islands, castles, towns,

assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate,

forum! We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our

numbers in a single province will be greater." All these facts expose

the injustice of the odious charge of Celsus, repeated by a modern

sceptic, that the new sect was almost entirely composed of the dregs of

the populace--of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars

and slaves.

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� 5. Causes of the Success of Christianity.

The chief positive cause of the rapid spread and ultimate triumph of

Christianity is to be found in its own absolute intrinsic worth, as the

universal religion of salvation, and in the perfect teaching and

example of its divine-human Founder, who proves himself to every

believing heart a Saviour from sin and a giver of eternal life.

Christianity is adapted to all classes, conditions, and relations among

men, to all nationalities and races, to all grades of culture, to every

soul that longs for redemption from sin, and for holiness of life. Its

value could be seen in the truth and self-evidencing power of its

doctrines; in the purity and sublimity of its precepts; in its

regenerating and sanctifying effects on heart and life; in the

elevation of woman and of home life over which she presides; in the

amelioration of the condition of the poor and suffering; in the faith,

the brotherly love, the beneficence, and the triumphant death of its

confessors.

To this internal moral and spiritual testimony were added the powerful

outward proof of its divine origin in the prophecies and types of the

Old Testament, so strikingly fulfilled in the New; and finally, the

testimony of the miracles, which, according to the express statements

of Quadratus, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and others,

continued in this period to accompany the preaching of missionaries

from time to time, for the conversion of the heathen.

Particularly favorable outward circumstances were the extent, order,

and unity of the Roman empire, and the prevalence of the Greek language

and culture.

In addition to these positive causes, Christianity had a powerful

negative advantage in the hopeless condition of the Jewish and heathen

world. Since the fearful judgment of the destruction of Jerusalem,

Judaism wandered restless and accursed, without national existence.

Heathenism outwardly held sway, but was inwardly rotten and in process

of inevitable decay. The popular religion and public morality were

undermined by a sceptical and materialistic philosophy; Grecian science

and art had lost their creative energy; the Roman empire rested only on

the power of the sword and of temporal interests; the moral bonds of

society were sundered; unbounded avarice and vice of every kind, even

by the confession of a Seneca and a Tacitus, reigned in Rome and in the

provinces, from the throne to the hovel. Virtuous emperors, like

Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, were the exception, not the rule,

and could not prevent the progress of moral decay. Nothing, that

classic antiquity in its fairest days had produced, could heal the

fatal wounds of the age, or even give transient relief. The only star

of hope in the gathering night was the young, the fresh, the dauntless

religion of Jesus, fearless of death, strong in faith, glowing with

love, and destined to commend itself more and more to all reflecting

minds as the only living religion of the present and the future. While

the world was continually agitated by wars, and revolutions, and public

calamities, while systems of philosophy, and dynasties were rising and

passing away, the new religion, in spite of fearful opposition from

without and danger from within, was silently and steadily progressing

with the irresistible force of truth, and worked itself gradually into

the very bone and blood of the race.

"Christ appeared," says the great Augustin, "to the men of the

decrepit, decaying world, that while all around them was withering

away, they might through Him receive new, youthful life."

Notes.

Gibbon, in his famous fifteenth chapter, traces the rapid progress of

Christianity in the Roman empire to five causes: the zeal of the early

Christians, the belief in future rewards and punishment, the power of

miracles, the austere (pure) morals of the Christian, and the compact

church organization. But these causes are themselves the effects of a

cause which Gibbon ignores, namely, the divine truth of Christianity,

the perfection of Christ's teaching and Christ's example. See the

strictures of Dr. John Henry Newman, Grammar of Assent, 445 sq., and

Dr. George P. Fisher, The Beginnings of Christianity, p. 543 sqq. "The

zeal" [of the early Christians], says Fisher, "was zeal for a person,

and for a cause identified with Him; the belief in the future life

sprang out of faith in Him who had died and risen again, and ascended

to Heaven; the miraculous powers of the early disciples were

consciously connected with the same source; the purification of morals,

and the fraternal unity, which lay at the basis of ecclesiastical

association among the early Christians, were likewise the fruit of

their relation to Christ, and their common love to Him. The victory of

Christianity in the Roman world was the victory of Christ, who was

lifted up that He might draw all men unto Him."

Lecky (Hist. of Europ. Morals, I. 412) goes deeper than Gibbon, and

accounts for the success of early Christianity by its intrinsic

excellency and remarkable adaptation to the wants of the times in the

old Roman empire. "In the midst of this movement," he says,

"Christianity gained its ascendancy, and we can be at no loss to

discover the cause of its triumph. No other religion, under such

circumstances, had ever combined so many distinct elements of power and

attraction. Unlike the Jewish religion, it was bound by no local ties,

and was equally adapted for every nation and for every class. Unlike

Stoicism, it appealed in the strongest manner to the affections, and

offered all the charm of a sympathetic worship. Unlike the Egyptian

religion, it united with its distinctive teaching a pure and noble

system of ethics, and proved itself capable of realizing it in action.

It proclaimed, amid a vast movement of social and national

amalgamation, the universal brotherhood of mankind. Amid the softening

influence of philosophy and civilization, it taught the supreme

sanctity of love. To the slave, who had never before exercised so large

an influence over Roman religious life, it was the religion of the

suffering and the oppressed. To the philosopher it was at once the echo

of the highest ethics of the later Stoics, and the expansion of the

best teaching of the school of Plato. To a world thirsting for prodigy,

it offered a history replete with wonders more strange than those of

Apollonius; while the Jew and the Chaldean could scarcely rival its

exorcists, and the legends of continual miracles circulated among its

followers. To a world deeply conscious of political dissolution, and

prying eagerly and anxiously into the future, it proclaimed with a

thrilling power the immediate destruction of the globe--the glory of

all its friends, and the damnation of all its foes. To a world that had

grown very weary gazing on the cold passionless grandeur which Cato

realized, and which Lucan sung, it presented an ideal of compassion and

of love--an ideal destined for centuries to draw around it all that was

greatest, as well as all that was noblest upon earth--a Teacher who

could weep by the sepulchre of His friend, who was touched with the

feeling of our infirmities. To a world, in fine, distracted by hostile

creeds and colliding philosophies, it taught its doctrines, not as a

human speculation, but as a Divine revelation, authenticated much less

by reason than by faith. 'With the heart man believeth unto

righteousness;' 'He that doeth the will of my Father will know the

doctrine, whether it be of God;' 'Unless you believe you cannot

understand;' 'A heart naturally Christian;' 'The heart makes the

theologian,' are the phrases which best express the first action of

Christianity upon the world. Like all great religions, it was more

concerned with modes of feeling than with modes of thought. The chief

cause of its success was the congruity of its teaching with the

spiritual nature of mankind. It was because it was true of the moral

sentiments of the age, because it represented faithfully the supreme

type of excellence to which men were then tending, because it

corresponded with their religious wants, aims, and emotions, because

the whole spiritual being could then expand and expatiate under its

influence that it planted its roots so deeply in the hearts of men."

Merivale (Convers. of the Rom. Emp., Preface) traces the conversion of

the Roman empire chiefly to four causes: 1) the external evidence of

the apparent fulfilment of recorded prophecy and miracles to the truth

of Christianity; 2) the internal evidence of satisfying the

acknowledged need of a redeemer and sanctifier; 3) the goodness and

holiness manifested in the lives and deaths of the primitive believers;

4) the temporal success of Christianity under Constantine, which

"turned the mass of mankind, as with a sweeping revolution, to the

rising sun of revealed truth in Christ Jesus."

Renan discusses the reasons for the victory of Christianity in the 31st

chapter of his Marc-Aur�le (Paris 1882), pp. 561-588. He attributes it

chiefly "to the new discipline of life," and "the moral reform," which

the world required, which neither philosophy nor any of the established

religions could give. The Jews indeed rose high above the corruptions

of the times. "Glorie �ternelle et unique, qui doit faire oublier bien

des folies et des violence! Les Juifs sont les r�volutionnaires du 1er

et du 2e si�cle de notre �re " They gave to the world Christianity.

"Les populations se pr�cipit�rent, par une sorte du mouvement

instinctif, dans une secte qui satisfaisait leur aspirations les plus

intimes et ouvrait des �sperances infinies." Renan makes much account

of the belief in immortality and the offer of complete pardon to every

sinner, as allurements to Christianity; and, like Gibbon, he ignores

its real power as a religion of salvation. This accounts for its

success not only in the old Roman empire, but in every country and

nation where it has found a home.

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� 6. Means of Propagation.

It is a remarkable fact that after the days of the Apostles no names of

great missionaries are mentioned till the opening of the middle ages,

when the conversion of nations was effected or introduced by a few

individuals as St. Patrick in Ireland, St. Columba in Scotland, St.

Augustine in England, St. Boniface in Germany, St. Ansgar in

Scandinavia, St. Cyril and Methodius among the Slavonic races. There

were no missionary societies, no missionary institutions, no organized

efforts in the ante-Nicene age; and yet in less than 300 years from the

death of St. John the whole population of the Roman empire which then

represented the civilized world was nominally Christianized.

To understand this astonishing fact, we must remember that the

foundation was laid strong and deep by the apostles themselves. The

seed scattered by them from Jerusalem to Rome, and fertilized by their

blood, sprung up as a bountiful harvest. The word of our Lord was again

fulfilled on a larger scale: "One soweth, and another reapeth. I sent

you to reap that whereon ye have not labored: others have labored, and

ye are entered into their labor" (John 4:38).

Christianity once established was its own best missionary. It grew

naturally from within. It attracted people by its very presence. It was

a light shining in darkness and illuminating the darkness. And while

there were no professional missionaries devoting their whole life to

this specific work, every congregation was a missionary society, and

every Christian believer a missionary, inflamed by the love of Christ

to convert his fellow-men. The example had been set by Jerusalem and

Antioch, and by those brethren who, after the martyrdom of Stephen,

"were scattered abroad and went about preaching the Word." [5] Justin

Martyr was converted by a venerable old man whom he met "walking on the

shore of the sea." Every Christian laborer, says Tertullian, "both

finds out God and manifests him, though Plato affirms that it is not

easy to discover the Creator, and difficult when he is found to make

him known to all." Celsus scoffingly remarks that fuller, and workers

in wool and leather, rustic and ignorant persons, were the most zealous

propagators of Christianity, and brought it first to women and

children. Women and slaves introduced it into the home-circle, it is

the glory of the gospel that it is preached to the poor and by the poor

to make them rich. Origen informs us that the city churches sent their

missionaries to the villages. The seed grew up while men slept, and

brought forth fruit, first the blade, then the ear, after that the full

corn in the ear. Every Christian told his neighbor, the laborer to his

fellow-laborer, the slave to his fellow-slave, the servant to his

master and mistress, the story of his conversion, as a mariner tells

the story of the rescue from shipwreck.

The gospel was propagated chiefly by living preaching and by personal

intercourse; to a considerable extent also through the sacred

Scriptures, which were early propagated and translated into various

tongues, the Latin (North African and Italian), the Syriac (the

Curetonian and the Peshito), and the Egyptian (in three dialects, the

Memphitic, the Thebaic, and the Bashmuric). Communication among the

different parts of the Roman empire from Damascus to Britain was

comparatively easy and safe. The highways built for commerce and for

the Roman legions, served also the messengers of peace and the silent

conquests of the cross. Commerce itself at that time, as well as now,

was a powerful agency in carrying the gospel and the seeds of Christian

civilization to the remotest parts of the Roman empire.

The particular mode, as well as the precise time, of the introduction

of Christianity into the several countries during this period is for

the most part uncertain, and we know not much more than the fact

itself. No doubt much more was done by the apostles and their immediate

disciples, than the New Testament informs us of. But on the other hand

the mediaeval tradition assigns an apostolic origin to many national

and local churches which cannot have arisen before the second or third

century. Even Joseph of Arimathaea, Nicodemus, Dionysius the

Areopagite, Lazarus, Martha and Mary were turned by the legend into

missionaries to foreign lands.

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[5] 11:19.

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� 7. Extent of Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Justin Martyr says, about the middle of the second century: "There is

no people, Greek or barbarian, or of any other race, by whatsoever

appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of

arts or agriculture, whether they dwell in tents or wander about in

covered wagons--among whom prayers and thanksgivings are not offered in

the name of the crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all

things." Half a century later, Tertullian addresses the heathen

defiantly: "We are but of yesterday, and yet we already fill your

cities, islands, camps, your palace, senate and forum; we have left to

you only your temples." [6] These, and similar passages of Irenaeus and

Arnobius, are evidently rhetorical exaggerations. Origen is more

cautious and moderate in his statements. But it may be fairly asserted,

that about the end of the third century the name of Christ was known,

revered, and persecuted in every province and every city of the empire.

Maximian, in one of his edicts, says that "almost all" had abandoned

the worship of their ancestors for the new sect.

In the absence of statistics, the number of the Christians must be

purely a matter of conjecture. In all probability it amounted at the

close of the third and the beginning of the fourth century to nearly

one-tenth or one-twelfth of the subjects of Rome, that is to about ten

millions of souls.

But the fact, that the Christians were a closely united body, fresh,

vigorous, hopeful, and daily increasing, while the heathen were for the

most part a loose aggregation, daily diminishing, made the true

prospective strength of the church much greater.

The propagation of Christianity among the barbarians in the provinces

of Asia and the north-west of Europe beyond the Roman empire, was at

first, of course, too remote from the current of history to be of any

great immediate importance. But it prepared the way for the

civilization of those regions, and their subsequent position in the

world.

Notes.

Gibbon and Friedl�nder (III. 531) estimate the number of Christians at

the accession of Constantine (306) probably too low at one-twentieth;

Matter and Robertson too high at one-fifth of his subjects. Some older

writers, misled by the hyperbolical statements of the early Apologists,

even represent the Christians as having at least equalled if not

exceeded the number of the heathen worshippers in the empire. In this

case common prudence would have dictated a policy of toleration long

before Constantine. Mosheim, in his Hist. Commentaries, etc. (Murdock's

translation I. p. 274 sqq.) discusses at length the number of

Christians in the second century without arriving at definite

conclusions. Chastel estimates the number at the time of Constantine at

1/15 in the West, 1/10 in the East, 1/12 on an average (Hist. de la

destruct. du paganisme, p. 36). According to Chrysostom, the Christian

population of Antioch in his day (380) was about 100,000, or one-half

of the whole.

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[6] sola vobis relinquimus templa."Apol.c. 37. Long before Tertullian

the heathen Pliny, in his famous letter to Trajan (Epp. x. 97) had

spoken of "desolata templa" and "sacra solemnia diu intermissa, " in

consequence of the spread of the Christian superstition throughout the

cities and villages of Asia Minor.

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� 8. Christianity in Asia.

Asia was the cradle of Christianity, as it was of humanity and

civilization. The apostles themselves had spread the new religion over

Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. According to the younger Pliny, under

Trajan, the temples of the gods in Asia Minor were almost forsaken, and

animals of sacrifice found hardly any purchasers. In the second century

Christianity penetrated to Edessa in Mesopotamia, and some distance

into Persia, Media, Bactria, and Parthia; and in the third, into

Armenia and Arabia. Paul himself had, indeed, spent three years in

Arabia, but probably in contemplative retirement preparing for his

apostolic ministry. There is a legend, that the apostles Thomas and

Bartholomew carried the gospel to India. But a more credible statement

is, that the Christian teacher Pantaeus of Alexandria journeyed to that

country about 190, and that in the fourth century churches were found

there.

The transfer of the seat of power from Rome to Constantinople, and the

founding of the East Roman empire under Constantine I. gave to Asia

Minor, and especially to Constantinople, a commanding importance in the

history of the Church for several centuries. The seven oecumenical

Councils from 325 to 787 were all held in that city or its

neighborhood, and the doctrinal controversies on the Trinity and the

person of Christ were carried on chiefly in Asia Minor, Syria, and

Egypt.

In the mysterious providence of God those lands of the Bible and the

early church have been conquered by the prophet of Mecca, the Bible

replaced by the Koran, and the Greek church reduced to a condition of

bondage and stagnation; but the time is not far distant when the East

will be regenerated by the undying spirit of Christianity. A peaceful

crusade of devoted missionaries preaching the pure gospel and leading

holy lives will reconquer the holy land and settle the Eastern

question.

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� 9. Christianity in Egypt.

In Africa Christianity gained firm foothold first in Egypt, and there

probably as early as the apostolic age. The land of the Pharaohs, of

the pyramids and sphinxes, of temples and tombs, of hieroglyphics and

mummies, of sacred bulls and crocodiles, of despotism and slavery, is

closely interwoven with sacred history from the patriarchal times, and

even imbedded in the Decalogue as "the house of bondage." It was the

home of Joseph and his brethren, and the cradle of Israel. In Egypt the

Jewish Scriptures were translated more than two hundred years before

our era, and this Greek version used even by Christ and the apostles,

spread Hebrew ideas throughout the Roman world, and is the mother of

the peculiar idiom of the New Testament. Alexandria was full of Jews,

the literary as well as commercial centre of the East, and the

connecting link between the East and the West. There the largest

libraries were collected; there the Jewish mind came into close contact

with the Greek, and the religion of Moses with the philosophy of Plato

and Aristotle. There Philo wrote, while Christ taught in Jerusalem and

Galilee, and his works were destined to exert a great influence on

Christian exegesis through the Alexandrian fathers.

Mark, the evangelist, according to ancient tradition, laid the

foundation of the church of Alexandria. The Copts in old Cairo, the

Babylon of Egypt, claim this to be the place from which Peter wrote his

first epistle (1 Pet. 5:13); but he must mean either the Babylon on the

Euphrates, or the mystic Babylon of Rome. Eusebius names, as the first

bishops of Alexandria, Annianos (a.d. 62-85), Abilios (to 98), and

Kerdon (to 110). This see naturally grew up to metropolitan and

patriarchal importance and dignity. As early as the second century a

theological school flourished in Alexandria, in which Clement and

Origen taught as pioneers in biblical learning and Christian

philosophy. From Lower Egypt the gospel spread to Middle and Upper

Egypt and the adjacent provinces, perhaps (in the fourth century) as

far as Nubia, Ethiopia, and Abyssinia. At a council of Alexandria in

the year 235, twenty bishops were present from the different parts of

the land of the Nile.

During the fourth century Egypt gave to the church the Arian heresy,

the Athanasian orthodoxy, and the monastic piety of St. Antony and St.

Pachomius, which spread with irresistible force over Christendom.

The theological literature of Egypt was chiefly Greek. Most of the

early manuscripts of the Greek Scriptures--including probably the

invaluable Sinaitic and Vatican MSS.--were written in Alexandria. But

already in the second century the Scriptures were translated into the

vernacular language, in three different dialects. What remains of these

versions is of considerable weight in ascertaining the earliest text of

the Greek Testament.

The Christian Egyptians are the descendants of the Pharaonic Egyptians,

but largely mixed with negro and Arab blood. Christianity never fully

penetrated the nation, and was almost swept away by the Mohammedan

conquest under the Caliph Omar (640), who burned the magnificent

libraries of Alexandria under the plea that if the books agreed with

the Koran, they were useless, if not, they were pernicious and fit for

destruction. Since that time Egypt almost disappears from church

history, and is still groaning, a house of bondage under new masters.

The great mass of the people are Moslems, but the Copts--about half a

million of five and a half millions--perpetuate the nominal

Christianity of their ancestors, and form a mission field for the more

active churches of the West.

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� 10. Christianity in North Africa.

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By the same: Rome and Carthage. N. York, 1880.

Otto Meltzer: Geschichte der Karthager. Berlin, vol. I. 1879.

These books treat of the secular history of the ancient Carthaginians,

but help to understand the situation and antecedents.

Julius Lloyd; The North African Church. London, 1880. Comes down to the

Moslem Conquest.

The inhabitants of the provinces of Northern Africa were of Semitic

origin, with a language similar to the Hebrew, but became Latinized in

customs, laws, and language under the Roman rule. The church in that

region therefore belongs to Latin Christianity, and plays a leading

part in its early history.

The Phoenicians, a remnant of the Canaanites, were the English of

ancient history. They carried on the commerce of the world; while the

Israelites prepared the religion, and the Greeks the civilization of

the world. Three small nations, in small countries, accomplished a more

important work than the colossal empires of Assyria, Babylon, and

Persia, or even Rome. Occupying a narrow strip of territory on the

Syrian coast, between Mount Lebanon and the sea, the Phoenicians sent

their merchant vessels from Tyre and Sidon to all parts of the old

world from India to the Baltic, rounded the Cape of Good Hope two

thousand years before Vasco de Gama, and brought back sandal wood from

Malabar, spices from Arabia, ostrich plumes from Nubia, silver from

Spain, gold from the Niger, iron from Elba, tin from England, and amber

from the Baltic. They furnished Solomon with cedars from Lebanon, and

helped him to build his palace and the temple. They founded on the

northernmost coast of Africa, more than eight hundred years before

Christ, the colony of Carthage. [7] From that favorable position they

acquired the control over the northern coast of Africa from the pillars

of Hercules to the Great Syrtes, over Southern Spain, the islands of

Sardinia and Sicily, and the whole Mediterranean sea. Hence the

inevitable rivalry between Rome and Carthage, divided only by three

days' sail; hence the three Punic wars which, in spite of the brilliant

military genius of Hannibal, ended in the utter destruction of the

capital of North Africa (b.c. 146). [8] "Delenda est Carthago," was the

narrow and cruel policy of the elder Cato. But under Augustus, who

carried out the wiser plan of Julius Caesar, there arose a new Carthage

on the ruins of the old, and became a rich and prosperous city, first

heathen, then Christian, until it was captured by the barbarous Vandals

(a.d. 439), and finally destroyed by a race cognate to its original

founders, the Mohammedan Arabs (647). Since that time "a mournful and

solitary silence" once more brooded over its ruins. [9]

Christianity reached proconsular Africa in the second, perhaps already

at the close of the first century, we do not know when and how. There

was constant intercourse with Italy. It spread very rapidly over the

fertile fields and burning sands of Mauritania and Numidia. Cyprian

could assemble in 258 a synod of eighty-seven bishops, and in 308 the

schismatical Donatists held a council of two hundred and seventy

bishops at Carthage. The dioceses, of course, were small in those days.

The oldest Latin translation of the Bible, miscalled "Itala" (the basis

of Jerome's "Vulgata"), was made probably in Africa and for Africa, not

in Rome and for Rome, where at that time the Greek language prevailed

among Christians. Latin theology, too, was not born in Rome, but in

Carthage. Tertullian is its father. Minutius Felix, Arnobius, and

Cyprian bear witness to the activity and prosperity of African

Christianity and theology in the third century. It reached its highest

perfection during the first quarter of the fifth century in the sublime

intellect and burning heart of St. Augustin, the greatest among the

fathers, but soon after his death (430) it was buried first beneath the

Vandal barbarism, and in the seventh century by the Mohammedan

conquest. Yet his writings led Christian thought in the Latin church

throughout the dark ages, stimulated the Reformers, and are a vital

force to this day.

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[7] Karchedon), the Latin Carthago. It means New City (Neapolis). The

word Kereth or Carth enters also into the names of other cities of

Phoenician origin, as Cirta in Numidia.

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[9] ions of N. Davis and B. Smith (Rome and Carthage, ch. xx. 263-291).

The recent conquest of Tunis by France (1881) gives new interest to the

past of that country, and opens a new chapter for its future. Smith

describes Tunis as the most Oriental of Oriental towns, with a gorgeous

mixture of races--Arabs, Turks, Moors, and Negroes--held together by

the religion of Islam.

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� 11. Christianity in Europe.

"Westward the course of Empire takes its way."

This law of history is also the law of Christianity. From Jerusalem to

Rome was the march of the apostolic church. Further and further West

has been the progress of missions ever since.

The church of Rome was by far the most important one for all the West.

According to Eusebius, it had in the middle of the third century one

bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons with as many sub-deacons,

forty-two acolyths, fifty readers, exorcists, and door-keepers, and

fifteen hundred widows and poor persons under its care. From this we

might estimate the number of members at some fifty or sixty thousand,

i.e. about one-twentieth of the population of the city, which cannot be

accurately determined indeed, but must have exceeded one million during

the reign of the Antonines. [10] The strength of Christianity in Rome

is also confirmed by the enormous extent of the catacombs where the

Christians were buried.

From Rome the church spread to all the cities of Italy. The first Roman

provincial synod, of which we have information, numbered twelve bishops

under the presidency of Telesphorus (142-154). In the middle of the

third century (255) Cornelius of Rome held a council of sixty bishops.

The persecution of the year 177 shows the church already planted in the

south of Gaul in the second century. Christianity came hither probably

from the East; for the churches of Lyons and Vienne were intimately

connected with those of Asia Minor, to which they sent a report of the

persecution, and Irenaeus, bishop of Lyons, was a disciple of Polycarp

of Smyrna. Gregory of Tours states, that in the middle of the third

century seven missionaries were sent from Rome to Gaul. One of these,

Dionysius, founded the first church of Paris, died a martyr at

Montmartre, and became the patron saint of France. Popular superstition

afterwards confounded him with Dionysius the Areopagite, who was

converted by Paul at Athens.

Spain probably became acquainted with Christianity likewise in the

second century, though no clear traces of churches and bishops there

meet us till the middle of the third. The council of Elvira in 306

numbered nineteen bishops. The apostle Paul once formed the plan of a

missionary journey to Spain, and according to Clement of Rome he

preached there, if we understand that country to be meant by "the limit

of the West," to which he says that Paul carried the gospel. [11] 0 But

there is no trace of his labors in Spain on record. The legend, in

defiance of all chronology, derives Christianity in that country from

James the Elder, who was executed in Jerusalem in 44, and is said to be

buried at Campostella, the famous place of pilgrimage, where his bones

were first discovered under Alphonse II, towards the close of the

eighth century [12]

When Irenaeus speaks of the preaching of the gospel among the Germans

and other barbarians, who, "without paper and ink, have salvation

written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit," he can refer only to the

parts of Germany belonging to the Roman empire (Germania cisrhenana).

According to Tertullian Britain also was brought under the power of the

cross towards the end of the second century. The Celtic church existed

in England, Ireland, and Scotland, independently of Rome, long before

the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by the Roman mission of Augustine;

it continued for some time after that event and sent offshoots to

Germany, France, and the Low Countries, but was ultimately at different

dates incorporated with the Roman church. It took its origin probably

from Gaul, and afterwards from Italy also. The legend traces it to St.

Paul and other apostolic founders. The venerable Bede (735) says, that

the British king Lucius (about 167) applied to the Roman bishop

Eleutherus for missionaries. At the council of Arles, in Gaul

(Arelate), in 314, three British bishops, of Eboracum (York), Londinum

(London), and Colonia Londinensium (i.e. either Lincoln or more

probably Colchester), were present.

The conversion of the barbarians of Northern and Western Europe did not

begin in earnest before the fifth and sixth centuries, and will claim

our attention in the history of the Middle Ages.

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[10] is; thirty-first chapter, and Milman estimate the population of

Rome at 1,200,000; Hoeck (on the basis of the Monumentum Ancyranum),

Zumpt and Howson at two millions; Bunsen somewhat lower; while Dureau

de la Malle tries to reduce it to half a million, on the ground that

the walls of Servius Tullius occupied an area only one-fifth of that of

Paris. But these walls no longer marked the limits of the city since

its reconstruction after the conflagration under Nero, and the suburbs

stretched to an unlimited extent into the country. Comp. vol. I. p. 359

[11] Rom. 15:24; Clem. R. Ad Cor. c. 5 (to terma tes duseos)

[12] See J. B. Gams (R.C.): Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien,

Regensburg, 1862-1879, 5 vols. The first vol. (422 pages) is taken up

with the legendary history of the first three centuries. 75 pages are

given to the discussion of Paul's journey to Spain. Gams traces

Christianity in that country to Paul and to seven disciples of the

Apostles sent to Rome, namely, Torquatus, Ctesiphon, Secundus,

Indaletius, Caecilius, Hesychius, and Euphrasius (according to the

Roman Martyrologium, edited by Baronius, 1586).

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CHAPTER II:

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANITY AND CHRISTIAN MARTYRDOM.

"Semen est sanguis Christianorum."--Tertullian.

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� 12. Literature.

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called Book of Martyrs), first pub. at Strasburg 1554, and Basle 1559;

first complete ed. fol. London 1563; 9th ed. fol. 1684, 3 vols. fol.;

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century, with polemical reference to the church of Rome as the

successor of heathen Rome in the work of blood persecution. "The Ten

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� 13. General Survey.

The persecutions of Christianity during the first three centuries

appear like a long tragedy: first, foreboding signs; then a succession

of bloody assaults of heathenism upon the religion of the cross; amidst

the dark scenes of fiendish hatred and cruelty the bright exhibitions

of suffering virtue; now and then a short pause; at last a fearful and

desperate struggle of the old pagan empire for life and death, ending

in the abiding victory of the Christian religion. Thus this bloody

baptism of the church resulted in the birth of a Christian world. It

was a repetition and prolongation of the crucifixion, but followed by a

resurrection.

Our Lord had predicted this conflict, and prepared His disciples for

it. "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves. They

will deliver you up to councils, and in their synagogues they will

scourge you; yea and before governors and kings shall ye be brought for

My sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles. And brother shall

deliver up brother to death, and the father his child: and children

shall rise up against parents, and cause them to be put to death. And

ye shall be hated of all men for My name's sake: but he that endureth

to the end, the same shall be saved." These, and similar words, as well

as the recollection of the crucifixion and resurrection, fortified and

cheered many a confessor and martyr in the dungeon and at the stake.

The persecutions proceeded first from the Jews, afterwards from the

Gentiles, and continued, with interruptions, for nearly three hundred

years. History reports no mightier, longer and deadlier conflict than

this war of extermination waged by heathen Rome against defenseless

Christianity. It was a most unequal struggle, a struggle of the sword

and of the cross; carnal power all on one side, moral power all on the

other. It was a struggle for life and death. One or the other of the

combatants must succumb. A compromise was impossible. The future of the

world's history depended on the downfall of heathenism and the triumph

of Christianity. Behind the scene were the powers of the invisible

world, God and the prince of darkness. Justin, Tertullian, and other

confessors traced the persecutions to Satan and the demons, though they

did not ignore the human and moral aspects; they viewed them also as a

punishment for past sins, and a school of Christian virtue. Some denied

that martyrdom was an evil, since it only brought Christians the sooner

to God and the glory of heaven. As war brings out the heroic qualities

of men, so did the persecutions develop the patience, the gentleness,

the endurance of the Christians, and prove the world-conquering power

of faith.

Number of Persecutions.

From the fifth century it has been customary to reckon ten great

persecutions: under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius

Severus, Maximinus, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian. [13] 2

This number was suggested by the ten plagues of Egypt taken as types

(which, however, befell the enemies of Israel, and present a contrast

rather than a parallel), and by the ten horns of the Roman beast making

war with the Lamb, taken for so many emperors [14] But the number is

too great for the general persecutions, and too small for the

provincial and local. Only two imperial persecutions--those, of Decius

and Diocletian--extended over the empire; but Christianity was always

an illegal religion from Trajan to Constantine, and subject to

annoyance and violence everywhere [15] Some persecuting emperors--Nero,

Domitian, Galerius, were monstrous tyrants, but others--Trajan, Marcus

Aurelius, Decius, Diocletian--were among the best and most energetic

emperors, and were prompted not so much by hatred of Christianity as by

zeal for the maintenance of the laws and the power of the government.

On the other hand, some of the most worthless emperors--Commodus,

Caracalla, and Heliogabalus--were rather favorable to the Christians

from sheer caprice. All were equally ignorant of the true character of

the new religion.

The Result.

The long and bloody war of heathen Rome against the church, which is

built upon a rock, utterly failed. It began in Rome under Nero, it

ended near Rome at the Milvian bridge, under Constantine. Aiming to

exterminate, it purified. It called forth the virtues of Christian

heroism, and resulted in the consolidation and triumph of the new

religion. The philosophy of persecution is best expressed by the terse

word of Tertullian, who lived in the midst of them, but did not see the

end: "The blood of the Christians is the seed of the Church."

Religious Freedom.

The blood of persecution is also the seed of civil and religious

liberty. All sects, schools, and parties, whether religious or

political, when persecuted, complain of injustice and plead for

toleration; but few practise it when in power. The reason of this

inconsistency lies in the selfishness of human nature, and in mistaken

zeal for what it believes to be true and right. Liberty is of very

slow, but sure growth.

The ancient world of Greece and Rome generally was based upon the

absolutism of the state, which mercilessly trampled under foot the

individual rights of men. It is Christianity which taught and

acknowledged them.

The Christian apologists first proclaimed, however imperfectly, the

principle of freedom of religion, and the sacred rights of conscience.

Tertullian, in prophetic anticipation as it were of the modern

Protestant theory, boldly tells the heathen that everybody has a

natural and inalienable right to worship God according to his

conviction, that all compulsion in matters of conscience is contrary to

the very nature of religion, and that no form of worship has any value

whatever except as far as it is a free voluntary homage of the heart.

[16] 5

Similar views in favor of religious liberty were expressed by Justin

Martyr, [17] 6 and at the close of our period by Lactantius, who says:

"Religion cannot be imposed by force; the matter must be carried on by

words rather than by blows, that the will may be affected. Torture and

piety are widely different; nor is it possible for truth to be united

with violence, or justice with cruelty. Nothing is so much a matter of

free will as religion." [18] 7

The Church, after its triumph over paganism, forgot this lesson, and

for many centuries treated all Christian heretics, as well as Jews and

Gentiles, just as the old Romans had treated the Christians, without

distinction of creed or sect. Every state-church from the times of the

Christian emperors of Constantinople to the times of the Russian Czars

and the South American Republics, has more or less persecuted the

dissenters, in direct violation of the principles and practice of

Christ and the apostles, and in carnal misunderstanding of the

spiritual nature of the kingdom of heaven.

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[13] So Augustin, De Civit. Dei, xviii. 52, but he mentions Antoninus

for Marcus Aurelius. Lactantius counts six, Sulpitius Severus nine

persecutions.

[14] Ex. chs. 5-10; Rev. 17:12 sqq. Augustin felt the impropriety of

referring to the Egyptian plagues, and calls this a mere conjecture of

the human mind which "sometimes hits the truth and sometimes is

deceived." He also rectifies the number by referring to the

persecutions before Nero, mentioned in the N. T., and to the

persecutions after Diocletian, as that of Julian, and the Arian

emperors. "When I think of these and the like things," he says, "it

does not seem to me that the number of persecutions with which the

church is to be tried can be definitely stated."

[15] On the relation of Christianity to the laws of the Roman empire,

see Aub�, De la legatit� du Christianisme dans l'empire Romain au Ier

si�cle. Paris 1866.

[16] See the remarkable passageAd Scapulam, c. 2: "Tamen humani juris

et naturalis potestatis est unicuique quod putaverit colere, nec alii

obest, aut prodest alterius religio. Sed religionis est cogere

religionem, quae sponte suscipi debeat non vi, cum et hostiae ab animo

libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum,

nihil praestabitis diis vestris. Ab invitis enim sacrificia non

desiderabunt, nisi si contentiosi sunt; contentiosus autem deus non

est." Comp. the similar passage in Tertullian, Apolog. c. 24, where

after enumerating the various forms of idolatry which enjoyed free

toleration in the empire he continues: "Videte enim ne et hoc ad

irreliqiositatis elogium concurrat, adimere libertatem reliqionis et

interdicere optionem divinitatis, ut non liceat mihi colere quem velim

sed cogar colere quem nolim. Nemo se ab invito coli volet, ne homo

quidem."

[17] Apol. I. c. 2, 4, 12

[18] Instit. div. V. 20.

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� 14. Jewish Persecution.

Sources.

I. Dio Cassius: Hist. Rom. LXVIII. 32; LXIX. 12-14; Justin M.: Apol. I.

31, 47; Eusebius: H. Eccl. IV. 2. and 6. Rabbinical traditions in

Derenbourg: Histoire de la Palestine depuis Cyrus jusqu'� Adrien (Paris

1867), pp. 402-438.

II. Fr. M�nter.: Der Judische Krieg unter Trajan u. Hadrian. Altona and

Leipz. 1821.

Deyling: Aeliae Capitol. origines et historiae. Lips. 1743.

Ewald: Gesch. des Volkes Israel, VII. 373-432.

Milman: History of the Jews, Books 18 and 20.

Gr�tz: Gesch. der Juden. Vol. IV. (Leipz. 1866).

Sch�rer: Neutestam. Zeitgeschichte (1874), pp. 350-367.

The Jews had displayed their obstinate unbelief and bitter hatred of

the gospel in the crucifixion of Christ, the stoning of Stephen, the

execution of James the Elder, the repeated incarceration as of Peter

and John, the wild rage against Paul, and the murder of James the Just.

No wonder that the fearful judgment of God at last visited this

ingratitude upon them in the destruction of the holy city and the

temple, from which the Christians found refuge in Pella.

But this tragical fate could break only the national power of the Jews,

not their hatred of Christianity. They caused the death of Symeon,

bishop of Jerusalem (107); they were particularly active in the burning

of Polycarp of Smyrna; and they inflamed the violence of the Gentiles

by eliminating the sect of the Nazarenes.

The Rebellion under Bar-Cochba. Jerusalem again Destroyed.

By severe oppression under Trajan and Hadrian, the prohibition of

circumcision, and the desecration of Jerusalem by the idolatry of the

pagans, the Jews were provoked to a new and powerful insurrection (a.d.

132-135). A pseudo-Messiah, Bar-Cochba (son of the stars, Num. 24:17),

afterwards called Bar-Cosiba (son of falsehood), put himself at the

head of the rebels, and caused all the Christians who would not join

him to be most cruelly murdered. But the false prophet was defeated by

Hadrian's general in 135, more than half a million of Jews were

slaughtered after a desperate resistance, immense numbers sold into

slavery, 985 villages and 50 fortresses levelled to the ground, nearly

all Palestine laid waste, Jerusalem again destroyed, and a Roman

colony, Aelia Capitolina, erected on its ruins, with an image of

Jupiter and a temple of Venus. The coins of Aelia Capitolina bear the

images of Jupiter Capitolinus, Bacchus, Serapis, Astarte.

Thus the native soil of the venerable religion of the Old Testament was

ploughed up, and idolatry planted on it. The Jews were forbidden to

visit the holy spot of their former metropolis upon pain of death. [19]

8 Only on the anniversary of the destruction were they allowed to

behold and bewail it from a distance. The prohibition was continued

under Christian emperors to their disgrace. Julian the Apostate, from

hatred of the Christians, allowed and encouraged them to rebuild the

temple, but in vain. Jerome, who spent the rest of his life in monastic

retirement at Bethlehem (d. 419), informs us in pathetic words that in

his day old Jewish men and women, "in corporibus et in habitu suo iram

a Domini demonstrantes," had to buy from the Roman watch the privilege

of weeping and lamenting over the ruins from mount Olivet in sight of

the cross, "ut qui quondam emerant sanguinem Christi, emant lacrymas

suas, et ne fletus quidem i eis gratuitus sit." [20] 9 The same sad

privilege the Jews now enjoy under Turkish rule, not only once a year,

but every Friday beneath the very walls of the Temple, now replaced by

the Mosque of Omar. [21] 0

The Talmud.

After this the Jews had no opportunity for any further independent

persecution of the Christians. Yet they continued to circulate horrible

calumnies on Jesus and his followers. Their learned schools at Tiberias

and Babylon nourished this bitter hostility. The Talmud, i.e. Doctrine,

of which the first part (the Mishna, i.e. Repetition) was composed

towards the end of the second century, and the second part (the Gemara,

i.e. Completion) in the fourth century, well represents the Judaism of

its day, stiff, traditional, stagnant, and anti-Christian. Subsequently

the Jerusalem Talmud was eclipsed by the Babylonian (430-521), which is

four times larger, and a still more distinct expression of Rabbinism.

The terrible imprecation on apostates (pratio haereticorum), designed

to deter Jews from going over to the Christian faith, comes from the

second century, and is stated by the Talmud to have been composed at

Jafna, where the Sanhedrin at that time had its seat, by the younger

Rabbi Gamaliel.

The Talmud is the slow growth of several centuries. It is a chaos of

Jewish learning, wisdom, and folly, a continent of rubbish, with hidden

pearls of true maxims and poetic parables. Delitzsch calls it "a vast

debating club, in which there hum confusedly the myriad voices of at

least five centuries, a unique code of laws, in comparison with which

the law-books of all other nations are but lilliputian." It is the Old

Testament misinterpreted and turned against the New, in fact, though

not in form. It is a rabbinical Bible without inspiration, without the

Messiah, without hope. It shares the tenacity of the Jewish race, and,

like it, continues involuntarily to bear testimony to the truth of

Christianity. A distinguished historian, on being asked what is the

best argument for Christianity, promptly replied: the Jews. [22] 1

Unfortunately this people, still remarkable even in its tragical end,

was in many ways cruelly oppressed and persecuted by the Christians

after Constantine, and thereby only confirmed in its fanatical hatred

of them. The hostile legislation began with the prohibition of the

circumcision of Christian slaves, and the intermarriage between Jews

and Christians, and proceeded already in the fifth century to the

exclusion of the Jews from all civil and political rights in Christian

states. Even our enlightened age has witnessed the humiliating

spectacle of a cruel Judenhetzein Germany and still more in Russia

(1881). But through all changes of fortune God has preserved this

ancient race as a living monument of his justice and his mercy; and he

will undoubtedly assign it an important part in the consummation of his

kingdom at the second coming of Christ.

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[19] As reported by Justin M., a native of Palestine and a contemporary

of this destruction of Jerusalem. Apol. l.c. 47. Tertullian also says

(Adv. Jud. c. 13), that, "an interdict was issued forbidding any one of

the Jews to linger in the confines of the district."

[20] Ad Zephan. 1:15 sqq. Sch�rer quotes the passage, p. 363.

[21] "The Wailing Place of the Jews" at the cyclopean foundation wall

is just outside of the Mosque El Aska, and near "Robinson's Arch."

There I saw on Good Friday, 1877, a large number of Jews, old and

young, men and women, venerable rabbis with patriarchal beards, others

dirty and repulsive, kissing the stone wall and watering it with their

tears, while repeating from Hebrew Bibles and prayer-books the

Lamentations of Jeremiah, Psalms 76th and 79th, and various litanies.

Comp. Tobler, Topographie von Jerusalem I. 629.

[22] On the literature of the Talmud see the articles in Herzog, and in

McClintock & Strong, and especially Sch�rer, Neutestamentl.

Zeitgeschichte (Leipz. 1874), pp. 45-49, to which I add Sch�rer's

essay: Die Predigt Jesu Christi in ihrem Verh�ltniss zum Altem

Testament und zum Judenthum, Darmstadt, 1882. The relation of the

Talmud to the Sermon on the Mount and the few resemblances is discussed

by Pick in McClintock & Strong, vol. ix. 571.

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� 15. Causes of Roman Persecution.

The policy of the Roman government, the fanaticism of the superstitious

people, and the self-interest of the pagan priests conspired for the

persecution of a religion which threatened to demolish the tottering

fabric of idolatry; and they left no expedients of legislation, of

violence, of craft, and of wickedness untried, to blot it from the

earth.

To glance first at the relation of the Roman state to the Christian

religion.

Roman Toleration.

The policy of imperial Rome was in a measure tolerant. It was

repressive, but not preventive. Freedom of thought was not checked by a

censorship, education was left untrammelled to be arranged between the

teacher and the learner. The armies were quartered on the frontiers as

a protection of the empire, not employed at home as instruments of

oppression, and the people were diverted from public affairs and

political discontent by public amusements. The ancient religions of the

conquered races were tolerated as far as they did not interfere with

the interests of the state. The Jews enjoyed special protection since

the time of Julius Caesar.

Now so long as Christianity was regarded by the Romans as a mere sect

of Judaism, it shared the hatred and contempt, indeed, but also the

legal protection bestowed on that ancient national religion. Providence

had so ordered it that Christianity had already taken root in the

leading cities of the empire before, its true character was understood.

Paul had carried it, under the protection of his Roman citizenship, to

the ends of the empire, and the Roman proconsul at Corinth refused to

interfere with his activity on the ground that it was an internal

question of the Jews, which did not belong to his tribunal. The heathen

statesmen and authors, even down to the age of Trajan, including the

historian Tacitus and the younger Pliny, considered the Christian

religion as a vulgar superstition, hardly worthy of their notice.

But it was far too important a phenomenon, and made far too rapid

progress to be long thus ignored or despised. So soon as it was

understood as a new religion, and as, in fact, claiming universal

validity and acceptance, it was set down as unlawful and treasonable, a

religio illicita; and it was the constant reproach of the Christians:

"You have no right to exist." [23] 2

Roman Intolerance.

We need not be surprised at this position. For with all its professed

and actual tolerance the Roman state was thoroughly interwoven with

heathen idolatry, and made religion a tool of itspolicy. Ancient

history furnishes no example of a state without some religion and form

of worship. Rome makes no exception to the general rule. "The

Romano-Hellenic state religion" (says Mommsen), "and the Stoic

state-philosophy inseparably combined with it were not merely a

convenient instrument for every government--oligarchy, democracy, or

monarchy--but altogether indispensable, because it was just as

impossible to construct the state wholly without religious elements as

to discover any new state religion adapted to form a substitute for the

old." [24] 3

The piety of Romulus and Numa was believed to have laid the foundation

of the power of Rome. To the favor of the deities of the republic, the

brilliant success of the Roman arms was attributed. The priests and

Vestal virgins were supported out of the public treasury. The emperor

was ex-officio the pontifex maximus, and even an object of divine

worship. The gods were national; and the eagle of Jupiter Capitolinus

moved as a good genius before the world-conquering legions. Cicero lays

down as a principle of legislation, that no one should be allowed to

worship foreign gods, unless they were recognized by public statute.

[25] 4 Maecenas counselled Augustus: "Honor the gods according to the

custom of our ancestors, and compel [26] 5 others to worship them. Hate

and punish those who bring in strange gods."

It is true, indeed, that individuals in Greece and Rome enjoyed an

almost unlimited liberty for expressing sceptical and even impious

sentiments in conversation, in books and on the stage. We need only

refer to the works of Aristophanes, Lucian, Lucretius, Plautus,

Terence. But a sharp distinction was made then, as often since by

Christian governments, between liberty of private thought and

conscience, which is inalienable and beyond the reach of legislation,

and between the liberty of public worship, although the latter is only

the legitimate consequence of the former. Besides, wherever religion is

a matter of state-legislation and compulsion, there is almost

invariably a great deal of hypocrisy and infidelity among the educated

classes, however often it may conform outwardly, from policy, interest

or habit, to the forms and legal acquirements of the established creed.

The senate and emperor, by special edicts, usually allowed conquered

nations the free practice of their worship even in Rome; not, however,

from regard for the sacred rights of conscience, but merely from

policy, and with the express prohibition of making proselytes from the

state religion; hence severe laws were published from time to time

against transition to Judaism.

Obstacles to the Toleration of Christianity.

To Christianity, appearing not as a national religion, but claiming to

be the only true universal one making its converts among every people

and every sect, attracting Greeks and Romans in much larger numbers

than Jews, refusing to compromise with any form of idolatry, and

threatening in fact the very existence of the Roman state religion,

even this limited toleration could not be granted. The same

all-absorbing political interest of Rome dictated here the opposite

course, and Tertullian is hardly just in changing the Romans with

inconsistency for tolerating the worship of all false gods, from whom

they had nothing to fear, and yet prohibiting the worship of the only

true God who is Lord over all. [27] 6 Born under Augustus, and

crucified under Tiberius at the sentence of the Roman magistrate,

Christ stood as the founder of a spiritual universal empire at the head

of the most important epoch of the Roman power, a rival not to be

endured. The reign of Constantine subsequently showed that the free

toleration of Christianity was the death-blow to the Roman state

religion.

Then, too, the conscientious refusal of the Christians to pay divine

honors to the emperor and his statue, and to take part in any

idolatrous ceremonies at public festivities, their aversion to the

imperial military service, their disregard for politics and

depreciation of all civil and temporal affairs as compared with the

spiritual and eternal interests of man, their close brotherly union and

frequent meetings, drew upon them the suspicion of hostility to the

Caesars and the Roman people, and the unpardonable crime of conspiracy

against the state. [28] 7

The common people also, with their polytheistic ideas, abhorred the

believers in the one God as atheists and enemies of the gods. They

readily gave credit to the slanderous rumors of all sorts of

abominations, even incest and cannibalism, practised by the Christians

at their religious assemblies and love-feasts, and regarded the

frequent public calamities of that age as punishments justly inflicted

by the angry gods for the disregard of their worship. In North Africa

arose the proverb: "If God does not send rain, lay it to the

Christians." At every inundation, or drought, or famine, or pestilence,

the fanatical populace cried: "Away with the atheists! To the lions

with the Christians!"

Finally, persecutions were sometimes started by priests, jugglers,

artificers, merchants, and others, who derived their support from the

idolatrous worship. These, like Demetrius at Ephesus, and the masters

of the sorceress at Philippi, kindled the fanaticism and indignation of

the mob against the new religion for its interference with their gains.

[29] 8

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[23] "Non licet esse vos." Tertullian, Apol. 4

[24] The History of Rome, translated by Dickson, vol. IV. P. II. p.

559.

[25] "Nisi publice adscitos."

[26] anankaze, according to Dion Cassius.

[27] Apolog. c. 24 at the close: "Apud vos quod vis coler ejus est

praeter Deum verum, quasi non hic magis omnium sit Deus, cuius omnes

sumus."

[28] Hence the reproachful designation "Hostes Caesarum et populi

Romani."

[29] Comp. Arts. 19:24; 16:16.

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� 16. Condition of the Church before the Reign of Trajan.

The imperial persecutions before Trajan belong to the Apostolic age,

and have been already described in the first volume. We allude to them

here only for the sake of the connection. Christ was born under the

first, and crucified under the second Roman emperor. Tiberius (a.d.

14-37) is reported to have been frightened by Pilate's account of the

crucifixion and resurrection, and to have proposed to the senate,

without success, the enrollment of Christ among the Roman deities; but

this rests only on the questionable authority of Tertullian. The edict

of Claudius (42-54) in the year 53, which banished the Jews from Rome,

fell also upon the Christians, but as Jews with whom they were

confounded. The fiendish persecution of Nero (54-68) was intended as a

punishment, not for Christianity, but for alleged incendiarism (64). It

showed, however, the popular temper, and was a declaration of war

against the new religion. It became a common saying among Christians

that Nero would reappear as Antichrist.

During the rapidly succeeding reigns of Galba, Otho, Vitellius,

Vespacian, and Titus, the church, so far as we know, suffered no very

serious persecution.

But Domitian (81-96), a suspicious and blasphemous tyrant, accustomed

to call himself and to be called "Lord and God," treated the embracing

of Christianity a crime against the state, and condemned to death many

Christians, even his own cousin, the consul Flavius Clemens, on the

charge of atheism; or confiscated their property, and sent them, as in

the case of Domitilia, the wife of the Clemens just mentioned, into

exile. His jealousy also led him to destroy the surviving descendants

of David; and he brought from Palestine to Rome two kinsmen of Jesus,

grandsons of Judas, the "brother of the Lord," but seeing their poverty

and rustic simplicity, and hearing their explanation of the kingdom of

Christ as not earthly, but heavenly, to be established by the Lord at

the end of the world, when He should come to judge the quick and the

dead, he let them go. Tradition (in Irenaeus, Eusebius, Jerome) assigns

to the reign of Domitian the banishment of John to Patmos (which,

however, must be assigned to the reign of Nero), together with his

miraculous preservation from death in Rome (attested by Tertullian),

and the martyrdom of Andrew, Mark, Onesimus, and Dionysius the

Areopagite. The Martyrium of Ignatius speaks of "many persecutions

under Domitian."

His humane and justice-loving successor, Nerva (96-98), recalled the

banished, and refused to treat the confession of Christianity as a

political crime, though he did not recognise the new religion as a

religio licita.

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� 17. Trajan. a.d. 98-117--Christianity Forbidden--Martyrdom of Symeon

of Jerusalem, and Ignatius of Antioch.

I. Sources.

Plinius, jun.: Epist. x. 96 and 97 (al. 97 sq.). Tertullian: Apol. c.

2; Eusebius: H. E. III. 11, 32, 33, 36. Chron. pasch. p. 470 (ed.

Bonn.).

Acta Martyrii Ignatii, in Ruinart, p. 8 sqq.; recent edd. by Theod.

Zahn, in Patrum Apost. Opera (Lips. 1876), vol. II. pp. 301 sqq.; FUNK,

Opera Patr. Apost., vol. I. 254-265; II. 218-275; and Lightfoot: S.

Ignatius and S. Polyc., II. 1, 473-570.

II. Works.

On Trajan's reign in general see Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs;

Merivale, History of the Romans under the Empire.

On Ignatius: Theod. Zahn: Ignatius von Antiochien. Gotha 1873 (631

pages). Lightfoot: S. Ignatius and S. Polyc., London 1885, 2 vols.

On the chronology: Adolph Harnack: Die Zeit des Ignatius. Leipzig, 1878

(90 pages); Comp. Keim, l.c. 510-562; but especially Lighfoot, l.c. II.

1, 390 sqq.

The Epistles of Ignatius will be discussed in chapter XIII. on

ecclesiastical literature, �164 and 165.

Trajan, one of the best and most praiseworthy emperors, honored as the

"father of his country," but, like his friends, Tacitus and Pliny,

wholly ignorant of the nature of Christianity, was the first to

pronounce it in form a proscribed religion, as it had been all along in

fact. He revived the rigid laws against all secret societies, [30] 9

and the provincial officers applied them to the Christians, on account

of their frequent meetings for worship. His decision regulated the

governmental treatment of the Christians for more than a century . It

is embodied in his correspondence with the younger Pliny, who was

governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor from 109 to 111.

Pliny came in official contact with the Christians. He himself saw in

that religion only a "depraved and immoderate superstition," and could

hardly account for its popularity. He reported to the emperor that this

superstition was constantly spreading, not only in the cities, but also

in the villages of Asia Minor, and captivated people of every age,

rank, and sex, so that the temples were almost forsaken, and the

sacrificial victims found no sale. To stop this progress, he condemned

many Christians to death, and sent others, who were Roman citizens, to

the imperial tribunal. But he requested of the emperor further

instructions, whether, in these efforts, he should have respect to age;

whether he should treat the mere bearing of the Christian name as a

crime, if there were no other offence.

To these inquiries Trajan replied: "You have adopted the right course,

my friend, with regard to the Christians; for no universal rule, to be

applied to all cases, can be laid down in this matter. They should not

be searched for; but when accused and convicted, they should be

punished; yet if any one denies that be has been a Christian, and

proves it by action, namely, by worshipping our gods, he is to be

pardoned upon his repentance, even though suspicion may still cleave to

him from his antecedents. But anonymous accusations must not be

admitted in any criminal process; it sets a bad example, and is

contrary to our age" (i.e. to the spirit of Trajan's government).

This decision was much milder than might have been expected from a

heathen emperor of the old Roman stamp. Tertullian charges it with

self-contradiction, as both cruel and lenient, forbidding the search

for Christians and yet commanding their punishment, thus declaring them

innocent and guilty at the same time. But the emperor evidently

proceeded on political principles, and thought that a transient and

contagious enthusiasm, as Christianity in his judgment was, could be

suppressed sooner by leaving it unnoticed, than by openly assailing it.

He wished to ignore it as much as possible. But every day it forced

itself more and more upon public attention, as it spread with the

irresistible power of truth.

This rescript might give occasion, according to the sentiment of

governors, for extreme severity towards Christianity as a secret union

and a religio illicita. Even the humane Pliny tells us that he applied

the rack to tender women. Syria and Palestine suffered heavy

persecutions in this reign.

Symeon, bishop of Jerusalem, and, like his predecessor James, a kinsman

of Jesus, was accused by fanatical Jews, and crucified a.d. 107, at the

age of a hundred and twenty years.

In the same year (or probably between 110 and 116) the distinguished

bishop Ignatius of Antioch was condemned to death, transported to Rome,

and thrown before wild beasts in the Colosseum. The story of his

martyrdom has no doubt been much embellished, but it must have some

foundation in fact, and is characteristic of the legendary martyrology

of the ancient church.

Our knowledge of Ignatius is derived from his disputed epistles, [31] 0

and a few short notices by Irenaeus and Origen. While his existence,

his position in the early Church, and his martyrdom are admitted,

everything else about him is called in question. How many epistles he

wrote, and when he wrote them, how much truth there is in the account

of his martyrdom, and when it took place, when it was written up, and

by whom--all are undecided, and the subject of protracted controversy.

He was, according to tradition, a pupil of the Apostle John, and by his

piety so commended himself to the Christians in Antioch that he was

chosen bishop, the second after Peter, Euodius being, the first. But

although he was a man of apostolic character and governed the church

with great care, he was personally not satisfied, until he should be

counted worthy of sealing his testimony with his blood, and thereby

attaining to the highest seat of honor. The coveted crown came to him

at last and his eager and morbid desire for martyrdom was gratified.

The emperor Trajan, in 107, came to Antioch, and there threatened with

persecution all who refused to sacrifice to the gods. Ignatius was

tried for this offence, and proudly confessed himself a "Theophorus"

("bearer of God") because, as he said, he had Christ within his breast.

Trajan condemned him to be thrown to the lions at Rome. The sentence

was executed with all haste. Ignatius was immediately bound in chains,

and taken over land and sea, accompanied by ten soldiers, whom he

denominated his "leopards," from Antioch to Seleucia, to Smyrna, where

he met Polycarp, and whence be wrote to the churches, particularly to

that in Rome; to Troas, to Neapolis, through Macedonia to Epirus, and

so over the Adriatic to Rome. He was received by the Christians there

with every manifestation of respect, but would not allow them to avert

or even to delay his martyrdom. It was on the 20th day of December,

107, that he was thrown into the amphitheater: immediately the wild

beasts fell upon him, and soon naught remained of his body but a few

bones, which were carefully conveyed to Antioch as an inestimable

treasure. The faithful friends who had accompanied him from home

dreamed that night that they saw him; some that he was standing by

Christ, dropping with sweat as if he had just come from his great

labor. Comforted by these dreams they returned with the relics to

Antioch.

Note on the Date of the Martyrdom of Ignatius.

The date a.d.107 has in its favor the common reading of the best of the

martyrologies of Ignatius (Colbertium)ennato etei, in the ninth year,

i.e. from Trajan's accession, a.d. 98. From this there is no good

reason to depart in favor of another reading tetarton etos, the

nineteenth year, i.e. a.d. 116. Jerome makes the date a.d. 109. The

fact that the names of the Roman consuls are correctly given in the

Martyrium Colbertinum, is proof of the correctness of the date, which

is accepted by such critics as Ussher, Tillemont, M�hler, Hefele, and

Wieseler. The latter, in his work Die Christenverfolgungen der

Caesaren, 1878, pp. 125 sqq., finds confirmation of this date in

Eusebius's statement that the martyrdom took place before Trajan came

to Antioch, which was in his 10th year; in the short interval between

the martyrdom of Ignatius and Symeon, son of Klopas (Hist. Ecc. III.

32); and finally, in the letter of Tiberian to Trajan, relating how

many pressed forward to martyrdom--an effect, as Wieseler thinks, of

the example of Ignatius. If 107 be accepted, then another supposition

of Wieseler is probable. It is well known that in that year Trajan held

an extraordinary triumph on account of his Dacian victories: may it not

have been that the blood of Ignatius reddened the sand of the

amphitheatre at that time?

But 107 a.d. is by no means universally accepted. Keim (Rom und das

Christenthum, p. 540) finds the Martyrium Colbertinum wrong in stating

that the death took place under the first consulate of Sura and the

second of Senecio, because in 107 Sura was consul for the third and

Senecio for the fourth time. He also objects that Trajan was not in

Antioch in 107, but in 115, on his way to attack the Armenians and

Parthians. But this latter objection falls to the ground if Ignatius

was not tried by Trajan personally in Antioch. Harnack concludes that

it is only barely possible that Ignatius was martyred under Trajan.

Lightfoot assigns the martyrdom to between 110 and 118.

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[30] Or prohibited clubs. This is the meaning of hetaeria (hetaireia or

hetairia), collegium, sodalitas, sodalitium, company, brotherhood,

especially a private political club or union for party purposes. The

Roman sodalities were festive clubs or lodges, and easily available for

political and revolutionary ends. Trajan refused to sanction a company

of firemen in Nicomedia (Pliny, Ep. X. 34, al. 43). Comp. B�ttner,

Geschichte der politischen Het�rien in Athen (1840). and Mommsen, De

collegiis et sodali us Romanorum (Kiel, 1843).

[31] In three recensions, two in Greek, and one in Syriac. The seven

shorter Greek Ep. are genuine. See below � 165.

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� 18. Hadrian. a.d. 117-138.

See Gregorovius: Gesch. Hadrians und seiner Zeit (1851); Renan:

L'E'glise, chr�tienne (1879), 1-44, and Wagenmann in Herzog, vol. v.

501-506.

Hadrian, of Spanish descent, a relative of Trajan, and adopted by him

on his death-bed, was a man of brilliant talents and careful education,

a scholar an artist, a legislator and administrator, and altogether one

of the ablest among the Roman emperors, but of very doubtful morality,

governed by changing moods, attracted in opposite directions, and at

last lost in self-contradictions and utter disgust of life. His

mausoleum (Moles Hadriani) still adorns, as the castle of Sant' Angelo,

the bridge of the Tiber in Rome. He is represented both as a friend and

foe of the church. He was devoted to the religion of the state,

bitterly opposed to Judaism, indifferent to Christianity, from

ignorance of it. He insulted the Jews and the Christians alike by

erecting temples of Jupiter and Venus over the site of the temple and

the supposed spot of the crucifixion. He is said to have directed the

Asiatic proconsul to check the popular fury against the Christians, and

to punish only those who should be, by an orderly judicial process,

convicted of transgression of the laws. [32] 1 But no doubt he

regarded, like Trajan, the mere profession of Christianity itself such

a transgression.

The Christian apologies, which took their rise under this emperor,

indicate a very bitter public sentiment against the Christians, and a

critical condition of the church. The least encouragement from Hadrian

would have brought on a bloody persecution. Quadratus and Aristides

addressed their pleas for their fellow-Christians to him, we do not

know with what effect.

Later tradition assigns to his reign the martyrdom of St. Eustachius,

St. Symphorosa and her seven sons, of the Roman bishops Alexander and

Telesphorus, and others whose names are scarcely known, and whose

chronology is more than doubtful.

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[32] The rescript of Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus (124 or 128),

preserved by Eusebius in a Greek translation, (H. H. E., IV. V. 8, 9),

is almost an edict of toleration, and hence doubted by Baur, Keim,

Aub�, but defended as genuine by Neander (I. 101, Engl. ed.), Wieseler,

Funk, Renan (l.c. p. 32 sqq). Renan represents Hadrian as a rieur

spirituel, un Lucian couronn� prenat le monde comme un jeu frivole (p.

6), and therefore more favorable to religious liberty than the serious

Trajan and the pious Antoninius and Marcus Aurelius. But Friedl�nder

(III. 492) accepts the report of Pausanias that Hadrian was zealously

devoted to the worship of the gods. Keim regards him as a visionary and

hostile to Christianity as well as to Judaism.

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� 19 Antoninus Pius. a.d. 137-161. The Martyrdom of Polycarp.

Comte de Champagny (R.C.): Les Antonins. (a.d. 69-180), Paris, 1863; 3d

ed. 1874. 3 vols., 8 vo. Merivale's History.

Martyrium Polycarp (the oldest, simplest, and least objectionable of

the martyr-acts), in a letter of the church of Smyrna to the Christians

in Pontus or Phrygia, preserved by Eusebius, H. Eccl. IV. 15, and

separately edited from various MSS. by Ussher (1647) and in nearly all

the editions of the Apostolic Fathers, especially by O. v. Gebhardt,

Harnack, and Zahn, II. 132-168, and Prolog. L-LVI. The recension of the

text is by Zahn, and departs from the text of the Bollandists in 98

places. Best edition by Lightfoot, S. Ign. and S. Polycarp, I. 417

sqq., and II. 1005-1047. Comp. the Greek Vita Polycarpi, in Funk, II.

315 sqq.

Ignatius: Ad. Polycarpum. Best ed., by Lightfoot, l.c.

Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. III. 3. 4. His letter to Florinus in Euseb. v. 20.

Polycrates of Ephesus (c. 190), in Euseb. v. 24.

On the date of Polycarp's death:

Waddington: M�moire sur la chronologie de la vie du rh�teur Aelius

Aristide (in "M�m. de l' Acad: des inscript. et belles letters," Tom.

XXVI. Part II. 1867, pp. 232 sqq.), and in Fastes des provinces

Asiatiques, 1872, 219 sqq.

Wieseler: Das Martyrium Polykarp's und dessen Chronologie, in his

Christenverfolgungen, etc. (1878), 3 87.

Keim: Die Zw�lf M�rtyrer von Smyrna und der Tod des Bishops Polykarp,

in his Aus dem Urchristenthum (1878), 92-133.

E. Egli: Das Martyrium des Polyk., in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r

wissensch. Theol." for 1882, pp. 227 sqq.

Antoninus Pius protected the Christians from the tumultuous violence

which broke out against them on account of the frequent public

calamities. But the edict ascribed to him, addressed to the deputies of

the Asiatic cities, testifying to the innocence of the Christians, and

holding them up to the heathen as models of fidelity and zeal in the

worship of God, could hardly have come from an emperor, who bore the

honorable title of Pius for his conscientious adherence to the religion

of his fathers; [33] 2 and in any case he could not have controlled the

conduct of the provincial governors and the fury of the people against

an illegal religion.

The persecution of the church at Smyrna and the martyrdom of its

venerable bishop, which was formerly assigned to the year 167, under

the reign of Marcus Aurelius, took place, according to more recent

research, under Antoninus in 155, when Statius Quadratus was proconsul

in Asia Minor. [34] 3 Polycarp was a personal friend and pupil of the

Apostle John, and chief presbyter of the church at Smyrna, where a

plain stone monument still marks his grave. He was the teacher of

Irenaeus of Lyons, and thus the connecting link between the apostolic

and post-apostolic ages. As he died 155 at an age of eighty-six years

or more, he must have been born a.d. 69, a year before the destruction

of Jerusalem, and may have enjoyed the friendship of St. John for

twenty years or more. This gives additional weight to his testimony

concerning apostolic traditions and writings. We have from him a

beautiful epistle which echoes the apostolic teaching, and will be

noticed in another chapter.

Polycarp steadfastly refused before the proconsul to deny his King and

Saviour, whom he had served six and eighty years, and from whom he had

experienced nothing but love and mercy. He joyfully went up to the

stake, and amidst the flames praised God for having deemed him worthy

"to be numbered among his martyrs, to drink the cup of Christ's

sufferings, unto the eternal resurrection of the soul and the body in

the incorruption of the Holy Spirit." The slightly legendary account in

the letter of the church of Smyrna states, that the flames avoided the

body of the saint, leaving it unharmed, like gold tried in the fire;

also the Christian bystanders insisted, that they perceived a sweet

odor, as of incense. Then the executioner thrust his sword into the

body, and the stream of blood at once extinguished the flame. The

corpse was burned after the Roman custom, but the bones were preserved

by the church, and held more precious than gold and diamonds. The death

of this last witness of the apostolic age checked the fury of the

populace, and the proconsul suspended the persecution.

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[33] He always offered sacrifice himself as high-priest. Friedl�nder

III. 492.

[34] So Waddington, who has made it almost certain that Quadratus was

Roman consul a.d. 142, and proconsul in Asia from 154 to 155, and that

Polycarp died Feb. 23, 155. He is followed by Renan (1873), Ewald

(1873), Aub� (1875), Hilgenfeld (1874), Lightfoot (1875), Lipsius

(1874), 0. v. Gebhardt (1875), Zahn, Harnack (1876), Egli (1882), and

again by Lightfoot (1885, l.c. I. 647 sqq). Wieseler and Keim learnedly

defend the old date (166-167), which rests on the authority of Eusebius

and Jerome, and was held by Masson and Clinton. But Lightfoot refutes

their objections (I. 647, sqq.), and sustains Waddington.

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� 20. Persecutions under Marcus Aurelius. a.d. 161-180.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus: (b. 121, d. 180):;Ton eis heauton Biblia ib

', or Meditations. It is a sort of diary or common place book, in which

the emperor wrote down, towards the close of his life, partly amid the

turmoil of war "in the land of the Quadi" (on the Danube in Hungary),

for his self-improvement, his own moral reflections) together with

striking maxims of wise and virtuous men. Ed. princeps by Xylander

Zurich 1558, and Basle 1568; best ed with a new Latin trans. and very

full notes by Gataker, Lond. 1643, Cambr. 1652, and with additional

notes from the French by Dacier, Lond. 1697 and 1704. New ed. of the

Greek text by J. M. Schultz, 1802 (and 1821); another by Adamantius

Cora�s, Par. 1816. English translation by George Long, Lond. 1863,

republ. Boston, revised edition, London, 1880. There are translations

into most European languages, one in Italian by the Cardinal Francis

Barberini (nephew of Pope Urban VIII), who dedicated his translation to

his own soul, "to make it redder than his purple at the sight of the

virtues of this Gentile." Comp. also the letters of the famous

rhetorician M. Corn. Fronto, the teacher of M. Aurelius, discovered and

published by Angelo Mai, Milan 1815 and Rome 1823 (Epistolarum ad

Marcum Caesarem Lib. V., etc.) They are, however, very unimportant,

except so far as they show the life-long congenial friendship between

the amiable teacher and his imperial pupil.

Arnold Bodek: Marcus AureliusAntoninus als Freund und Zeitgenosse les

Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi. Leipz. 1868. (Traces the connection of this

emperor with the Jewish monotheism and ethics.)

E. Renan: Marc-Aur�le et la fin du monde antique. Paris 1882. This is

the seventh and the last vol. of his work of twenty years' labor on the

"Histoire des Origines du Christianisme." It is as full of genius,

learning and eloquence, and as empty of positive faith as the former

volumes. He closes the period of the definite formation of Christianity

in the middle of the second century, but proposes in a future work to

trace it back to Isaiah (or the "Great Unknown") as its proper founder.

Eusebius: H. E. V. 1-3. The Letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne

to the Christians of Asia Minor. Die Akten, des Karpus, des Papylus und

der Agathonike, untersucht von AD. Harnack. Leipz., 1888.

On the legend of the Legio fulminatrix see Tertullian: Apol. 5; Euseb.:

H. E V. 5.; and Dion Cass.: Hist. LXXI. 8, 9.

Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher on the throne, was a well-educated,

just, kind, and amiable emperor, and reached the old Roman ideal of

self-reliant Stoic virtue, but for this very reason he had no sympathy

with Christianity, and probably regarded it as an absurd and fanatical

superstition. He had no room in his cosmopolitan philanthropy for the

purest and most innocent of his subjects, many of whom served in his

own army. He was flooded with apologies of Melito, Miltiades,

Athenagoras in behalf of the persecuted Christians, but turned a deaf

ear to them. Only once, in his Meditations, does he allude to them, and

then with scorn, tracing their noble enthusiasm for martyrdom to "sheer

obstinacy" and love for theatrical display. [35] 4 His excuse is

ignorance. He probably never read a line of the New Testament, nor of

the apologies addressed to him. [36] 5

Belonging to the later Stoical school, which believed in an immediate

absorption after death into the Divine essence, he considered the

Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul, with its moral

consequences, as vicious and dangerous to the welfare of the state. A

law was passed under his reign, punishing every one with exile who

should endeavor to influence people's mind by fear of the Divinity, and

this law was, no doubt, aimed at the Christians. [37] 6 At all events

his reign was a stormy time for the church, although the persecutions

cannot be directly traced to him. The law of Trajan was sufficient to

justify the severest measures against the followers of the "forbidden"

religion.

About the year 170 the apologist Melito wrote: "The race of the

worshippers of God in Asia is now persecuted by new edicts as it never

has been heretofore; shameless, greedy sycophants, finding occasion in

the edicts, now plunder the innocent day and night." The empire was

visited at that time by a number of conflagrations, a destructive flood

of the Tiber, an earthquake, insurrections, and particularly a

pestilence, which spread from Ethiopia to Gaul. This gave rise to

bloody persecutions, in which government and people united against the

enemies of the gods and the supposed authors of these misfortunes.

Celsus expressed his joy that "the demon" [of the Christians] was "not

only reviled, but banished from every land and sea," and saw in this

judgment the fulfilment of the oracle: "the mills of the gods grind

late." But at the same time these persecutions, and the simultaneous

literary assaults on Christianity by Celsus and Lucian, show that the

new religion was constantly gaining importance in the empire.

In 177, the churches of Lyons and Vienne, in the South of France,

underwent a severe trial. Heathen slaves were forced by the rack to

declare, that their Christian masters practised all the unnatural vices

which rumor charged them with; and this was made to justify the

exquisite tortures to which the Christians were subjected. But the

sufferers, "strengthened by the fountain of living water from the heart

of Christ," displayed extraordinary faith and steadfastness, and felt,

that "nothing can be fearful, where the love of the Father is, nothing

painful, where shines the glory of Christ."

The most distinguished victims of this Gallic persecution were the

bishop Pothinus, who, at the age of ninety years, and just recovered

from a sickness, was subjected to all sorts of abuse, and then thrown

into a dismal dungeon, where he died in two days; the virgin Blandina,

a slave, who showed almost superhuman strength and constancy under the

most cruel tortures, and was at last thrown to a wild beast in a net;

Ponticus, a boy of fifteen years, who could be deterred by no sort of

cruelty from confessing his Saviour. The corpses of the martyrs, which

covered the streets, were shamefully mutilated, then burned, and the

ashes cast into the Rhone, lest any remnants of the enemies of the gods

might desecrate the soil. At last the people grew weary of slaughter,

and a considerable number of Christians survived. The martyrs of Lyons

distinguished themselves by true humility, disclaiming in their prison

that title of honor, as due only, they said, to the faithful and true

witness, the Firstborn from the dead, the Prince of life (Rev. 1:5),

and to those of his followers who had already sealed their fidelity to

Christ with their blood.

About the same time a persecution of less extent appears to have

visited Autun (Augustodunum) near Lyons. Symphorinus, a young man of

good family, having refused to fall down before the image of Cybele,

was condemned to be beheaded. On his way to the place of execution his

own mother called to him: "My son, be firm and fear not that death,

which so surely leads to life. Look to Him who reigns in heaven. To-day

is thy earthly life not taken from thee, but transferred by a blessed

exchange into the life of heaven."

The story of the "thundering legion" [38] 7 rests on the fact of a

remarkable deliverance of the Roman army in Hungary by a sudden shower,

which quenched their burning thirst and frightened their barbarian

enemies, a.d. 174. The heathens, however, attributed this not to the

prayers of the Christian soldiers, but to their own gods. The emperor

himself prayed to Jupiter: "This hand, which has never yet shed human

blood, I raise to thee." That this event did not alter his views

respecting the Christians, is proved by the persecution in South Gaul,

which broke out three years later.

Of isolated cases of martyrdom in this reign, we notice that of Justin

Martyr, at Rome, in the year 166. His death is traced to the

machinations of Crescens, a Cynic philosopher.

Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by his cruel and contemptible son,

Commodus (180-192), who wallowed in the mire of every sensual

debauchery, and displayed at the same time like Nero the most

ridiculous vanity as dancer and singer, and in the character of

buffoon; but he was accidentally made to favor the Christians by the

influence of a concubine, [39] 8 Marcia, and accordingly did not

disturb them. Yet under his reign a Roman senator, Apollonius, was put

to death for his faith.

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[35] Med. xi. 3: Me kata psilen parataxin, hos hoi Christianoi, halla

lelogismenos kai semnos kai, hoste kai allon p eisai atragodos

[36] Bodek (l.c. p. 82 sqq.) maintains, contrary to the common view,

that Marcus Aurelius was personally indifferent to heathenism and

Christianity, that his acts of respect for the worship of the gods,

related by Capitolinus and others, were simply official tributes, and

that the persecutions of the Christians did probably not originate with

him. "Er wareben so wenig ein Feind des Christenthums, als er ein Feind

des Heidenthums war: was wie religi�ser Fanatismus aussah,war in

Wahrheit nur politischer Conservatismus" (p. 87). On the other hand,

Bodek claims for him a friendly sympathy with Judaism in its

monotheistic and ethical features, and assumes that he had intimate

relations with a Jewish rabbi. But there is nothing in his twelve books

"Do seipso et ad seipsum," which is inconsistent with an enlightened

heathen piety under the unconscious influence of Christianity, yet

hostile to it partly from ignorance of its true nature, partly from a

conscientious regard to his duty as the pontifex maximus of the state

religion. The same was the case with Trajan and Decius. Renan (p. 262

sqq.) calls the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius "le livre le plus

purement humain qu'il y ait. Il ne tranche aucune question

controvers�e. En th�ologie, Marc Aur�le flotte entre le d�isme pur, le

polyth�isme enterpr�t� dans un sens physique, � la fa�on des sto�ciens,

et une sorte de panth�isme cosmique."

[37] "Si quis aliquid fecerit, quo leves hominum animi superstitio

numinis terrerentur, Divus Marcus hujusmodi homines in insulam relegari

rescripsit."Dig. XLVIII. tit. 19. 1. 13, quoted by Lecky in Hist. of

Europ. Morals, I. 448. 9

[38] Legio fulminatrix, keraunophoros. The twelfth legion bore the name

Fulminata as far back as the time of Trajan; and hence it cannot be

derived from this event.

[39] philotheos pallake

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� 21. Condition of the Church from Septimius Severus to Philip the

Arabian. a.d. 193-249.

Clemens Alex.: Strom. II. 414. Tertull.: Ad Scapulam, c. 4, 5; Apol.

(a.d. 198), c. 7, 12, 30, 37, 49.

Respecting the Alexandrian martyrs comp. Euseb.: VI. 1 and 5.

The Acts of the Carthaginian martyrs, which contain their ipsissima

verba from their diaries in the prisons, but bear a somewhat

Montanistic stamp, see in Ruinart, p 90 sqq.

Lampridius: Vita Alex. Severi, c. 22, 29, 49.

On Philip the Arabian see Euseb.:VI. 34, 36. Hieron.: Chron. ad ann.

246.

J. J. M�ller: Staat und Kirche unter Alex. Severus. Z�rich 1874.

F. G�rres: Kaiser Alex. Severus und das Christenthum. Leipz., 1877.

Jean R�ville: La religion � Rome sous les S�v�res. Paris, 1886 (vii and

302 pp.); Germ. transl. by Kr�ger, 1888.

With Septimius Severus (193-211), who was of Punic descent and had a

Syrian wife, a line of emperors (Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander

Severus) came to the throne, who were rather Oriental than Roman in

their spirit, and were therefore far less concerned than the Antonines

to maintain the old state religion. Yet towards the close of the second

century there was no lack of local persecutions; and Clement of

Alexandria wrote of those times: "Many martyrs are daily burned,

confined, or beheaded, before our eyes."

In the beginning of the third century (202) Septimius Severus, turned

perhaps by Montanistic excesses, enacted a rigid law against the

further spread both of Christianity and of Judaism. This occasioned

violent persecutions in Egypt and in North Africa, and produced some of

the fairest flowers of martyrdom.

In Alexandria, in consequence of this law, Leonides, father of the

renowned Origen, was beheaded. Potamiaena, a virgin of rare beauty of

body and spirit, was threatened by beastly passion with treatment worse

than death, and, after cruel tortures, slowly burned with her mother in

boiling pitch. One of the executioners, Basilides, smitten with

sympathy, shielded them somewhat from abuse, and soon after their death

embraced Christianity, and was beheaded. He declared that Potamiaena

had appeared to him in the night, interceded with Christ for him, and

set upon his head the martyr's crown.

In Carthage some catechumens, three young men and two young women,

probably of the sect of the Montanists, showed remarkable steadfastness

and fidelity in the dungeon and at the place of execution. Perpetua, a

young woman of noble birth, resisting, not without a violent struggle,

both the entreaties of her aged heathen father and the appeal of her

helpless babe upon her breast, sacrificed the deep and tender feelings

of a daughter and a mother to the Lord who died for her. Felicitas, a

slave, when delivered of a child in the same dungeon, answered the

jailor, who reminded her of the still keener pains of martyrdom: "Now I

suffer, what I suffer; but then another will suffer for me, because I

shall suffer for him." All remaining firm, they were cast to wild

beasts at the next public festival, having first interchanged the

parting kiss in hope of a speedy reunion in heaven.

The same state of things continued through the first years of Caracalla

(211-217), though this gloomy misanthrope passed no laws against the

Christians.

The abandoned youth, El-Gabal, or Heliogabalus (218-222), who polluted

the throne by the blackest vices and follies, tolerated all the

religions in the hope of at last merging them in his favorite Syrian

worship of the sun with its abominable excesses. He himself was a

priest of the god of the sun, and thence took his name. [40] 9

His far more worthy cousin and successor, Alexander Severus (222-235),

was addicted to a higher kind of religious eclecticism and syncretism,

a pantheistic hero-worship. He placed the busts of Abraham and Christ

in his domestic chapel with those of Orpheus, Apollonius of Tyana, and

the better Roman emperors, and had the gospel rule, "As ye would that

men should do to you, do ye even so to them," engraven on the walls of

his palace, and on public monuments [41] 0. His mother, Julia Mammaea,

was a patroness of Origen.

His assassin, Maximinus the Thracian (235-238), first a herdsman,

afterwards a soldier, resorted again to persecution out of mere

opposition to his predecessor, and gave free course to the popular fury

against the enemies of the gods, which was at that time excited anew by

an earthquake. It is uncertain whether he ordered the entire clergy or

only the bishops to be killed. He was a rude barbarian who plundered

also heathen temples.

The legendary poesy of the tenth century assigns to his reign the

fabulous martyrdom of St. Ursula, a British princess, and her company

of eleven thousand (according to others, ten thousand) virgins, who, on

their return from a pilgrimage to Rome, were murdered by heathens in

the neighborhood of Cologne. This incredible number has probably arisen

from the misinterpretation of an inscription, like "Ursula et

Undecimilla" (which occurs in an old missal of the Sorbonne), or

"Ursula et XI M. V.," i.e. Martyres Virgines, which, by substituting

milia for martyres, was increased from eleven martyrs to eleven

thousand virgins. Some historians place the fact, which seems to form

the basis of this legend, in connexion with the retreat of the Huns

after the battle of Chalons, 451. The abridgment of Mil., which may

mean soldiers (milites) as well as thousands (milia), was another

fruitful source of mistakes in a credulous and superstitious age.

Gordianus (208-244) left the church undisturbed. Philip the Arabian

(244-249) was even supposed by some to be a Christian, and was termed

by Jerome "primus omnium ex Romanis imperatoribus Christianus." It is

certain that Origen wrote letters to him and to his wife, Severa.

This season of repose, however, cooled the moral zeal and brotherly

love of the Christians; and the mighty storm under the following reign

served well to restore the purity of the church.

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[40] Unless we should prefer to derive it from 'l and gvl

[41] Yet he meant no more than toleration, as Lampridius says, 22 (21):

Judaeis privilegia reservavit, Christianos esse passus est.

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� 22. Persecutions under Decius, and Valerian. a.d. 249-260. Martyrdom

of Cyprian.

Dionysius Alex., in Euseb. VI. 40-42; VII. 10, 11.

Cyprian: De Lapsis, and particularly his Epistles of this period. On

Cyprian's martyrdom see the Proconsular Acts, and Pontius: Vita

Cypriani.

Franz G�rres: Die Toleranzedicte des Kaisers Gallienus, in the

"Jahrb�cher f�r protest. Theol.," 1877, pp. 606-630. By the same: Die

angebliche Christenverfolgung zur Zeit der Kaiser Numerianus und

Carinus, in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theologie."

1880 pp. 31-64.

Decius Trajan (249-251), an earnest and energetic emperor, in whom the

old Roman spirit once more awoke, resolved to root out the church as an

atheistic and seditious sect, and in the year 250 published an edict to

all the governors of the provinces, enjoining return to the pagan state

religion under the heaviest penalties. This was the signal for a

persecution which, in extent, consistency, and cruelty, exceeded all

before it. In truth it was properly the first which covered the whole

empire, and accordingly produced a far greater number of martyrs than

any former persecution. In the execution of the imperial decree

confiscation, exile, torture, promises and threats of all kinds, were

employed to move the Christians to apostasy. Multitudes of nominal

Christians, [42] 1 especially at the beginning, sacrificed to the gods

(sacrificati, thurificati), or procured from the, magistrate a false

certificate that they had done so (libellatici), and were then

excommunicated as apostates (lapsi); while hundreds rushed with

impetuous zeal to the prisons and the tribunals, to obtain the

confessor's or martyr's crown. The confessors of Rome wrote from prison

to their brethren of Africa: "What more glorious and blessed lot can

fall to man by the grace of God, than to confess God the Lord amidst

tortures and in the face of death itself; to confess Christ the Son of

God with lacerated body and with a spirit departing, yet free; and to

become fellow-sufferers with Christ in the name of Christ? Though we

have not yet shed our blood, we are ready to do so. Pray for us, then,

dear Cyprian, that the Lord, the best captain, would daily strengthen

each one of us more and more, and at last lead us to the field as

faithful soldiers, armed with those divine weapons (Eph. 6:2) which can

never be conquered."

The authorities were specially severe with the bishops and officers of

the churches. Fabianus of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of

Jerusalem, perished in this persecution. Others withdrew to places of

concealment; some from cowardice; some from Christian prudence, in hope

of allaying by their absence the fury of the pagans against their

flocks, and of saving their own lives for the good of the church in

better times.

Among the latter was Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who incurred much

censure by his course, but fully vindicated himself by his pastoral

industry during his absence, and by his subsequent martyrdom. He says

concerning the matter: "Our Lord commanded us in times of persecution

to yield and to fly. He taught this, and he practised it himself. For

since the martyr's crown comes by the grace of God, and cannot be

gained before the appointed hour, he who retires for a time, and

remains true to Christ, does not deny his faith, but only abides his

time."

The poetical legend of the seven brothers at Ephesus, who fell asleep

in a cave, whither they had fled, and awoke two hundred years

afterwards, under Theodosius II. (447), astonished to see the once

despised and hated cross now ruling over city and country, dates itself

internally from the time of Decius, but is not mentioned before Gregory

of Tours in the sixth century.

Under Gallus (251-253) the persecution received a fresh impulse

thorough the incursions of the Goths, and the prevalence of a

pestilence, drought, and famine. Under this reign the Roman bishops

Cornelius and Lucius were banished, and then condemned to death.

Valerian (253-260) was at first mild towards the Christians; but in 257

he changed his course, and made an effort to check the progress of

their religion without bloodshed, by the banishment of ministers and

prominent laymen, the confiscation of their property, and the

prohibition of religious assemblies. These measures, however, proving

fruitless, he brought the death penalty again into play.

The most distinguished martyrs of this persecution under Valerian are

the bishops Sixtus II. of Rome, and Cyprian of Carthage.

When Cyprian received his sentence of death, representing him as an

enemy of the Roman gods and laws, he calmly answered: "Deo gratias!"

Then, attended by a vast multitude to the scaffold, he proved once

more, undressed himself, covered his eyes, requested a presbyter to

bind his hands, and to pay the executioner, who tremblingly drew the

sword, twenty-five pieces of gold, and won the incorruptible crown

(Sept. 14, 258). His faithful friends caught the blood in

handkerchiefs, and buried the body of their sainted pastor with great

solemnity.

Gibbon describes the martyrdom of Cyprian with circumstantial

minuteness, and dwells with evident satisfaction on the small decorum

which attended his execution. But this is no fair average specimen of

the style in which Christians were executed throughout the empire. For

Cyprian was a man of the highest social standing and connection from

his former eminence, as a rhetorician and statesman. His deacon,

Pontius relates that "numbers of eminent and illustrious persons, men

of mark family and secular distinction, often urged him, for the sake

of their old friendship with him, to retire." We shall return to

Cyprian again in the history of church government, where he figures as

a typical, ante-Nicene high-churchman, advocating both the visible

unity of the church and episcopal independence of Rome.

The much lauded martyrdom of the deacon St. Laurentius of Rome, who

pointed the avaricious magistrates to the poor and sick of the

congregation as the richest treasure of the church, and is said to have

been slowly roasted to death (Aug. 10, 258) is scarcely reliable in its

details, being first mentioned by Ambrose a century later, and then

glorified by the poet Prudentius. A Basilica on the Via Tiburtina

celebrates the memory of this saint, who occupies the same position

among the martyrs of the church of Rome as Stephen among those of

Jerusalem.

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[42] "Maximus fratrum numerus," says Cyprian.

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� 23. Temporary Repose. a.d. 260-303.

Gallienus (260-268) gave peace to the church once more, and even

acknowledged Christianity as a religio licita. And this calm continued

forty years; for the edict of persecution, issued by the energetic and

warlike Aurelian (270-275), was rendered void by his assassination; and

the six emperors who rapidly followed, from 275 to 284, let the

Christians alone.

The persecutions under Carus, Numerianus and Carinus from 284 to 285

are not historical, but legendary. [43] 2

During this long season of peace the church rose rapidly in numbers and

outward prosperity. Large and even splendid houses of worship were

erected in the chief cities, and provided with collections of sacred

books and vessels of gold and silver for the administration of the

sacraments. But in the same proportion discipline relaxed, quarrels,

intrigues, and factions increased, and worldliness poured in like a

flood.

Hence a new trial was a necessary and wholesome process of

purification. [44] 3

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[43] See Franz G�rres, l.c.

[44] Eusebius, H. E. VIII. 1.

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� 24. The Diocletian Persecution, a.d. 303-311.

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the Lit. on Constantine, in vol. III., 10, 11.

The forty years' repose was followed by, the last and most violent

persecution, a struggle for life and death.

"The accession of the Emperor Diocletian is the era from which the

Coptic Churches of Egypt and Abyssinia still date, under the name of

the 'Era of Martyrs.' All former persecutions of the faith were

forgotten in the horror with which men looked back upon the last and

greatest: the tenth wave (as men delighted to count it) of that great

storm obliterated all the traces that had been left by others. The

fiendish cruelty of Nero, the jealous fears of Domitian, the

unimpassioned dislike of Marcus, the sweeping purpose of Decius, the

clever devices of Valerian, fell into obscurity when compared with the

concentrated terrors of that final grapple, which resulted in the

destruction of the old Roman Empire and the establishment of the Cross

as the symbol of the world's hope." [45] 4

Diocletian (284-305) was one of the most judicious and able emperors

who, in a trying period, preserved the sinking state from dissolution.

He was the son of a slave or of obscure parentage, and worked himself

up to supreme power. He converted the Roman republican empire into an

Oriental despotism, and prepared the way for Constantine and

Constantinople. He associated with himself three subordinate

co-regents, Maximian (who committed suicide, 310), Galerius (d. 311),

and Constantius Chlorus (d. 306, the father of Constantine the Great),

and divided with them the government of the immense empire; thereby

quadrupling the personality of the sovereign, and imparting vigor to

provincial administration, but also sowing the seed of discord and

civil war [46] 5. Gibbon calls him a second Augustus, the founder of a

new empire, rather than the restorer of the old. He also compares him

to Charles V., whom he somewhat resembled in his talents, temporary

success and ultimate failure, and voluntary retirement from the cares

of government.

In the first twenty years of his reign Diocletian respected the

toleration edict of Gallienus. His own wife Prisca his daughter

Valeria, and most of his eunuchs and court officers, besides many of

the most prominent public functionaries, were Christians, or at least

favorable to the Christian religion. He himself was a superstitious

heathen and an oriental despot. Like Aurelian and Domitian before him,

he claimed divine honors, as the vicar of Jupiter Capitolinus. He was

called, as the Lord and Master of the world, Sacratissimus Dominus

Noster; he guarded his Sacred Majesty with many circles of soldiers and

eunuchs, and allowed no one to approach him except on bended knees, and

with the forehead touching the ground, while he was seated on the

throne in rich vestments from the far East. "Ostentation," says Gibbon,

"was the first principle of the new system instituted by Diocletian."

As a practical statesman, he must have seen that his work of the

political restoration and consolidation of the empire would lack a firm

and permanent basis without the restoration of the old religion of the

state. Although he long postponed the religious question, he had to

meet it at last. It could not be expected, in the nature of the case,

that paganism should surrender to its dangerous rival without a last

desperate effort to save itself.

But the chief instigator of the renewal of hostility, according to the

account of Lactantius, was Diocletian's co-regent and son-in-law,

Galerius, a cruel and fanatical heathen. [47] 6 He prevailed at last on

Diocletian in his old age to authorize the persecution which gave to

his glorious reign a disgraceful end.

In 303 Diocletian issued in rapid succession three edicts, each more

severe than its predecessor. Maximian issued the fourth, the worst of

all, April 30, 304. Christian churches were to be destroyed; all copies

of the Bible were to be burned; all Christians were to be deprived of

public office and civil rights; and at last all, without exception,

were to sacrifice to the gods upon pain of death. Pretext for this

severity was afforded by the occurrence of fire twice in the palace of

Nicomedia in Bithynia, where Diocletian resided [48] 7. It was

strengthened by the tearing down of the first edict by an imprudent

Christian (celebrated in the Greek church under the name of John), who

vented in that way his abhorrence of such "godless and tyrannical

rulers," and was gradually roasted to death with every species of

cruelty. But the conjecture that the edicts were occasioned by a

conspiracy of the Christians who, feeling their rising power, were for

putting the government at once into Christian hands, by a stroke of

state, is without any foundation in history. It is inconsistent with

the political passivity of the church during the first three centuries,

which furnish no example of rebellion and revolution. At best such a

conspiracy could only have been the work of a few fanatics; and they,

like the one who tore down the first edict, would have gloried in the

deed and sought the crown of martyrdom. [49] 8

The persecution began on the twenty-third day of February, 303, the

feast of the Terminalia (as if to make an end of the Christian sect),

with the destruction of the magnificent church in Nicomedia, and soon

spread over the whole Roman empire, except Gaul, Britain, and Spain,

where the co-regent Constantius Chlorus, and especially his son,

Constantine the Great (from 306), were disposed, as far as possible, to

spare the Christians. But even here the churches were destroyed, and

many martyrs of Spain (St. Vincentius, Eulalia, and others celebrated

by Prudentins), and of Britain (St. Alban) are assigned by later

tradition to this age.

The persecution raged longest and most fiercely in the East under the

rule of Galerius and his barbarous nephew Maximin Daza, who was

intrusted by Diocletian before his retirement with the dignity of

Caesar and the extreme command of Egypt and Syria [50] 9. He issued in

autumn, 308, a fifth edict of persecution, which commanded that all

males with their wives and servants, and even their children, should

sacrifice and actually taste the accursed offerings, and that all

provisions in the markets should be sprinkled with sacrificial wine.

This monstrous law introduced a reign of terror for two years, and left

[51] 0 the Christians no alternative but apostasy or starvation. All

the pains, which iron and steel, fire and sword, rack and cross, wild

beasts and beastly men could inflict, were employed to gain the useless

end.

Eusebius was a witness of this persecution in Caesura, Tyre, and Egypt,

and saw, with his own eyes, as he tells us, the houses of prayer razed

to the ground, the Holy Scriptures committed to the flames on the

market places, the pastors hunted, tortured, and torn to pieces in the

amphitheatre. Even the wild beasts, he says, not without rhetorical

exaggeration, at last refused to attack the Christians, as if they had

assumed the part of men in place of the heathen Romans; the bloody

swords became dull and shattered; the executioners grew weary, and had

to relieve each other; but the Christians sang hymns of praise and

thanksgiving in honor of Almighty God, even to their latest breath. He

describes the heroic sufferings and death of several martyrs, including

his friend, "the holy and blessed Pamphilus," who after two years of

imprisonment won the crown of life (309), with eleven others--a typical

company that seemed to him to be "a perfect representation of the

church."

Eusebius himself was imprisoned, but released. The charge of having

escaped martyrdom by offering sacrifice is without foundation. [52] 1

In this, as in former persecutions, the number of apostates who

preferred the earthly life to the heavenly, was very great. To these

was now added also the new class of the traditores, who delivered the

holy Scriptures to the heathen authorities, to be burned. But as the

persecution raged, the zeal and fidelity of the Christians increased,

and martyrdom spread as by contagion. Even boys and girls showed

amazing firmness. In many the heroism of faith degenerated to a

fanatical courting of death; confessors were almost worshipped, while

yet alive; and the hatred towards apostates distracted many

congregations, and produced the Meletian and Donatist schisms.

The number of martyrs cannot be estimated with any degree of certainty.

The seven episcopal and the ninety-two Palestinian martyrs of Eusebius

are only a select list bearing a similar relation to the whole number

of victims as the military lists its of distinguished fallen officers

to the large mass of common soldiers, and form therefore no fair basis

for the calculation of Gibbon, who would reduce the whole number to

less than two thousand. During the eight years [53] 2 of this

persecution the number of victims, without including the many

confessors who were barbarously mutilated and condemned to a lingering

death in the prisons and mines, must have been much larger. But there

is no truth in the tradition (which figures in older church histories)

that the tyrants erected trophies in Spain and elsewhere with such

inscriptions as announce the suppression of the Christian sect. [54] 3

The martyrologies date from this period several legends, the germs of

which, however, cannot now be clearly sifted from the additions of

later poesy. The story of the destruction of the legio Thebaica is

probably an exaggeration of the martyrdom of St. Mauritius, who was

executed in Syria, as tribunus militum, with seventy soldiers, at the

order of Maximin. The martyrdom of Barlaam, a plain, rustic Christian

of remarkable constancy, and of Gordius, a centurion (who, however, was

tortured and executed a few years later under Licinius, 314) has been

eulogized by St. Basil. A maiden of thirteen years, St. Agnes, whose

memory the Latin church has celebrated ever since the fourth century,

was, according to tradition, brought in chains before the judgment-seat

in Rome; was publicly exposed, and upon her steadfast confession put to

the sword; but afterwards appeared to her grieving parents at her grave

with a white lamb and a host of shining virgins from heaven, and said:

"Mourn me no longer as dead, for ye see that I live. Rejoice with me,

that I am forever united in heaven with the Saviour, whom on earth I

loved with all my heart." Hence the lamb in the paintings of this

saint; and hence the consecration of lambs in her church at Rome at her

festival (Jan. 21), from whose wool the pallium of the archbishop is

made. Agricola and Vitalis at Bologna, Gervasius and Protasius at

Milan, whose bones were discovered in the time of Ambrose Janurius,

bishop of Benevent, who became the patron saint of Naples, and

astonishes the faithful by the annual miracle of the liquefaction of

his blood, and the British St. Alban, who delivered himself to the

authorities in the place of the priest he had concealed in his house,

and converted his executioner, are said to have attained martyrdom

under Diocletian. [55] 4

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[45] So Arthur James Mason begins his book on thePersecution of

Diocletian.

[46] Maximian (surnamed Herculius) ruled in Italy and Africa, Galerius

(Armentarius) on the banks of the Danube, and afterwards in the East,

Constantius (Chlorus) in Gaul, Spain, and Britain; while Diocletian

reserved to himself Asia, Egypt, and Thrace, and resided in Nicomedia.

Galerius married a daughter of Diocletian (the unfortunate Valeria),

Constantius a (nominal) daughter of Maximian (Theodora), after

repudiating their former wives. Constantine, the son of the divorced

Helena, married Fausta, the daughter of Maximian as his second wife

(father and son being married to two sisters). He was raised to the

dignity of Caesar, July 25, 306. See Gibbon, chs. XIII and XIV.

[47] Lactantius (De Morte. Persec. c. 9), calls him "a wild beast, " in

whom dwelt "a native barbarity and a savageness foreign to Roman

blood." He died at last of a terrible disease, of which Lacantius gives

a minute account (ch. 33).

[48] Lactantius charges the incendiarism on Galerius who, as a second

Nero, endangered the residence for the purpose of punishing the

innocent Christians. Constantine, who then resided at the Court, on a

solemn occasion at a later period, attributes the fire to lightning

(Orat. ad Sanct. c. 25), but the repetition of the occurrence

strengthens the suspicion of Lactantius.

[49] Gibbon, ch. XVI., intimates the probability of a political plot.

In speaking of the fire in the imperial palace of Nicomedia, he says:

"The suspicion naturally fell on the Christians; and it was suggested,

with some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics,

provoked by their present sufferings, and apprehensive of impending

calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faithful brethren,

the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of two emperors, whom they

detested as the irreconcilable enemies of the Church of God." The

conjecture of Gibbon was renewed by Burkhardt in his work on

Constantine, pp. 332 ff, but without any evidence. Baur rejects it as

artificial and very improbable. (Kirchengesch. I. 452, note). Mason (p.

97 sq.) refutes it.

[50] See Lactant., De Morte Persec. ch. 18 and 19, 32, and Gibbon, ch.

XIV. V. (vol. II. 16 in Smith's edition). The original name of Maximin

was Daza. He must not be confounded with Maximian (who was older and

died three years before him). He was a rude, ignorant and superstitious

tyrant, equal to Galerius in cruelty and surpassing him in incredible

debauchery (See Lact. l.c. ch. 37 sqq.). He died of poison after being

defeated by Licinius in 313.

[51] See on this edict of Maximin, Euseb. Mart. Pal. IX. 2; the Acts of

Martyrs in Boll., May 8, p. 291, and Oct. 19, p. 428; Mason, l.c. 284

sqq.

[52] Lightfoot vindicates him in his learned art. Euseb. in Smith and

Wace, Dict. of Christ. Biogr. II. 311.

[53] Or ten years, if we include the local persecutions of Maximin and

Licinius after the first edict of toleration (311-313).

[54] As "Nomine Christianorum deleto; superstitione Christiana ubique

deleta, et cultu Deorum propagato." See the inscriptions in full in

Baronius (ad. ann. 304, no. 8, 9; but they are inconsistent with the

confession of the failure in the edict of toleration, and acknowledged

to be worthless even by Gams (K. Gesch. v. Spanien, I. 387).

[55] For details see the Martyrologies, the "Lives of Saints, " also

Baronius Annal. This historian is so fully convinced of the "insigne et

perpetuum miraculum sanguinis S. Januarii," that he thinks; it

unnecessary to produce; my witness, since "tota Italia, et totus

Christianus orbis testis est locupletissimus!"Ad ann. 305 no. 6.

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� 25. The Edicts of Toleration. a.d. 311-313.

See Lit. in � 24, especially Keim, and Mason (Persecution of

Diocletian, pp. 299 and 326 sqq.)

This persecution was the last desperate struggle of Roman heathenism

for its life. It was the crisis of utter extinction or absolute

supremacy for each of the two religions. At the close of the contest

the old Roman state religion was exhausted. Diocletian retired into

private life in 305, under the curse of the Christians; he found

greater pleasure in planting cabbages at Salona in his native Dalmatia,

than in governing a vast empire, but his peace was disturbed by the

tragical misfortunes of his wife and daughter, and in 313, when all the

achievements of his reign were destroyed, he destroyed himself.

Galerius, the real author of the persecution, brought to reflection by

a terrible disease, put an end to the slaughter shortly before his

death, by a remarkable edict of toleration, which he issued from

Nicomedia in 311, in connexion with Constantine and Licinius. In that

document he declared, that the purpose of reclaiming the Christians

from their wilful innovation and the multitude of their sects to the

laws and discipline of the, Roman state, was not accomplished; and that

he would now grant them permission to hold their religious assemblies

provided they disturbed not the order of the state. To this he added in

conclusion the significant instruction that the Christians, "after this

manifestation of grace, should pray to their God for the welfare of the

emperors, of the state, and of themselves, that the state might prosper

in every respect, and that they might live quietly in their homes."

[56] 5

This edict virtually closes the period of persecution in the Roman

empire.

For a short time Maximin, whom Eusebius calls "the chief of tyrants,"

continued in every way to oppress and vex the church in the East, and

the cruel pagan Maxentius (a son of Maximian and son-in-law of

Galerius) did the same in Italy.

But the young Constantine, who hailed from the far West, had already,

in 306, become emperor of Gaul, Spain, and Britain. He had been brought

up at the court of Diocletian at Nicomedia (like Moses at the court of

Pharaoh) and destined for his successor, but fled from the intrigues of

Galerius to Britain, and was appointed by his father and proclaimed by

the army as his successor. He crossed the Alps, and under the banner of

the cross, he conquered Maxentius at the Milvian bridge near Rome, and

the heathen tyrant perished with his army of veterans in the waters of

the Tiber, Oct. 27, 312. A few months afterwards Constantine met at

Milan with his co-regent and brother-in-law, Licinius, and issued a new

edict of toleration (313), to which Maximin also, shortly before his

suicide (313), was compelled to give his consent at Nicomedia. [57] 6

The second edict went beyond the first of 311; it was a decisive step

from hostile neutrality to friendly neutrality and protection, and

prepared the way for the legal recognition of Christianity, as the

religion of the empire. It ordered the full restoration of all

confiscated church property to the Corpus Christianorum, at the expense

of the imperial treasury, and directed the provincial magistrates to

execute this order at once with all energy, so that peace may be fully

established and the continuance of the Divine favor secured to the

emperors and their subjects.

This was the first proclamation of the great principle that every man

had a right to choose his religion according to the dictates of his own

conscience and honest conviction, without compulsion and interference

from the government. [58] 7 Religion is worth nothing except as an act

of freedom. A forced religion is no religion at all. Unfortunately, the

successors of Constantine from the time of Theodosius the Great

(383-395) enforced the Christian religion to the exclusion of every

other; and not only so, but they enforced orthodoxy to the exclusion of

every form of dissent, which was punished as a crime against the state.

Paganism made another spasmodic effort. Licinius fell out with

Constantine and renewed the persecution for a short time in the East,

but he was defeated in 323, and Constantine became sole ruler of the

empire. He openly protected and favored the church, without forbidding

idolatry, and upon the whole remained true to his policy of protective

toleration till his death (337). This was enough for the success of the

church, which had all the vitality and energy of a victorious power;

while heathenism was fast decaying at its root.

With Constantine, therefore, the last of the heathen, the first of the

Christian, emperors, a new period begins. The church ascends the throne

of the Caesars under the banner of the once despised, now honored and

triumphant cross, and gives new vigor and lustre to the hoary empire of

Rome. This sudden political and social revolution seems marvellous; and

yet it was only the legitimate result of the intellectual and moral

revolution which Christianity, since the second century, had silently

and imperceptibly wrought in public opinion. The very violence of the

Diocletian persecution betrayed the inner weakness of heathenism. The

Christian minority with its ideas already controlled the deeper current

of history. Constantine, as a sagacious statesman, saw the signs of the

times and followed them. The motto of his policy is well symbolized in

his military standard with the inscription: "Hoc signo vinces." [59] 8

What a contrast between Nero, the first imperial persecutor, riding in

a chariot among Christian martyrs as burning torches in his gardens,

and Constantine, seated in the Council of Nicaea among three hundred

and eighteen bishops (some of whom--as the blinded Confessor

Paphnutius, Paul of Neocaesarea, and the ascetics from Upper Egypt

clothed in wild raiment--wore the insignia of torture on their maimed

and crippled bodies), and giving the highest sanction of civil

authority to the decree of the eternal deity of the once crucified

Jesus of Nazareth! Such a revolution the world has never seen before or

since, except the silent, spiritual, and moral reformation wrought by

Christianity itself at its introduction in the first, and at its

revival in the sixteenth century.

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[56] M. de Broglie (L'�glise et l'Empire, I. 182) well characterizes

this manifesto: "Singulier document, moiti� insolent, moiti� suppliant,

qui commence par insulter chr�tiens et finit par leur demander de prier

leur ma� tre pour lui." Mason (1. c. p. 299): "The dying emperor shows

no penitence, makes no confession, except his impotence. He wishes to

dupe and outwit the angry Christ, by pretending to be not a persecutor

but a reformer. With a curse, he dashes his edict of toleration in the

church's face, and hopes superstitiously that it will win him

indemnity."

[57] It is usually stated (also by Keim, l.c., Gieseler, Baur, vol. I..

454 sqq.), that Constantine and Licinius issued two edicts of

toleration, one in the year 312, and one from Milan in 313, since the

last refers to a previous edict, but the reference seems to be to

directions now lost for officials which accompanied the edict of

Galerius (311), of which Constantine was a co-signatory. There is no

edict of 312. See Zahn and especially Mason (p. 328 sq.), also Uhlhorn

(Conflict, etc., p. 497, Engl. translation).

[58] "Ut daremus et Christianis et omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi

religionem, quam quiscunque voluisset." See Euseb. H. X. 5; Lactant. De

Mort. Pers. c. 48. Mason (p. 327) says of the Edict of Milan: "It is

the very first announcement of that doctrine which is now regarded as

the mark and principle of civilization, the foundation of solid

liberty, the characteristic of modern politics. In vigorous and

trenchant sentences it sets forth perfect freedom of conscience, the

unfettered choice of religion."

[59] For a fuller account of Constantine and his relation to the

Church. see the next volume.

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� 26. Christian Martyrdom.

I. Sources.

Ignatius: Epistolae. Martyrum Polycarpi. Tertullian: Ad Martyres.

Origenes: Exhortatio ad martyrium (protreptiko's Logos heis martupion.)

Cyprian: Ep. 11 ad mart. Prudentius: Peri' stephaon'hymni XIV. Comp.

Lit. � 12.

II. Works.

Sagittarius: De mart. cruciatibus, 1696.

H. Dodwell: De paucitate martyrum, in his Dissertationes Cyprianiae.

Lond. 1684.

Ruinart (R.C.): Praefatio generalis in Acta Martyrum.

P. W. Gass: Das christl. M�rtyrerthum in den ersten Jahrhunderten, in

Niedner's "Zeitschrift f. Hist. Theol." 1859 and '60.

E. de Pressens�: The Martyrs and Apologists. Translated from the

French. London and N. Y. 1871. (Ch. II. p. 67 sqq.).

Chateaubriand: Les martyrs ou le triomphe de la rel. chr�t. 2 vols.

Paris 1809 and often (best Engl. trsl. by O W. Wight, N. York, 1859.)

Has no critical or historical value, but merely poetical.

Comp. in part Mrs. Jameson: Sacred and Legendary Art. Lond. 1848. 2

vols.

To these protracted and cruel persecutions the church opposed no

revolutionary violence, no carnal resistance, but the moral heroism of

suffering and dying for the truth. But this very heroism was her

fairest ornament and staunchest weapon. In this very heroism she proved

herself worthy of her divine founder, who submitted to the death of the

cross for the salvation of the world, and even prayed that his

murderers might be forgiven. The patriotic virtues of Greek and Roman

antiquity reproduced themselves here in exalted form, in self-denial

for the sake of a heavenly country, and for a crown that fadeth not

away. Even boys and girls became heroes, and rushed with a holy

enthusiasm to death. In those hard times men had to make earnest of the

words of the Lord: "Whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after

me, cannot be my disciple." "He, that loveth father and mother more

than me, is not worthy of me." But then also the promise daily proved

itself true: "Blessed are they, who are persecuted for righteousness'

sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "He, that loseth his life

for my sake, shall find it." And it applied not only to the martyrs

themselves, who exchanged the troubled life of earth for the

blessedness of heaven, but also to the church as a whole, which came

forth purer and stronger from every persecution, and thus attested her

indestructible vitality.

These suffering virtues are among the sweetest and noblest fruits of

the Christian religion. It is not so much the amount of suffering which

challenges our admiration, although it was terrible enough, as the

spirit with which the early Christians bore it. Men and women of all

classes, noble senators and learned bishops, illiterate artisans and

poor slaves, loving mothers and delicate virgins, hoary-headed pastors

and innocent children approached their tortures in no temper of

unfeeling indifference and obstinate defiance, but, like their divine

Master, with calm self-possession, humble resignation, gentle meekness,

cheerful faith, triumphant hope, and forgiving charity. Such spectacles

must have often overcome even the inhuman murderer. "Go on," says

Tertullian tauntingly to the heathen governors, "rack, torture, grind

us to powder: our numbers increase in proportion as ye mow us down. The

blood of Christians is their harvest seed. Your very obstinacy is a

teacher. For who is not incited by the contemplation of it to inquire

what there is in the core of the matter? And who, after having joined

us, does not long to suffer?" [60] 9

Unquestionably there were also during this period, especially after

considerable seasons of quiet, many superficial or hypocritical

Christians, who, the moment the storm of persecution broke forth, flew

like chaff from the wheat, and either offered incense to the gods

(thurificati, sacrificati), or procured false witness of their return

to paganism (libellatici, from libellum), or gave up the sacred books

(traditores). Tertullian relates with righteous indignation that whole

congregations, with the clergy at the head, would at times resort to

dishonorable bribes in order to avert the persecution of heathen

magistrates. [61] 0 But these were certainly cases of rare exception.

Generally speaking the three sorts of apostates (lapsi) were at once

excommunicated, and in many churches, through excessive rigor, were

even refused restoration.

Those who cheerfully confessed Christ before the heathen magistrate at

the peril of life, but were not executed, were honored as confessors.

[62] 1 Those who suffered abuse of all kind and death itself, for their

faith, were called martyrs or bloodwitnesses. [63] 2

Among these confessors and martyrs were not wanting those in whom the

pure, quiet flame of enthusiasm rose into the wild fire of fanaticism,

and whose zeal was corrupted with impatient haste, heaven-tempting

presumption, and pious ambition; to whom that word could be applied:

"Though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me

nothing." They delivered themselves up to the heathen officers, and in

every way sought the martyr's crown, that they might merit heaven and

be venerated on earth as saints. Thus Tertullian tells of a company of

Christians in Ephesus, who begged martyrdom from the heathen governor,

but after a few had been executed, the rest were sent away by him with

the words: "Miserable creatures, if you really wish to die, you have

precipices and halters enough." Though this error was far less

discreditable than the opposite extreme of the cowardly fear of man,

yet it was contrary to the instruction and the example of Christ and

the apostles, [64] 3 and to the spirit of true martyrdom, which

consists in the union of sincere humility and power, and possesses

divine strength in the very consciousness of human weakness. And

accordingly intelligent church teachers censured this stormy, morbid

zeal. The church of Smyrna speaks thus: "We do not commend those who

expose themselves; for the gospel teaches not so." Clement of

Alexandria says: "The Lord himself has commanded us to flee to another

city when we are persecuted; not as if the persecution were an evil;

not as if we feared death; but that we may not lead or help any to evil

doing." In Tertullian's view martyrdom perfects itself in divine

patience; and with Cyprian it is a gift of divine grace, which one

cannot hastily grasp, but must patiently wait for.

But after all due allowance for such adulteration and degeneracy, the

martyrdom of the first three centuries still remains one of the

grandest phenomena of history, and an evidence of the indestructible

divine nature of Christianity.

No other religion could have stood for so long a period the combined

opposition of Jewish bigotry, Greek philosophy, and Roman policy and

power; no other could have triumphed at last over so many foes by

purely moral and spiritual force, without calling any carnal weapons to

its aid. This comprehensive and long-continued martyrdom is the

peculiar crown and glory of the early church; it pervaded its entire

literature and gave it a predominantly apologetic character; it entered

deeply into its organization and discipline and the development of

Christian doctrine; it affected the public worship and private

devotions; it produced a legendary poetry; but it gave rise also,

innocently, to a great deal of superstition, and undue exaltation of

human merit; and it lies at the foundation of the Catholic worship of

saints and relics.

Sceptical writers have endeavored to diminish its moral effect by

pointing to the fiendish and hellish scenes of the papal crusades

against the Albigenses and Waldenses, the Parisian massacre of the

Huguenots, the Spanish Inquisition, and other persecutions of more

recent date. Dodwell expressed the opinion, which has been recently

confirmed by the high authority of the learned and impartial Niebuhr,

that the Diocletian persecution was a mere shadow as compared with the

persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva

in the service of Spanish bigotry and despotism. Gibbon goes even

further, and boldly asserts that "the number of Protestants who were

executed by the Spaniards in a single province and a single reign, far

exceeded that of the primitive martyrs in the space of three centuries

and of the Roman empire." The victims of the Spanish Inquisition also

are said to outnumber those of the Roman emperors. [65] 4

Admitting these sad facts, they do not justify any sceptical

conclusion. For Christianity is no more responsible for the crimes and

cruelties perpetrated in its name by unworthy professors and under the

sanction of an unholy alliance of politics and religion, than the Bible

for all the nonsense men have put into it, or God for the abuse daily

and hourly practised with his best gifts. But the number of martyrs

must be judged by the total number of Christians who were a minority of

the population. The want of particular statements by contemporary

writers leaves it impossible to ascertain, even approximately, the

number of martyrs. Dodwell and Gibbon have certainly underrated it, as

far as Eusebius, the popular tradition since Constantine, and the

legendary poesy of the middle age, have erred the other way. This is

the result of recent discovery and investigation, and fully admitted by

such writers as Renan. Origen, it is true, wrote in the middle of the

third century, that the number of Christian martyrs was small and easy

to be counted; God not permitting that all this class of men should be

exterminated. [66] 5 But this language must be understood as referring

chiefly to the reigns of Caracalla, Heliogabalus, Alexander Severus and

Philippus Arabs, who did not persecute the Christians. Soon afterwards

the fearful persecution of Decius broke out, in which Origen himself

was thrown into prison and cruelly treated. Concerning the preceding

ages, his statement must be qualified by the equally valid testimonies

of Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria (Origen's teacher), and the still

older Irenaeus, who says expressly, that the church, for her love to

God, "sends in all places and at all times a multitude of martyrs to

the Father." [67] 6 Even the heathen Tacitus speaks of an "immense

multitude" (ingens multitudo) of Christians, who were murdered in the

city of Rome alone during the Neronian persecution in 64. To this must

be added the silent, yet most eloquent testimony of the Roman

catacombs, which, according to the calculation of Marchi and Northcote,

extended over nine hundred English miles, and are said to contain

nearly seven millions of graves, a large proportion of these including

the relics of martyrs, as the innumerable inscriptions and instruments

of death testify. The sufferings, moreover, of the church during this

period are of course not to be measured merely by the number of actual

executions, but by the far more numerous insults, slanders, vexatious,

and tortures, which the cruelty of heartless heathens and barbarians

could devise, or any sort of instrument could inflict on the human

body, and which were in a thousand cases worse than death.

Finally, while the Christian religion has at all times suffered more or

less persecution, bloody or unbloody, from the ungodly world, and

always had its witnesses ready for any sacrifice; yet at no period

since the first three centuries was the whole church denied the right

of a peaceful legal existence, and the profession of Christianity

itself universally declared and punished as a political crime. Before

Constantine the Christians were a helpless and proscribed minority in

an essentially heathen world, and under a heathen government. Then they

died not simply for particular doctrines, but for the facts of

Christianity. Then it was a conflict, not for a denomination or sect,

but for Christianity itself. The importance of ancient martyrdom does

not rest so much on the number of victims and the cruelty of their

sufferings as on the great antithesis and the ultimate result in saving

the Christian religion for all time to come. Hence the first three

centuries are the classical period of heathen persecution and of

Christian martyrdom. The martyrs and confessors of the ante-Nicene age

suffered for the common cause of all Christian denominations and sects,

and hence are justly held in reverence and gratitude by all.

Notes.

Dr. Thomas Arnold, who had no leaning to superstitious and idolatrous

saint-worship, in speaking of a visit to the church of San Stefano at

Rome, remarks: "No doubt many of the particular stories thus painted

will bear no critical examination; it is likely enough, too, that

Gibbon has truly accused the general statements of exaggeration. But

this is a thankless labor. Divide the sum total of the reported martyrs

by twenty--by fifty, if you will; after all you have a number of

persons of all ages and sexes suffering cruel torment and death for

conscience' sake, and for Christ's; and by their sufferings manifestly

with God's blessing ensuring the triumph of Christ's gospel. Neither do

I think that we consider the excellence of this martyr spirit half

enough. I do not think that pleasure is a sin; but though pleasure is

not a sin, yet surely the contemplation of suffering for Christ's sake

is a thing most needful for us in our days, from whom in our daily life

suffering seems so far removed. And as God's grace enabled rich and

delicate persons, women and even children, to endure all extremities of

pain and reproach, in times past; so there is the same grace no less

mighty now; and if we do not close ourselves against it, it might be in

us no less glorious in a time of trial."

Lecky, a very able and impartial historian, justly censures the

unfeeling chapter of Gibbon on persecution. "The complete absence," he

says (History of European Morals, I. 494 sqq.), "of all sympathy with

the heroic courage manifested by the martyrs, and the frigid, and in

truth most unphilosophical severity with which the historian has

weighed the words and actions of men engaged in the agonies of a

deadly, struggle, must repel every generous nature, while the

persistence with which he estimates persecutions by the number of

deaths rather than the amount of suffering, diverts the mind from the

really distinctive atrocities of the Pagan persecutions .... It is true

that in one Catholic country they introduced the atrocious custom of

making the spectacle of men burnt alive for their religious opinions an

element in the public festivities. It is true, too, that the immense

majority of the acts of the martyrs are the transparent forgeries of

lying monks; but it is also true that among the authentic records of

Pagan persecutions there are histories, which display, perhaps more

vividly than any other, both the depth of cruelty to which human nature

may sink, and the heroism of resistance it may attain. There was a time

when it was the just boast of the Romans, that no refinement of

cruelty, no prolongations of torture, were admitted in their stern but

simple penal code. But all this was changed. Those hateful games, which

made the spectacle of human suffering and death the delight of all

classes, had spread their brutalising influence wherever the Roman name

was known, had rendered millions absolutely indifferent to the sight of

human suffering, had produced in many, in the very centre of an

advanced civilisation, a relish and a passion for torture, a rapture

and an exultation in watching the spasms of extreme agony, such as an

African or an American savage alone can equal. The most horrible

recorded instances of torture were usually inflicted, either by the

populace, or in their presence, in the arena. We read of Christians

bound in chains of red-hot iron, while the stench of their

half-consumed flesh rose in a suffocating cloud to heaven; of others

who were torn to the very bone by, shells or hooks of iron; of holy

virgins given over to the lust of the gladiator or to the mercies of

the pander; of two hundred and twenty-seven converts sent on one

occasion to the mines, each with the sinews of one leg severed by a

red-hot iron, and with an eye scooped from its socket; of fires so slow

that the victims writhed for hours in their agonies; of bodies torn

limb from limb, or sprinkled with burning lead; of mingled salt and

vinegar poured over the flesh that was bleeding from the rack; of

tortures prolonged and varied through entire days. For the love of

their Divine Master, for the cause they believed to be true, men, and

even weak girls, endured these things without flinching, when one word

would have freed them from their sufferings, No opinion we may form of

the proceedings of priests in a later age should impair the reverence

with which we bend before the martyr's tomb.

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[60] Comp. a similar passage in the anonymous Ep. ad Diognetum, c. 6

and 7 at the close, and in Justin M., Dial .c. Tryph. Jud. c. 110.

[61] De fuga in persec. c. 13: "Massaliter totae ecclesiae tributum

sibi irrogaverunt."

[62] Homologetai, confessores, Matt. 10:32; 1 Tim. 6:12.

[63] Martures, Acts 22:20; Heb. 12:1; 1 Pet. 5:1; Rev. 17:6.

[64] Comp. Matt. 10:23; 24:15-20; Phil. 1:20-25; 2 Tim. 4:6-8.

[65] The number of Dutch martyrs under the Duke of Alva amounted,

according to Grotius, to over 100,000; according to P. Sarpi, the R.

Cath. historian, to 50,000. Motley, in his History of the Rim of the

Dutch Republic, vol. II. 504, says of the terrible reign of Alva: "The

barbarities committed amid the sack and ruin of those blazing and

starving cities are almost beyond belief; unborn infants were torn from

the living bodies of their mothers; women and children were violated by

the thousands; and whole populations burned and hacked to pieces by

soldiers in every mode which cruelty, in its wanton ingenuity, could

devise." Buckle and Friedl�nder (III. 586) assert that during the

eighteen years of office of Torquemada, the Spanish Inquisition

punished, according to the lowest estimate, 105,000 persons, among whom

8,800 were burnt. In Andalusia 2000 Jews were executed, and 17,000

punished in a single year.

[66] Oligoi kata kairous kai sphodra euarithmetoi tethnekasi.. Adv.

Cels. III. 8 The older testimony of Melito of Sardis, in the well-known

fragment from his Apology, preserved by Eusebius IV. 26, refers merely

to the small number of imperial persecutors before Marcus Aurelius.

[67] Adv. Haer. IV. c. 33, � 9: Ecclesia omni in loco ob eam, quam

habet erga Deum dilectionem, multitudinem martyrum in omni tempore

praemittit ad Patrem.

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� 27. Rise of the Worship of Martyrs and Relics.

I. Sources.

In addition to the works quoted in �� 12 and 26, comp. Euseb. H. E. IV.

15; De Mart. Palaest. c. 7. Clem. Alex.: Strom. IV. p. 596. Orig.:

Exhort. ad mart. c. 30 and 50. In Num. Kom. X. 2. Tertull.: De cor.

mil. c. 3; De Resurr. carn. c. 43. Cypr.: De lapsis, c. 17; Epist. 34

and 57. Const. Apost.: l. 8.

II. Works.

C. Sagittarius: De natalitiis mart. Jen. 1696.

Schwabe: De insigni veneratione, quae obtinuit erga martyres in primit.

eccl. Altd. 1748.

In thankful remembrance of the fidelity of this "noble army of

martyrs," in recognition of the unbroken communion of saints, and in

prospect of the resurrection of the body, the church paid to the

martyrs, and even to their mortal remains, a veneration, which was in

itself well-deserved and altogether natural, but which early exceeded

the scriptural limit, and afterwards degenerated into the worship of

saints and relics. The heathen hero-worship silently continued in the

church and was baptized with Christian names.

In the church of Smyrna, according to its letter of the year 155, we

find this veneration still in its innocent, childlike form: "They [the

Jews] know not, that we can neither ever forsake Christ, who has

suffered for the salvation of the whole world of the redeemed, nor

worship another. Him indeed we adore (proskunoumen) as the Son of God;

but the martyrs we love as they deserve (agapomen axios) for their

surpassing love to their King and Master, as we wish also to be their

companions and fellow-disciples." [68] 7 The day of the death of a

martyr was called his heavenly birth-day, [69] 8 and was celebrated

annually at his grave (mostly in a cave or catacomb), by prayer,

reading of a history of his suffering and victory, oblations, and

celebration of the holy supper.

But the early church did not stop with this. Martyrdom was taken, after

the end of the second century, not only as a higher grade of Christian

virtue, but at the same time as a baptism of fire and blood, [70] 9 an

ample substitution for the baptism of water, as purifying from sin, and

as securing an entrance into heaven. Origen even went so far as to

ascribe to the sufferings of the martyrs an atoning virtue for others,

an efficacy like that of the sufferings of Christ, on the authority of

such passages as 2 Cor. 12:15; Col. 1:24; 2 Tim. 4:6. According to

Tertullian, the martyrs entered immediately into the blessedness of

heaven, and were not required, like ordinary Christians, to pass

through the intermediate state. Thus was applied the benediction on

those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, Matt. 5:10-12. Hence,

according to Origen and Cyprian, their prayers before the throne of God

came to be thought peculiarly efficacious for the church militant on

earth, and, according to an example related by Eusebius, their future

intercessions were bespoken shortly before their death.

In the Roman Catacombs we find inscriptions where the departed are

requested to pray for their living relatives and friends.

The veneration thus shown for the persons of the martyrs was

transferred in smaller measure to their remains. The church of Smyrna

counted the bones of Polycarp more precious than gold or diamonds. [71]

0 The remains of Ignatius were held in equal veneration by the

Christians at Antioch. The friends of Cyprian gathered his blood in

handkerchiefs, and built a chapel over his tomb.

A veneration frequently excessive was paid, not only to the deceased

martyrs, but also the surviving confessors. It was made the special

duty of the deacons to visit and minister to them in prison. The

heathen Lucian in his satire, "De morte Peregrini," describes the

unwearied care of the Christians for their imprisoned brethren; the

heaps of presents brought to them; and the testimonies of sympathy even

by messengers from great distances; but all, of course, in Lucian's

view, out of mere good-natured enthusiasm. Tertullian the Montanist

censures the excessive attention of the Catholics to their confessors.

The libelli pacis, as they were called--intercessions of the confessors

for the fallen--commonly procured restoration to the fellowship of the

church. Their voice had peculiar weight in the choice of bishops, and

their sanction not rarely overbalanced the authority of the clergy.

Cyprian is nowhere more eloquent than in the praise of their heroism.

His letters to the imprisoned confessors in Carthage are full of

glorification, in a style somewhat offensive to our evangelical ideas.

Yet after all, he protests against the abuse of their privileges, from

which he had himself to suffer, and earnestly exhorts them to a holy

walk; that the honor they have gained may not prove a snare to them,

and through pride and carelessness be lost. He always represents the

crown of the confessor and the martyr as a free gift of the grace of

God, and sees the real essence of it rather in the inward disposition

than in the outward act. Commodian conceived the whole idea of

martyrdom in its true breadth, when he extended it to all those who,

without shedding their blood, endured to the end in love, humility, and

patience, and in all Christian virtue.

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[68] Martyrium Polycarpi, cap. 17; Comp. Eusebius, H. E. IV. 15.

[69] Hemera genethlios, genethlia, natales, natalitia martyrum.

[70] Lavacrum sanguinis, baptisma dia puros, comp. Matt. 20:22; Luke

12:50; Mark 10:39.

[71] It is worthy of note, however, that some of the startling

phenomena related in the Martyrium Polycarpi by the congregation of

Smyrna are omitted in the narrative of Eusebius (IV. 15), and may be a

later interpolation.

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CHAPTER III.

LITERARY CONTEST OF CHRISTIANITY WITH JUDAISM AND HEATHENISM.

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� 28. Literature.

I. Sources.

Tacitus (Consul 97, d. about 117): Annal. xv. 44. Comp. his picture of

the Jews, Hist. v. 1-5.

Plinius (d. about 114): Ep. x. 96, 97.

Celsus (flourished about 150): Alethes logos. Preserved in fragments in

Origen's Refutation (8 books Kata Kelsou); reconstructed, translated

and explained by Theodor Keim: Celsus' Wahres Wort, Aelteste

wissenschaftliche Streitschrift, antiker Weltanschauung gegen das

Christenthum, Z�rich 1873 (293 pages).

Lucian (d. about 180): Peri tes Peregrinou teleutes c. 11-16; and

Halethes historia I. 30; II. 4, 11.

Porphyrius (about 300): Kata Christianon logoi. Only fragments

preserved, and collected by Holstein, Rom. 1630. His most important

works are lost. Those that remain are ed. by A. Nauck, 1860.

II. Works.

Nath. Lardner: Collection of Ancient Jewish and Heathen Testimonies to

the Truth of the Christian Religion (Lond. 1727-'57) in the VI. and

VII. vols. of his Works, ed. by Kippis, London, 1838. Very valuable.

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Celsus. Hamb. 1745.

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"Zeitschr. f�r hist. Theol." Leipz. 1842. N. 2, p. 58-146.

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1851. N. 4; translated in the "Bibliotheca Sacra," Andover, 1852.

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(and 1863) pp. 370-430.

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trans. by Torrey, vol. I., 157-178. (12th Boston ed.)

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pp.)

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philosophe et martyr, 2nd ed. Paris 1875. By the same: Histoire des

Persecutions de l'�glise. The second part, also under the titleLa

pol�mique pa�enne � la fin du II^e si�cle. Paris 1878.

E. Renan: Marc-Aur�le (Paris 1882), pp. 345 (Celse et Lucien), 379 sqq.

(Nouvelles apologies).

J. W. Farrar: Seekers after God. London, 1869, new ed. 1877. (Essays on

Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, compared with Christianity.)

Comp. the Lit. quoted in � 12, especially Uhlhorn and Keim (1881), and

the monographs on Justin M., Tertullian, Origen, and other Apologists,

which are noticed in sections treating of these writers.

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� 29. Literary Opposition to Christianity.

Besides the external conflict, which we have considered in the second

chapter, Christianity was called to pass through an equally important

intellectual and literary struggle with the ancient world; and from

this also it came forth victorious, and conscious of being the perfect

religion for man. We shall see in this chapter, that most of the

objections of modern infidelity against Christianity were anticipated

by its earliest literary opponents, and ably and successfully refuted

by the ancient apologists for the wants of the church in that age. Both

unbelief and faith, like human nature and divine grace, are essentially

the same in all ages and among all nations, but vary in form, and hence

every age, as it produces its own phase of opposition, must frame its

own mode of defense.

The Christian religion found at first as little favor with the

representatives of literature and art as with princes and statesmen. In

the secular literature of the latter part of the first century and the

beginning of the second, we find little more than ignorant, careless

and hostile allusions to Christianity as a new form of superstition

which then began to attract the attention of the Roman government. In

this point of view also Christ's kingdom was not of the world, and was

compelled to force its way through the greatest difficulties; yet it

proved at last the mother of an intellectual and moral culture far in

advance of the Graeco-Roman, capable of endless progress, and full of

the vigor of perpetual youth.

The pious barbarism of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius II. and

Valentinian III. ordered the destruction of the works of Porphyrius and

all other opponents of Christianity, to avert the wrath of God, but

considerable fragments have been preserved in the refutations of the

Christian Fathers, especially Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria

(against Julian), and scattered notices of Jerome and Augustin.

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� 30. Jewish Opposition. Josephus and the Talmud.

The hostility of the Jewish Scribes and Pharisees to the gospel is

familiar from the New Testament. Josephus mentions Jesus once in his

archaeology, but in terms so favorable as to agree ill with his Jewish

position, and to subject the passage to the suspicion of interpolation

or corruption. [72] 1 His writings, however, contain much valuable

testimony to the truth of the gospel history. His "Archaeology"

throughout is a sort of fifth Gospel in illustration of the social and

political environments of the life of Christ. [73] 2 His "History of

the Jewish War," in particular, is undesignedly a striking commentary

on the Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of the city and

temple of Jerusalem, the great distress and affliction of the Jewish

people at that time, the famine, pestilence, and earthquake, the rise

of false prophets and impostors, and the flight of his disciples at the

approach of these calamities. [74] 3

The attacks of the later Jews upon Christianity are essentially mere

repetitions of those recorded in the Gospels--denial of the Messiahship

of Jesus, and horrible vituperation of his confessors. We learn their

character best from the dialogue of Justin with the Jew Trypho. The

fictitious disputation on Christ by Jason and Papiscus, first mentioned

by Celsus, was lost since the seventh century. [75] 4 It seems to have

been a rather poor apology of Christianity against Jewish objections by

a Jewish Christian, perhaps by Aristo of Pella.

The Talmud is the Bible of Judaism separated from, and hostile to,

Christianity, but it barely notices it except indirectly. It completed

the isolation of the Jews from all other people.

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[72] Joseph. Antiqu. l. XVIII.c. 3, sect. 3. Comp. on this much

disputed passage, vol. I., p. 92.

[73] It is the special merit of Keim to have thoroughly utilized

Josephus for the biography of Jesus.

[74] These coincidences have been traced out in full by Lardner, Works,

ed. Kippis, vol. VI. p. 406 ff.

[75] Hiasonos kai Papiskou antilogia peri Christou. D. Origenes Contra

Cels. IV. 51. Celsus says, that he read the book which defends the

allegorical interpretation, with pity and hatred. Comp. Harnack,

Altchristl. Literatur, vol. 1. (1882). p. 115 sqq.

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� 31. Pagan Opposition. Tacitus and Pliny.

The Greek and Roman writers of the first century, and some of the

second, as Seneca, the elder Pliny, and even the mild and noble

Plutarch, either from ignorance or contempt, never allude to

Christianity at all.

Tacitus and the younger Pliny, contemporaries and friends of the

emperor Trajan, are the first to notice it; and they speak of it only

incidentally and with stoical disdain and antipathy, as an "exitiabilis

superstition" "prava et immodica superstitio," "inflexibilis

obstinatio." These celebrated and in their way altogether estimable

Roman authors thus, from manifest ignorance, saw in the Christians

nothing but superstitious fanatics, and put them on a level with the

hated Jews; Tacitus, in fact, reproaching them also with the "odium

generis humani." This will afford some idea of the immense obstacles

which the new religion encountered in public opinion, especially in the

cultivated circles of the Roman empire. The Christian apologies of the

second century also show, that the most malicious and gratuitous

slanders against the Christians were circulated among the common

people, even charges of incest and cannibalism, [76] 5 which may have

arisen in part from a misapprehension of the intimate brotherly love of

the Christians, and their nightly celebration of the holy supper and

love-feasts.

Their Indirect Testimony to Christianity.

On the other hand, however, the scanty and contemptuous allusions of

Tacitus and Pliny to Christianity bear testimony to a number of facts

in the Gospel History. Tacitus, in giving an account of the Neronian

persecution, incidentally attests, that Christ was put to death as a

malefactor by Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius; that he was the

founder of the Christian sect, that the latter took its rise in Judaea

and spread in spite of the ignominious death of Christ and the hatred

and contempt it encountered throughout the empire, so that a "vast

multitude" (multitudo ingens) of them were most cruelly put to death in

the city of Rome alone as early as the year 64. He also bears valuable

testimony, in the fifth book of his History, together with Josephus,

from whom he mainly, though not exclusively takes his account, to the

fulfilment of Christ's prophecy concerning the destruction of Jerusalem

and the overthrow of the Jewish theocracy.

As to Pliny's famous letter to Trajan, written about 107, it proves the

rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor at that time among all ranks

of society, the general moral purity and steadfastness of its

professors amid cruel persecution, their mode and time of worship,

their adoration of Christ as God, their observance of a "stated day,"

which is undoubtedly Sunday, and other facts of importance in the early

history of the Church. Trajan's rescript in reply to Pliny's inquiry,

furnishes evidence of the innocence of the Christians; he notices no

charge against them except their disregard of the worship of the gods,

and forbids them to be sought for. Marcus Aurelius testifies, in one

brief and unfriendly allusion, to their eagerness for the crown of

martyrdom.

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[76] Oidipodeioi mixeis, incesti concubitus; and thuesteia deipna,

Thyesteae epulae

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� 32. Direct Assaults. Celsus.

The direct assault upon Christianity, by works devoted to the purpose,

began about the middle of the second century, and was very ably

conducted by a Grecian philosopher, Celsus, otherwise unknown;

according to Origen, an Epicurean with many Platonic ideas, and a

friend of Lucian. He wrote during the persecuting reign of Marcus

Aurelius. [77] 6

Celsus, with all his affected or real contempt for the new religion,

considered it important enough to be opposed by an extended work

entitled "A True Discourse," of which Origen, in his Refutation, has

faithfully preserved considerable fragments. [78] 7 These represent

their author as an eclectic philosopher of varied culture, skilled in

dialectics, and familiar with the Gospels, Epistles, and even the

writings of the Old Testament. He speaks now in the frivolous style of

an Epicurean, now in the earnest and dignified tone of a Platonist. At

one time he advocates the popular heathen religion, as, for instance,

its doctrine of demons; at another time he rises above the polytheistic

notions to a pantheistic or sceptical view. He employs all the aids

which the culture of his age afforded, all the weapons of learning,

common sense, wit, sarcasm, and dramatic animation of style, to

disprove Christianity; and he anticipates most of the arguments and

sophisms of the deists and infidels of later times. Still his book is,

on the whole, a very superficial, loose, and light-minded work, and

gives striking proof of the inability of the natural reason to

understand the Christian truth. It has no savor of humility, no sense

of the corruption of human nature, and man's need of redemption; it is

full of heathen passion and prejudice, utterly blind to any spiritual

realities, and could therefore not in the slightest degree appreciate

the glory of the Redeemer and of his work. It needs no refutation, it

refutes itself.

Celsus first introduces a Jew, who accuses the mother of Jesus of

adultery with a soldier named Panthera; [79] 8 adduces the denial of

Peter, the treachery of Judas, and the death of Jesus as contradictions

of his pretended divinity; and makes the resurrection an imposture.

Then Celsus himself begins the attack, and begins it by combating the

whole idea of the supernatural, which forms the common foundation of

Judaism and Christianity. The controversy between Jews and Christians

appears to him as foolish as the strife about the shadow of an ass. The

Jews believed, as well as the Christians, in the prophecies of a

Redeemer of the world, and thus differed from them only in that they

still expected the Messiah's coming. But then, to what purpose should

God come down to earth at all, or send another down? He knows

beforehand what is going on among men. And such a descent involves a

change, a transition from the good to the evil, from the lovely to the

hateful, from the happy to the miserable; which is undesirable, and

indeed impossible, for the divine nature. In another place he says, God

troubles himself no more about men than about monkeys and flies. Celsus

thus denies the whole idea of revelation, now in pantheistic style, now

in the levity of Epicurean deism; and thereby at the same time abandons

the ground of the popular heathen religion. In his view Christianity

has no rational foundation at all, but is supported by the imaginary

terrors of future punishment. Particularly offensive to him are the

promises of the gospel to the poor and miserable, and the doctrines of

forgiveness of sins and regeneration, and of the resurrection of the

body. This last he scoffingly calls a hope of worms, but not of

rational souls. The appeal to the omnipotence of God, he thinks, does

not help the matter, because God can do nothing improper and unnatural.

He reproaches the Christians with ignorance, credulity, obstinacy,

innovation, division, and sectarianism, which they inherited mostly

from their fathers, the Jews. They are all uncultivated, mean,

superstitious people, mechanics, slaves, women, and children. The great

mass of them he regarded as unquestionably deceived. But where there

are deceived, there must be also deceivers; and this leads us to the

last result of this polemical sophistry. Celsus declared the first

disciples of Jesus to be deceivers of the worst kind; a band of

sorcerers, who fabricated and circulated the miraculous stories of the

Gospels, particularly that of the resurrection of Jesus; but betrayed

themselves by contradictions. The originator of the imposture, however,

is Jesus himself, who learned that magical art in Egypt, and afterwards

made a great noise with it in his native country.

But here, this philosophical and critical sophistry virtually,

acknowledges its bankruptcy. The hypothesis of deception is the very

last one to offer in explanation of a phenomenon so important as

Christianity was even in that day. The greater and more permanent the

deception, the more mysterious and unaccountable it must appear to

reason.

Chrysostom made the truthful remark, that Celsus bears witness to the

antiquity of the apostolic writings. This heathen assailant, who lived

almost within hailing distance of St. John, incidentally gives us an

abridgement of the history of Christ as related by the Gospels, and

this furnishes strong weapons against modern infidels, who would

represent this history as a later invention. "I know everything" he

says; "we have had it all from your own books, and need no other

testimony; ye slay yourselves with your own sword." He refers to the

Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, and makes upon the whole about

eighty allusions to, or quotations from, the New Testament. He takes

notice of Christ's birth from a virgin in a small village of Judaea,

the adoration of the wise men from the East, the slaughter of the

infants by order of Herod, the flight to Egypt, where he supposed

Christ learned the charms of magicians, his residence in Nazareth, his

baptism and the descent of the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove and

the voice from heaven, the election of disciples, his friendship with

publicans and other low people, his supposed cures of the lame and the

blind, and raising of the dead, the betrayal of Judas, the denial of

Peter, the principal circumstances in the history of the passion and

crucifixion, also the resurrection of Christ. [80] 9

It is true he perverts or abuses most of these facts; but according to

his own showing they were then generally and had always been believed

by the Christians. He alludes to some of the principal doctrines of the

Christians, to their private assemblies for worship, to the office of

presbyters. He omits the grosser charges of immorality, which he

probably disowned as absurd and incredible.

In view of all these admissions we may here, with Lardner, apply

Samson's riddle: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the

strong came forth sweetness." [81] 0

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[77] Origen (I. 8) indefinitely assigns him to the reign of Hadrian and

the Antonines; most historians (Mosheim, Gieseler, Baur, Friedl�nder)

to a.d. 150 or later; others (Tillemont, Neander, Zeller) to about 160

or 170; Keim (1. c. p. 267) to a.d. 178. As the place of composition

Keim (p. 274) suggests Rome, others Alexandria. He ably defends his

identity with the friend of Lucian (p. 291), but makes him out a

Platonist rather than an Epicurean (p. 203 sqq.).

[78] See the restoration of Celsus from these fragments by Dr. Keim,

quoted above.

[79] Panther, panthera, here, and in the Talmud, where Jesus is

likewise called yshy vn pndyr' is used, like the Latin lupa, as a type

of ravenous lust hence as a symbolical name for moicheir. So Nitzsch

and Baur. But Keim (p. 12) takes it as a designation of the wild

rapacious (pan theron) Roman soldier. The mother of Jesus was,

according to the Jewish informant of Celsus, a poor seamstress, and

engaged to a carpenter, who plunged her into disgrace and misery when

he found out her infidelity.

[80] Keim (Geschichte Jesu von Nazara, I. 22) says of Celsus: "Von der

Jungfraugeburt bis zum Jammer des Todes bei Essig und Galle, bis zu den

Wundern des Todes und der Auferstehung hat er unsere Evangelien

verfolgt, und anderen Quellen,welche zum Theil heute noch fliessen, hat

er den Glauben an die Hasslichkeit Jesu und an die S�ndhaftigkeit

seiner J�nger abgewonnen." Comp. Keim's monograph on Celsus, pp.

219-231. On the bearing of his testimony on the genuineness of the

Gospel of John, see vol. 1. p. 708.

[81] Judges xiv. 14. Comp. Lardner's Works, vol. VII. pp. 210-270. Dr.

Doddridge and Dr. Leland made good use of Celsus against the Deists of

the last century. He may with still greater effect be turned against

the more radical theories of Strauss and Renan. For Keim's estimate,

see his Celsus, 253-261.

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� 33. Lucian.

Edd. of Lucian's works by Hemsterhuis and Reiz (1743 sqq.), Jacobitz

(1836-39), Dindorf (1840 and 1858), Bekker (1853), Franc. Fritzsche

(1860-'69). The pseudo-Lucianic dialogue Philopatris (philopatris,

loving one's country, patriot) in which the Christians are ridiculed

and condemned as enemies of the Roman empire, is of a much later date,

probably from the reign of Julian the Apostate (363). See Gesner: De

aetate et auctore Philopatridis, Jen. 1714.

Jacob:Charakteristik Lucians. Hamburg 1822.

G. G. Bernays: Lucian und die Cyniker. Berlin. 1879.

Comp. Keim: Celsus, 143-151; Ed. D. Zeller:Alexander und Peregrinus ,

in the "Deutsche Rundschau," for Jan. 1877; Henry Cotterill: Peregrinus

Proteus (Edinb. 1879); Ad. Harnack in Herzog (ed. II.), VIII. 772-779;

and the Lit. quoted in � 28.

In the same period the rhetorician Lucian (born at Samosata in Syria

about 120, died in Egypt or Greece before 200), the Voltaire of Grecian

literature, attacked the Christian religion with the same light weapons

of wit and ridicule, with which, in his numerous elegantly written

works, he assailed the old popular faith and worship, the mystic

fanaticism imported from the East, the vulgar life of the Stoics and

Cynics of that day, and most of the existing manners and customs of the

distracted period of the empire. An Epicurean, worldling, and infidel,

as he was, could see in Christianity only one of the many vagaries and

follies of mankind; in the miracles, only jugglery; in the belief of

immortality, an empty dream; and in the contempt of death and the

brotherly love of the Christians, to which he was constrained to

testify, a silly enthusiasm.

Thus he represents the matter in an historical romance on the life and

death of Peregrinus Proteus, a contemporary Cynic philosopher, whom he

make the basis of a satire upon Christianity, and especially upon

Cynicism. Peregrinus is here presented as a perfectly contemptible man,

who, after the meanest and grossest crimes, adultery, sodomy, and

parricide, joins the credulous Christians in Palestine, cunningly

imposes on them, soon rises to the highest repute among them, and,

becoming one of the confessors in prison, is loaded with presents by

them, in fact almost worshipped as a god, but is afterwards

excommunicated for eating some forbidden food (probably meat of the

idolatrous sacrifices); then casts himself into the arms of the Cynics,

travels about everywhere, in the filthiest style of that sect; and at

last about the year 165, in frantic thirst for fame, plunges into the

flames of a funeral pile before the assembled populace of the town of

Olympia, for the triumph of philosophy. This fiction of the

self-burning was no doubt meant for a parody on the Christian

martyrdom, perhaps with special reference to Polycarp, who a few years

before had suffered death by fire at Smyrna (155). [82] 1

Lucian treated the Christians rather with a compassionate smile, than

with hatred. He nowhere urges persecution. He never calls Christ an

impostor, as Celsus does, but a "crucified sophist;" a term which he

uses as often in a good sense as in the bad. But then, in the end, both

the Christian and the heathen religions amount, in his view, to

imposture; only, in his Epicurean indifferentism, he considers it not

worth the trouble to trace such phenomena to their ultimate ground, and

attempt a philosophical explanation. [83] 2

The merely negative position of this clever mocker of all religions

injured heathenism more than Christianity, but could not be long

maintained against either; the religious element is far too deeply

seated in the essence of human nature. Epicureanism and scepticism made

way, in their turns, for Platonism, and for faith or superstition.

Heathenism made a vigorous effort to regenerate itself, in order to

hold its ground against the steady advance of Christianity. But the old

religion itself could not help feeling more and more the silent

influence of the new.

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[82] Harnack, l.c. denies a reference to Polycarp.

[83] Berneys (l.c. p. 43) characterizes Lucian very unfavorably: "ein

anscheinend nicht sehr gl�cklicher Advocat, ist er ohne ernste Studien

ins Literatenthum �bergegangen; unwissend und leichtfertig tr�gt er

lediglich eine nihilistische Oede in Bezuq auf alle religi�sen und

metaphysischen Fraqen zur Schau und reisst alle als verkehrt und

l�cherlich herunter." Berneys thinks that the Peregrinus Proteus is not

directed against the Christians, but against the Cynic philosophers and

more particularly against the then still living Theagenes.

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� 34. Neo-Platonism.

I. Sources.

Plotinus: Opera Omnia, ed. Oxf 1835, 3 vols.; ed. Kirchhoff, Lips.

1856; ed. Didot, Par. 1856; H. F. M�ller, Berlin 1878-80.

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Dissert. de vita et scriptis Porphyr. Rom. 1630). His biographies of

Pythagoras, Plotinus, and other works were ed. by A. A. Nauck, 1860.

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Contra Hierocl. lib., and probably also in Macarius Magnes: Apokritikos

e Monogenes Par. 1876).

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Berl. 1851, p. 22 sqq.)

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Ed. Zeller, in Drei Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der alten Philosophie U.

ihres Verh. zum Christenthum. Leipzig, 1876, pp. 1-227.

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X., pp. 619-644).

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1862. Translation from the Greek, with explanatory notes.

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T�bingen "Theol. Quartalschrift," 1865. No. I.

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century, translated from the French. Lond. 1866.

K. M�nkeberg: Apollonius v. Tyana. Hamb. 1877.

Fr. Ueberweg: History of Philosophy (Eng. transl. N. York, 1871), vol.

I. 232-259.

Ed. Zeller: Philosophie der Griechen, III. 419 sqq.

More earnest and dignified, but for this very reason more lasting and

dangerous, was the opposition which proceeded directly and indirectly

from Neo-Platonism. This system presents the last phase, the evening

red, so to speak, of the Grecian philosophy; a fruitless effort of

dying heathenism to revive itself against the irresistible progress of

Christianity in its freshness and vigor. It was a pantheistic

eclecticism and a philosophico-religious syncretism, which sought to

reconcile Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy with Oriental religion

and theosophy, polytheism with monotheism, superstition with culture,

and to hold, as with convulsive grasp, the old popular religion in a

refined and idealized form. Some scattered Christian ideas also were

unconsciously let in; Christianity already filled the atmosphere of the

age too much, to be wholly shut out. As might be expected, this

compound of philosophy and religion was an extravagant, fantastic,

heterogeneous affair, like its contemporary, Gnosticism, which differed

from it by formally recognising Christianity in its syncretism. Most of

the NeoPlatonists, Jamblichus in particular, were as much hierophants

and theurgists as philosophers, devoted themselves to divination and

magic, and boasted of divine inspirations and visions. Their literature

is not an original, healthy natural product, but an abnormal

after-growth.

In a time of inward distraction and dissolution the human mind hunts up

old and obsolete systems and notions, or resorts to magical and

theurgic arts. Superstition follows on the heels of unbelief, and

atheism often stands closely connected with the fear of ghosts and the

worship of demons. The enlightened emperor Augustus was troubled, if he

put on his left shoe first in the morning, instead of the right; and

the accomplished elder Pliny wore amulets as protection from thunder

and lightning. In their day the long-forgotten Pythagoreanism was

conjured from the grave and idealized. Sorcerers like Simon Magus,

Elymas, Alexander of Abonoteichos, and Apollonius of Tyana (d. a.d.

96), found great favor even with the higher classes, who laughed at the

fables of the gods. Men turned wishfully to the past, especially to the

mysterious East, the land of primitive wisdom and religion. The Syrian

cultus was sought out; and all sorts of religions, all the sense and

all the nonsense of antiquity found a rendezvous in Rome. Even a

succession of Roman emperors, from Septimius Severus, at the close of

the second century, to Alexander Severus, embraced this religious

syncretism, which, instead of supporting the old Roman state religion,

helped to undermine it. [84] 3

After the beginning of the third century this tendency found

philosophical expression and took a reformatory turn in Neo-Platonism.

The magic power, which was thought able to reanimate all these various

elements and reduce them to harmony, and to put deep meaning into the

old mythology, was the philosophy of the divine Plato; which in truth

possessed essentially a mystical character, and was used also by

learned Jews, like Philo, and by Christians, like Origen, in their

idealizing efforts and their arbitrary allegorical expositions of

offensive passages of the Bible. In this view we may find among heathen

writers a sort of forerunner of the NeoPlatonists in the pious and

noble-minded Platonist, Plutarch, of Boeotia (d. 120), who likewise saw

a deeper sense in the myths of the popular polytheistic faith, and in

general, in his comparative biographies and his admirable moral

treatises, looks at the fairest and noblest side of the Graeco-Roman

antiquity, but often wanders off into the trackless regions of fancy.

The proper founder of Neo-Platonism was Ammonius Saccas, of Alexandria,

who was born of Christian parents, but apostatized, and died in the

year 243. His more distinguished pupil, Plotinus, also an Egyptian

(204-269), developed the NeoPlatonic ideas in systematic form, and gave

them firm foothold and wide currency, particularly in Rome, where he

taught philosophy. The system was propagated by his pupil Porphyry of

Tyre (d. 304), who likewise taught in Rome, by Jamblichus of Chalcis in

Coelo-Syria (d. 333), and by Proclus of Constantinople (d. 485). It

supplanted the popular religion among in the educated classes of later

heathendom, and held its ground until the end of the fifth century,

when it perished of its own internal falsehood and contradictions.

From its love for the ideal, the supernatural, and the mystical, this

system, like the original Platonism, might become for many

philosophical minds a bridge to faith; and so it was even to St.

Augustin, whom it delivered from the bondage of scepticism, and filled

with a burning thirst for truth and wisdom. But it could also work

against Christianity. Neo-Platonism was, in fact, a direct attempt of

the more intelligent and earnest heathenism to rally all its nobler

energies, especially the forces of Hellenic philosophy and Oriental

mysticism, and to found a universal religion, a pagan counterpart to

the Christian. Plotinus, in his opposition to Gnosticism, assailed

also, though not expressly, the Christian element it contained. On

their syncretistic principles the Neo-Platonists could indeed reverence

Christ as a great sage and a hero of virtue, but not as the Son of God.

They ranked the wise men of heathendom with him. The emperor Alexander

Severus (d. 235) gave Orpheus and Apollonius of Tyana a place in his

lararium by the side of the bust of Jesus.

The rhetorician Philostratus, the elder, about the year 220, at the

request of Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and a zealous

patron of the reform of paganism, idealized the life of the pagan

magician and soothsayer Apollonius, of the Pythagorean school, and made

him out an ascetic saint, a divinely inspired philosopher, a religious

reformer and worker of miracles, with the purpose, as is generally

assumed, though without direct evidence, of holding him up as a rival

of Christ with equal claims to the worship of men. [85] 4

The points of resemblance are chiefly these: Jesus was the Son of God,

Apollonius the son of Jupiter; the birth of Christ was celebrated by

the appearance of angels, that of Apollonius by a flash of lightning;

Christ raised the daughter of Jairus, Apollonius a young Roman maiden,

from the dead; Christ cast out demons, Apollonius did the same; Christ

rose from the dead, Apollonius appeared after his death. Apollonius is

made to combine also several characteristics of the apostles, as the

miraculous gift of tongues, for he understood all the languages of the

world. Like St. Paul, he received his earlier education at Tarsus,

labored at Antioch, Ephesus, and other cities, and was persecuted by

Nero. Like the early Christians, he was falsely accused of sacrificing

children with certain mysterious ceremonies. [86] 5 With the same

secret polemical aim Porphyry and Jamblichus embellished the life of

Pythagoras, and set him forth as the highest model of wisdom, even a

divine being incarnate, a Christ of heathenism.

These various attempts to Christianize paganism were of course as

abortive as so many attempts to galvanize a corpse. They made no

impression upon their age, much less upon ages following. They were

indirect arguments in favor of Christianity: they proved the internal

decay of the false, and the irresistible progress of the true religion,

which began to mould the spirit of the age and to affect public opinion

outside of the church. By inventing false characters in imitation of

Christ they indirectly conceded to the historical Christ his claim to

the admiration and praise of mankind.

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[84] The oldest apostle of this strange medley of Hellenic, Persian,

Chaldean and Egyptian mysteries in Rome was Nigidius Figulus, who

belonged to the strictest section of the aristocracy, and filled the

praetorship in 696 a.u.c. (58 b.c.) He foretold the father of the

subsequent emperor Augustus on the very day of his birth his future

greatness. The system was consecrated by the name of Pythagoras, the

primeval sage of Italian birth, the miracleworker and necromancer. The

new and old wisdom made a profound impression on men of the highest

rank and greatest learning, who took part in the citation of spirits,

as in the nineteenth century, spirit-rapping and tablemoving exercised

for a while a similar charm. "These last attempts to save the Roman

theology, like the similar efforts of Cato in the field of politics,

produce at once a comical and a melancholy impression. We may smile at

the creed and its propagators, but still it is a grave matter when all

men begin to addict themselves to absurdity." Th. Mommsen, History of

Rome, vol. IV. p. 563 (Dickson's translation. Lond. 1867.)

[85] Philostratus himself gives no intimation of such design on his

part, and simply states that he was requested by the empress Julia

Domna (a.d. 217), to draw up a biography of Apollonius from certain

memoranda of Damis, one of his friends and followers. The name of

Christ is never mentioned by him; nor does he allude to the Gospels,

except in one instance, where he uses the same phrase as the daemon in

St. Luke (viii. 28): "I beseech thee, torment me not (me me basanises

.). Vita Apoll. IV. 25. Bishop Samuel Parker, in a work on the Divine

Authority of the Christian Religion (1681), Lardner, Neander (K G. I.

298), and J. S. Watson (in a review of Re'ville's Apoll. of T., in the

"Contemporary Review" for 1867, p. 199 ff.), deny the commonly received

opinion, first maintained by Bishop Daniel Hust, and defended by Baur,

Newman, and Re'ville, that Philostratus intended to draw a parallel

between his hero and Christ. The resemblance is studied and fictitious,

and it is certain that at a later date Hierocles vainly endeavored to

lower the dignity of Christ by raising this Pythagorean adventurer as

portrayed by Philostratus, to a level with the eternal Son of God.

[86] Comp. the account of the resemblance by Baur, l.c. pp. 138 sqq.

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� 35. Porphyry and Hierocles

See the Lit. in � 34.

One of the leading Neo-Platonists made a direct attack upon

Christianity, and was, in the eyes of the church fathers, its bitterest

and most dangerous enemy. Towards the end of the third century Porphyry

wrote an extended work against the Christians, in fifteen books, which

called forth numerous refutations from the most eminent church teachers

of the time, particularly from Methodius of Tyre, Eusebius of Caesarea,

and Apollinaris of Laodicea. In 448 all the copies were burned by order

of the emperors Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., and we know the

work now only from fragments in the fathers.

Porphyry attacked especially the sacred books of the Christians, with

more knowledge than Celsus. He endeavored, with keen criticism, to

point out the contradictions between the Old Testament and the New, and

among the apostles themselves; and thus to refute the divinity of their

writings. He represented the prophecies of Daniel as vaticinia post

eventum, and censured the allegorical interpretation of Origen, by

which transcendental mysteries were foisted into the writings of Moses,

contrary to their clear sense. He took advantage, above all, of the

collision between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2:11), to reproach

the former with a contentious spirit, the latter with error, and to

infer from the whole, that the doctrine of such apostles must rest on

lies and frauds. Even Jesus himself he charged with equivocation and

inconsistency, on account of his conduct in John 7:8 compared with

verse 14.

Still Porphyry would not wholly reject Christianity. Like many

rationalists of more recent times, he distinguished the original pure

doctrine of Jesus from the second-handed, adulterated doctrine of the

apostles. In another work [87] 6 on the "Philosophy of Oracles," often

quoted by Eusebius, and also by Augustin, [88] 7 he says, we must not

calumniate Christ, who was most eminent for piety, but only pity those

who worship him as God. "That pious soul, exalted to heaven, is become,

by a sort of fate, an occasion of delusion to those souls from whom

fortune withholds the gifts of the gods and the knowledge of the

immortal Zeus." Still more remarkable in this view is a letter to his

wife Marcella, which A. Mai published at Milan in 1816, in the

unfounded opinion that Marcella was a Christian. In the course of this

letter Porphyry remarks, that what is born of the flesh is flesh; that

by faith, love, and hope we raise ourselves to the Deity; that evil is

the fault of man; that God is holy; that the most acceptable sacrifice

to him is a pure heart; that the wise man is at once a temple of God

and a priest in that temple. For these and other such evidently

Christian ideas and phrases he no doubt had a sense of his own, which

materially differed from their proper scriptural meaning. But such

things show how Christianity in that day exerted, even upon its

opponents, a power, to which heathenism was forced to yield an

unwilling assent.

The last literary antagonist of Christianity in our period is

Hierocles, who, while governor of Bythynia, and afterwards of

Alexandria under Diocletian, persecuted that religion also with the

sword, and exposed Christian maidens to a worse fate than death. His

"Truth-loving Words to the Christians" has been destroyed, like

Porphyry's work, by the mistaken zeal of Christian emperors, and is

known to us only through the answer of Eusebius of Caesarea. [89] 8 He

appears to have merely repeated the objections of Celsus and Porphyry,

and to have drawn a comparison between Christ and Apollonius of Tyana,

which resulted in favor of the latter. The Christians says he, consider

Jesus a God, on account of some insignificant miracles falsely colored

up by his apostles; but the heathens far more justly declare the

greater wonder-worker Apollonius, as well as an Aristeas and a

Pythagoras, simply a favorite of the gods and a benefactor of men.

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[87] Peri tes ek logion philosophias. Fabricius, Mosheim, Neander, and

others, treat the work as genuine, but Lardner denies it to Porphyry.

[88] De Civit. Dei, l. XIX. c. 22, 23; Comp. also Eusebius,Demonstr.

Evang. III. 6.

[89] To this may be added the extracts from an unnamed heathen

philosopher (probably Hierocles or Porphyrius) in the apologetic work

of Macarius Magnes (about 400), which was discovered at Athens in 1867,

and published by Blondel;, Paris 1876. See L. Duchesne, De Marcario

Magnete et scriptis ejus, Par. 1877, and Z�ckler in Herzog, ed. II.

vol. IX. 160.

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� 36. Summary of the Objections to Christianity.

In general the leading arguments of the Judaism and heathenism of this

period against the new religion are the following:

1. Against Christ: his illegitimate birth; his association with poor,

unlettered fishermen, and rude publicans: his form of a servant, and

his ignominious death. But the opposition to him gradually ceased.

While Celsus called him a downright impostor, the Syncretists and

Neo-Platonists were disposed to regard him as at least a distinguished

sage.

2. Against Christianity: its novelty; its barbarian origin; its want of

a national basis; the alleged absurdity of some of its facts and

doctrines, particularly of regeneration and the resurrection;

contradictions between the Old and New Testaments, among the Gospels,

and between Paul and Peter; the demand for a blind, irrational faith.

3. Against the Christians: atheism, or hatred of the gods; the worship

of a crucified malefactor; poverty, and want of culture and standing;

desire of innovation; division and sectarianism; want of patriotism;

gloomy seriousness; credulity; superstition, and fanaticism. Sometimes

they were charged even with unnatural crimes, like those related in the

pagan mythology of Oedipus and his mother Jocaste (concubitus

Oedipodei), and of Thyestes and Atreus (epulae Thyesteae). Perhaps some

Gnostic sects ran into scandalous excesses; but as against the

Christians in general this charge was so clearly unfounded, that it is

not noticed even by Celsus and Lucian. The senseless accusation, that

they worshipped an ass's head, may have arisen, as Tertullian already

intimates, [90] 9 from a story of Tacitus, respecting some Jews, who

were once directed by a wild ass to fresh water, and thus relieved from

the torture of thirst; and it is worth mentioning, only to show how

passionate and blind was the opposition with which Christianity in this

period of persecution had to contend.

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[90] Apol.c. 16:"Somniastis caput asininun esse deum nostrum. Hanc

Cornelius Tacitus suspicionem ejusmodi dei inseruit,"etc.

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� 37. The Apologetic Literature of Christianity.

Comp. Lit. in � 1 and 12.

I. The sources are all the writings of the Apologists of the second and

third centuries; particularly Justin M.: Apologia I. and II.; Tertull.:

Apologeticus; Minucius Felix: Octavius; Origen: Contra Celsum (kata

Kelsou) libr. VIII. Aristidis, Philosophi Atheniensis, Sermones duo,

Venetiis 1878. (From an Armenian translation). Complete editions of the

Apologists: Apologg. Christ. Opp. ed. Prud. Maranus, Par. 1742; Corpus

Apologetarum Christianorum seculi secundi, ed. Th. Otto, Jenae, 1847

sqq. ed. III. 1876 sqq. A new ed. by O. v. Gebhardt and E. Schwartz,

begun 1888.

II. Fabricius:Dilectus argumentorum et Syllabus scriptorum, qui

veritatem Rel. Christ. asseruerunt. Hamb. 1725.

Tzschirner: Geschichte der Apologetik. Lpz. 1805 (unfinished).

G. H. Van Sanden: Gesch. der Apol. translated from Dutch into German by

Quack and Binder. Stuttg. 1846. 2 vols.

Semisch: Justin der M�rt. Bresl. 1840. II. 56-225.

W. B. Colton: The Evidences of Christianity as exhibited in the

writings of its Apologists down to Augustine (Hulsean Prize Essay,

1852), republ. in Boston, 1854.

Karl Werner (R.C.): Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen

Literatur der christl. Theologie. Schaffhausen, 1861-'65. 5 vols. (vol.

I. belongs here).

James Donaldson: A Critical History of Christian Literature and

Doctrine from, the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. London,

1864-66. 3 vols.

Adolf Harnack: Die Ueberlieferung der Griechischen Apologeten des

zweiten Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter. Band I.

Heft 1 and 2. Leipz. 1882.

These assaults of argument and calumny called forth in the second

century the Christian apologetic literature, the vindication of

Christianity by the pen, against the Jewish zealot, the Grecian

philosopher, and the Roman statesman. The Christians were indeed from

the first "ready always to give an answer to every man that asked them

a reason of the hope that was in them." But when heathenism took the

field against them not only with fire and sword, but with argument and

slander besides, they had to add to their simple practical testimony a

theoretical self-defence. The Christian apology against non-Christian

opponents, and the controversial efforts against Christian errorists,

are the two oldest branches of theological science.

The apologetic literature began to appear under the reign of Hadrian,

and continued to grow till the end of our period. Most of the church

teachers took part in this labor of their day. The first apologies, by

Quadratus, bishop of Athens, Aristides, philosopher of Athens, and

Aristo of Pella, which were addressed to the emperor Hadrian, and the

later works of Melito of Sardis, Claudius Apollinaris of Hierapolis,

and Miltiades, who lived under Marcus Aurelius, were either entirely

lost, or preserved only in scattered notices of Eusebius. But some

interesting fragments of Melito and Aristides have been recently

discovered. [91] 0 More valuable are the apologetical works of the

Greek philosopher and martyr, Justin (d. 166), which we possess in

full. After him come, in the Greek church, Tatian, Athenagoras,

Theophilus of Antioch, and Hermias in the last half of the second

century, and Origen, the ablest of all, in the first half of the third.

The most important Latin apologists are Tertullian (d. about 220),

Minucius Felix (d. between 220 and 230; according to some, between 161

and 200), the later Arnobius and Lactantius, all of North Africa.

Here at once appears the characteristic difference between the Greek

and the Latin minds. The Greek apologies are more learned and

philosophical, the Latin more practical and juridical in their matter

and style. The former labor to prove the truth of Christianity and its

adaptedness to the intellectual wants of man; the latter plead for its

legal right to exist, and exhibit mainly its moral excellency and

salutary effect upon society. The Latin also are in general more

rigidly opposed to heathenism, while the Greek recognize in the Grecian

philosophy a certain affinity to the Christian religion.

The apologies were addressed in some cases to the emperors (Hadrian,

Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius) or the provincial governors; in

others, to the intelligent public. Their first object was to soften the

temper of the authorities and people towards Christianity and its

professors by refuting the false charges against them. It may be

doubtful whether they ever reached the hands of the emperors; at all

events the persecution continued. [92] 1 Conversion commonly proceeds

from the heart and will, not from the understanding and from knowledge.

No doubt, however, these writings contributed to dissipate prejudice

among honest and susceptible heathens, to spread more favorable views

of the new religion, and to infuse a spirit of humanity into the spirit

of the age, the systems of moral philosophy and the legislation of the

Antonines.

Yet the chief service of this literature was to strengthen believers

and to advance theological knowledge. It brought the church to a deeper

and clearer sense of the peculiar nature of the Christian religion, and

prepared her thenceforth to vindicate it before the tribunal of reason

and philosophy; whilst Judaism and heathenism proved themselves

powerless in the combat, and were driven to the weapons of falsehood

and vituperation. The sophisms and mockeries of a Celsus and a Lucian

have none but a historical interest; the Apologies of Justin and the

Apologeticus of Tertullian, rich with indestructible truth and glowing

piety, are read with pleasure and edification to this day.

The apologists do not confine themselves to the defensive, but carry

the war aggressively into the territory of Judaism and heathenism. They

complete their work by positively demonstrating that Christianity is

the divine religion, and the only true religion for all mankind.

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[91] See on the works of these Apologists, lost and partly recovered,

Harnack, l.c. pp. 100 sqq.; 240 sqq.; and Renan, L'egl. chr�t. p. 40

sqq. We shall refer to them in the chapter on Christian literature.

[92] Orosius, however, relates in big Hist. vii. 14, that Justin M., by

his Apology, made the emperor Antoninus Pius "benignum erqa

Christianos."

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� 38. The Argument against Judaism.

In regard to the controversy with Judaism, we have two principal

sources: the Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Trypho, [93] 2

based, it appears, on real interviews of Justin with Trypho; and

Tertullian's work against the Jews. [94] 3 Another work from the first

half of the second century by Aristo of Pella, entitled "A Disputation

of Jason and Papiscus concerning Christ," is lost. [95] 4 It was known

to Celsus who speaks contemptuously of it on account of its allegorical

interpretation. Origen deems it useful for ordinary readers, though not

calculated to make much impression on scholars. It was intended to show

the fulfillment of the old prophecies in Christ, and ends with the

conviction of the Jew Papiscus and his baptism by Jason. The author was

a Jewish Christian of Pella, the city of refuge for the Christians of

Jerusalem before the destruction.

I. The defensive apology answered the Jewish objections thus:

(1) Against the charge, that Christianity is an apostasy from the

Jewish religion, it was held, that the Mosaic law, as far as it relates

to outward rites and ceremonies was only a temporary institution for

the Jewish nation foreshadowing the substance of Christianity, while

its moral precepts as contained in the Decalogue were kept in their

deepest spiritual sense only by Christians; that the Old Testament

itself points to its own dissolution and the establishment of a new

covenant; [96] 5 that Abraham was justified before he was circumcised,

and women, who could not be circumcised, were yet saved.

(2) Against the assertion, that the servant-form of Jesus of Nazareth,

and his death by the cross, contradicted the Old Testament idea of the

Messiah, it was urged, that the appearance of the Messiah is to be

regarded as twofold, first, in the form of a servant, afterwards in

glory; and that the brazen serpent in the wilderness, and the

prophecies of David in Psalm 22, of Isaiah 53, and Zech. 13, themselves

point to the sufferings of Christ as his way to glory.

(3) To the objection, that the divinity of Jesus contradicts the unity

of God and is blasphemy, it was replied, that the Christians believe

likewise in only one God; that the Old Testament itself makes a

distinction in the divine nature; that the plural expression: "Let us

make man," [97] 6 the appearance of the three men at Mamre [98] 7 of

whom one was confessedly God, [99] 8 yet distinct from the Creator,

[100] 9 indicate this; and that all theophanies (which in Justin's view

are as many christophanies), and the Messianic Psalms, [101] 00 which

ascribe divine dignity to the Messiah, show the same.

II. The aggressive apology or polemic theology urges as evidence

against Judaism:

(1) First and mainly that the prophecies and types of the Old Testament

are fulfilled in Jesus Christ and his church. Justin finds all the

outlines of the gospel history predicted in the Old Testament: the

Davidic descent of Jesus, for example, in Isa. 11:1; the birth from a

virgin in 7:14]; the birth at Bethlehem in Micah 5:1; the flight into

Egypt in Hosea 11:1 (rather than Ps. 22:10?); the appearance of the

Baptist in Is. 40:1-17; Mal. 4:5; the heavenly voice at the baptism of

Jesus in Ps. 2:7; the temptation in the wilderness under the type of

Jacob's wrestling in Gen. 32:24 sqq.; the miracles of our Lord in Is.

35:5; his sufferings and the several circumstances of his crucifixion

in Is. 53 and Ps. 22. In this effort, however, Justin wanders also,

according to the taste of his uncritical age, into arbitrary fancies

and allegorical conceits; as when he makes the two goats, of which one

carried away the sins into the wilderness, and the other was

sacrificed, types of the first and second advents of Christ; and sees

in the twelve bells on the robe of the high priest a type of the twelve

apostles, whose sound goes forth into all the world. [102] 01

(2) The destruction of Jerusalem, in which Judaism, according to the

express prediction of Jesus, was condemned by God himself, and

Christianity was gloriously vindicated. Here the Jewish priest and

historian Josephus, who wrote from personal observation a graphic

description of this tragedy, had to furnish a powerful historical

argument against his own religion and for the truth of Christianity.

Tertullian sums up the prophetic predictions of the calamities which

have befallen the Jews for rejecting Christ, "the sense of the

Scriptures harmonizing with the events." [103] 02

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[93] Dialogos pros Truphona Ioudaion. .

[94] Adverus Judaeos. Also Cyprian's Testimoni adv. Judaeos.

[95] Iasonos kai Papiskou antilogia peri Ch ristou. Comp. the

discussion of Harnack, l.c. pp. 115-130. He assigns the book to a.d.

135 or soon after. It disappeared in the seventh century.

[96] Is. 51:4 sqq.; 55r&gt; sqq.; Jer. 31:31 sqq.

[97] Gen. 1:26; Comp. 3:21

[98] Gen. 18:1 sqq.

[99] Gen. 21:12.

[100] Gen. 19:24.

[101] Ps. 110:1 sqq.; 45:7 sqq.; 72:2-19, and others

[102] Ps. 19:4; Comp. Rom. 10:18..

[103] Adv.Jud. c. 13

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� 39. The Defense against Heathenism.

I. The various Objections and Accusations of the heathens, which we

have collected in �

(1) The attack upon the miraculous in the evangelical history the

apologists could meet by pointing to the similar element in the heathen

mythology; of course proposing this merely in the way of argumentum ad

hominem, to deprive the opposition of the right to object. For the

credibility of the miraculous accounts in the Gospels, particularly

that of the resurrection of Jesus, Origen appealed to the integrity and

piety of the narrators, to the publicity of the death of Jesus, and to

the effects of that event.

(2) The novelty and late appearance of Christianity were justified by

the need of historical preparation in which the human race should be

divinely trained for Christ; but more frequently it was urged also,

that Christianity existed in the counsel of God from eternity, and had

its unconscious votaries, especially among the pious Jews, long before

the advent of Christ. By claiming the Mosaic records, the apologists

had greatly the advantage as regards antiquity over any form of

paganism, and could carry their religion, in its preparatory state,

even beyond the flood and up to the very gates of paradise. Justin and

Tatian make great account of the fact that Moses is much older than the

Greek philosophers, poets, and legislators. Athenagoras turns the

tables, and shows that the very names of the heathen gods are modern,

and their statues creations of yesterday. Clement of Alexandria calls

the Greek philosophers thieves and robbers, because they stole certain

portions of truth from the Hebrew prophets and adulterated them.

Tertullian, Minucius Felix and others raise the same charge of

plagiarism.

(3) The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, so peculiarly

offensive to the heathen and Gnostic understanding, was supported, as

to its possibility, by reference to the omnipotence of God, and to the

creation of the world and of man; and its propriety and reasonableness

were argued from the divine image in man, from the high destiny of the

body to be the temple of the Holy Spirit, and from its intimate

connection with the soul, as well as from the righteousness and

goodness of God. The argument from analogy was also very generally

used, but often without proper discrimination. Thus, Theophilus alludes

to the decline and return of the seasons, the alternations of day and

night, the renewal of the waning and waxing moon, the growth of seeds

and fruits. Tertullian expresses his surprise that anybody should deny

the possibility and probability of the resurrection in view of the

mystery of our birth and the daily occurrences of surrounding nature.

"All things," he says, "are preserved by dissolution, renewed by

perishing; and shall man ... the lord of all this universe of

creatures, which die and rise again, himself die only to perish

forever?" [104] 03

(4) The charge of immoral conduct and secret vice the apologists might

repel with just indignation, since the New Testament contains the

purest and noblest morality, and the general conduct of the Christians

compared most favorably with that of the heathens. "Shame! shame!" they

justly cried; "to roll upon the innocent what you are openly guilty of,

and what belongs to you and your gods!" Origen says in the preface to

the first book against Celsus: "When false witness was brought against

our blessed Saviour, the spotless Jesus, he held his peace, and when he

was accused, returned no answer, being fully persuaded that the tenor

of his life and conduct among the Jews was the best apology that could

possibly be made in his behalf .... And even now he preserves the same

silence, and makes no other answer than the unblemished lives of his

sincere followers; they are his most cheerful and successful advocates,

and have so loud a voice that they drown the clamors of the most

zealous and bigoted adversaries."

II. To their defence the Christians, with the rising consciousness of

victory, added direct arguments against heathenism, which were

practically sustained by, its dissolution in the following period.

(1) The popular religion of the heathens, particularly the doctrine of

the gods, is unworthy, contradictory, absurd, immoral, and pernicious.

The apologists and most of the early church teachers looked upon the

heathen gods not as mere imaginations or personified powers of nature

or deifications of distinguished men, but as demons or fallen angels.

They took this view from the Septuagint version of Ps. 96:5, [105] 04

and from the immorality of those deities, which was charged to demons

(even sexual intercourse with fair daughters of men, according to Gen.

6:2).

"What sad fates," says Minucius Felix, "what lies, ridiculous things,

and weaknesses we read of the pretended gods! Even their form, how

pitiable it is! Vulcan limps; Mercury has wings to his feet; Pan is

hoofed; Saturn in fetters; and Janus has two faces, as if he walked

backwards .... Sometimes Hercules is a hostler, Apollo a cow-herd, and

Neptune, Laomedon's mason, cheated of his wages. There we have the

thunder of Jove and the arms of Aeneas forged on the same anvil (as if

the heavens and the thunder and lightning did not exist before Jove was

born in Crete); the adultery of Mars and Venus; the lewdness of Jupiter

with Ganymede, all of which were invented for the gods to authorize men

in their wickedness." "Which of the poets," asks Tertullian, "does not

calumniate your gods? One sets Apollo to keep sheep; another hires out

Neptune to build a wall; Pindar declares Esculapius was deservedly

scathed for his avarice in exercising the art of medicine to a bad

purpose; whilst the writers of tragedy and comedy alike, take for their

subjects the crimes or the miseries of the deities. Nor are the

philosophers behindhand in this respect. Out of pure contempt, they

would swear by an oak, a goat, a dog. Diogenes turned Hercules into

ridicule; and the Roman Cynic Varro introduces three hundred Joves

without heads." From the stage abuser the sarcastic African father

selects, partly from his own former observation, those of Diana being

flogged, the reading of Jupiter's will after his decease, and the three

half-starved Herculesses! Justin brings up the infanticide of Saturn,

the parricide, the anger, and the adultery of Jupiter, the drunkenness

of Bacchus, the voluptuousness of Venus, and he appeals to the judgment

of the better heathens, who were ashamed of these scandalous histories

of the gods; to Plato, for example, who for this reason banishes Homer

from his ideal State. Those myths, which had some resemblance to the

Old Testament prophecies or the gospel history, Justin regards as

caricatures of the truth, framed by demons by abuse of Scripture. The

story of Bacchus, for instance rests in his fanciful view, on Gen.

49:11 sq.; the myth of the birth of Perseus from a virgin, on Is. 7:14;

that of the wandering of Hercules, on Ps. 19:6; the fiction of the

miracles of Esculapius on Is. 35:1 sqq.

Origen asks Celsus, why it is that he can discover profound mysteries

in those strange and senseless accidents, which have befallen his gods

and goddesses, showing them to be polluted with crimes and doing many

shameful things; whilst Moses, who says nothing derogatory to the

character of God, angel, or man, is treated as an impostor. He

challenges any one to compare Moses and his laws with the best Greek

writers; and yet Moses was as far inferior to Christ, as he was

superior to the greatest of heathen sages and legislators.

(2) The Greek philosophy, which rises above the popular belief, is not

suited to the masses, cannot meet the religious wants, and confutes

itself by its manifold contradictions. Socrates, the wisest of all the

philosophers, himself acknowledged that he knew nothing. On divine and

human things Justin finds the philosophers at variance among

themselves; with Thales water is the ultimate principle of all things;

with Anaximander, air; with Heraclitus, fire; with Pythagoras, number.

Even Plato not seldom contradicts himself; now supposing three

fundamental causes (God, matter, and ideas), now four (adding the

world-soul); now he considers matter is unbegotten, now as begotten; at

one time he ascribes substantiality to ideas, at another makes them

mere forms of thought, etc. Who, then, he concludes, would intrust to

the philosophers the salvation of his soul?

(3) But, on the other hand, the Greek apologists recognized also

elements of truth in the Hellenic literature, especially in the

Platonic and Stoic philosophy, and saw in them, as in the law and the

prophecies of Judaism, a preparation of the way for Christianity.

Justin attributes all the good in heathenism to the divine Logos, who,

even before his incarnation, scattered the seeds of truth (hence the

name "Logos spermaticos"), and incited susceptible spirits to a holy

walk. Thus there were Christians before Christianity; and among these

he expressly reckons Socrates and Heraclitus. [106] 05 Besides, he

supposed that Pythagoras, Plato, and other educated Greeks, in their

journeys to the East, became acquainted with the Old Testament

writings, and drew from them the doctrine of the unity of God, and

other like truths, though they in various ways misunderstood them, and

adulterated them with pagan errors. This view of a certain affinity

between the Grecian philosophy and Christianity, as an argument in

favor of the new religion, was afterwards further developed by the

Alexandrian fathers, Clement and Origen. [107] 06

The Latin fathers speak less favorably of the Greek philosophy; yet

even Augustin acknowledges that the Platonists approach so nearly to

Christian truth that with a change of some expressions and sentences

they would be true Christians (in theory). [108] 07

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[104] Apolog. c. 43. Comp. his special tract De resurrectione Carnis,

c. 12, where he defends the doctrine more fully against the Gnostics

and their radical misconception of the nature and import of the body.

[105] Pantes hoi theoi ton ethnon daimonia. Comp. 1 Cor. 10:20.

[106] Also the Stoics and some of the poets as far as their moral

teaching went, Comp. Just. Apol. II.c. 8, and 13.

[107] See the introduction of E. Spiess to his Logos spermatikos,

Leipz. 1871.

[108] De Vera Religione IV. 7: "Proxime Platonici a veritate Christiana

absunt vel veri Christiani sunt paucis mutatis verbis atque

sententiis." Retract. I. 13: "Res ipsa quae nunc religio Christiana

nuncupatur, erat apud antiquos, nec defuit ab initio generis humani.,

quousque Christus veniret in carnem, unde vera religio, quae jam erat,

coepit appellari Christiana." Comp. Lactantius, De Falsa Religione, I.

5; De Vita Beata, VII. 7; Minucius Fel., Octav. 20

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� 40. The Positive Apology.

The Christian apology completed itself in the positive demonstration of

the divinity of the new religion; which was at the same time the best

refutation of both the old ones. As early as this period the strongest

historical and philosophical arguments for Christianity were brought

forward, or at least indicated, though in connection with many

untenable adjunct.

1. The great argument, not only with Jews, but with heathens also, was

the prophecies; since the knowledge of future events can come only from

God. The first appeal of the apologists was, of course, to the

prophetic writings of the Old Testament, in which they found, by a very

liberal interpretation, every event of the gospel history and every

lineament of our Saviour's character and work. In addition to the

Scriptures, even such fathers as Clement of Alexandria, and, with more

caution, Origen, Eusebius, St. Jerome, and St. Augustin, employed also,

without hesitation, apocryphal prophecies, especially the Sibylline

oracles, a medley of ancient heathen, Jewish, and in part Christian

fictions, about a golden age, the coining of Christ, the fortunes of

Rome, and the end of the world. [109] 08 And indeed, this was not all

error and pious fraud. Through all heathenism there runs, in truth, a

dim, unconscious presenti-ment and longing hope of Christianity. Think

of the fourth Eclogue of Virgil, with its predictions of the "virgo"

and "nova progenies" from heaven, and the "puer," with whom, after the

blotting out of sin and the killing of the serpent, a golden age of

peace was to begin. For this reason Virgil was the favorite poet of the

Latin church during the middle ages, and figures prominently in Dante's

Divina Comedia as his guide through the dreary regions of the Inferno

and Purgatorio to the very gates of Paradise. Another pseudo-prophetic

book used by the fathers (Tertullian, Origen, and apparently Jerome) is

"The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, "written by a Jewish

Christian between a.d. 100 and 120. It puts into the mouth of the

twelve sons of Jacob farewell addresses and predictions of the coming

of Christ, his death and resurrection, of baptism and the Lord's

Supper, the rejection of the gospel by the Jews, and the preaching of

Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, the destruction of Jerusalem

and the end of the world. [110] 09

2. The types. These, too, were found not only in the Old Testament, but

in the whole range of nature. Justin saw everywhere, in the tree of

life in Eden, in Jacob's ladder, in the rods of Moses and Aaron, nay,

in every sailing ship, in the wave-cutting oar, in the plough, in the

human countenance, in the human form with outstretched arms, in banners

and trophies--the sacred form of the cross, and thus a prefiguration of

the mystery of redemption through the crucifixion of the Lord. [111] 10

3. The miracles of Jesus and the apostles, with those which continued

to be wrought in the name of Jesus, according to the express testimony

of the fathers, by their contemporaries. But as the heathens also

appealed to miraculous deeds and appearances in favor of their

religion, Justin, Arnobius, and particularly Origen, fixed certain

criteria, such as the moral purity of the worker, and his intention to

glorify God and benefit man, for distinguishing the true miracles from

Satanic juggleries. "There might have been some ground," says Origen,

"for the comparison which Celsus makes between Jesus and certain

wandering magicians, if there had appeared in the latter the slightest

tendency to beget in persons a true fear of God, and so to regulate

their actions in prospect of the day of judgment. But they attempt

nothing of the sort. Yea, they themselves are guilty of the most

grievous crimes; whereas the Saviour would have his hearers to be

convinced by the native beauty of religion and the holy lives of its

teachers, rather than by even the miracles they wrought."

The subject of post-apostolic miracles is surrounded by much greater

difficulties in the absence of inspired testimony, and in most cases

even of ordinary immediate witnesses. There is an antecedent

probability that the power of working miracles was not suddenly and

abruptly, but gradually withdrawn, as the necessity of such outward and

extraordinary attestation of the divine origin of Christianity

diminished and gave way to the natural operation of truth and moral

suasion. Hence St. Augustin, in the fourth century, says: "Since the

establishment of the church God does not wish to perpetuate miracles

even to our day, lest the mind should put its trust in visible signs,

or grow cold at the sight of common marvels." [112] 11 But it is

impossible to fix the precise termination, either at the death of the

apostles, or their immediate disciples, or the conversion of the Roman

empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy, or any subsequent era,

and to sift carefully in each particular case the truth from legendary

fiction.

It is remarkable that the genuine writings of the ante-Nicene church

are more free from miraculous and superstitious elements than the

annals of the Nicene age and the middle ages. The history of

monasticism teems with miracles even greater than those of the New

Testament. Most of the statements of the apologists are couched in

general terms, and refer to extraordinary cures from demoniacal

possession (which probably includes, in the language of that age, cases

of madness, deep melancholy, and epilepsy) and other diseases, by the

invocation of the name of Jesus. [113] 12 Justin Martyr speaks of such

cures as a frequent occurrence in Rome and all over the world, and

Origen appeals to his own personal observation, but speaks in another

place of the growing scarcity of miracles, so as to suggest the gradual

cessation theory as held by Dr. Neander, Bishop Kaye, and others.

Tertullian attributes many if not most of the conversions of his day to

supernatural dreams and visions, as does also Origen, although with

more caution. But in such psychological phenomena it is exceedingly

difficult to draw the line of demarcation between natural and

supernatural causes, and between providential interpositions and

miracles proper. The strongest passage on this subject is found in

Irenaeus, who, in contending against the heretics, mentions, besides

prophecies and miraculous cures of demoniacs, even the raising of the

dead among contemporary events taking place in the Catholic church;

[114] 13 but he specifies no particular case or name; and it should be

remembered also, that his youth still bordered almost on the Johannean

age.

4. The moral effect of Christianity upon the heart and life of its

professors. The Christian religion has not only taught the purest and

sublimest code of morals ever known among men, but actually exhibited

it in the life sufferings, and death of its founder and true followers.

All the apologists, from the author of the Epistle to Diognetus down to

Origen, Cyprian, and Augustin, bring out in strong colors the infinite

superiority of Christian ethics over the heathen, and their testimony

is fully corroborated by the practical fruits of the church, as we

shall have occasion more fully to show in another chapter. "They think

us senseless," says Justin, "because we worship this Christ, who was

crucified under Pontius Pilate, as God next to the Father. But they

would not say so, if they knew the mystery of the cross. By its fruits

they may know it. We, who once lived in debauchery, now study chastity;

we, who dealt in sorceries, have consecrated ourselves to the good, the

increate God; we, who loved money and possessions above all things

else, now devote our property freely to the general good, and give to

every needy one; we, who fought and killed each other, now pray for our

enemies; those who persecute us in hatred, we kindly try to appease, in

the hope that they may share the same blessings which we enjoy." [115]

14

5. The rapid spread of Christianity by purely moral means, and in spite

of the greatest external obstacles, yea, the bitter persecution of Jews

and Gentiles. The anonymous apologetic Epistle to Diognetus which

belongs to the literature of the Apostolic Fathers, already thus urges

this point: "Do you not see the Christians exposed to wild beasts, that

they may be persuaded to deny the Lord, and yet not overcome? Do you

not see that the more of them are punished, the greater becomes the

number of the rest? This does not seem to be the work of man: this is

the power of God; these are the evidences of his manifestation." [116]

15 Justin Martyr and Tertullian frequently go on in a similar strain.

Origen makes good use of this argument against Celsus, and thinks that

so great a success as Christianity met among Greeks and barbarians,

learned and unlearned persons in so short a time, without any force or

other worldly means, and in view of the united opposition of emperors,

senate, governors, generals, priests, and people, can only be

rationally accounted for on the ground of an extraordinary providence

of God and the divine nature of Christ.

6. The reasonableness of Christianity, and its agreement with all the

true and the beautiful in the Greek philosophy and poesy. All who had

lived rationally before Christ were really, though unconsciously,

already Christians. Thus all that is Christian is rational, and all

that is truly rational is Christian. Yet, on the other hand, of course,

Christianity is supra-rational (not irrational).

7. The adaptation of Christianity to the deepest needs of human nature,

which it alone can meet. Here belongs Tertullian's appeal to the

"testimonia animae naturaliter Christianae;" his profound thought, that

the human soul is, in its inmost essence and instinct, predestined for

Christianity, and can find rest and peace in that alone. "The soul,"

says he, "though confined in the prison of the body, though perverted

by bad training, though weakened by lusts and passions, though given to

the service of false gods, still no sooner awakes from its intoxication

and its dreams, and recovers its health, than it calls upon God by the

one name due to him: 'Great God! good God!'--and then looks, not to the

capitol, but to heaven; for it knows the abode of the living God, from

whom it proceeds." [117] 16

This deep longing of the human soul for the living God in Christ,

Augustin, in whom Tertullian's spirit returned purified and enriched,

afterwards expressed in the grand sentence: "Thou, O God, hast made us

for thee, and our heart is restless, till it rests in thee." [118] 17

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[109] Comp. Dr. Friedlieb:Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollst�ndig

gesammelt, mitkritischem Commentare und metrischer �bersetzung. Leipz.

1852. Another edition with a Latin version by C. Alexandre, Paris 1841,

second ed. 1869, 2 tom. We have at present twelve books of chresmoi

sibulliakoiin Greek hexameter, and some fragments. They have been

critically discussed by Blondel (1649), Bleek (1819), Volkmann (1853),

Ewald (1858), T�bigen (1875), Reuss, and Sch�rer (see Lit. in his N. T.

Zeitgesch. p. 513). The Sibyl figures in the Dies Irae alongside with

King David (teste David cum Sibylla), as prophesying the day of

judgment.

[110] Best edition by Robert Sinker from the Cambridge MS., Cambridge,

1869, and an Appendix, 1879; an English translation by Sinker, in the

"Ante-Nicene Library," vol. XXII. ( Edinb. 1871). Discussions by

Nitzsch (1810), Ritschl (1850 and 1857), Vorstmann (1857), Kayser

(1851), L�cke (1852), Dillmann (in Herzog, first ed. XII. 315),

Lightfoot (1875), and Warfield (in "Presbyt. Review," York, January,

1880, on the apologetical value of the work for its allusions to

various books of the N. T.).

[111] Apol. l.c, 55; Dial. c. Tryph. c. 91.

[112] On the other hand, however, St. Augustin lent the authority of

his name to some of the most incredible miracles of his age, wrought by

the bones of St. Stephen, and even of Gervasius and Protasius. Comp.

the treatise of Fr. Nitzsch (jun.) on Augustin's Doctrine of Miracles,

Berlin 1865; and on the general subject J. H. Newman's Two Essays on

Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles, third ed. London 1873; and J. B.

Mozley's Bampton Lectures On Miracles. Oxford and Lond. (1865), fifth

ed. 1880, Lect. VIII. which treats of false miracles.

[113] They are analogous to the "faith-cures, " real or pretended, of

our own age.

[114] Adv. Haer. II. 31, (S) 4: Ede de kai nekroi egerthsan kai

paremeinon sun hemin hikanois hetesi. These two passages can hardly be

explained, with Heumann and Neander, as referring merely to cases of

apparent death.

[115] Apol. l.c. 13 and 14.

[116] Ad Diogn. c. 7.

[117] Tert. Apolog. c. 17. Comp. the beautiful passage in De Testim

Animae, c. 2: "Si enim anima aut divina aut a Deo data est, sine dubio

datorem num novit, et si novit, utique et timet .... O testimonium

veritatis, quae apud ipsa daemonia testem efficit Christianorum."

[118] Aug. Confess. I. 1: "Fecisti nos ad Te, et inquietum est cor

nostrum, donec requiescat in Te."

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CHAPTER IV:

ORGANIZATION AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH.

I. The chief sources for this chapter are the Epistles of Ignatius, the

works of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and especially Cyprian, and the

so-called Constitutiones Apostolicae,

II. See the Literature in vol. I. � 58 (p. 481 sqq. ), particularly the

works of Rothe, Ritchsl, Lightfoot, and Hatch.

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� 41. Progress in Consolidation.

In the external organization of the church, several important changes

appear in the period before us. The distinction of clergy and laity,

and the sacerdotal view of the ministry becomes prominent and fixed;

subordinate church offices are multiplied; the episcopate arises; the

beginnings of the Roman primacy appear; and the exclusive unity of the

Catholic church develops itself in opposition to heretics and

schismatics. The apostolical organization of the first century now

gives place to the old Catholic episcopal system; and this, in its

turn, passes into the metropolitan, and after the fourth century into

the patriarchal. Here the Greek church stopped, and is governed to this

day by a hierarchical oligarchy of patriarchs equal in rank and

jurisdiction; while the Latin church went a step further, and produced

in the middle ages the papal monarchy. The germs of this papacy

likewise betray themselves even in our present period, particularly in

Cyprian, together with a protest against it. Cyprian himself is as much

a witness for consolidated primacy, as for independent episcopacy, and

hence often used and abused alike by Romanists and Anglicans for

sectarian purposes.

The characteristics, however, of the pre-Constantinian hierarchy, in

distinction from the post-Constantinian, both Greek and Roman, are,

first, its grand simplicity, and secondly, its spirituality, or freedom

from all connection with political power and worldly splendor. Whatever

influence the church acquired and exercised, she owed nothing to the

secular government, which continued indifferent or positively hostile

till the protective toleration edict of Constantine (313). Tertullian

thought it impossible for an emperor to be a Christian, or a Christian

to be an emperor; and even after Constantine, the Donatists persisted

in this view, and cast up to the Catholics the memory of the former

age: "What have Christians to do with kings? or what have bishops to do

in the palace?" [119] 18 The ante-Nicene fathers expected the ultimate

triumph of Christianity over the world from a supernatural

interposition at the second Advent. Origen seems to have been the only

one in that age of violent persecution who expected that Christianity,

by continual growth, would gain the dominion over the world. [120] 19

The consolidation of the church and its compact organization implied a

restriction of individual liberty, in the interest of order, and a

temptation to the abuse of authority. But it was demanded by the

diminution of spiritual gifts, which were poured out in such

extraordinary abundance in the apostolic age. It made the church a

powerful republic within the Roman empire, and contributed much to its

ultimate success. "In union is strength," especially in times of danger

and persecution such as the church had to pass through in the

ante-Nicene age. While we must deny a divine right and perpetual

obligation to any peculiar form of government as far as it departs from

the simple principles of the New Testament, we may concede a historical

necessity and great relative importance to the ante-Nicene and

subsequent organizations of the church. Even the papacy was by no means

an unmixed evil, but a training school for the barbarian nations during

the middle ages. Those who condemn, in principle, all hierarchy,

sacerdotalism, and ceremonialism, should remember that God himself

appointed the priesthood and ceremonies in the Mosaic dispensation, and

that Christ submitted to the requirements of the law in the days of his

humiliation.

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[119] "Quid Christianis cum regibus ? aut quid episcopis cum palatio?"

[120] Contra Cels. VIII. 68. Comp. the remarks of Neander, I. 129

(Boston ed.).

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� 42. Clergy and Laity.

The idea and institution of a special priesthood, distinct from the

body of the people, with the accompanying notion of sacrifice and

altar, passed imperceptibly from Jewish and heathen reminiscences and

analogies into the Christian church. The majority of Jewish converts

adhered tenaciously to the Mosaic institutions and rites, and a

considerable part never fully attained to the height of spiritual

freedom proclaimed by Paul, or soon fell away from it. He opposed

legalistic and ceremonial tendencies in Galatia and Corinth; and

although sacerdotalism does not appear among the errors of his

Judaizing opponents, the Levitical priesthood, with its three ranks of

high-priest, priest, and Levite, naturally furnished an analogy for the

threefold ministry of bishop, priest, and deacon, and came to be

regarded as typical of it. Still less could the Gentile Christians, as

a body, at once emancipate themselves from their traditional notions of

priesthood, altar, and sacrifice, on which their former religion was

based. Whether we regard the change as an apostasy from a higher

position attained, or as a reaction of old ideas never fully abandoned,

the change is undeniable, and can be traced to the second century. The

church could not long occupy the ideal height of the apostolic age, and

as the Pentecostal illumination passed away with the death of the

apostles, the old reminiscences began to reassert themselves. [121] 20

In the apostolic church preaching and teaching were not confined to a

particular class, but every convert could proclaim the gospel to

unbelievers, and every Christian who had the gift could pray and teach

and exhort in the congregation. [122] 21 The New Testament knows no

spiritual aristocracy or nobility, but calls all believers "saints"

though many fell far short of their vocation. Nor does it recognize a

special priesthood in distinction from the people, as mediating between

God and the laity. It knows only one high-priest, Jesus Christ, and

clearly teaches the universal priesthood, as well as universal

kingship, of believers. [123] 22 It does this in a far deeper and

larger sense than the Old; [124] 23 in a sense, too, which even to this

day is not yet fully realized. The entire body of Christians are called

"clergy" (kleroi a peculiar people, the heritage of God. [125] 24

On the other hand it is equally clear that there was in the apostolic

church a ministerial office, instituted by Christ, for the very purpose

of raising the mass of believers from infancy and pupilage to

independent and immediate intercourse with God, to that prophetic,

priestly, and kingly position, which in principle and destination

belongs to them all. [126] 25 This work is the gradual process of

church history itself, and will not be fully accomplished till the

kingdom of glory shall come. But these ministers are nowhere

represented as priests in any other sense than Christians generally are

priests, with the privilege of a direct access to the throne of grace

in the name of their one and eternal high-priest in heaven. Even in the

Pastoral Epistles which present the most advanced stage of

ecclesiastical organization in the apostolic period, while the

teaching, ruling, and pastoral functions of the presbyter-bishops are

fully discussed, nothing is said about a sacerdotal function. The

Apocalypse, which was written still later, emphatically teaches the

universal priesthood and kingship of believers. The apostles themselves

never claim or exercise a special priesthood. The sacrifice which all

Christians are exhorted to offer is the sacrifice of their person and

property to the Lord, and the spiritual sacrifice of thanksgiving and

praise. [127] 26 In one passage a Christian "altar" is spoken of, in

distinction from the Jewish altar of literal and daily sacrifices, but

this altar is the cross on which Christ offered himself once and

forever for the sins of the world. [128] 27

After the gradual abatement of the extraordinary spiritual elevation of

the apostolic age, which anticipated in its way the ideal condition of

the church, the distinction of a regular class of teachers from the

laity became more fixed and prominent. This appears first in Ignatius,

who, in his high episcopalian spirit, considers the clergy the

necessary medium of access for the people to God. "Whoever is within

the sanctuary (or altar), is pure; but he who is outside of the

sanctuary is not pure; that is, he who does anything without bishop and

presbytery and deacon, is not pure in conscience." [129] 28 Yet he

nowhere represents the ministry as a sacerdotal office. The Didache

calls "the prophets" high-priests, but probably in a spiritual sense.

[130] 29 Clement of Rome, in writing to the congregation at Corinth,

draws a significant and fruitful parallel between the Christian

presiding office and the Levitical priesthood, and uses the expression

"layman" (laikos anthropos) as antithetic to high-priest, priests, and

Levites. [131] 30 This parallel contains the germ of the whole system

of sacerdotalism. But it is at best only an argument by analogy.

Tertullian was the first who expressly and directly asserts sacerdotal

claims on behalf of the Christian ministry, and calls it "sacerdotium,"

although he also strongly affirms the universal priesthood of all

believers. Cyprian (d. 258) goes still further, and applies all the

privileges, duties, and responsibilities of the Aaronic priesthood to

the officers of the Christian church, and constantly calls them

sacerdotes and sacerdotium. He may therefore be called the proper

father of the sacerdotal conception of the Christian ministry as a

mediating agency between God and the people. During the third century

it became customary to apply the term "priest" directly and exclusively

to the Christian ministers especially the bishops. [132] 31 In the same

manner the whole ministry, and it alone, was called "clergy," with a

double reference to its presidency and its peculiar relation to God.

[133] 32 It was distinguished by this name from the Christian people or

"laity." [134] 33 Thus the term "clergy," which first signified the lot

by which office was assigned (Acts 1:17, 25), then the office itself,

then the persons holding that office, was transferred from the

Christians generally to the ministers exclusively.

Solemn "ordination" or consecration by the laying on of hands was the

form of admission into the "ordo ecclesiasticus" or "sacerdotalis." In

this order itself there were again three degrees, "ordines majores," as

they were called: the diaconate, the presbyterate, and the

episcopate--held to be of divine institution. Under these were the

"ordines minores," of later date, from sub-deacon to ostiary, which

formed the stepping-stone between the clergy proper and the people.

[135] 34

Thus we find, so early as the third century, the foundations of a

complete hierarchy; though a hierarchy of only moral power, and holding

no sort of outward control over the conscience. The body of the laity

consisted of two classes: the faithful, or the baptized and

communicating members, and the catechumens, who were preparing for

baptism. Those church members who lived together in one place, [136] 35

formed a church in the narrower sense. [137] 36

With the exaltation of the clergy appeared the tendency to separate

them from secular business, and even from social relations--from

marriage, for example--and to represent them, even outwardly, as a

caste independent of the people, and devoted exclusively to the service

of the sanctuary. They drew their support from the church treasury,

which was supplied by voluntary contributions and weekly collections on

the Lord's Day. After the third century they were forbidden to engage

in any secular business, or even to accept any trusteeship. Celibacy

was not yet in this period enforced, but left optional. Tertullian,

Gregory of Nyssa, and other distinguished church teachers, lived in

wedlock, though theoretically preferring the unmarried state. Of an

official clerical costume no certain trace appears before the fourth

century; and if it came earlier into use, as may have been the ease,

after the example of the Jewish church, it must have been confined,

during the times of persecution, to the actual exercises of worship.

With the growth of this distinction of clergy and laity, however, the

idea of the universal priesthood continued from time to time to assert

itself: in Irenaeus, [138] 37 for example, and in an eccentric form in

the Montanists, who even allowed women to teach publicly in the church.

So Tertullian, with whom clerus and laici were at one time familiar

expressions, inquires, as the champion of the Montanistic reaction

against the Catholic hierarchy: "Are not we laymen priests also?" [139]

38 It is written, he continues: "He hath made us kings and priests

(Rev. 1:6). It is the authority of the church alone which has made a

distinction between clergy and laity. Where there is no college of

ministers, you administer the sacrament, you baptize, you are a priest

for yourself alone. And where there are three of you, there is a

church, though you be only laymen. For each one lives by his own faith,

and there is no respect of persons with God." [140] 39 All, therefore,

which the clergy considered peculiar to them, he claimed for the laity

as the common sacerdotal privilege of all Christians.

Even in the Catholic church an acknowledgment of the general priesthood

showed itself in the custom of requiring the baptized to say the Lord's

Prayer before the assembled congregation. With reference to this,

Jerome says: "Sacerdotium laici, id est, baptisma." The congregation

also, at least in the West, retained for a long time the right of

approval and rejection in the choice of its ministers, even of the

bishop. Clement of Rome expressly requires the assent of the whole

congregation for a valid election; [141] 40 and Cyprian terms this an

apostolic and almost universal regulation. [142] 41 According to his

testimony it obtained also in Rome, and was observed in the case of his

contemporary, Cornelius. [143] 42 Sometimes in the filling of a vacant

bishopric the "suffragium" of the people preceded the "judicium" of the

clergy of the diocese. Cyprian, and afterwards Athanasius, Ambrose,

Augustin, and other eminent prelates, were in a manner pressed into the

bishopric in this democratic way. Cyprian, with all his high-church

proclivities, declares it his principle to do nothing as bishop without

the advice of the presbyters and deacons, and the consent of the

people. [144] 43 A peculiar influence, which even the clergy could not

withstand, attached to the "confessors," and it was sometimes abused by

them, as in their advocacy of the lapsed, who denied Christ in the

Decian persecution.

Finally, we notice cases where the function of teaching was actually

exercised by laymen. The bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea allowed the

learned Origen to expound the Bible to their congregations before his

ordination, and appealed to the example of several bishops in the East.

[145] 44 Even in the Apostolical Constitutions there occurs, under the

name of the Apostle Paul, the direction: "Though a man be a layman, if

experienced in the delivery of instruction, and reverent in habit, he

may teach; for the Scripture says: 'They shall be all taught of God.' "

[146] 45 The fourth general council at Carthage (398) prohibited laymen

from teaching in the presence of clergymen and without their consent;

implying at the same time, that with such permission the thing might be

done. [147] 46

It is worthy of notice that a number of the most eminent church

teachers of this period, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Clement of

Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, were either

laymen, or at most only presbyters. Hermas, who wrote one of the most

popular and authoritative books in the early church, was probably a

layman; perhaps also the author of the homily which goes under the name

of the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome, and has recently been

discovered in full both in the original Greek and in a Syriac

translation; for he seems to distinguish himself and his hearers from

the presbyters. [148] 47

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[121] Renan, looking at the gradual development of the hierarchy out of

the primitive democracy, from his secular point of view, calls it, the

most profound transformation "in history, and a triple abdication:

first the club (the congregation) committing its power to the bureau or

the committee (the college of presbyters), then the bureau to its

president (the bishop) who could say: "Je suis le club,"and finally the

presidents to the pope as the universal and infallible bishop; the last

process being completed in the Vatican Council of 1870. See his E'glise

chr�tienne, p. 88, and his English Conferences (Hibbert Lectures,

1880), p 90.

[122] Comp. Acts 8:4; 9:27; 13:15; 18:26, 28; Rom. 12:6; 1 Cor. 12:10,

28; 14:1-6, 31. Even in the Jewish Synagogue the liberty of teaching

was enjoyed, and the elder could ask any member of repute, even a

stranger, to deliver a discourse on the Scripture lesson (Luke 4:17;

Acts 17:2).

[123] 1 Pet. 2:5, 9; 5:3; Rev. 1:6; 5:10; 20:6. See Neander, Lightfoot,

Stanley, etc., and vol. I. 486 sqq. I add a passage from Hatch's;

Bampton Lectures on The Organization of the Early Christian Churches

(1881), p. 139: "In earlier times there was a grander faith. For the

kingdom of God was a kingdom of priests. Not only the 'four and twenty

elders' before the throne, but the innumerable souls of the sanctified

upon whom 'the second death had no power,' were 'kings and priests unto

God.' Only in that high sense was priesthood predicable of Christian

men. For the shadow had passed: the reality had come: the one High

Priest of Christianity was Christ."

[124] Exod. 19:6.

[125] 1 Pet. 5:3. Here Peter warns his fellow-presbyters not to lord it

(kurieuein)over the kleroi or the kleronomia, i.e., the lot or

inheritance of the Lord, the charge allotted to them. Comp. Deut. 4:20;

9:29 (LXX),

[126] Comp. Eph. 4:11-13

[127] Rom. 12:1; Phil. 2:17; 1 Pet. 2:5; Heb. 13:16.

[128] Heb. 13:10. So thusiasterion is understood by Thomas Aquinas,

Bengel, Bleek, L�nemann, Riehm, etc. Others explain it of the Lord's

table, Lightfoot (p. 263) of the congregation assembled for common

worship.

[129] Ad Trall.c. 7: ho entos thusiasteion on katharos estin ho de

ektos thusiasteriou on ou katharos estin; toutestin, ho choris

episkopou kai presbuteriou kai diakonou prasson ti, outos ou katharos

estin te suneidesei.Funk's ed. I. 208. Some MSS. omit the second

clause, perhaps from homoeoteleuton. Von Gebhardt and Harnack also omit

it in the Greek text, but retain it in the Latin (qui extra attare est,

non mundus est). The toutestin evidently requires the clause.

[130] Cf. ch. 13. See note in Schaff's edition, p. 206

[131] Ad Cor. 40: "Unto the high-priest his proper services have been

intrusted, and to the priests their proper office is appointed, and

upon the levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is

bound by the layman's ordinances (ho laikos anthropos tois laikois

prostagmasin dedetai)." The passage occurs in the text of Bryennios as

well as in the older editions, and there is no good reason to suspect

it of being an interpolation in the hierarchical interest, as Neander

and Milman have done. Bishop Lightfoot, in his St. Clement of Rome, p.

128 sq., puts a mild construction upon it, and says that the analogy

does not extend to the three orders, because Clement only knows two

(bishops and deacons), and that the high priesthood of Christ is wholly

different in kind from the Mosaic high priesthood, and exempt from

those very limitations on which Clement dwells in that chapter.

[132] Sacerdos, also summus sacerdos (Tertullian, De Bapt. 7), and

oncepontifex maximus (De Pudic. 1, with ironical reference, it seems,

to the Roman bishop); ordo sacerdotalis (De Exhort. Cast. 7); hiereus

and sometimes archiereus (Apost. Const. II. 34, 35, 36, 57; III. 9; vi.

15, 18, etc.). Hippolytus calls his office an archierateia and

didaskalia (Ref. Haer. I. prooem.). Cyprian generally applies the term

sacerdos to the bishop, and calls his colleagues consacerdotales.

[133] Kleros,clerus, taxisordo, ordosacerdotalis (Tertulli, De Ehort.

Cast. 7), ordo eccelesiasticus orecclesiae (De Monog. 11; De Idolol.

7); klerikoi, clerici. The first instance perhaps of the use of clerus

in the sense of clergy is in Tertullian,De Monog. c. 12: "Unde enim

episcopi et clerus ?" and: "Extollimur et inflamur adversus clerum."

Jerome (Ad Nepotian.) explains this exclusive application of clerus to

ministers, "vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia ipse Dominus sors,

id est, pars clericorum est." The distinction between the regular

clergy, who were also monks, and the secular clergy or parish priests,

is of much later date (seventh or eighth century).

[134] Laos, laikoi, plebs. In Tertullian, Cyprian, and in the Apostolic

Constitutions the term " layman" occurs very often. Cyprian speaks

(250) of a " conference held with bishops, presbyters, deacons,

confessors, and also with laymen who stood firm"(in persecution), Ep.

30, ad Rom

[135] .Occasionally, however we find a somewhat wider terminology.

Tertullian mentions, De Monog c. 12, the ordo viduarum among the

ordines ecclesiastici, and even the much later Jerome (see In Jesaiam,

l. v.c. 19, 18), enumerates quinque ecclesiae ordines, episcopos,

presbyteros, diaconos, fideles, catechumenos.

[136] Paroikoi, parepidemoi, Eph. 2:19; 1 Pet. 2:11.

[137] or parish, paroikia.

[138] Adv. Haer. iv. 8, �.

[139] Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus?

[140] De Exhort. Cast. c. 7. Comp. also De Monog. 7, 12; De Bapt. 17;

De Orat. 18

[141] . Ad Cor. 44: Sueudokases tes ekklesias pases , consentiente

universa ecclesia.

[142] Ep. lx. 3-4 (ed. Goldhorn).

[143] Ep. lv. 7:"Factus est Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus

judicio, de clericorum paene omnium testimonio, de plebis quae tum

adfuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum

collegio."

[144] Sine consensu plebis.

[145] Euseb., H. E. VI. 19: "There [in Caesarea] he [Origen] was also

requested by the bishops to expound the sacred Scriptures publicly in

the church, although he had not yet obtained the priesthood by the

imposition of hands." It is true this was made the ground of a charge

against him by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria; but the charge was that

Origen had preached "in the presence of bishops," not that he had

preached as a layman. And the bishops of Jerusalem and Caesarea adduced

several examples of holy bishops inviting capable laymen to preach to

the people. Prudentius and Aedesius, while laymen, founded the church

in Abyssinia, Socrates, Hist. Eccl. I. 19.

[146] Const. Apost. VIII. 31. Ambrosiaster, or Hilary the Deacon, in

his Com. Ad Eph. 4:11, 12, says that in early times "omnes docebant et

omnes baptizabant."

[147] Can. 98: "Laicus praesentibus clericis nisi ipsis jubentibus,

docere non audeat." The 99th canon forbids women, no matter how

"learned or holy," to "presume to teach men in a meeting." Pope Leo I.

(Ep 92 and 93) forbids lay preaching in the interest of ecclesiastical

order. Charlemagne enacted a law that "a layman ought not to recite a

lesson in church, nor to say the Hallelujah but only the Psalm or

responses without the Hallelujah."

[148] The Greek text (of which only a fragment was known before) was

found and published by Bryennios, 1875, the Syriac version by Bensley,

1876. See Harnack's ed. in the Patres Apost. vol. I., and Lightfoot, S.

Clement of Rome, Appendix (1877). Harnack, Hilgenfeld, and Hatch (l.c.

114; note) suppose that the homily was delivered by a layman, but

Lightfoot (p. 304) explains the language above alluded to as a common

rhetorical figure by which the speaker places himself on a level with

his audience.

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� 43. New Church Officers.

The expansion of the church, the development of her cultus, and the

tendency towards hierarchical pomp, led to the multiplication of

offices below the diaconate, which formed the ordines minores. About

the middle of the third century the following new officers are

mentioned:

1. Sub-deacons, or under-helpers; [149] 48 assistants and deputies of

the deacons; the only one of these subordinate offices for which a

formal ordination was required. Opinions differ as to its value.

2. Readers, [150] 49 who read the Scriptures in the assembly and had

charge of the church books.

3. Acolyths, [151] 50 attendants of the bishops in their official

duties and processions.

4. Exorcists, [152] 51 who, by prayer and the laying on of hands, cast

out the evil spirit from the possessed, [153] 52 and from catechumens,

and frequently assisted in baptism. This power had been formerly

considered a free gift of the Holy Spirit.

5. Precentors, [154] 53 for the musical parts of the liturgy, psalms,

benedictions, responses, etc.

6. Janitors or sextons, [155] 54 who took care of the religious

meeting-rooms, and at a later period also of the church-yards.

7. Besides these there were in the larger churches catechists, and,

where the church language in the worship was not understood,

interpreters; but the interpreting was commonly done by presbyters,

deacons, or readers.

The bishop Cornelius of Rome (d. 252), in a letter on the Novatian

schism, [156] 55 gives the number of officers in his church as follows:

Forty-six presbyters, probably corresponding to the number of the

meeting-houses of the Christians in the city; seven deacons, after the

model of the church at Jerusalem (Acts vi); seven sub-deacons;

forty-two acolyths, and fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors.

As to the ordines majores, the deacons during this period rose in

importance. In addition to their original duties of caring for the poor

and sick, they baptized, distributed the sacramental cup, said the

church prayers, not seldom preached, and were confidential advisers,

sometimes even delegates and vicars of the bishops. This last is true

especially of the "archdeacon," who does not appear, however, till the

fourth century. The presbyters, on the contrary, though above the

deacons, were now overtopped by the new office of bishop, in which the

entire government of the church became centred.

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[149] Hupodiakonoi,subdiaconi, perhaps the same as the huperetai of the

New Testament and the earlier fathers.

[150] Anagnostai, lectores, mentioned by Tertullian.

[151] Akoluthoi, acolythi.

[152] Exorkistai,exorcistae

[153] Daimonizomenoi, energoumenoi

[154] Psaltai, psalmistae cantores

[155] thuroroi, puloroi, ostiarii janitores.

[156] In Euseb. vi. 43.

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� 44. Origin of the Episcopate.

Besides the works already cited, compare the special works and essays

on the Ignatian controversy, published since 1837, by Rothe (close of

his Anf�nge, etc.), Hefele (R.C.), Baur, Hilgenfeld, Bunsen, Petermann,

Cureton, Lipsius, Uhlhorn, Zahn, Lightfoot (I. 376 sqq). Also R. D.

Hitchcock on the Origin of Episcopacy, N. Y. 1867 (in the "Am. Presbyt.

& Theol. Review" for Jan. 1867, pp. 133-169); Lightfoot on the

Christian Ministry (1873); Hatch on the Organization of the Early

Christian Church (1881); Renan, L'Eglise chr�tienne (1879), ch.

VI.Progr�s de l'�piscopat; and Gore, The Ministry of the Church (1889).

The most important and also the most difficult phenomenon of our period

in the department of church organization is the rise and development of

the episcopate as distinct from the presbyterate. This institution

comes to view in the second century as the supreme spiritual office,

and is retained to this day by all Roman and Greek Christendom, and by

a large part of the Evangelical church, especially the Anglican

communion. A form of government so ancient and so widely adopted, can

be satisfactorily accounted for only on the supposition of a religious

need, namely, the need of a tangible outward representation and

centralization, to illustrate and embody to the people their relation

to Christ and to God, and the visible unity of the church. It is

therefore inseparable from the catholic principle of authority and

mediation; while the protestant principle of freedom and direct

intercourse of the believer with Christ, consistently carried out,

infringes the strict episcopal constitution, and tends to ministerial

equality. Episcopacy in the full sense of the term requires for its

base the idea of a real priesthood and real sacrifice, and an essential

distinction between clergy and laity. Divested of these associations,

it resolves itself into a mere superintendency. [157] 56

During the lifetime of the apostles, those eye- and ear-witnesses of

the divine-human life of Jesus, and the inspired organs of the Holy

Spirit, there was no room for proper bishops; and those who were so

called, must have held only a subordinate place. The church, too, in

the first century was as yet a strictly supernatural organization, a

stranger in this world, standing with one foot in eternity, and longing

for the second coming of her heavenly bridegroom. But in the episcopal

constitution the church provided an extremely simple but compact and

freely expansible organization, planted foot firmly upon earth, became

an institution for the education of her infant people, and, as

chiliastic hopes receded, fell into the path of quiet historical

development; yet unquestionably she thus incurred also the danger of a

secularization which reached its height just when the hierarchy became

complete in the Roman church, and which finally necessitated a

reformation on the basis of apostolical Christianity. That this

secularization began with the growing power of the bishops even before

Constantine and the Byzantine court orthodoxy, we perceive, for

instance, in the lax penitential discipline, the avarice, and the

corruption with which Hippolytus, in the ninth book of his

Philosophumena, reproaches Zephyrinus and Callistus, the Roman bishops

of his time (202-223); also in the example of the bishop Paul of

Samosata, who was deposed in 269 on almost incredible charges, not only

against his doctrine, but still more against his moral character. [158]

57 Origen complains that there are, especially in the larger cities,

overseers of the people of God, who seek to outdo the pomp of heathen

potentates, would surround themselves, like the emperors, with a

body-guard, and make themselves terrible and inaccessible to the poor.

[159] 58

We consider, first, the origin of the episcopate. The unreliable

character of our documents and traditions from the transition period

between the close of the apostolic church and the beginning of the

post-apostolic, leaves large room here for critical research and

combination. First of all comes the question: Was the episcopate

directly or indirectly of apostolic (Johannean) origin? [160] 59 Or did

it arise after the death of the apostles, and develope itself from the

presidency of the congregational presbytery? [161] 60 In other words,

was the episcopate a continuation and contraction of, and substitute

for, the apostolate, or was it an expansion and elevation of the

presbyterate? [162] 61 The later view is more natural and better

sustained by facts. Most of its advocates date the change from the time

of Ignatius in the first quarter of the second century, while a few

carry it further back to the close of the first, when St. John still

lived in Ephesus.

I. For the apostolic origin of episcopacy the following points may be

made:

(1) The position of James, who evidently stood at the head of the

church at Jerusalem, [163] 62 and is called bishop, at least in the

pseudo-Clementine literature, and in fact supreme bishop of the whole

church. [164] 63 This instance, however, stands quite alone, and does

not warrant an inference in regard to the entire church.

(2) The office of the assistants and delegates of the apostles, like

Timothy, Titus, Silas, Epaphroditus, Luke, Mark, who had a sort of

supervision of several churches and congregational officers, and in a

measure represented the apostles in special missions. But, in any case,

these were not limited, at least during the life of the apostles, each

to a particular diocese; they were itinerant evangelists and legates of

the apostles; only the doubtful tradition of a later day assigns them

distinct bishoprics. If bishops at all, they were missionary bishops.

(3) The angels of the seven churches of Asia, [165] 64 who, if regarded

as individuals, look very like the later bishops, and indicate a

monarchical shaping of the church government in the days of John. But,

apart from the various interpretations of the Apocalyptic angeloi, that

office appears not co-ordinate with the apostolate of John, but

subordinate to it, and was no more than a congregational

superintendency.

(4) The testimony of Ignatius of Antioch, a disciple of John, in his

seven (or three) epistles from the beginning of the second century

(even according to the shorter Syriac version), presupposes the

episcopate, in distinction from the presbyterate, as already existing,

though as a new institution, yet in its growth.

(5) The statement of Clement of Alexandria, [166] 65 that John

instituted bishops after his return from Patmos; and the accounts of

Irenaeus, [167] 66 Tertullian, [168] 67 Eusebius, [169] 68 and Jerome,

[170] 69 that the same apostle nominated and ordained Polycarp (with

whom Irenaeus was personally acquainted) bishop of Smyrna.

(6) The uncertain tradition in Eusebius, who derived it probably from

Hegesippus, that the surviving apostles and disciples of the apostles,

soon after the destruction of Jerusalem, elected Symeon, the son of

Klopas and a cousin of Jesus, bishop of that city and successor of

James. But this arrangement at best was merely local, and not general.

[171] 70

(7) The tradition of the churches of Antioch and Rome, which trace

their line of bishops back to apostolic institution, and kept the

record of an unbroken succession.

(8) A passage in the second of the Pfaff Fragments of Irenaeus, which

speaks of "second ordinances of the apostles" (deuterai ton apostolon

diataxeis). Rothe understands by these the institution of the

episcopate. But aside from the doubtful genuineness of the Fragments,

these words are at all events of unsettled interpretation, and,

according to the connection, relate not to the government of the church

at all, but to the celebration of the eucharist.

(9) Equally uncertain is the conclusion drawn from an obscure passage

in the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, which admits of

different interpretations. [172] 71 The apostles, it is said,

foreseeing the future controversy about the name of the episcopal

office, appointed bishops and deacons, and afterwards made the

disposition, [173] 72 that when they should fall asleep, other approved

men should follow them in office. Rothe refers "they" and "them" to the

apostles as the main subject. But these words naturally refer to the

congregational officers just before mentioned, and in this case the

"other approved men" are not successors of the apostles, but of the

presbyter-bishops and deacons. [174] 73 This view is sustained by the

connection. The difficulty in the Corinthian congregation was a

rebellion, not against a single bishop, but against a number of

presbyter-bishops, and Clement reminds them that the apostles

instituted this office not only for the first generation, but provided

for a permanent succession, and that the officers were appointed for

life, and could therefore not be deposed so long as they discharged

their duties. Hence he goes on to say, immediately after the disputed

passage in chapter 44: "Wherefore we think that those cannot justly be

thrown out of their ministry who were appointed either by them (the

apostles), or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the

whole congregation; and who have with all lowliness and innocency

ministered to the flock of Christ, in peace, and without self-interest,

and were for a long time commended by all."

(10) Finally, the philosophical consideration, that the universal and

uncontested spread of the episcopate in the second century cannot be

satisfactorily explained without the presumption of at least the

indirect sanction of the apostles. By the same argument the observance

of Sunday and infant baptism are usually traced to apostolic origin.

But it is not quite conclusive, since most of the apostles died before

the destruction of Jerusalem. It could only apply to John, who was the

living centre of the church in Asia Minor to the close of the first

century. [175] 74

II. The theory of the post-apostolic origin of the episcopate as a

separate office or order, and its rise out of the presidency of the

original congregational presbyterate, by way of human, though natural

and necessary, development, is supported by the following facts:

(1) The undeniable identity of presbyters and bishops in the New

Testament, [176] 75 conceded even by the best interpreters among the

church fathers, by Jerome, Chrysostom, and Theodoret, and by the best

scholars of recent times.

(2) Later, at the close of the first and even in the second century,

the two terms are still used in like manner for the same office. The

Roman bishop Clement, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians says,

that the apostles, in the newly-founded churches, appointed the first

fruits of the faith, i.e., the first converts, "bishops and deacons."

[177] 76 He here omits the presbuteroi, as Paul does in Phil. 1:1, for

the simple reason that they are in his view identical with episkopoi;

while conversely, in c. 57, he enjoins subjection to presbyters,

without mentioning bishops. [178] 77 The Didache mentions bishops and

deacons, but no presbyters. [179] 78 Clement of Alexandria

distinguishes, it is true, the deaconate, the presbyterate, and the

episcopate; but he supposes only a two-fold official character, that of

presbyters, and that of deacons--a view which found advocates so late

as the middle ages, even in pope Urban II., a.d. 1091. Lastly,

Irenaeus, towards the close of the second century, though himself a

bishop, makes only a relative difference between episcopi and

presbyteri; speaks of successions of the one in the same sense as of

the other; terms the office of the latter episcopatus; and calls the

bishops of Rome "presbyters". [180] 79 Sometimes, it is true, he

appears to use the term "presbyters" in a more general sense, for the

old men, the fathers. [181] 80 But in any case his language shows that

the distinction between the two offices was at that time still relative

and indefinite.

(3) The express testimony of the learned Jerome, that the churches

originally, before divisions arose through the instigation of Satan,

were governed by the common council of the presbyters, and not till a

later period was one of the pres-byters placed at the head, to watch

over the church and suppress schisms. [182] 81 He traces the difference

of the office simply to "ecclesiastical" custom as distinct from divine

institution. [183] 82

(4) The custom of the church of Alexandria, where, from the evangelist

Mark down to the middle of the third century, the twelve presbyters

elected one of their number president, and called him bishop. This fact

rests on the authority of Jerome, [184] 83 and is confirmed

independently by the Annals of the Alexandrian patriarch, Eutychius, of

the tenth century. [185] 84 The latter states that Mark instituted in

that city a patriarch (this is an anachronism) and twelve presbyters,

who should fill the vacant patriarchate by electing and ordaining to

that office one of their number and then electing a new presbyter, so

as always to retain the number twelve. He relates, moreover, that down

to the time of Demetrius, at the end of the second century, there was

no bishop in Egypt besides the one at Alexandria; consequently there

could have been no episcopal ordination except by going out of the

province.

III. Conclusion. The only satisfactory conclusion from these various

facts and traditions seems to be, that the episcopate proceeded, both

in the descending and ascending scale, from the apostolate and the

original presbyterate conjointly, as a contraction of the former and an

expansion of the latter, without either express concert or general

regulation of the apostles, neither of which, at least, can be

historically proved. It arose, instinctively, as it were, in that

obscure and critical transition period between the end of the first and

the middle of the second century. It was not a sudden creation, much

less the invention of a single mind. It grew, in part, out of the

general demand for a continuation of, or substitute for, the apostolic

church government, and this, so far as it was transmissible at all,

very naturally passed first to the most eminent disciples and

fellow-laborers of the apostles, to Mark, Luke, Timothy, Clement,

Ignatius, Polycarp, Papias, which accounts for the fact that tradition

makes them all bishops in the prominent sense of the term. It was

further occasioned by the need of a unity in the presbyterial

government of congregations, which, in the nature of the case and

according to the analogy of the Jewish archisunagogos, [186] 85

required a head or president. This president was called bishop, at

first only by eminence, as primus inter pares; afterwards in the

exclusive sense. In the smaller churches there was, perhaps, from the

beginning, only one presbyter, who of himself formed this centre, like

the chorepiscopi or country-bishops in the fourth century. The dioceses

of the bishops in Asia Minor and North Africa, owing to their large

number, in the second and third centuries, can hardly have exceeded the

extent of respectable pastoral charges. James of Jerusalem, on the

other hand, and his immediate successors, whose positions in many

respects were altogether peculiar, seem to have been the only bishops

in Palestine. Somewhat similar was the state of things in Egypt, where,

down to Demetrius (a.d. 190-232), we find only the one bishop of

Alexandria.

We cannot therefore assume any strict uniformity. But the whole church

spirit of the age tended towards centralization; it everywhere felt a

demand for compact, solid unity; and this inward bent, amidst the

surrounding dangers of persecution and heresy, carried the church

irresistibly towards the episcopate. In so critical and stormy a time,

the principle, union is strength, division is weakness, prevailed over

all. In fact, the existence of the church at that period may be said to

have depended in a great measure on the preservation and promotion of

unity, and that in an outward, tangible form, suited to the existing

grade of culture. Such a unity was offered in the bishop, who held a

monarchical, or more properly a patriarchal relation to the

congregation. In the bishop was found the visible representative of

Christ, the great Head of the whole church. In the bishop, therefore,

all sentiments of piety found a centre. In the bishop the whole

religious posture of the people towards God and towards Christ had its

outward support and guide. And in proportion as every church pressed

towards a single centre, this central personage must acquire a peculiar

importance and subordinate the other presbyters to itself; though, at

the same time, as the language of Clement and Irenaeus, the state of

things in Egypt, and even in North Africa, and the testimony of Jerome

and other fathers, clearly prove, the remembrance of the original

equality could not be entirely blotted out, but continued to show

itself in various ways.

Besides this there was also a powerful practical reason for elevating

the powers of the bishop. Every Christian congregation was a charitable

society, regarding the care of the widow and orphan, the poor and the

stranger as a sacred trust; and hence the great importance of the

bishop as the administrative officer by whom the charitable funds were

received and the alms disbursed. In Greek communities the title bishop

(episkopos, epimelites), was in wide use for financial officers. Their

administrative functions brought them in close relation to the deacons,

as their executive aids in the care of the poor and sick. The

archdeacon became the right arm, the "eye" and "heart" of the bishop.

In primitive times every case of poverty or suffering was separately

brought to the notice of the bishop and personally relieved by a

deacon. Afterwards institutions were founded for widows and orphans,

poor and infirm, and generally placed under the superintendence of the

bishop; but personal responsibility was diminished by this organized

charity, and the deacons lost their original significance and became

subordinate officers of public worship. [187] 86

Whatever may be thought, therefore, of the origin and the divine right

of the episcopate, no impartial historian can deny its adaptation to

the wants of the church at the time, and its historical necessity.

But then, this primitive catholic episcopal system must by no means be

confounded with the later hierarchy. The dioceses, excepting those of

Jerusalem, Ephesus, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome, must have long

remained very small, if we look at the number of professing Christians.

In the Apocalypse seven such centres of unity are mentioned within a

comparatively small compass in Asia Minor, and at a time when the

number of Christians was insignificant. In the year 258, Cyprian

assembled a council of eighty-seven bishops of North Africa. The

functions of the bishops were not yet strictly separated from those of

the presbyters, and it was only by degrees that ordination, and, in the

Western church, confirmation also, came to be intrusted exclusively to

the bishops.

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[157] Such is the Swedish and Danish Lutheran, the American Methodist,

and the Moravian episcopate, which recognizes the validity of

non-episcopal orders. The Anglican church harbors a high-church and a

low-church theory of episcopacy, the one derived from the mediaeval

hierarchy, the other from the Reformation, but repudiates the primacy

as an antichristian usurpation, although it must be confessed to be

almost as old as episcopacy, its roots going back to Clement of Rome,

or at all events to the age of Irenaeus.

[158] Comp. Euseb. vii. 27-30

[159] See the passages quoted by Gieseler, vol. I. 282 sq. (Harpers'

ed. of New York.)

[160] This is the Greek, the Roman Catholic, and the high Anglican

theory. It is advocated by a very few Continental Protestants as

Chevalier Bunsen, Rothe and Thiersch (an Irvingite), who trace

episcopacy to John in Ephesus.

[161] So the Lutheran, Presbyterian, and some eminent Episcopal

writers. We mention Mosheim, Neander, Lightfoot, Stanley, Hatch. Also

Baur and Renan, who judge as mere critics.

[162] Bishop Lightfoot (l.c. p. 194) thus states the question with his

own answer: "The episcopate was formed, not out of the apostolic order

by localization, but out of the presbyterial by elevation; and the

title, which originally was common to all, came at length to be

appropriated to the chief among them."

[163] Acts 15:13; 21:18. Comp. vol. I. 264 sqq.

[164] Episkopos episkopon.

[165] Rev. 1:20. For the different views see vol. I. 497

[166] Quis dives salvus, c. 42.

[167] Adv.Haer. III. 3

[168] De PraescR.C. 32

[169] H. E.III. 36

[170] Catal. sub Polyc

[171] H. E. III. 11. Comp. the fragment of Hegesippus, in IV. 22.

Lightfoot (Philippians p. 202) remarks against Rothe's inference: "The

account of Hegesippus confines the object of this gathering to the

appointment of a successor of St. James. If its deliberations had

exerted that vast and permanent influence on the future of the church

which Rothe's theory supposes, it is scarcely possible that this early

historian should have been ignorant of the fact, or knowing it should

have passed it over in silence."

[172] Ad Corinth. c. 44: Hoi apostoloi hemon egnosan dia tou

kuriouhemon Iesou Christou hoti eris estai epi tou onomatos tes

episkopes . Dia tauten ou'n ten aitian prognosin eilephotes teleian

katestesan tous proeiremenous kai metaxu epinomen (or epimonen) edokan,

hopos , ean koimethosin, diadexontai heteroi dedokimasmenoi andres ten

leitourgian auton. " Our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ

that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office [i.e.,

the office of the ministry, in general; Comp. Acts 1:20; Sept. Num.

4:16; Ps. 109:8; 2 Chr. 23:18]. For this cause, therefore, having

complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons [i.e.,

presbyter-bishops and deacons; Comp. c. 42 and 57], and afterwards they

made the disposition [or provided a continuance, if we read with

Lightfoot epimonen.], that if these should fall asleep, other approved

men should succeed to their ministration."

[173] The reading is obscure and disputed. The Alexandrian MS. reads:

epinomen, the Constantinopolitan: epidomen (both have EPI-OMHN). The

former word is rare (from or from nemo or fromnomos) is not found in

the dictionaries; and hence various emendations have been proposed, as

aponomen (Junius), epidochen (Bryennios), epibolen (von Gebhardt and

Harnack), epimonen (Bunsen, Lightfoot), epitropen (Hilgenfeld),

epilogen, epinomian, epistolen, epitagen, eti nomon. Rothe (Anf�nge, p.

374) ingeniously translates epinomen " testamentary disposition"

(testamentarische Verf�gung =epinomis ,an after-enactment, a codicil),

and identifies it with the deuterai diataxeis of the fragment of

Irenaeus. But this is rejected by the latest editors as untenable.

Lightfoot (with Bunsen) reads epimonen, permanence (not "life-tenure,"

as Bunsen rendered it). The drift of the passage, however, does not so

much depend upon the meaning of this word as upon the question whether

the apostles, or the congregational officers are the grammatical

subjects of the following verb, koimethosin.

[174] See also Gebhardt and Harnack (presbyteri et diaconi illi, quos

apostoli ipsi constituerunt), the Roman Catholic editor Funk

("koimethosin, sc. episcopi et diaconi de quorum successione Clemens

agit"), and Bishop Lightfoot ("the first generation of presbyters

appointed by the apostles themselves"). (Comp. also on this whole

passage Lightfoot, Philippians, p. 203, where he refutes Rothe's

interpretation; Baur Ursprung des Episcopats, p. 53; Ewald, Gesch. des

Volkes Israel, VII. 300; Ritschl, Altkath. K. 358 and 413, and

Ilgenfeld, Apost. V�ter, 70.

[175] Hence Rothe traces the institution to John. And Bishop Lightfoot

(Philippians, p. 204) is inclined to this view: "Asia Minor was the

nurse, if not the mother of episcopacy in the Gentile churches. So

important an institution, developed in a Christian community, of which

St. John was the living centre and guide, could hardly, have grown up

without his sanction: and early tradition very distinctly connects his

name with the appointment of bishops in these parts." He repeats the

same view more confidently in his Ignat. and Polyc., I. 377.

[176] Acts 20:17, 28; Phil. 1:1; Tit. 1:5; 1 Tim. 3:1-7, 8-13; 1 Pet.

5:1, 2. Comp. the author's Hist. of the Apost. Ch. �� 132, 133, pp.

522-531 (N. York ed.); and vol. I. p. 492 sqq.

[177] C. 42. Comp. the Commentary of Lightfoot. "It is impossible that

he should have omitted the presbyters, more especially as his one

object is to defend their authority, which had been assailed. The words

episkopos and presbuteros therefore are synonymes in Clement, as they

are in the apostolic writers. In Ignatius and Polycarp they first

appear as distinct titles."

[178] The hegoumenoi, c. 1, also, and the proegoumenoi, c. 21, are not

bishops, but congregational officers collectively, as in Heb. 13:7, 17,

24.

[179] Ch. 15: Cheirotonesate heautois episkopous kai diakonous. See

Schaff's monograph on the Didache, p. 211 sq

[180] Adv. Haer. iii. 2, �5. Comp. also the letter of Irenaeus to the

Roman bishop Victor in Euseb., v. 24.

[181] Comp. 2 Jno. 1. and 1.

[182] Ad Titum i. 7. Comp. Epist. 83 and 85.

[183] Ad Tit. i. 7: "Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt, see ex ecclesiae

consuetudine ei, qui sibi praepositus fuerit, esse subjectos, ita

episcopi noverint, se magis consuetudine quam dispositionis Dominicae

veritate presbyteris esse majores et in commune debere ecclesiam

regere." The Roman deacon Hilary (Ambrosiaster) says, ad 1 Tim.

3:10:"Hic enim episcopus est, qui inter presbyteros primus est." Comp.

also Chrysostom Hom. xi. in Epist, 1 ad Tim. 38.

[184] Epist. ad Evangelum (Opp. iv. p. 802, ed. Martinay): Alexandriae

a Marco evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium episcopos presbyteri

semper unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum episcopum

nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem faciat, aut diaconi

elegant de se, quem industrium noverint et archidiaconum vocent.

[185] Ed. Oxon. 1658, p. 331: "Constituit evangelista Marcus una cum

Hakania patriarcha duodecim presbyteros, qui nempe cum patriarcha

manerent, adeo ut cum vacaret patriachatus, unum e duodecim presbyteris

eligerent, cnius capiti reliqui undecim manus imponentes ipsi

benedicerent et patriarcham crearent, deinde virum aliquem insignem

eligerent, quem secum presbyterum constituerent,loco ejus, qui factus

est patriarcha, ut ita semper exstarent duodecim. Neque desiit

Alexandriae institutum hoc de presbyteris, ut scilcet patriarchas

crearent ex presbyteris duodecim, usque ad tempera Alexandri

patriarchae Alexandriae. Is autem vetuit, ne deinceps patriarcham

presbyteri crearent. Et decrervit, ut mortuo patriarcha convenient

episcopi, qui patriarcham ordinarent."

[186] Mark 5:35, 36, 38; Luke 8:41-49; Acts 18:8-17.

[187] The philanthropic and financial aspect of episcopacy has been

brought out very fully by Hatch, in his Bampton Lectures on The

Organization of the Early Christian Churches, Lect. II.

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� 45. Development of the Episcopate. Ignatius.

It is matter of fact that the episcopal form of government was

universally established in the Eastern and Western church as early as

the middle of the second century. Even the heretical sects, at least

the Ebionites, as we must infer from the commendation of the episcopacy

in the pseudo-Clementine literature, were organized on this plan, as

well as the later schismatic parties of Novatians, Donatists, etc. But

it is equally undeniable, that the episcopate reached its complete form

only step by step. In the period before us we must note three stages in

this development connected with the name of Ignatius in Syria (d. 107

or 115), Irenaeus in Gaul (d. 202), and Cyprian in North Africa (d.

258).

The episcopate first appears, as distinct from the presbyterate, but as

a congregational office only (in distinction from the diocesan idea),

and as yet a young institution, greatly needing commendation, in the

famous seven (or three) Epistles of Ignatius of Antioch a disciple of

the apostles, and the second bishop of that see (Evodius being the

first, and Hero the third). He is also the first who uses the term

"catholic church," as if episcopacy and catholicity sprung up

simultaneously. The whole story of Ignatius is more legendary than

real, and his writings are subject to grave suspicion of fraudulent

interpolation. We have three different versions of the Ignatian

Epistles, but only one of them can be genuine; either the smaller Greek

version, or the lately discovered Syriac. [188] 87 In the latter, which

contains only three epistles, most of the passages on the episcopate

are wanting, indeed; yet the leading features of the institution appear

even here, and we can recognise ex ungue leonem. [189] 88 In any case

they reflect the public sentiment before the middle of the second

century.

The substance of these epistles (with the exception of that to the

Romans, in which, singularly enough, not a word is said about bishops

[190] 89), consists of earnest exhortations to obey the bishop and

maintain the unity of the church against the Judaistic and docetic

heresies. With the near prospect and the most ardent desire for

martyrdom, the author has no more fervent wish than the perfect inward

and outward unity of the faithful; and to this the episcopate seems to

him indispensable. In his view Christ is the invisible supreme head,

the one great universal bishop of all the churches scattered over the

earth. The human bishop is the centre of unity for the single

congregation, and stands in it as the vicar of Christ and even of God.

[191] 90 The people, therefore, should unconditionally obey him, and do

nothing without his will. Blessed are they who are one with the bishop,

as the church is with Christ, and Christ with the Father, so that all

harmonizes in unity. Apostasy from the bishop is apostasy from Christ,

who acts in and through the bishops as his organs.

We shall give passages from the shorter Greek text (as edited by Zahn):

If any one is able to continue in purity (en hagneia i.e., in the state

of celibacy), to the honor of the flesh of our Lord, let him continue

so without boasting; if he boasts, he is lost (apoleto) if he become

known more than the bishop, [192] 91 he is corrupt (ephthartai). It is

becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the

counsel of the bishop, that the marriage may be in the Lord, and not in

lust. Let ever thing be done for the honor of God. Look to the bishop,

that God also [may look] upon you. I will be in harmony with those who

are subject to the bishop, and the presbyters, and the deacons; with

them may I have a portion near God!" This passage is one of the

strongest, and occurs in the Syriac Epistle to Polycarp as well as in

the shorter Greek recension. [193] 92 It characteristically connected

episcopacy with celibacy: the ascetic system of Catholicism starts in

celibacy, as the hierarchical organization of Catholicism takes its

rise in episcopacy. "It becomes you to be in harmony with the mind (or

sentence, gnome) of the bishop, as also ye do. For your most estimable

presbytery, worthy of God, is fitted to the bishop as the strings are

to the harp." [194] 93 "It is evident that we should look upon the

bishop as we do upon the Lord himself." [195] 94 "I exhort you that ye

study to do all things with a divine concord: the bishop presiding in

the place of God (eis topon theou), and presbyters in the place of the

college of the apostles, (eis topon sunedriou ton apostolon), and the

deacons, most dear to me, being intrusted with the ministry (diakonian)

of Jesus Christ, who was with the Father before all ages, and in the

end appeared to us." [196] 95 "Be subject to the bishop, and to one

another, as Christ [was subject] to the Father according to the flesh,

and the apostles to Christ and to the Father and to the Spirit, in

order that the union be carnal (sarkike), as well as spiritual." [197]

96 "It is necessary, as is your habit, to do nothing without the

bishop, and that ye should be subject also to the presbytery (to

presbuterio), as to the apostles of Jesus Christ." [198] 97 "As many as

are of God and of Jesus Christ, are also with their bishop." [199] 98

"Let all of you follow the bishop, as Jesus Christ [follows] the

Father; and the presbytery as ye would the apostles; and reverence the

deacons as the ordinance of God. Without the bishop let no one do

anything connected with the church. Let that eucharist be accounted

valid which is [offered] under the bishop or by one he has appointed.

Wherever the bishop is found, there let the people be; as wherever

Christ is, there is the catholic church. Without the bishop it is not

lawful either to baptize or to celebrate a love-feast." [200] 99

This is the first time that the term "catholic" is applied to the

church, and that episcopacy is made a condition of catholicity.

"He that honors the bishop, shall be honored by God; he that does

anything without the knowledge of the bishop serves the devil." [201]

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This is making salvation pretty much depend upon obedience to the

bishop; just as Leo I., three centuries later, in the controversy with

Hilary of Arles, made salvation depend upon obedience to the pope by

declaring every rebel against the pope to be a servant of the devil!

Such daring superabundance of episcopalianism clearly betrays some

special design and raises the suspicion of forgery or large

interpolations. But it may also be explained as a special pleading for

a novelty which to the mind of the writer was essential to the very

existence of the church.

The peculiarity in this Ignatian view is that the bishop appears in it

as the head and centre of a single congregation, and not as equally the

representative of the whole church; also, that (as in the

pseudo-Clementine Homilies) he is the vicar of Christ, and not, as in

the later view, merely the successor of the apostles,--the presbyters

and deacons around him being represented as those successors; and

finally, that there are no distinctions of order among the bishops, no

trace of a primacy; all are fully coordinate vicars of Christ, who

provides for himself in them, as it were, a sensible, perceptible

omnipresence in the church. The Ignatian episcopacy, in short, is

congregational, not diocesan; a new and growing institution, not a

settled policy of apostolic origin.

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[188] The question of the genuineness will be discussed in �165.

Cureton (1845) Bunsen, Lipsius, and others accept the Syriac version as

the original form of the Ignatian epistles, and regard even the short

Greek text as corrupt, but yet as dating from the middle of the second

century. Rothe, Hefele, Schaff (first ed.), D�sterdieck, Uhlhorn, Zahn,

Harnack, defend the genuineness of the shorter Greek recension. The

larger Greek recension is universally given up as spurious. The origin

of the hierarchical system is obscured by pious frauds. See below, �164

and 165.

[189] In the Syriac Ep. to Polycarp, the word bishop occurs four times;

in the Syriac Ep. to the Ephesians, God is blessed for having given

them such a bishop as Onesimus. In the shorter Greek Ep. to Polycarp

episcopacy is mentioned in the salutation, and in three of the eight

chapters (ch. 5 twice, ch. 6 twice, ch. 8 once). In the 21 chapters of

the Greek Ep. to the Ephesians, the word bishop occurs thirteen times,

presbyter three times, and deacon once (in the first six chapters, and

ch. 21). In the Greek Trallians, the bishop appears nine times; in the

Magnesians, eleven times; in the Philadelphians, eight times; in the

Smynaeans, nine times. Thus in the three Syriac Epistles the bishop is

mentioned but six times; in the seven shorter Greek Epistles about

fifty times; but one of the strongest passages is found in the Syriac

Epistle to Polycarp (ch. 5. and 6.).

[190] Except that Ignatius speaks of himself as "the bishop of Syria,"

who "has found favor with God, being sent from the East to the West"

(ch. 2). The verb episkopeo is also used, but of Christ (ch. 9).

[191] Episkopos eis topon theou prokathemenos, each bisbop being thus a

sort of pope.

[192] Zahn reads, Ad Polyc. cap. 5: ean gnosthe pleon tou episkopou,i.e

. if he be better known or more esteemed than the bishop. The other

reading is, plen, beyond, or apart from.

[193] Ad Polyc. cap. 5 and 6. The Greek text varies but little from the

Syriac.

[194] Ad Ephes. c. 4: Houtos sunermostai to episkopo. hos chordai

kithara.

[195] Ad Ephes c. 6: Ton oun episkopon delon hoti hos auton ton kurion

dei problepein.

[196] Ad Magnes. c. 6.

[197] Ibid. c. 13. The desire for "carnal" unity is significant,

[198] Ad Trallian. c. 2: Anankaion estin, hosper poieite, aneu tou

episkopou meden prassein humas ktl.

[199] Ad Philad. c. 3.

[200] Ad. Smyrn. c. 8: Opou an phane ho episkopos, ekei to plethos

esto, hosper a?`n e Christos Iesous , ekei he katholike ekklesia.

[201] Ad Smyrn. c. 9: Ho timon episkopon hupo theou tetimetai; ho

lathra episkopou ti prasson to diabolo latreuei..

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� 46. Episcopacy at the time of Irenaeus and Tertullian.

In all these points the idea of the episcopate in Irenaeus, the great

opponent of Gnosticism (about 180), is either lower or higher. This

father represents the institution as a diocesan office, and as the

continuation of the apostolate, the vehicle of the catholic tradition,

and the support of doctrinal unity in opposition to heretical vagaries.

He exalts the bishops of the original apostolic churches, above all the

church of Rome, and speaks with great emphasis of an unbroken episcopal

succession as a test of apostolic teaching and a bulwark against

heresy. [202] 01

At the same time the wavering terminology of Irenaeus in the

interchangeable use of the words "bishop" and "presbyter" reminds us of

Clement of Rome, and shows that the distinction of the two orders was

not yet fully fixed. [203] 02

The same view of the episcopal succession as the preserver of apostolic

tradition and guardian of orthodox doctrine, we find also, though less

frequently, in the earlier writings of Tertullian, with this difference

that he uniformly and clearly distinguishes bishops and presbyters, and

thus proves a more advanced state of the episcopal polity at his time

(about 200). [204] 03 But afterwards, in the chiliastic and democratic

cause of Montanism, he broke with the episcopal hierarchy, and

presented against it the antithesis that the church does not consist of

bishops, and that the laity are also priests. [205] 04

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[202] Comp. Adv. Haer. III. 3, �1, 2; 4, 1; IV. 33, �8. I remember what

great stress the late Dr. Posey, when I saw him at Oxford in 1844, laid

on the testimony of Irenaeus for the doctrine of an unbroken episcopal

succession, as the indispensable mark of a genuine Catholic church;

while he ignored the simultaneous growth of the primacy, which a year

afterwards carried his friend, J. H. Newman, over to the church of

Rome. The New Testament is the only safe guide and ultimate standard in

all matters of faith and discipline. The teaching of Irenaeus on

episcopacy is well set forth by Lightfoot (l.c. p. 237): Irenaeus

followed Ignatius after an interval of about two generations. With the

altered circumstances of the Church, the aspect of the episcopal office

has also undergone a change. The religious atmosphere is now charged

with heretical speculations of all kinds. Amidst the competition of

rival teachers. all eagerly bidding for support, the perplexed believer

asks for some decisive test by which he may try the claims of

disputants. To this question Irenaeeus supplies an answer. 'If you

wish,' he argues, 'to ascertain the doctrine of the Apostles, apply to

the Church of the Apostles.' In the succession of bishops tracing their

descent from the primitive age and appointed by the Apostles

themselves, you have a guarantee for the transmission of the pure

faith, which no isolated, upstart, self-constituted teacher can

furnish. There is the Church of Rome for instance, whose episcopal

pedigree is perfect in all its links, and whose earliest bishops, Linus

and Clement, associated with the Apostles themselves: there is the

Church of Smyrna again, whose bishop Polycarp, the disciple of St.

John, died only the other day. Thus the episcopate is regarded now not

so much as the centre of ecclesiastical unity, but rather as the

depositary of apostolic tradition."

[203] Comp. Adv. Haer.III. 2, �2; IV. 26; V. 20; and his letter to

Victor of Rome in Eusebius, H E. V. 24.

[204] De Praescr. HaeR.C. 32, 36

[205] . Non ecclesia numerus episcoporum. De Pudic. c. 21. Comp. � 42,

p. 128.

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� 47. Cyprianic Episcopacy.

The old catholic episcopalianism reached its maturity in the middle of

the third century in the teaching and example of Cyprian, bishop and

martyr of the church in North Africa. He represents the claims of

episcopacy in close connection with the idea of a special priesthood

and sacrifice. [206] 05 He is the typical high-churchman of the

ante-Nicene age. He vigorously put into practice what he honestly

believed. He had a good opportunity to assert his authority in the

controversy about the lapsed during the Decian persecution, in the

schism of Felicissimus, and in the controversy on heretical baptism.

Cyprian considers the bishops as the bearers of the Holy Spirit, who

passed from Christ to the apostles, from them by ordination to the

bishops, propagates himself in an unbroken line of succession, and

gives efficacy to all religious exercises. Hence they are also the

pillars of the unity of the church; nay, in a certain sense they are

the church itself. "The bishop," says he, "is in the church, and the

church in the bishop, and if any one is not with the bishop he is not

in the church." [207] 06 And this is the same with him as to say, he is

no Christian. Cyprian is thoroughly imbued with the idea of the

solidary unity of the episcopate,--the many bishops exercising only one

office in solidum, each within his diocese, and each at the same time

representing in himself the whole office. [208] 07

But with all this, the bishop still appears in Cyprian in the closest

connexion with the presbyters. He undertook no important matter without

their advice. The fourth general council, at Carthage, a.d. 398, even

declared the sentence of a bishop, without the concurrence of the lower

clergy, void, and decreed that in the ordination of a presbyter, all

the presbyters, with the bishop, should lay their hands on the

candidate. [209] 08

The ordination of a bishop was performed by the neighboring bishops,

requiring at least three in number. In Egypt, however, so long as there

was but one bishop there, presbyters must have performed the

consecration, which Eutychius [210] 09 and Hilary the Deacon [211] 10

expressly assert was the case.

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[206] "As Cyprian crowned the edifice of episcopal power, so also was

he the first to put forward without relief or disguise the sacerdotal

assumptions; and so uncompromising was the tone in which he asserted

them, that nothing was left to his successors but to enforce his

principles and reiterate his language." Lightfoot l. c. p. 257. "If

with Ignatius the bishop is the centre of Christian unity, if with

Irenaeus he is the depository of apostolic tradition, with Cyprian he

is the absolute viceregerent of Christ in thing spiritual."Ibid. p.

238.

[207] Epist. lxvi. 3. Comp. Ep. lv. 20: Christianus non est, qui in

Christi ecclesia non est

[208] De Unit. Eccl. c. 5:Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in

solidum pars tenetur. Comp.Ep. lv. 20: Quum sit a Christo una ecclesia

per totum mundum in multa membra divisa, item episcopatus unus

episcoporum multorum concordi numerositate diffusus.

[209] Can. 3:Presbyter quum ordinatur, episcopo eum benedicente et

manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri, qui praesentes

sunt, manus suas juxta manum episcopi super caput illius teneant.

[210] Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandr. Annal. interpr. Pocockio (Oxon.

1658, I. p. 331). See the passage quoted, p. 141.

[211] Or Ambrosiaster, Ad Eph. iv. 11.

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� 48. The Pseudo-Clementine Episcopacy.

Besides this orthodox or catholic formation of the episcopate, the

kindred monarchical hierarchy of the Ebionitic sect deserves attention,

as it meets us in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies. Chronologically this

falls in the middle of the second century, between Ignatius and

Irenaeus, and forms a sort of transition from the former to the latter;

though it cannot exactly be said to have influenced the Catholic

church. It is rather a heretical counterpart of the orthodox

episcopate. The organization which consolidated the Catholic church

answered the same purpose for a sect. The author of the

pseudo-Clementine, like Ignatius, represents the bishop as the vicar of

Christ, [212] 11 and at the same time, according to the view of

Irenaeus, as the vicar and successor of the apostles; [213] 12 but

outstrips both in his high hierarchical expressions, such as kathedra

thronos tou episkopou, and in his idea of the primacy, or of a

universal church monarchy, which he finds, however, not as Irenaeus

suggests and Cyprian more distinctly states, in Peter and the Roman

see, but, agreeably to his Judaistic turn, in James of, Jerusalem, the

"bishop of bishops." [214] 13

The Manichaeans had likewise a hierarchical organization (as the

Mormons in modern times).

Montanism, on the other hand, was a democratic reaction against the

episcopal hierarchy in favor of the general priesthood, and the liberty

of teaching and prophesying, but it was excommunicated and died out,

till it reappeared under a different form in Quakerism.

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[212] Hom. iii. 60, 62, 66, 70. Ep. Clem. ad Jac. 17. Comp. Recogn.

iii. 66.

[213] Hom. xi. 36; Recogn. iii. 66; vi. 15.

[214] Episkopos episkopon , Hom. xi. 35; Recogn. iv. 35.

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� 49. Beginnings of the Metropolitan and Patriarchal Systems

Though the bishops were equal in their dignity and powers as successors

of the apostles, they gradually fell into different ranks, according to

the ecclesiastical and political importance of their several districts.

1. On the lowest level stood the bishops of the country churches, the

chorepiscopi who, though not mentioned before the beginning of the

fourth century, probably originated at an earlier period. [215] 14 They

stood between the presbyters and the city bishops, and met the wants of

episcopal supervision in the villages of large dioceses in Asia Minor

and Syria, also in Gaul.

2. Among the city bishops the metropolitans rose above the rest, that

is, the bishops of the capital cities of the provinces. [216] 15 They

presided in the provincial synods, and, as primi inter pares, ordained

the bishops of the province. The metropolitan system appears, from the

Council of Nicaea in 325, to have been already in operation at the time

of Constantine and Eusebius, and was afterwards more fully carried out

in the East. In North Africa the oldest bishop, hence called senex,

stood as primas, at the head of his province; but the bishop of

Carthage enjoyed the highest consideration, and could summon general

councils.

3. Still older and more important is the distinction of apostolic

mother-churches, [217] 16 such as those at Jerusalem, Antioch)

Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome. In the time of Irenaeus and

Tertullian they were held in the highest regard, as the chief bearers

of the pure church tradition. Among these Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome

were most prominent, because they were the capitals respectively of the

three divisions (eparchiae) of the Roman empire, and centres of trade

and intercourse, combining with their apostolic origin the greatest

political weight. To the bishop of Antioch fell all Syria as his

metropolitan district; to the bishop of Alexandria, all Egypt; to the

bishop of Rome, central and lower Italy, without definite boundaries.

4. Here we have the germs of the eparchal or patriarchal system, to

which the Greek church to this day adheres. The name patriarch was at

first, particularly in the East, an honorary title for all bishops, and

was not till the fourth century exclusively appropriated to the bishops

of the three ecclesiastical and political capitals of the Roman empire,

Antioch, Alexandria and Rome, and also to the bishop of Jerusalem

honoris causa, and the bishop of Constantinople or New Rome. So in the

West the term papa afterwards appropriated by the Roman bishop, as

summus pontifex, vicarius Christi, was current for a long time in a

more general application.

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[215] The country bishops (chorepiskopoi) appear first in the councils

of Ancyra and Neo-Caesarea, 314, and again in the Council of Nicaea.

They continued to exist in the East till the 9th century, when they

were superseded by the exarchs (exarchoi) In the West, the chorepiscopi

performed regular episcopal functions, without proper subordination to

the diocesans, and hence excited jealousy and hostility till the office

was abolished under Charlemagne, and continued only as a title of

various cathedral dignitaries. See Haddan in Smith & Cheetham Dict.

Chr. Ant. I. 354, and the authorities quoted there

[216] metropoleis, Hence metropolitai.

[217] Sedes apostolicae, matrices ecclesiae.

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� 50. Germs of the Papacy.

Comp. the Lit. in vol. I. �25 (p. 245).

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York, 1845).

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Jahrhunderten, 3 vols. Mainz, 1836-38 (I. 1-98).

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Apostolic See vindicated. N. York, 4th ed. 1855.

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the Roman church, 1857): An Inquiry into the Principles of Church

Authority; or Reasons for Recalling my subscriptions to the Royal

Supremacy. Lond. 1854 (ch. vi.-x.).

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Reformation. Lond. 1856. 2 vols. (Chapter 1, p. 2-113; chiefly taken

from Schr�ckh and Planck).

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Latin Patriarchate. Lond. 1856-1872. 6 vols. Vol. I. ch. I.-VI. (A work

of independent and reliable learning.)

Joh. Friedrich (Old Cath.): Zur �ltesten Geschichte des Primates in der

Kirche. Bonn, 1879.

E Renan: Conferences d'Angleterre. Rome et le christianisme. Paris

1880. The Hibbert Lectures delivered in Lond. 1880. English translation

by Charles Beard, London (Williams & Norgate) 1880, another by Erskine

Clement (Boston, 1880). Consists mostly of extracts from his books on

the Origin of Christianity, skillfully put together.

H. Formby (R.C.): Ancient Rome and its connection with the Christian

Religion. London 1880.

Jos. Langen (Old Cath.): Geschichte der r�mischen Kirche bis zum

Pontificate Leo's I. Bonn, 1881.

R. F. Littledale (Anglo-Cath.): The Petrine Claims, A Critical Inquiry

London 1880. Controversial.

Among the great bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome, the Roman

bishop combined all the conditions for a primacy, which, from a purely

honorary distinction, gradually became the basis of a supremacy of

jurisdiction. The same propension to monarchical unity, which created

out of the episcopate a centre, first for each congregation, then for

each diocese, pressed on towards a visible centre for the whole church.

Primacy and episcopacy grew together. In the present period we already

find the faint beginnings of the papacy, in both its good and its evil

features; and with them, too, the first examples of earnest protest

against the abuse of its power. In the Nicene age the bishop of

Jerusalem was made an honorary patriarch in view of the antiquity of

that church, though his diocese was limited; and from the middle of the

fourth century the new patriarch of Constantinople or New Rome, arose

to the primacy among the eastern patriarchs, and became a formidable

rival of the bishop of old Rome.

The Roman church claims not only human but divine right for the papacy,

and traces its institution directly to Christ, when he assigned to

Peter an eminent position in the work of founding his church, against

which even the gates of hades shall never prevail. This claim implies

several assumptions, viz. (1) that Peter by our Lord's appointment had

not simply a primacy of personal excellency, or of honor and dignity

(which must be conceded to him), but also a supremacy of jurisdiction

over the other apostles (which is contradicted by the fact that Peter

himself never claimed it, and that Paul maintained a position of

perfect independence, and even openly rebuked him at Antioch, Gal.

2:11); (2) that the privileges of this primacy and supremacy are not

personal only (as the peculiar gifts of Paul or John undoubtedly were),

but official, hereditary and transferable; (3) that they were actually

transferred by Peter, not upon the bishop of Jerusalem, or Antioch

(where Peter certainly was), but upon the bishop of Rome; (4) that

Peter was not only at Rome (which is very probable after 63, though not

as certain as Paul's presence and martyrdom in Rome), but acted there

as bishop till his martyrdom, and appointed a successor (of which there

is not the slightest historical evidence); and (5) that the bishops of

Rome, as successors of Peter, have always enjoyed and exercised an

universal jurisdiction over the Christian church (which is not the case

as a matter of fact, and still less as a matter of conceded right).

Leaving a full discussion of most of these points to polemical

theology, we are here concerned with the papacy as a growth of history,

and have to examine the causes which have gradually raised it to its

towering eminence among the governing institutions of the world.

The historical influences which favored the ascendency of the Roman see

were:

(1) The high antiquity of the Roman church, which had been honored even

by Paul with the most important doctrinal epistle of the New Testament.

It was properly the only apostolic mother-church in the West, and was

thus looked upon from the first by the churches of Italy, Gaul, and

Spain, with peculiar reverence.

(2) The labors, martyrdom, and burial at Rome of Peter and Paul, the

two leading apostles. The whole Roman congregation passed through the

fearful ordeal of martyrdom during the Neronian persecution, but must

soon afterwards have been reorganized, with a halo of glory arising

from the graves of the victims.

(3) The political pre-eminence of that metropolis of the world, which

was destined to rule the European races with the sceptre of the cross,

as she had formerly ruled them with the sword.

(4) The executive wisdom and the catholic orthodox instinct of the

Roman church, which made themselves felt in this period in the three

controversies on the time of Easter, the penitential discipline, and

the validity of heretical baptism.

To these may be added, as secondary causes, her firmness under

persecutions, and her benevolent care for suffering brethren even in

distant places, as celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth (180), and by

Eusebius.

From the time of St. Paul's Epistle (58), when he bestowed high praise

on the earlier Roman converts, to the episcopate of Victor at the close

of the second century, and the unfavorable account by Hippolytus of

Pope Zephyrinus and Pope Callistus, we have no express and direct

information about the internal state of the Roman church. But

incidentally it is more frequently mentioned than any other. Owing to

its metropolitan position, it naturally grew in importance and

influence with the spread of the Christian religion in the empire. Rome

was the battle-field of orthodoxy and heresy, and a resort of all sects

and parties. It attracted from every direction what was true and false

in philosophy and religion. Ignatius rejoiced in the prospect of

suffering for Christ in the centre of the world; Polycarp repaired

hither to settle with Anicetus the paschal controversy; Justin Martyr

presented there his defense of Christianity to the emperors, and laid

down for it his life; Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian conceded to

that church a position of singular pre-eminence. Rome was equally

sought as a commanding position by heretics and theosophic jugglers, as

Simon Magus, Valentine, Marcion, Cerdo, and a host of others. No

wonder, then, that the bishops of Rome at an early date were looked

upon as metropolitan pastors, and spoke and acted accordingly with an

air of authority which reached far beyond their immediate diocese.

Clement of Rome.

The first example of the exercise of a sort of papal authority is found

towards the close of the first century in the letter of the Roman

bishop Clement (d. 102) to the bereaved and distracted church of

Corinth. This epistle, full of beautiful exhortations to harmony, love,

and humility, was sent, as the very address shows, [218] 17 not in the

bishop's own name, which is not mentioned at all, but in that of the

Roman congregation, which speaks always in the first person plural. It

was a service of love, proffered by one church to another in time of

need. Similar letters of instruction, warning and comfort were written

to other congregations by Ignatius, Polycarp, Dionysius of Corinth,

Irenaeus. Nevertheless it can hardly be denied that the document

reveals the sense of a certain superiority over all ordinary

congregations. The Roman church here, without being asked (as far as

appears), gives advice, with superior administrative wisdom, to an

important church in the East, dispatches messengers to her, and exhorts

her to order and unity in a tone of calm dignity and authority, as the

organ of God and the Holy Spirit. [219] 18 This is all the more

surprising if St. John, as is probable, was then still living in

Ephesus, which was nearer to Corinth than Rome. The hierarchical spirit

arose from the domineering spirit of the Roman church, rather than the

Roman bishop or the presbyters who were simply the organs of the

people. [220] 19 But a century later the bishop of Rome was substituted

for the church of Rome, when Victor in his own name excommunicated the

churches of Asia Minor for a trifling difference of ritual. From this

hierarchical assumption there was only one step towards the papal

absolutism of a Leo and Hildebrand, and this found its ultimate

doctrinal climax in the Vatican dogma of papal infallibility.

Ignatius.

Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Romans (even in the Syriac recension),

applies to that congregation a number of high-sounding titles, and

describes her as "presiding in the place of the region of the Romans,"

and as "taking the lead in charity." [221] 20 This is meant as a

commendation of her practical benevolence for which she was famous.

Dionysius of Corinth in his letter to Soter of Rome testifies to it as

saying: "This practice has prevailed with you from the very beginning,

to do good to all the brethren in every way, and to send contributions

to many churches in every city." [222] 21 The Roman church was no doubt

more wealthy than any other, and the liberal use of her means must have

greatly increased her influence. Beyond this, Ignatius cannot be quoted

as a witness for papal claims. He says not a word of the primacy, nor

does he even mention Clement or any other bishop of Rome. The church

alone is addressed throughout. He still had a lively sense of the

difference between a bishop and an apostle. "I do not command you," he

writes to the Romans, "as if I were Peter or Paul; they were apostles."

Irenaeus.

Irenaeus calls Rome the greatest, the oldest(?) church, acknowledged by

all, founded by the two most illustrious apostles, Peter and Paul, the

church, with which, on account of her more important precedence, all

Christendom must agree, or (according to another interpretation) to

which (as the metropolis of the world) all other churches must resort.

[223] 22 The "more important precedence" places her above the other

apostolic churches, to which likewise a precedence is allowed.

This is surely to be understood, however, as a precedence only of

honor, not of jurisdiction. For when Pope Victor, about the year 190,

in hierarchical arrogance and intolerance, broke fellowship with the

churches of Asia Minor, for no other reason but because they adhered to

their tradition concerning the celebration of Easter, the same

Irenaeus, though agreeing with him on the disputed point itself,

rebuked him very emphatically as a troubler of the peace of the church,

and declared himself against a forced uniformity in such unessential

matters. Nor did the Asiatic churches allow themselves to be

intimidated by the dictation of Victor. They answered the Roman

tradition with that of their own sedes apostolicae. The difference

continued until the council at Nicaea at last settled the controversy

in favor of the Roman practice, but even long afterwards the old

British churches differed from the Roman practice in the Easter

observance to the time of Gregory I.

Hippolytus.

The celebrated Hippolytus, in the beginning of the third century, was a

decided antagonist of the Roman bishops, Zephyrinus and Callistus, both

for doctrinal and disciplinary reasons. Nevertheless we learn from his

work called Philosophumena, that at that time the Roman bishop already

claimed an absolute power within his own jurisdiction; and that

Callistus, to the great grief of part of the presbytery, laid down the

principle, that a bishop can never be deposed or compelled to resign by

the presbytery, even though he have committed a mortal sin.

Tertullian.

Tertullian points the heretics to the apostolic mother churches, as the

chief repositories of pure doctrine; and among these gives especial

prominence to that of Rome, where Peter was crucified, Paul beheaded,

and John immersed unhurt in boiling oil(?) and then banished to the

island. Yet the same father became afterwards an opponent of Rome. He

attacked its loose penitential discipline, and called the Roman bishop

(probably Zephyrinus), in irony and mockery, "pontifex maximus" and

"episcopus episcoporum."

Cyprian.

Cyprian is clearest, both in his advocacy of the fundamental idea of

the papacy, and in his protest against the mode of its application in a

given case. Starting from the superiority of Peter, upon whom the Lord

built his church, and to whom he intrusted the feeding of his sheep, in

order to represent thereby the unity in the college of the apostles,

Cyprian transferred the same superiority to the Bishop of Rome, as the

successor of Peter, and accordingly called the Roman church the chair

of Peter, and the fountain of priestly unity, [224] 23 the root, also,

and mother of the catholic church. [225] 24 But on the other side, he

asserts with equal energy the equality and relative independence of the

bishops, as successors of the apostles, who had all an equally direct

appointment from Christ. In his correspondence he uniformly addresses

the Roman bishop as "brother" and "colleague," conscious of his own

equal dignity and authority. And in the controversy about heretical

baptism, he opposes Pope Stephen with almost Protestant independence,

accusing him of error and abuse of his power, and calling a tradition

without truth an old error. Of this protest he never retracted a word.

Firmilian.

Still more sharp and unsparing was the Cappadocian bishop, Firmilian, a

disciple of Origen, on the bishop of Rome, while likewise implying a

certain acknowledgment of his primacy. Firmilian charges him with

folly, and with acting unworthily of his position; because, as the

successor of Peter, he ought rather to further the unity of the church

than to destroy it, and ought to abide on the rock foundation instead

of laying a new one by recognizing heretical baptism. Perhaps the

bitterness of Firmilian was due partly to his friendship and veneration

for Origen, who had been condemned by a council at Rome.

Nevertheless, on this question of baptism, also, as on those of Easter,

and of penance, the Roman church came out victorious in the end.

Comparative Insignificance of the first Popes.

From these testimonies it is clear, that the growing influence of the

Roman see was rooted in public opinion and in the need of unity in the

ancient church. It is not to be explained at all by the talents and the

ambition of the incumbents. On the contrary, the personality of the

thirty popes of the first three centuries falls quite remarkably into

the background; though they are all canonized saints and, according to

a later but extremely doubtful tradition, were also, with two

exceptions, martyrs. [226] 25 Among them, and it may be said down to

Leo the Great, about the middle of the fifth century, there was hardly

one, perhaps Clement, who could compare, as a church leader, with an

Ignatius, a Cyprian, and an Ambrose; or, as a theologian, with an

Irenaeus, a Tertullian, an Athanasius, and an Augustin. [227] 26

Jerome, among his hundred and thirty-six church celebrities, of the

first four centuries, brings in only four Roman bishops, Clement,

Victor, Cornelius, and Damasus, and even these wrote only a few

epistles. Hippolytus, in his Philosophumena, written about 225, even

presents two contemporaneous popes, St. Zephyrinus (202-218) and

Callistus (St. Calixtus I., 218-223), from his own observation, though

not without partisan feeling, in a most unfavorable light; charging the

first with ignorance and avarice, [228] 27 the second with scandalous

conduct (he is said to have been once a swindler and a fugitive slave

rescued from suicide), and both of them with the Patripassian heresy.

Such charges could not have been mere fabrications with so honorable an

author as Hippolytus, even though he was a schismatic rival bishop to

Callistus; they must have had at least some basis of fact.

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[218] He ekklesia tou theou, he paroikousa Rhomen te ekklesia tou

theou, te paroikouse Korinthon. "The church of God which sojourns at

Rome to the church of God which mourns at Corinth!"Paroikos is a

temporary, katoikos a permanent, resident. The Christians appear here

as strangers and pilgrims in this world, who have their home in heaven;

comp. 1 Pet. 1:17; 2:11; Heb. 11:13

[219] This is very evident towards the close from the newly discovered

portions, chs. 59, 62 and 63 edition of Bryennios, Const. 1875). The

chapters should new light on the origin of the papal domination. Comp.

the judicious remarks of Lightfoot in his Appendix to S. Clement of

Rome (Lond. 1877), p. 252 sqq.

[220] It is quite evident from the Epistle itself that at that time the

Roman congregation was still governed by a college of presbyters

(collegialisch, nicht monarchisch, as Langen, l.c. p. 81, expresses

it).

[221] Prokathemene tes agapes , praesidens in caritate. Inscription.

Zahn in his ed., p. 75, says: "In caritatis operibus semper primum

locum sibi vindicavit ecclesia Romana." Some Roman Catholic writers (as

M�hler, Patrol. I. 144) explain the phrase very artificially and

hierarchically: "head of the love-union of Christendom (Vorsteherin des

Liebesbundes)."Agape never means church, but either love, or

love-feast. See Langen, l.c. p. 94.

[222] Euseb., Hist. Eccl. IV. 23, 10: ex arches humin ethos esti touto,

pantas men adelphous poikilos euergetein, ekklesiais te pollais tais

mata pasan polin ephodia pempein

[223] The famous Passage, Adv. Haer. iii. �2, is only extant in Latin,

and of disputed interpretation: "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter

potentiorem (according to Massuet's conjecture: potiorem)

principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesia, hoc est, eos qui

sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique,

conservata est ab apostolis traditio." In the original Greek it

probably read: Pros tauten gar ten ekklesian dia ten hikanoteran

proteian sumbainein (or, in the local sense, sunerchesthai) dei

(according to others: ananke, natural necessity) pasan ten ekklesian,

etc. The stress lies on principalitas, which stands probably for

proteia (so Thiersch and Gieseler). Comp. Iren. IV. 38, 3, where

proteuei is rendered principatitatem habet. Stieren and Ziegler

(Irenaeus, 1871, p. 152), however, translate propter potentiorem

principalitatem: hoia ten hikanoteran archaioteta, " on account of the

higher antiquity."Comp. on the whole passage an essay by Thiersch in

the " Studien und Kritiken" 1842, 512 sqq.; Gieseler I. 1. p. 214 (�

51); Schneemann: Sancti Irenaei de ecclesia Romanae principatu

testimonium commentatum et defensum, Freiburg i. B. 1870, and Langen,

l.c. p. 170 sqq. Langen (who is an Old Catholic of the D�llinger

school) explains: " Die potior principalitas bezeichnet den Vorrang,

welchen die Kirche der Hauptptstadt als solche vor alten �brigen

Kirchen besass ... die Hauptstadt war das Centrum des damaligen

Weltverkehrs, und in Folge dessen der Sammelplats von Christen aller

Art."He defends the local sense of convenire by parallel passages from

Herveus of Bordeaux and Hugo Eterianus (p. 172 sq.). But the moral

sense (to agree)seems more natural.

[224] Petri cathedram atque ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas

sacerdotalis exorta est. Epist. lv. c. 19 (ed. Bal.) Ad Cornelium

episc. Rom. In Goldhorn's ed., Ep. lix. 19.

[225] Ecclesiae catholicae radicem et matricem. Ep. xl. 2 ed. Bal.

(xlviii. ed. Goldh.). Other passages in Cyrian favorable to the Roman

see are either interpolations or corruptions in the interest of the

papacy.

[226] Irenaeus recognizes among the Roman bishops from Clement to

Eleutherus (177), all of whom he mentions by name, only one martyr, to

wit, Telesphorus, of whom he says: hos kai endoxos emarturese, P, Adv.

Haer. III., c. 3, �3. So Eusebius, H. E. V. 6. From this we must judge

of the value of the Roman Catholic tradition on this point. It is so

remote from the time in question as to be utterly unworthy of credit.

[227] Cardinal Newman says (Apologia, p. 407): "The see of Rome

possessed no great mind in the whole period of persecution. Afterwards

for a long time it had not a single doctor to show. The great luminary

of the western world is St. Augustin; he, no infallible teacher, has

formed the intellect of Europe." Dean Stanley remarks (Christian

Institutions, p. 241): "There have been occupants of the sees of

Constantinople, Alexandria, and Canterbury who have produced more

effect on the mind of Christendom by their utterances than any of the

popes."

[228] He calls him in the ninth book of the Philosophumenon, an aner

idiotes kai aischrokerdes .

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� 51. Chronology of the Popes.

I. Sources.

The principal sources for the obscure chronology of the early bishops

of Rome are the catalogues of popes. These are divided into two

classes, the oriental or Greek, and the occidental or Latin. To the

first belong the lists of Hegesippus and Irenaeus, from the second

century, that of Eusebius (in his Chronicle, and his Church History),

and his successors from the fourth century and later. This class is

followed by Lipsius and Harnack. The second class embraces the

catalogues of Augustin (Ep. 55, al. 165), Optatus of Mileve (De schism.

Donat. II. 3), the "Catalogus Liberianus" (coming down to Liberius,

354), the "Catalogus Felicianus" (to 530), the "Catalogus Cononianus,"

based perhaps on the "Catalogus Leoninus" (to 440), the "Liber

Pontificalis" (formerly supposed to be based on the preceding

catalogues, but according to the Abb� Duchesne and Waitz, older than

the "Liber Felicianus"). The "Liber Pontif." itself exists in different

MSS., and has undergone many changes. It is variously dated from the

fifth or seventh century.

To these may be added the "Martyrologia" and "Calendaria" of the Roman

Church, especially the "Martyrologium Hieronymianum," and the

"Martyrologium Romanum parvum" (both of the seventh or eighth century).

The inscriptions on the papal tombs discovered in Rome since 1850,

contain names and titles, but no dates.

On the "Catalogus Liberianus," see especially the critical essay of

Mommsen "Ueber de Chronographen des Jahres 354," in the "Transactions

of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences," Philos. histor. Section, vol.

I. (1850), p. 631 sqq. The text of the Catalogue is given, p. 634-'37,

and by Lipsius, Chronologie der r�m. Bisch�fe, Append. p. 265-268. The

oldest MSS. of the "Liber Pontificalis" date from the seventh and

eighth centuries, and present a text of a.d. 641, but with many

variations. "Mit wahrer Sicherheit," says Waitz, "gelangen wir in der

Geschichte des Papsthums nicht �ber das 7te Jahrhundert hinauf."

II. Works.

Phil. Jaff�: Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad Ann.

1198. Berolini 1851, ed. secunda correcta et aucta auspiciis Gul.

Wattenbach. Lips. 1881 sqq. Continued by Potthast from 1198-1304, and

supplemented by Harttung (Bd. I. a.d. 748-1198, Gotha 1880).

R A. Lipsius: Chronologie der R�m. Bisch�fe bis zur Mitte des 4ten

Jahrh. Kiel, 1869. Comp. Hort's review of this book in the "Academy"

for Sept. 15, 1871. Lipsius: Neue Studien zur Papstchronologie, in the

"Jahrb�cher f�r Protest. Theol." Leipz. 1880 (pp. 78-126 and 233-307).

Lipsius denies that Peter ever was at Rome.

Abb� L. Duchesne: �tude sur le Liber Pontificalis. Paris, 1887. La date

et les recensions du Liber Pontificalis. 1879. Le Liber Pontificalis.

Texte, introduction et commentaire. Paris, 1884 and 1889, 2 vols. 4�

(with facsimiles).

Adolf Harnack: Die Zeit des Ignatiusund die Chronologie der

antiochenischen Bisch�fe bis Tyrannus, Leipz. 1878 (p. 73).

G. Waitz: UEber die verschiedenen Texte des Liber Pontificalis, in the

"Archiv der Gesellschaft f�r �ltere deutsche Geschichtskunde," IV; and

his review of Duchesne, and Lipsius, in H. v. Sybel's "Histor.

Zeitschrift" for 1880, p. 135 sqq.

The oldest links in the chain of Roman bishops are veiled in

impenetrable darkness. Tertullian and most of the Latins (and the

pseudo-Clementina), make Clement (Phil. 4:3), the first successor of

Peter; [229] 28 but Irenaeus, Eusebius, and other Greeks, also Jerome

and the Roman Catalogue, give him the third place, and put Linus (2

Tim. 4:21), and Anacletus (or Anincletus), between him and Peter. [230]

29 In some lists Cletus is substituted for Anacletus, in others the two

are distinguished. Perhaps Linus and Anacletus acted during the life

time of Paul and Peter as assistants or presided only over one part of

the church, while Clement may have had charge of another branch; for at

that early day, the government of the congregation composed of Jewish

and Gentile Christian elements was not so centralized as it afterwards

became. Furthermore, the earliest fathers, with a true sense of the

distinction between the apostolic and episcopal offices, do not reckon

Peter among the bishops of Rome at all; and the Roman Catalogue in

placing Peter in the line of bishops, is strangely regardless of Paul,

whose independent labors in Rome are attested not only by tradition,

but by the clear witness of his own epistles and the book of Acts.

Lipsius, after a laborious critical comparison of the different

catalogues of popes, arrives at the conclusion that Linus, Anacletus,

and Clement were Roman presbyters (or presbyter-bishops in the N. T.

sense of the term), at the close of the first century, Evaristus and

Alexander presbyters at the beginning of the second, Xystus I.

(Latinized: Sixtus), presbyter for ten years till about 128,

Telesphorus for eleven years, till about 139, and next successors

diocesan bishops. [231] 30

It must in justice be admitted, however, that the list of Roman bishops

has by far the preeminence in age, completeness, integrity of

succession, consistency of doctrine and policy, above every similar

catalogue, not excepting those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and

Constantinople; and this must carry great weight with those who ground

their views chiefly on external testimonies, without being able to rise

to the free Protestant conception of Christianity and its history of

development on earth.

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[229] Or at least the first appointed by Peter. Tertullian De Praescr.

HaeR.C. 32 "Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum." The Apost. Const.

VII. 6 make Linus (Comp. 2 Tim. 4:21) the first bishop, appointed by

Paul, Clement the next, appointed by Peter. According to Epiphanius

(Haer. XXVII. 6) Clement was ordained by Peter, but did not enter upon

his office till after the death of Linus and Anacletus.

[230] The Catalogue of Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. III. 3, 3) down to his own

time (a.d. 177) is this: The apostles Peter and Paul, Linos, Anacletos,

Clement, Evaristus, Alexander, Xystos, Telesphoros, who died gloriously

as a martyr, Hyginos, Pios, Aniketos, Soter, Eleutheros, who then held

"the inheritance of the episcopate in the twelfth place from the

apostles." Irenaeus adds: "In this order and by this succession, the

ecclesiastical tradition from the apostles and the preaching of the

truth have come down to us."

[231] Langen (l. c .p. 100 sqq.) carries the line of Roman

presbyter-bishops down to Alexander, and dates the monarchical

constitution of the Roman church (i.e. the diocesan episcopacy) from

the age of Trajan or Hadrian. Irenaeus (in Euseb. V. 27) calls the

Roman bishops down to Anicetus (154) presbuteroi.

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� 52. List of the Roman Bishops and Roman Emperors during the First

Three Centuries.

From the lists of Eusebius (till Silvester), Jaff� (Regesta), Potthast

(Bibliotheca Hist. Medii Aevi), Lipsius and others compared. See a

continuation of the list in my History of Mediaeval Christianity, p.

205 sqq.

Date

Popes

Emperors

Date

Augustus

27 b.c.

Tiberius

a.d. 14-37

Caligula

67-41

Claudius

41-54

? 42-67

Petrus-Apostolus

(63-64)

Nero

54-68

? 67-79

Linus-Presbyter

Galba

68

Otho

68-69

Vitellius

69 -69

? 79-91

Cletus or Anacletus

Titus

79-81

Domitian

81-96

? 91-100

Clemens I

Nerva

96-98

Trajan

98-117

? 100-109

Evaristus

? 109-119

Alexander I

Hadrian

117-138

? 119-128

Xystus or Sixtus I

? 128-139

Telesphorus (Martyr)

Antoninus Pius

138-161

? 139-142

Hyginus

? 142-154

Pius I

? 154-168

Anicetus

Marcus Aurelius

161-180

? 168-176

Soter

? 177- 190

Eleutherus

Commodus

180-190

? 190-202

Victor I

Pertinax

190-191

Didius Julianus

191-192

Niger

192-193

Septimius Severus

193-211

202-218

Zephyrinus

Caracalla

211-217

Geta (d. 212)

211-217

M.Opilius Macrinus

217-218

218-223

Callistus, or Calixtus I

Heliogabalus

218-222

(Hippolytus,Antipope)

? 223-230

Urbanus I

Alexander Severus

222-235

? 230-235

Pontianus (resigned in exile)

235-236

Anterus

Maximin I (the Thracian)

235-237

236-250

Fabianus, Martyr

The two Gordians:

Maximus Pupienus,

Balbinus

237-238

Gordian, the Younger

238-244

Philip

244-249

250-251

The See vacant till March, 251

Decius

249-251

? 251-252

Cornelius (in exile)

Gallus

251-252

? 251

(Novatianus, Antipope)

252-253

Lucius I

Volusian

252-253

? 253-257

Stephanus I

Aemilian

253-268

Valerian

256-259

Gallienus

259-268

? 257-258

Xystus (Sixtus) II

Till July 21, 259

The See vacant

259-269

Dionysius

Claudius II

268-270

269-274

Felix I

Aurelian

270-275

275-283

Eutychianus

Tacitus

275-276

Probus

276-282

283-296

Gajus (Caius)

Carus

282-284

Carinus

284-286

Numerian

Diocletian (d. 313 )

284-305

Maximian joint Emp. with Diocletian

286-305

296-304

Marcellinus

Constantius (d. 306)

304 or 307

304-307

The See vacant

Galerius (d. 311)

Licinius (d. 323)

Maximin II (Daza)

308-309

Constantine the Great,

309-323

Galerius (d. 311),

308-309

Marcellus

Licinius (d.323),

309-310

Eusebius, d. Sept. 26 (?) 309

Maximin (d. 313),

Maxentius (d. 312),

309-310

The See Vacant

reigning jointly.

311-314

Miltiades (Melchiades)

314-335 Silvester I.

Constantine the Great,

323-337

sole ruler.

The whole number of popes, from the Apostle Peter to Leo XIII. (1878)

is two hundred and sixty-three. This would allow about seven years on

an average to each papal reign. The traditional twenty-five years of

Peter were considered the maximum which none of his successors was

permitted to reach, except Pius IX., the first infallible pope, who

reigned twenty-seven years (1846-1878). The average term of office of

the archbishops of Canterbury is fourteen years.

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� 53. The Catholic Unity.

J. A. M�hler (R.C.): Die Einheit der Kirche oder das Princip des

Katholicismus. T�bingen 1825. Full of Catholic enthusiasm for the unity

of the church.

R. Rothe: Die Anf�nge der christl. Kirche. Wittenb. 1837 (pp. 553-711).

A Protestant counterpart of M�hler's book.

Huther.: Cyprian's Lehre von der Einheit der Kirche. Hamb. 1839.

J. W. Nevin: Cyprian; four articles in the "Mercersburg Review," 1852.

Comp. Varien's strictures on these articles in the same "Review" for

1853, p. 555 sqq.

Joh. Peters (Ultramontane): Die Lehre des heil. Cyprianvon der Einheit

der Kirche gegen�ber den beiden Schismen in Carthago und Rom. Luxemb.

1870.

Jos. H. Reinkens (Old Cath. Bishop): Die Lehre des heil. Cyprianvon der

Einheit er Kirche. W�rzburg, 1873.

Comp. also Hartel's ed. of Cyprian's Opera (3 Parts, Vienna, 1868-'71),

and the monographs on Cyprian by Rettberg (1831), Peters (1877),

Fechtrup (1878), and O. Ritschl (1883).

On the basis of Paul's idea of the unity, holiness, and universality of

the church, as the mystical body of Christ; hand in hand with the

episcopal system of government; in the form of fact rather than of

dogma; and in perpetual conflict with heathen persecution from without,

and heretical and schismatic tendencies within--arose the idea and the

institution of: "the Holy Catholic Church," as the Apostles' Creed has

it; [232] 32 or, in the fuller language of the

Nicene-Constantinopolitan, "the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church." In

both the oecumenical symbols, as even in the more indefinite creeds of

the second and third centuries, on which those symbols are based, the

church appears as an article of faith, [233] 33 presupposing and

necessarily, following faith in the Father, the Son, and the Holy

Spirit; and as a holy fellowship, [234] 34 within which the various

benefits of grace, from the forgiveness of sins to the life

everlasting, are enjoyed.

Nor is any distinction made here between a visible and an invisible

church. All catholic antiquity thought of none but the actual,

historical church, and without hesitation applied to this, while yet in

the eyes of the world a small persecuted sect, those four predicates of

unity, holiness, universality, and apostolicity, to which were

afterwards added exclusiveness infallibility and indestructibility.

There sometimes occur, indeed, particularly in the Novatian schism,

hints of the incongruity between the empirical reality and the ideal

conception of the church; and this incongruity became still more

palpable, in regard to the predicate of holiness, after the abatement

of the spiritual elevation of the apostolic age, the cessation of

persecution, and the decay of discipline. But the unworthiness of

individual members and the external servant-form of the church were not

allowed to mislead as to the general objective character, which

belonged to her in virtue of her union with her glorious heavenly Head.

The fathers of our period all saw in the church, though with different

degrees of clearness, a divine, supernatural order of things, in a

certain sense the continuation of the life of Christ on earth, the

temple of the Holy Spirit, the sole repository of the powers of divine

life, the possessor and interpreter of the Holy Scriptures, the mother

of all the faithful. She is holy because she is separated from the

service of the profane world, is animated by the Holy Spirit, forms her

members to holiness, and exercises strict discipline. She is catholic,

that is (according to the precise sense of holos, which denotes not so

much numerical totality as wholeness), complete, and alone true, in

distinction from all parties and sects. Catholicity, strictly taken,

includes the three marks of universality, unity, and exclusiveness, and

is an essential property of the church as the body and organ of Christ,

who is, in fact, the only Redeemer for all men. Equally inseparable

from her is the predicate of apostolicity, that is, the historical

continuity or unbroken succession, which reaches back through the

bishops to the apostles, from the apostles to Christ, and from Christ

to God. In the view of the fathers, every theoretical departure from

this empirical, tangible, catholic church is heresy, that is,

arbitrary, subjective, ever changing human opinion; every practical

departure, all disobedience to her rulers is schism, or dismemberment

of the body of Christ; either is rebellion against divine authority,

and a heinous, if not the most heinous, sin. No heresy can reach the

conception of the church, or rightly claim any one of her predicates;

it forms at best a sect or party, and consequently falls within the

province and the fate of human and perishing things, while the church

is divine and indestructible.

This is without doubt the view of the ante-Nicene fathers, even of the

speculative and spiritualistic Alexandrians. The most important

personages in the development of the doctrine concerning the church

are, again, Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Cyprian. Their whole doctrine of

the episcopate is intimately connected with their doctrine of the

catholic unity, and determined by it. For the episcopate is of value in

their eyes only, is the indispensable means of maintaining and

promoting this unity: while they are compelled to regard the bishops of

heretics and schismatics as rebels and antichrists.

1. In the Epistles of Ignatius the unity of the church, in the form and

through the medium of the episcopate, is the fundamental thought and

the leading topic of exhortation. The author calls himself a man

prepared for union. [235] 35 He also is the first to use the term

"catholic" in the ecclesiastical sense, when he says: [236] 36 "Where

Christ Jesus is, there is the catholic church;" that is, the closely

united and full totality of his people. Only in her, according to his

view, can we eat the bread of God; he, who follows a schismatic,

inherits not the kingdom of God. [237] 37

We meet similar views, although not so clearly and strongly stated, in

the Roman Clement's First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the letter of

the church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, and in the Shepherd

of Hermas.

2 Irenaeus speaks much more at large respecting the church. He calls

her the haven of rescue, the way of salvation, the entrance to life,

the paradise in this world, of whose trees, to wit, the holy

Scriptures, we may eat, excepting the tree of knowledge of good and

evil, which he takes as a type of heresy. The church is inseparable

from the Holy Spirit; it is his home, and indeed his only

dwelling-place on earth. "Where the church is," says he, putting the

church first, in the genuine catholic spirit, "there is the Spirit of

God, and where the Spirit of God is there is all grace." [238] 38 Only

on the bosom of the church, continues he, can we be nursed to life. To

her must we flee, to be made partakers of the Holy Spirit; separation

from her is separation from the fellowship of the Holy Spirit.

Heretics, in his view, are enemies of the truth and sons of Satan, and

will be swallowed up by hell, like the company of Korah, Dathan, and

Abiram. Characteristic in this respect is the well-known legend, which

he relates, about the meeting of the apostle John with the Gnostic

Cerinthus, and of Polycarp with Marcion, the "first-born of Satan."

3. Tertullian is the first to make that comparison of the church with

Noah's ark, which has since become classical in Roman catholic

theology; and he likewise attributes heresies to the devil, without any

qualification. But as to schism, he was himself guilty of it since he

joined the Montanists and bitterly opposed the Catholics in questions

of discipline. He has therefore no place in the Roman Catholic list of

the patres, but simply of the scriptores ecclesiae.

4. Even Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, with all their

spiritualistic and idealizing turn of mind, are no exception here. The

latter, in the words: "Out of the church no man can be saved," [239] 39

brings out the principle of the catholic exclusiveness as unequivocally

as Cyprian. Yet we find in him, together with very severe judgments of

heretics, mild and tolerant expressions also; and he even supposes, on

the ground of Rom. 2:6 sqq., that in the future life honest Jews and

heathens will attain a suitable reward, a low grade of blessedness,

though not the "life everlasting" in the proper sense. In a later age

he was himself condemned as a heretic.

Of other Greek divines of the third century, Methodius in particular,

an opponent of Origen, takes high views of the church, and in his

Symposion poetically describes it as "the garden of God in the beauty

of eternal spring, shining in the richest splendor of immortalizing

fruits and flowers;" as the virginal, unspotted, ever young and

beautiful royal bride of the divine Logos.

5. Finally, Cyprian, in his Epistles, and most of all in his classical

tract: De Unitate Eccelesiae, written in the year 251, amidst the

distractions of the Novatian schism, and not without an intermixture of

hierarchical pride and party spirit, has most distinctly and most

forcibly developed the old catholic doctrine of the church, her unity,

universality, and exclusiveness. He is the typical champion of visible,

tangible church unity, and would have made a better pope than any pope

before Leo I.; yet after all he was anti-papal and anti-Roman when he

differed from the pope. Augustin felt this inconsistency, and thought

that he had wiped it out by the blood of his martyrdom. But he never

gave any sign of repentance. His views are briefly as follows:

The Catholic church was founded from the first by Christ on St. Peter

alone, that, with all the equality of power among the apostles, unity

might still be kept prominent as essential to her being. She has ever

since remained one, in unbroken episcopal succession; as there is only

one sun, though his rays are everywhere diffused. Try once to separate

the ray from the sun; the unity of the light allows no division. Break

the branch from the tree; it can produce no fruit. Cut off the brook

from the fountain; it dries up. Out of this empirical orthodox church,

episcopally organized and centralized in Rome, Cyprian can imagine no

Christianity at all; [240] 40 not only among the Gnostics and other

radical heretics, but even among the Novatians, who varied from the

Catholics in no essential point of doctrine, and only elected an

opposition bishop in the interest of their rigorous penitential

discipline. Whoever separates himself from the catholic church is a

foreigner, a profane person, an enemy, condemns himself, and must be

shunned. No one can have God for his father, who has not the church for

his mother. [241] 41 As well might one out of the ark of Noah have

escaped the flood, as one out of the church be saved; [242] 42 because

she alone is the bearer of the Holy Spirit and of all grace.

In the controversy on heretical baptism, Cyprian carried out the

principle of exclusiveness even more consistently than the Roman

church. For he entirely rejected such baptism, while Stephen held it

valid, and thus had to concede, in strict consistency, the possibility

of regeneration, and hence of salvation, outside the Catholic church.

Here is a point where even the Roman system, generally so consistent,

has a loophole of liberality, and practically gives up her theoretical

principle of exclusiveness. But in carrying out this principle, even in

persistent opposition to the pope, in whom he saw the successor of

Peter and the visible centre of unity, Cyprian plainly denied the

supremacy of Roman jurisdiction and the existence of an infallible

tribunal for the settlement of doctrinal controversies and protested

against identifying the church in general with the church of Rome. And

if he had the right of such protest in favor of strict exclusiveness,

should not the Greek church, and above all the Evangelical, much rather

have the right of protest against the Roman exclusiveness, and in favor

of a more free and comprehensive conception of the church?

We may freely acknowledge the profound and beautiful truth at the

bottom of this old catholic doctrine of the church, and the historical

importance of it for that period of persecution, as well as for the

great missionary work among the barbarians of the middle ages; but we

cannot ignore the fact that the doctrine rested in part on a fallacy,

which, in course of time, after the union of the church with the state,

or, in other words, with the world, became more and more glaring, and

provoked an internal protest of ever-growing force. It blindly

identified the spiritual unity of the church with unity of

organization, insisted on outward uniformity at the expense of free

development, and confounded the faulty empirical church, or a temporary

phase of the development of Christianity, with the ideal and eternal

kingdom of Christ, which will not be perfect in its manifestation until

the glorious second coming of its Head. The Scriptural principle "Out

of Christ there is no salvation," was contracted and restricted to the

Cyprianic principle: "Out of the (visible) church there is no

salvation;" and from this there was only one step to the fundamental

error of Romanism: "Out of the Roman Church there is no salvation."

No effort after outward unity could prevent the distinction of all

Oriental and Occidental church from showing itself at this early

period, in language, customs, and theology;--a distinction which

afterwards led to a schism to this day unhealed.

It may well be questioned whether our Lord intended an outward visible

unity of the church in the present order of things. He promised that

there should be "one flock one shepherd," but not "one fold." [243] 43

There may be one flock, and yet many folds or church organizations. In

the sacerdotal prayer, our Lord says not one word about church, bishops

or popes, but dwells upon that spiritual unity which reflects the

harmony between the eternal Father and the eternal Son. "The true

communion of Christian men--'the communion of saints' upon which all

churches are built--is not the common performance of external acts, but

a communion of soul with soul and of the soul with Christ. It is a

consequence of the nature which God has given us that an external

organization should help our communion with one another: it is a

consequence both of our twofold nature, and of Christ's appointment

that external acts should help our communion with Him. But subtler,

deeper, diviner than anything of which external things can be either

the symbol or the bond is that inner reality and essence of union--that

interpenetrating community of thought and character--which St. Paul

speaks of as the 'unity of the Spirit,' and which in the sublimest of

sublime books, in the most sacred words, is likened to the oneness of

the Son with the Father and of the Father with the Son." [244] 44

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[232] The Church of England retained the term "catholic" in the Creed,

and the, ante-papal and anti-papal use of this; term (=general,

universal); while Luther in his Catechism, and the Moravian church (in

her liturgy) substituted the word "Christian," and surrendered the use

of "catholic" to the Roman Catholics. "Roman" is a sectarian term (in

opposition to Greek Catholic and Evangelical Catholic).

[233] Credo ecclesiam; yet not in (eis) ecclesiam, as in the case of

the Divine persons

[234] Communio sanctorum. This clause, however, is not found in the

original Creed of the Roman church before the fifth century.

[235] athropon eis enosin katertismenon.

[236] Ad Smyrn. c. 8.

[237] �Ad Ephes. c. 5. Ad Trall. c.7. Ad Philad. c. 3, etc

[238] Adv. Haer. iii. 24."Ubi ecclesia ibi et Spiritus Dei, et ubi

Spiritus Dei, illic et omnis gratia." Protestantism would say,

conversely, putting the Spirit first: "Ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia

et omnis gratia."

[239] Hom. 3 in Josuam, c. 5. "Extra hanc domum, id est extra

ecclesiam, nemo salvatur."

[240] "Christianus non est, qui in Christi ecclesia non est."

[241] "Habere non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem."

[242] "Extra ecclesia nulla salus." Yet he nowhere says "extra Romanam

nulla salus."

[243] John 10:16. It was a characteristic, we may say, an ominous

mistake of the Latin Vulgate to render poimne by ovile (confounding it

with aule). The Authorized Version has copied the mischievous blunder

("one fold"), but the Revision of 1881 has corrected it.

[244] Hatch, l.c. p. 187 sq.

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� 54. Councils.

Best Collections of Acts of Councils by Harduin (1715, 12 vols.), and

Mansi (1759, 31 vols.).

C. J. Hefele (R.C. Bishop of Rottenburg, and member of the Vatican

Council of 1870): Conciliengeschichte, Freiburg 1855; second ed. 1873

sqq., 7 vols. down to the Council of Florence, a.d. 1447 (See vol. I.,

pp. 83-242). English translation by W. R. Clark and H. R. Oxenham (

Edinb. 1871, 2d vol. 1876, 3d vol. 1883).

E. B. Pusey (d. 1882): The Councils of the Church, from the Council of

Jerusalem, a.d. 51, to the Council of Constantinople, a.d. 381; chiefly

as to their constitution, but also as to their object and history.

Lond. 1857.

A. W. Dale: The Synod of Elvira [a.d. 306] and Christian Life in the

Fourth Century. Lond. 1882.

Comp. the article Council in Smith and Cheetham and Lect. VII. in

Hatch, Bampton Lect. on the Organization of the Early Christian Church.

Lond. 1881, pp. 165 sqq.

Councils or Synods were an important means of maintaining and promoting

ecclesiastical unity, and deciding questions of faith and discipline.

[245] 45 They had a precedent and sanction in the apostolic Conference

of Jerusalem for the settlement of the circumcision controversy. [246]

46 They were suggested moreover by the deliberative political

assemblies of the provinces of the Roman empire, which met every year

in the chief towns. [247] 47 But we have no distinct trace of Councils

before the middle of the second century (between 50 and 170), when they

first appear, in the disputes concerning Montanism and Easter.

There are several kinds of Synods according to their size, diocesan,

provincial (or metropolitan), national, patriarchal, and oecumenical

(or universal). [248] 48 Our period knows only the first three.

Diocesan synods consist of the bishop and his presbyters and deacons

with the people assisting, and were probably held from the beginning,

but are not mentioned before the third century. Provincial synods

appear first in Greece, where the spirit of association had continued

strong since the days of the Achaean league, and then in Asia Minor,

North Africa, Gaul, and Spain. They were held, so far as the stormy

times of persecution allowed, once or twice a year, in the metropolis,

under the presidency of the metropolitan, who thus gradually acquired a

supervision over the other bishops of the province. Special emergencies

called out extraordinary sessions, and they, it seems, preceded the

regular meetings. They were found to be useful, and hence became

institutions.

The synodical meetings were public, and the people of the community

around sometimes made their influence felt. In the time of Cyprian

presbyters, confessors, and laymen took an active part, a custom which

seems to have the sanction of apostolic practice. [249] 49 At the Synod

which met about 256, in the controversy on heretical baptism, there

were present eighty-seven bishops, very many priests and deacons, and

"maxima pars plebis;" [250] 50 and in the synods concerning the

restoration of the Lapsi, Cyprian convened besides the bishops, his

clergy, the "confessores," and "laicos stantes" (i.e. in good

standing). [251] 51 Nor was this practice confined to North Africa. We

meet it in Syria, at the synods convened on account of Paul of Samosata

(264-269), and in Spain at the council of Elvira. Origen, who was

merely a presbyter, was the leading spirit of two Arabian synods, and

convinced their bishop Beryllus of his Christological error. Even the

Roman clergy, in their letter to Cyprian, [252] 52 speak of a common

synodical consultation of the bishops with the priests, deacons,

confessors, and laymen in good standing.

But with the advance of the hierarchical spirit, this republican

feature gradually vanished. After the council of Nicaea (325) bishops

alone had seat and voice, and the priests appear hereafter merely as

secretaries, or advisers, or representatives of their bishops. The

bishops, moreover, did not act as representatives of their churches,

nor in the name of the body of the believers, as formerly, but in their

own right as successors of the apostles. They did not as yet, however,

in this period, claim infallibility for their decisions, unless we

choose to find a slight approach to such a claim in the formula:

"Placuit nobis, Sancto Spiritu suggerente," as used, for example, by

the council of Carthage, in 252. [253] 53 At all events, their decrees

at that time had only moral power, and could lay no claim to universal

validity. Even Cyprian emphatically asserts absolute independence for

each bishop in his own diocese. "To each shepherd," he says, "a portion

of the Lord's flock has been assigned, and his account must be rendered

to his Master."

The more important acts, such as electing bishops, excommunication,

decision of controversies, were communicated to other provinces by

epistolae synodicae. In the intercourse and the translation of

individual members of churches, letters of recommendation [254] 54 from

the bishop were commonly employed or required as terms of admission.

Expulsion from one church was virtually an expulsion from all

associated churches.

The effect of the synodical system tended to consolidation. The

Christian churches from independent communities held together by a

spiritual fellowship of faith, became a powerful confederation, a

compact moral commonwealth within the political organization of the

Roman empire.

As the episcopate culminated in the primacy, so the synodical system

rose into the oecumenical councils, which represented the whole church

of the Roman empire. But these could not be held till persecution

ceased, and the emperor became the patron of Christianity. The first

was the celebrated council of Nicaea, in the year 325. The state gave

legal validity to the decrees of councils, and enforced them if

necessary by all its means of coercion. But the Roman government

protected only the Catholic or orthodox church, except during the

progress of the Arian and other controversies, before the final result

was reached by the decision of an oecumenical Synod convened by the

emperor. [255] 55

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[245] Concilium, first used in the ecclesiastical sense by Tertullian,

De Iejun. c. 13, De Pudic. c. 10; sunodos , assembly, meeting for

deliberation (Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Demosthenes, etc.), first

used of Christian assemblies in the pseudo-Apostolical Constit. V. 20,

and the Canons, c. 36 or 38. It may designate a diocesan, or

provincial, or general Christian convention for either elective, or

judicial, or legislative, or doctrinal purposes

[246] a.d. 50. Acts 15 and Gal. 2. Comp. also the Lord's promise to be

present where even the smallest number are assembled in his name, Matt.

18:19, 20. See vol. I. �64, p. 503 sqq

[247] On the provincial councils of the Roman empire see

Marquardt,R�mische Staatsverwaltung, I. 365-377, and Hatch, l.c. p. 164

sqq. The deliberations were preceded by a sacrifice, and the president

was called highpriest.

[248] That is, within the limits of the old Roman empire, as the orbis

terrarum. There never was an absolutely universal council. Even the

seven oecumenical Councils from 325 to 787 were confined to the empire,

and poorly attended by Western bishops. The Roman Councils held after

that time (down to the Vatican Council in 1870) claim to be

oecumenical, but exclude the Greek and all evangelical churches.

[249] Comp. Acts 15:6, 7, 12, 13, 23, where the "brethren" are

mentioned expressly, besides the apostles and elders, as members of the

council, even at the final decision and in the pastoral letter. On the

difference of reading, see vol. I. 505.

[250] Cyprian, Opera, p. 329, ed. Baluz. In the acts of this council,

however (pp. 330-338), only the bishops appear as voters, from which

some writers infer that the laity, and even the presbyters, had no

votum decisium. But in several old councils the presbyters and deacons

subscribed their names after those of the bishops; see Harduin, Coll.

Conc. I. 250 and 266; Hefele I. 19.

[251] Epp.xi., xiii., lxvi., lxxi.

[252] Ep. xxxi.

[253] Cyprian, Ep. liv., on the ground of the edoxe to hagio pneumati

kai hemin, visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis, Acts 15:28. So also, the

council of Arles, a.d. 314: Placuit ergo, presente Spiritu Sancto et

angelis ejus (Harduin, Coll. Concil. I. 262).

[254] Epistolae formatae, grammata tetupomena.

[255] This policy was inaugurated by Constantine I. a.d. 326 (Cod.

Theod. 16, 5, 1). He confined the privileges and immunities which, in

313, he had granted to Christians in his later enactments to

"Catholicae legis observatoribus." He ratified the Nicene creed and

exiled Arius (325), although he afterwards wavered and was baptized by

a semi-Arian bishop (337). His immediate successors wavered likewise.

But as a rule the Byzantine emperors recognized the decisions of

councils in dogma and discipline, and discouraged and ultimately

prohibited the formation of dissenting sects. The state can, of course,

not prevent dissent as an individual opinion; it can only prohibit and

punish the open profession. Full religious liberty requires separation

of church and state.

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� 55. The Councils of Elvira, Arles, and Ancyra.

Among the ante-Nicene Synods some were occasioned by the Montanist

controversy in Asia Minor, some by the Paschal controversies, some by

the affairs of Origen, some by the Novatian schism and the treatment of

the Lapsi in Carthage and Rome, some by the controversies on heretical

baptism (255, 256), three were held against Paul of Samosata in Antioch

(264-269).

In the beginning of the fourth century three Synods, held at Elvira,

Arles, and Ancyra, deserve special mention, as they approach the

character of general councils and prepared the way for the first

oecumenical council. They decided no doctrinal question, but passed

important canons on church polity and Christian morals. They were

convened for the purpose of restoring order and discipline after the

ravages of the Diocletian persecution. They deal chiefly with the large

class of the Lapsed, and reflect the transition state from the

ante-Nicene to the Nicene age. They are alike pervaded by the spirit of

clericalism and a moderate asceticism.

1. The Synod of Elvira (Illiberis, or Eliberis, probably on the site of

the modern Granada) was held in 306, [256] 56 and attended by nineteen

bishops, and twenty-six presbyters, mostly from the Southern districts

of Spain. Deacons and laymen were also present. The Diocletian

persecution ceased in Spain after the abdication of Diocletian and

Maximian Herculeus in 305; while it continued to rage for several years

longer in the East under Galerius and Maximin. The Synod passed

eighty-one Latin canons against various forms of heathen immorality

then still abounding, and in favor of church discipline and austere

morals. The Lapsed were forbidden the holy communion even in articulo

mortis (can. 1). This is more severe than the action of the Nicene

Synod. The thirty-sixth canon prohibits the admission of sacred

pictures on the walls of the church buildings, [257] 57 and has often

been quoted by Protestants as an argument against image worship as

idolatrous; while Roman Catholic writers explain it either as a

prohibition of representations of the deity only, or as a prudential

measure against heathen desecration of holy things. [258] 58 Otherwise

the Synod is thoroughly catholic in spirit and tone. Another

characteristic feature is the severity against the Jews who were

numerous in Spain. Christians are forbidden to marry Jews. [259] 59

The leading genius of the Elvira Synod and the second in the list was

Hosius, bishop of Corduba (Cordova), who also attended the Council of

Nicaea as the chief representative of the West. He was native of

Cordova, the birth-place of Lucan and Seneca, and more than sixty years

in the episcopate. Athanasius calls him a man holy in fact as well as

in name, and speaks of his wisdom in guiding synods. As a far-seeing

statesman, he seems to have conceived the idea of reconciling the

empire with the church and influenced the mind of Constantine in that

direction. He is one of the most prominent links between the age of

persecution and the age of imperial Christianity. He was a strong

defender of the Nicene faith, but in his extreme old age he wavered and

signed an Arian formula. Soon afterwards he died, a hundred years old

(358).

2. The first Council of Arles in the South of France [260] 60 was held

a.d. 314, in consequence of an appeal of the Donatists to Constantine

the Great, against the decision of a Roman Council of 313, consisting

of three Gallican and fifteen Italian bishops under the lead of Pope

Melchiades. This is the first instance of an appeal of a Christian

party to the secular power, and it turned out unfavorably to the

Donatists who afterwards became enemies of the government. The Council

of Arles was the first called by Constantine and the forerunner of the

Council of Nicaea. Augustin calls it even universal, but it was only

Western at best. It consisted of thirty-three bishops [261] 61 from

Gaul, Sicily, Italy (exclusive of the Pope Sylvester, who, however, was

represented by two presbyters and two deacons), North Africa, and

Britain (three, from York, London, and probably from Caerleon on Usk),

besides thirteen presbyters and twenty-three deacons. It excommunicated

Donatus and passed twenty-two canons concerning Easter (which should be

held on one and the same day), against the non-residence of clergy,

against participation in races and gladiatorial fights (to be punished

by excommunication), against the rebaptism of heretics, and on other

matters of discipline. Clergymen who could be proven to have delivered

sacred books or utensils in persecution (the traditores) should be

deposed, but their official acts were to be held valid. The assistance

of at least three bishops was required at ordination. [262] 62

3. The Council of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia in Asia Minor, was

held soon after the death of the persecutor Maximin (3l3), probably in

the year 314, and represented Asia Minor and Syria. It numbered from

twelve to eighteen bishops (the lists vary), several of whom eleven

years afterwards attended the Council of Nicaea. Marcellus of Ancyra

who acquired celebrity in the Arian controversies, presided, according

to others Vitalis of Antioch. Its object was to heal the wounds of the

Diocletian persecution, and it passed twenty-five canons relating

chiefly to the treatment of those who had betrayed their faith or

delivered the sacred books in those years of terror. Priests who had

offered sacrifice to the gods, but afterwards repented, were prohibited

from preaching and all sacerdotal functions, but allowed to retain

their clerical dignity. Those who had sacrificed before baptism may be

admitted to orders. Adultery is to be punished by seven years' penance,

murder by life-long penance. [263] 63

A similar Council was held soon afterwards at, Neo-Caesarea in

Cappadocia (between 314-325), mostly by the same bishops who attended

that of Ancyra, and passed fifteen disciplinary canons. [264] 64

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[256] Hefele, Gams, and Dale decide in favor of this date against the

superscription which puts it down to the period of the Council of

Nicaea (324). The chief reason is that Hosius, bishop of Cordova, could

not be, present in 324 when he was in the Orient, nor at any time after

307, when he joined the company of Constantine as one of his private

councillors.

[257] "Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et

adoratur in parietibus depingatur.""There shall be no pictures in the

church, lest what is worshipped [saints] and adored [God and Christ]

should be depicted on the walls."

[258] The last is the interpretation of the canon by DeRossi, in Roma

sotteranea, Tom. I., p. 97, and Hefele, I. 170. But Dale (p. 292 sqq.)

thinks that it was aimed against the idolatry of Christians.

[259] The best accounts of the Synod of Elvira are given by Ferdinand

de Mendoza, De confirmando Concilio IIIiberitano ad Clementem VIII.,

1593 (reprinted in Mansi II. 57-397); Fr. Ant. Gonzalez, Collect. Can.

Ecclesiae Hispaniae, Madrid, 1808, new ed. with Spanish version, 1849

(reprinted in Bruns, Bibl. Eccl. Tom. I. Pars II. 1 sqq.); Hefele,

Conciliengesch. I. 148-192 (second ed., 1873; or 122 sqq., first ed.);

Gams, Kirchengesch. von Spanien (1864), vol. II. 1-136; and Dale in his

monograph on the Synod of Elvira, London, 1882.

[260] Concilium Arelatense, from Arelate or Arelatum Sextanorum, one of

the chief Roman cities in South-Eastern Gaul, where Constantine at one

time resided, and afterwards the West Gothic King Eurich. It was

perhaps the seat of the first bishopric of Gaul, or second only to that

of Lyons and Vienne. Several councils were held in that city, the

second in 353 during the Arian controversy.

[261] Not 633, as McClintock & Strong's "Cyclop" has it sub Arles.

[262] See Eus. H. E. x. 5; Mansi, II. 463-468; M�nchen, Das ersten

Concil von Arles (in the "Bonner Zeitschrift f�r Philos. und kath.

Theol.," No. 9, 26, 27), and Hefele I. 201-219 (2nd ed.).

[263] Hefele, vol. I. 222 sqq., gives the canons in Greek and German

with explanation. He calls it a Synodus plenaria, i.e., a general

council for the churches of Asia Minor and Syria. See also Mansi II.

514 sqq. Two Arian Synods were held at Ancyra in 358 and 375.

[264] See Hefele I. 242-251.

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� 56. Collections of Ecclesiastical Law. The Apostolical Constitutions

and Canons.

Sources.

I. Diatagai ton hagion Apostolon dia Klemnetos, etc., Constitutiones

Apostolicae, first edited by Fr Turrianus, Ven. 1563, then in

Cotelier's ed. of the Patres Apostolici (I. 199 sqq.), in Mansi

(Collect. Concil. I.), and Harduin (Coll. Conc. I.); newly edited by

Ueltzen, Rost. 1853, and P. A. de Lagarde, Lips. and Lond. 1854 and

1862. Ueltzen gives the textus receptus improved. Lagarde aims at the

oldest text, which he edited in Syriac (Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace,

1854), and in Greek (Constit. Apostolorum Graece, 1862). Hilgenfels:

Nov. Test. extra Canonem rec., Lips. (1866), ed. II. (1884), Fasc. IV.

110-121. He gives the Ap. Church Order under the title Duae Viae vel

Judicium Petri.

Thos. Pell Platt: The �thiopic Didascalia; or the �thiopic Version of

the Apostolical Constitutions, received in the Church of Abyssinia,

with an Engl Transl, , Lond. 1834.

Henry Tattam: The Apostolical Constitutions, or Canons of the Apostles

in Coptic. With an Engl. translation. Lond. 1848 (214 pages).

II. Kanones ekklesiastikoi ton hag. Apostolon, Canones, qui dicuntur

Apostolorum, in most collections of church law, and in Cotel. (I. 437

sqq.), Mansi, and Harduin (tom. I.), and in the editions of the Ap.

Constitutions at the close. Separate edd. by Paul De Lagarde in Greek

and Syriac: Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae Syriace, Lips.

1856; and Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici Graece, 1856 (both to be had at

Tr�bner's, Strassburg). An Ethiopic translation of the Canons, ed. by

Winand Fell, Leipz. 1871.

W. G. Beveridge, (Bishop of St. Asaph, d. 1708): Sunodikon, s.

Pandectae Canonum S. G. Apostolorum et Conciliorum, ab Ecclesia Gr.

reliquit. Oxon. 1672-82, 2 vols. fol.

John Fulton: Index Canonum. In Greek and English. With a Complete

Digest of the entire code of canon law in the undivided Primitive

Church. N. York 1872; revised ed. with Preface by P. Schaff, 1883.

Critical Discussions.

Krabbe: Ueber den Ursprung u. den Inhalt der Apost. Constitutionen des

Clemens Romanus. Hamb. 1829.

S. v. Drey (R.C.): Neue Untesuchungen �ber die Constitut. u. Kanones

der Ap. T�b. 1832.

J. W. Bickell (d. 1848): Gesch. des Kirchenrechts. Giess. 1843 (I. 1,

pp. 52-255). The second part appeared, Frankf., 1849.

Chase: Constitations of the Holy Apostles, including the Canons;

Whiston's version revised from the Greek; with a prize essay(of Krabbe)

upon their origin and contents. New York, 1848.

Bunsen: Hippolytusu. seine Zeit., Leipz. 1852 (I. pp. 418-523, and II.

pp. 1126); and in the 2d Engl. ed. Hippolytus and his Age, or

Christianity and Mankind, Lond. 1854 (vols. V - VII).

Hefele (R.C.): Conciliengeschichte I. p. 792 sqq. (second ed. 1873).

The Didache Literature (fully noticed in Schaff's monograph

Philoth. Bryennios: Didache ton dodeka apostolon. Constantinople, 1833.

Ad. Harnack: Die Lehre der Zw�lf Apostel. Leipz., 1884. Die

Apostellehre und die j�dischen beiden Wege, 1886.

Ph. Schaff: The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, or the Oldest Church

Manual. N. York, 1885. 3d ed. revised and enlarged, 1889.

Several church manuals or directories of public worship, and discipline

have come down to us from the first centuries in different languages.

They claim directly or indirectly apostolic origin and authority, but

are post-apostolic and justly excluded from the canon. They give us

important information on the ecclesiastical laws, morals, and customs

of the ante-Nicene age.

1. The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles is the oldest and simplest

church manual, of Jewish Christian (Palestinian or Syrian) origin, from

the end of the first century, known to the Greek fathers, but only

recently discovered and published by Bryennios (1883). It contains in

16 chapters (1) a summary of moral instruction based on the Decalogue

and the royal commandment of love to God and man, in the parabolic form

of two ways, the way of life and the way of death; (2) directions on

the celebration of baptism and the eucharist with the agape; (3)

directions on discipline and the offices of apostles (i.e. travelling

evangelists), prophets, teachers, bishops (i.e. presbysters), and

deacons; (4) an exhortation to watchfulness in view of the coming of

the Lord and the resurrection of the saints. A very remarkable book.

Its substance survived in the seventh book of the Apostolical

Constitutions.

2. The Ecclesiastical Canons of the holy apostles or Apostolical Church

Order, of Egyptian origin, probably of the third century. An expansion

of the former in the shape of a fictitious dialogue of the apostles,

first published in Greek by Bickell (1843), and then also in Coptic and

Syriac. It contains ordinances of the apostles on morals, worship, and

discipline.

3. The Apostolical Constitutions, the most complete and important

Church Manual. It is, in form, a literary fiction, professing to be a

bequest of all the apostles, handed down through the Roman bishop

Clement, or dictated to him. It begins with the words: "The apostles

and elders, to all who among the nations have believed in the Lord

Jesus Christ. Grace be with you, and peace." It contains, in eight

books, a collection of moral exhortations, church laws and usages, and

liturgical formularies which had gradually arisen in the various

churches from the close of the first century, the time of the Roman

Clement, downward, particularly in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and

Rome, partly on the authority of apostolic practice. These were at

first orally transmitted; then committed to writing in different

versions, like the creeds; and finally brought, by some unknown hand,

into their present form. The first six books, which have a strongly

Jewish-Christian tone, were composed, with the exception of some later

interpolations, at the end of the third century, in Syria. The seventh

book is an expansion of the Didache of the Twelve Apostles. The eighth

book contains a liturgy, and, in an appendix, the apostolical canons.

The collection of the three parts into one whole may be the work of the

compiler of the eighth book. It is no doubt of Eastern authorship, for

the church of Rome nowhere occupies a position of priority or

supremacy. [265] 65 The design was, to set forth the ecclesiastical

life for laity and clergy, and to establish the episcopal theocracy.

These constitutions were more used and consulted in the East than any

work of the fathers, and were taken as the rule in matters of

discipline, like the Holy Scriptures in matters of doctrine. Still the

collection, as such, did not rise to formal legal authority, and the

second Trullan council of 692 (known as quinisextum), rejected it for

its heretical interpolations, while the same council acknowledged the

Apostolical Canons. [266] 66

The "Apostolical Canons" consist of brief church rules or

prescriptions, in some copies eighty-five in number, in others fifty,

and pretend to be of apostolic origin, being drawn up by Clement of

Rome from the directions of the apostles, who in several places speak

in the first person. They are incorporated in the "Constitutions" as an

appendix to the eighth book, but are found also by themselves, in

Greek, Syriac, Aethiopic, and Arabic manuscripts. Their contents are

borrowed partly from the Scriptures, especially the Pastoral Epistles,

partly from tradition, and partly from the decrees of early councils at

Antioch, Neo-Caesarea, Nicaea, Laodicea, &c. (but probably not

Chalcedon, 451). They are, therefore, evidently of gradual growth, and

were collected either after the middle of the fourth century, [267] 67

or not till the latter part of the fifth, [268] 68 by some unknown

hand, probably also in Syria. They are designed to furnish a complete

system of discipline for the clergy. Of the laity they say scarcely a

word. The eighty-fifth and last canon settles the canon of the

Scripture, but reckons among the New Testament books two epistles of

Clement and the genuine books of the pseudo-Apostolic Constitutions.

The Greek church, at the Trullan council of 692, adopted the whole

collection of eighty-five canons as authentic and binding, and John of

Damascus placed it even on a parallel with the epistles of the apostle

Paul, thus showing that he had no sense of the infinite superiority of

the inspired writings. The Latin church rejected it at first, but

subsequently decided for the smaller collection of fifty canons, which

Dionysus Exiguus about the year 500 translated from a Greek manuscript.

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[265] Harnack (l.c. 266-268) identifies Pseudo-Clement with

Pseudo-Ignatius and assigns him to the middle of the fourth century.

[266] Turrianus Bovius; and the eccentric Whiston regarded these

pseudoapostolic Constitutions as a genuine work of the apostles;

containing Christ's teaching during the forty days between the

Resurrection and Ascension. But Baronius, Bellarmin, and Petavius

attached little weight to them, and the Protestant scholars, Daill� and

Blondel, attacked and overthrew their genuineness and authority. The

work is a gradual growth, with many repetitions, interpolations, and

contradictions and anachronisms. James, who was beheaded (a.d. 44), is

made to sit in council with Paul (VI. 14), but elsewhere is represented

as dead (V. 7). The apostles condemn post-apostolic heresies and

heretics (VI. 8), and appoint days of commemoration of their death

(VIII. 33). Episcopacy is extravagantly extolled. P. de Lagarde says:

(Rel juris Eccles. ant., Preface, p. IV.): "Communis vivorum doctorum

fere omnium nunc invaluit opinio eas [constitutiones] saeculo tertio

clam succrevisse et quum sex aliquando libris septimo et octavo auctas

esse postea."

[267] As Bickell supposes. Beveridge put the collection in the third

century.

[268] According to Daill�, Dr. von Drey, and Mejer.

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� 57. Church Discipline.

I. Several Tracts of Tertullian (especially De Poenitentia). The

Philosophumena of Hippolytus (l. IX.). The Epistles of Cyprian, and his

work De Lapsis. The Epistolae Canonicae of Dionysius of Alex., Gregory

Thaumaturgus (about 260), and Peter of Alex. (about 306), collected in

Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae, tom. III., 2nd ed. The Constit. Apost. II.

16, 21-24. The Canons of the councils of Elvira, Arelate, Ancyra,

Neo-Caesarea, and Nicaea, between 306 and 325 (in the Collections of

Councils, and in Routh's Reliq. Sacr. tom. IV.).

II. Morinus: De Disciplina in administratione sacram poenitentiae, Par.

1651 (Venet. 1702).

Marshall: Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church. Lond. 1714

(new ed. 1844).

Fr. Frank: Die Bussdisciplin der Kirche bis zum 7 Jahrh. Mainz. 1868.

On the discipline of the Montanists, see Bonwetsch: Die Geschichte des

Montanismus (1881), pp. 108-118.

The ancient church was distinguished for strict discipline. Previous to

Constantine the Great, this discipline rested on purely moral

sanctions, and had nothing to do with civil constraints and

punishments. A person might be expelled from one congregation without

the least social injury. But the more powerful the church became, the

more serious were the consequences of her censures, and when she was

united with the state, ecclesiastical offenses were punished as

offenses against the state, in extreme cases even with death. The

church always abhorred blood ("ecclesia non sitit sanguiem"), but she

handed the offender over to the civil government to be dealt with

according to law. The worst offenders for many centuries were heretics

or teachers of false doctrine.

The object of discipline was, on the one hand, the dignity and purity

of the church, on the other, the spiritual welfare of the offender;

punishment being designed to be also correction. The extreme penalty

was excommunication, or exclusion from all the rights and privileges of

the faithful. This was inflicted for heresy and schism, and all gross

crimes, such as, theft, murder, adultery, blasphemy, and the denial of

Christ in persecution. After Tertullian, these and like offences

incompatible with the regenerate state, were classed as mortal sins,

[269] 69 in distinction from venial sins or sins of weakness. [270] 70

Persons thus excluded passed into the class of penitents, [271] 71 and

could attend only the catechumen worship. Before they could be

re-admitted to the fellowship of the church, they were required to pass

through a process like that of the catechumens, only still more severe,

and to prove the sincerity of their penitence by the absence from all

pleasures, from ornament in dress, and from nuptial intercourse, by

confession, frequent prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and other good works.

Under pain of a troubled conscience and of separation from the only

saving church, they readily submitted to the severest penances. The

church teachers did not neglect, indeed, to inculcate the penitent

spirit and the contrition of the heart is the main thing. Yet many of

them laid too great stress on certain outward exercises. Tertullian

conceived the entire church penance as a "satisfaction" paid to God.

This view could easily obscure to a dangerous degree the all-sufficient

merit of Christ, and lead to that self-righteousness against which the

Reformation raised so loud a voice.

The time and the particular form of the penances, in the second

century, was left as yet to the discretion of the several ministers and

churches. Not till the end of the third century was a rigorous and

fixed system of penitential discipline established, and then this could

hardly maintain itself a century. Though originating in deep moral

earnestness, and designed only for good, it was not fitted to promote

the genuine spirit of repentance. Too much formality and legal

constraint always deadens the spirit, instead of supporting and

regulating it. This disciplinary formalism first appears, as already

familiar, in the council of Ancyra, about the year 314. [272] 72

Classes of Penitents.

The penitents were distributed into four classes:--

(1) The weepers, [273] 73 who prostrated themselves at the church doors

in mourning garments and implored restoration from the clergy and the

people.

(2) The hearers, [274] 74 who, like the catechumens called by the same

name, were allowed to hear the Scripture lessons and the sermon.

(3) The kneelers, [275] 75 who attended the public prayers, but only in

the kneeling posture.

(4) The standers, [276] 76 who could take part in the whole worship

standing, but were still excluded from the communion.

Those classes answer to the four stages of penance. [277] 77 The course

of penance was usually three or four years long, but, like the

catechetical preparation, could be shortened according to

circumstances, or extended to the day of death. In the East there were

special penitential presbyters, [278] 78 intrusted with the oversight

of the penitential discipline.

Restoration.

After the fulfilment of this probation came the act of reconciliation.

[279] 79 The penitent made a public confession of sin, received

absolution by the laying on of hands of the minister, and precatory or

optative benediction, [280] 80 was again greeted by the congregation

with the brotherly kiss, and admitted to the celebration of the

communion. For the ministry alone was he for ever disqualified. Cyprian

and Firmilian, however, guard against the view, that the priestly

absolution of hypocritical penitents is unconditional and infallible,

and can forestall the judgment of God. [281] 81

Two Parties.

In reference to the propriety of any restoration in certain cases,

there was an important difference of sentiment, which gave rise to

several schisms. All agreed that the church punishment could not

forestall the judgment of God at the last day, but was merely temporal,

and looked to the repentance and conversion of the subject. But it was

a question whether the church should restore even the grossest offender

on his confession of sorrow, or should, under certain circumstances

leave him to the judgment of God. The strict, puritanic party, to which

the Montanists, the Novatians, and the Donatists belonged, and, for a

time, the whole African and Spanish Church, took ground against the

restoration of those who had forfeited the grace of baptism by a mortal

sin, especially by denial of Christ; since, otherwise, the church would

lose her characteristic holiness, and encourage loose morality. The

moderate party, which prevailed in the East, in Egypt, and especially

in Rome, and was so far the catholic party, held the principle that the

church should refuse absolution and communion, at least on the

death-bed, to no penitent sinner. Paul himself restored the Corinthian

offender. [282] 82

The point here in question was of great practical moment in the times

of persecution, when hundreds and thousands renounced their faith

through weakness, but as soon as the danger was passed, pleaded for

readmission into the church, and were very often supported in their

plea by the potent intercessions of the martyrs and confessors, and

their libelli pacis. The principle was: necessity knows no law. A

mitigation of the penitential discipline seemed in such cases justified

by every consideration of charity and policy. So great was the number

of the lapsed in the Decian persecution, that even Cyprian found

himself compelled to relinquish his former rigoristic views, all the

more because he held that out of the visible church there was no

salvation.

The strict party were zealous for the holiness of God; the moderate,

for his grace. The former would not go beyond the revealed forgiveness

of sins by baptism, and were content with urging the lapsed to

repentance, without offering them hope of absolution in this life. The

latter refused to limit the mercy of God and expose the sinner to

despair. The former were carried away with an ideal of the church which

cannot be realized till the second coming of Christ; and while impelled

to a fanatical separatism, they proved, in their own sects, the

impossibility of an absolutely pure communion on earth. The others not

rarely ran to the opposite extreme of a dangerous looseness, were quite

too lenient, even towards mortal sins, and sapped the earnestness of

the Christian morality.

It is remarkable that the lax penitential discipline had its chief

support from the end of the second century, in the Roman church.

Tertullian assails that church for this with bitter mockery.

Hippolytus, soon after him, does the same; for, though no Montanist, he

was zealous for strict discipline. According to his statement (in the

ninth book of his Philosophumena), evidently made from fact, the pope

Callistus, whom a later age stamped a saint because it knew little of

him, admitted bigami and trigami to ordination, maintained that a

bishop could not be deposed, even though he had committed a mortal sin,

and appealed for his view to Rom. 14:4, to the parable of the tares and

the wheat, Matt. 13:30, and, above all, to the ark of Noah, which was a

symbol of the church, and which contained both clean and unclean

animals, even dogs and wolves. In short, he considered no sin too great

to be loosed by the power of the keys in the church. And this continued

to be the view of his successors.

But here we perceive, also, how the looser practice in regard to

penance was connected with the interest of the hierarchy. It favored

the power of the priesthood, which claimed for itself the right of

absolution; it was at the same time matter of worldly policy; it

promoted the external spread of the church, though at the expense of

the moral integrity of her membership, and facilitated both her

subsequent union with the state and her hopeless confusion with the

world. No wonder the church of Rome, in this point, as in others,

triumphed at last over all opposition.

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[269] Peccata mortalia, or, ad mortem; after a rather arbitrary

interpretation of 1 John 5:16. Tertullian gives seven mortal sins:

Homocidium idololatria, fraus, negatio blasphemia. utique et moechia

et. fornicatio et si qua alia violatio templi Dei. De pudic. c. 19,

These he declares irremissibilia,horum ultra exoratur non erit

Christus; that is, if thev be committed after baptism; for baptism

washes, away all former guilt. Hence he counselled delay of baptism.

[270] Peccata, venialia.

[271] Poenitentes.

[272] Can. 4 sqq. See Hefele, Conciliengesch (second ed.) I. 225 sqq.

Comp. also the fifth canon of Neocaesarea, and Hefele, p. 246.

[273] Prosklaiontes, flentes; also called cheimazontes, hiemantes

[274] Akroomenoi, audientes, or auditores. The fourteenth canon of

Nicaea (Hefele I. 418) directs that "Catechumens who had fallen, should

for three years be only hearers, but afterwards pray with the

Catechumens."

[275] Gonuklinontes, genuflectentes: also hupopiptontes , Substrati.

The terra gonu klinonas designating a class of penitents occurs only in

the 5th canon of the Council of Neocaesarea, held after 314 and before

325.

[276] Sunistamenoi, consistentes.

[277] Prosklausis, fletus; akroasis auditus; hupoptosis, prostratio,

humiliatio; sustasis, consistentia. The last three classes are supposed

to correspond to three classes of catechumens, but without good reason.

There was only one class of catechumens, or at most two classes. See

below, � 72.

[278] Presbuteroi epi tes metanoias, presbyteri poenitentiarii

[279] Reconciliatio.

[280] The declarative, and especially the direct indicative or judicial

form of absolution seems to be of later origin.

[281] Cypr. Epist. LV., c. 15: "Neque enim prejudicamus Domino

judicaturo, quominus si penitentiam plenam et justam peccatoris

invenerit tunc ratum faciat, quod a nobis fuerit hic statutum. Si vero

nos aliquis poenitentiae simulatione deluserit, Deus, cui non

deridetur, et qui cor hominis intuetur, de his, quae nos minus

perspeximus, judicet et servorum suorum sententiam Dominus mendet."

Comp. the similar passages in Epist. LXXV. 4, and De Lapsi, c. 17. But

if the church can err in imparting absolution to the unworthy, as

Cyprian concedes, she can err also in withholding absolution and in

passing sentence of excommunication.

[282] 1 Cor. 5:1 sqq. Comp. 2 Cor. 2:5 sqq.

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� 58. Church Schisms.

I. On the Schism of Hippolytus-. The Philosophumena of Hippol. lib. IX.

(ed. Miller, Oxf. 1851, better by Duncker and Schneidewin, G�tt. 1859),

and the monographs on Hippolytus, by Bunsen, D�llinger, Wordsworth,

Jacobi, and others (which will be noticed in chapter XIII. � 183).

II. On the Schism of Felicissimus: Cyprian: Epist. 38-40, 42, 55.

III. On the Novatian Schism: Hippol.: Philosoph. 1 IX. Cypr.: Epist.

41-52; and the Epistles of Cornelius of Rome, and Dionys. of Alex., in

Euseb. H. E., VI. 43-45; VII. 8. Comp. Lit. in � 200.

IV. On the Meletian Schism: Documents in Latin translation in Maffei:

Osservationi Letterarie, Verona, 1738, tom. III p. 11 sqq., and the

Greek fragments from the Liber de poenitentia of Peter of Alexandria in

Routh: Reliquicae Sacr. vol. II. pp. 21-51. Epiphan.: Haer. 68

(favorable to Meletius); Athanas.: Apol. contra Arianos, � 59; and

after him, Socr, Sozom., and Theod. (very unfavorable to Meletius).

Out of this controversy on the restoration of the lapsed, proceeded

four schisms during the third century; two in Rome, one in North

Africa, and one in Egypt. Montanism, too, was in a measure connected

with the question of penitential discipline, but extended also to

several other points of Christian life, and will be discussed in a

separate chapter.

I. The Roman schism of Hippolytus. This has recently been brought to

the light by the discovery of his Philosophumena (1851). Hippolytus was

a worthy disciple of Irenaeus, and the most learned and zealous divine

in Rome, during the pontificates of Zephyrinus (202-217), and Callistus

(217-222). He died a martyr in 235 or 236. He was an advocate of strict

views on discipline in opposition to the latitudinarian practice which

we have described in the previous section. He gives a most unfavorable

account of the antecedents of Callistus, and charges him and his

predecessor with the patripassian heresy. The difference, therefore,

was doctrinal as well as disciplinarian. It seems to have led to mutual

excommunication and a temporary schism, which lasted till a.d. 235.

Hippolytus ranks himself with the successors of the apostles, and seems

to have been bishop of Portus, the port of Rome (according to later

Latin tradition), or bishop of Rome (according to Greek writers). If

bishop of Rome, he was the first schismatic pope, and forerunner of

Novatianus, who was ordained anti pope in 251. [283] 83 But the Roman

Church must have forgotten or forgiven his schism, for she numbers him

among her saints and martyrs, and celebrates his memory on the

twenty-second of August. Prudentius, the spanish poet, represents him

as a Roman presbyter, who first took part in the Novatian schism, then

returned to the Catholic church, and was torn to pieces by wild horses

at Ostia on account of his faith. The remembrance of the schism was

lost in the glory of his supposed or real martyrdom. According to the

chronological catalogue of Popes from a.d. 354, a "presbyter"

Hippolytus, together with the Roman bishop Pontianus, the successor of

Callistus, was banished from Rome in the reign of Alexander Severus

(235), to the mines of Sardinia. [284] 84

II. The schism of Felicississimus, at Carthage, about the year 250,

originated in the personal dissatisfaction of five presbyters with the

hasty and irregular election of Cyprian to the bishopric, by the voice

of the congregation, very soon after his baptism, a.d. 248. At the head

of this opposition party stood the presbyter Novatus, an unprincipled

ecclesiastical demagogue, of restless, insubordinate spirit and

notorious character, [285] 85 and the deacon Felicissimus, whom Novatus

ordained, without the permission or knowledge of Cyprian, therefore

illegally, whether with his own hands or through those of foreign

bishops. The controversy cannot, however, from this circumstance, be

construed, as it is by Neander and others, into a presbyterial reaction

against episcopal autocracy. For the opponents themselves afterwards

chose a bishop in the person of Fortunatus. The Novatians and the

Meletians likewise had the episcopal form of organization, though

doubtless with many irregularities in the ordination.

After the outbreak of the Decian persecution this personal rivalry

received fresh nourishment and new importance from the question of

discipline. Cyprian originally held Tertullian's principles, and

utterly opposed the restoration of the lapsed, till further examination

changed his views. Yet, so great was the multitude of the fallen, that

he allowed an exception in periculo mortis. His opponents still saw

even in this position an unchristian severity, least of all becoming

him, who, as they misrepresented him, fled from his post for fear of

death. They gained the powerful voice of the confessors, who in the

face of their own martyrdom freely gave their peace-bills to the

lapsed. A regular trade was carried on in these indulgences. An

arrogant confessor, Lucian, wrote to Cyprian in the name of the rest,

that he granted restoration to all apostates, and begged him to make

this known to the other bishops. We can easily understand how this

lenity from those who stood in the fire, might take more with the

people than the strictness of the bishop, who had secured himself. The

church of Novatus and Felicissimus was a resort of all the careless

lapsi. Felicissimus set himself also against a visitation of churches

and a collection for the poor, which Cyprian ordered during his exile.

When the bishop returned, after Easter, 251, he held a council at

Carthage, which, though it condemned the party of Felicissimus, took a

middle course on the point in dispute. It sought to preserve the

integrity of discipline, yet at the same time to secure the fallen

against despair. It therefore decided for the restoration of those who

proved themselves truly penitent, but against restoring the careless,

who asked the communion merely from fear of death. Cyprian afterwards,

when the persecution was renewed, under Gallus, abolished even this

limitation. He was thus, of course, not entirely consistent, but

gradually accommodated his principles to circumstances and to the

practice of the Roman church. [286] 86 His antagonists elected their

bishop, indeed, but were shortly compelled to yield to the united force

of the African and Roman churches, especially as they had no moral

earnestness at the bottom of their cause.

His conflict with this schismatical movement strengthened Cyprian's

episcopal authority, and led him in his doctrine of the unity of the

church to the principle of absolute exclusiveness.

III. The Novatian schism in Rome was prepared by the controversy

already alluded to between Hippolytus and Callistus. It broke out soon

after the African schism, and, like it, in consequence of an election

of bishop. But in this case the opposition advocated the strict

discipline against the lenient practice of the dominant church. The

Novatianists [287] 87 considered themselves the only pure communion,

[288] 88 and unchurched all churches which defiled themselves by

re-admitting the lapsed, or any other gross offenders. They went much

farther than Cyprian, even as far as the later Donatists. They admitted

the possibility of mercy for a mortal sinner, but denied the power and

the right of the church to decide upon it, and to prevent, by

absolution, the judgment of God upon such offenders. They also, like

Cyprian, rejected heretical baptism, and baptized all who came over to

them from other communions not just so rigid as themselves.

At the head of this party stood the Roman presbyter Novatian, [289] 89

an earnest, learned, but gloomy man, who had come to faith through

severe demoniacal disease and inward struggles. He fell out with

Cornelius, who, after the Decian persecution in 251, was nominated

bishop of Rome, and at once, to the grief of many, showed great

indulgence towards the lapsed. Among his adherents the above-named

Novatus of Carthage was particularly busy, either from a mere spirit of

opposition to existing authority, or from having changed his former lax

principles on his removal to Rome. Novatian, against his will, was

chosen bishop by the opposition. Cornelius excommunicated him. Both

parties courted the recognition of the churches abroad. Fabian, bishop

of Antioch, sympathized with the rigorists. Dionysius of Alexandria, on

the contrary, accused them of blaspheming the most gracious Lord Jesus

Christ, by calling him unmerciful. And especially Cyprian, from his

zeal for ecclesiastical unity and his aversion to Novatus, took sides

with Cornelius, whom he regarded the legitimate bishop of Rome.

In spite of this strong opposition the Novatian sect, by virtue of its

moral earnestness, propagated itself in various provinces of the West

and the East down to the sixth century. In Phrygia it combined with the

remnants of the Montanists. The council of Nicaea recognized its

ordination, and endeavored, without success, to reconcile it with the

Catholic church. Constantine, at first dealt mildly with the Novatians,

but afterwards prohibited them to worship in public and ordered their

books to be burnt.

IV. The Meletian schism in Egypt arose in the Diocletian persecution,

about 305, and lasted more than a century, but, owing to the

contradictory character of our accounts, it is not so well understood.

It was occasioned by Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis in Thebais, who,

according to one statement, from zeal for strict discipline, according

to another, from sheer arrogance, rebelled against his metropolitan,

Peter of Alexandria (martyred in 311), and during his absence

encroached upon his diocese with ordinations, excommunications, and the

like. Peter warned his people against him, and, on returning from his

flight, deposed him as a disturber of the peace of the church. But the

controversy continued, and spread over all Egypt. The council of Nicaea

endeavored, by recognizing the ordination of the twenty-nine Meletian

bishops, and by other compromise measures, to heal the division; but to

no purpose. The Meletians afterwards made common cause with the Arians.

The Donatist schism, which was more formidable than any of those

mentioned, likewise grew out of the Diocletian persecution, but belongs

more to the next period.

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[283] See the particulars in � 183, and in D�llinger's Hippol. and

Call., Engl. transl. by A. Plummer (1876), p. 92 sqq.

[284] See Mommsen, �ber den Chronographen vom Jahr 354 (1850), Lipsius,

Chronologie der R�m. Bisch�fe, p. 40 sqq.; D�llinger, I.c. p. 332 sqq.;

Jacobi in Herzog2 VI. 142 sqq.

[285] Cyprian charges him with terrible cruelties, such as robbing

widows and orphans, gross abuse of his father, and of his wife even

during her pregnancy; and says, that he was about to be arraigned for

this and similar misconduct when the Decian persecution broke out. Ep.

49.

[286] In Ep. 52, Ad Antonianum, he tried to justify himself in regard

to this change in his views.

[287] Novatiani, Novatianenses.

[288] Katharoi.

[289] Eusebius and the Greeks call him Noouatos, and confound him with

Novatus of Carthage. Dionysius of Alex., however, calls him

Noouatianos.

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CHAPTER V:

CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.

I. The richest sources here are the works of Justin M., Tertullian,

Cyprian, Eusebius, and the so-called Constitutiones Apostolicae; also

Clement of Rome (Ad Cor. 59-61), and the Homily falsely ascribed to him

(fully publ. 1875).

II. See the books quoted in vol. I. 455, and the relevant sections in

the archaeological works of Bingham (Antiquities of the Christian

Church, Lond. 1708-22. 10 vols.; new ed. Lond. 1852, in 2 vols.),

Augusti (whose larger work fills 12 vols., Leipz. 1817-31, and his

Handbuch der Christl. Archaeol. 3 vols. Leipz. 1836), Binterim (R.C.),

Siegel, Smith & Cheetham (Dict. of Chr. Ant., Lond. 1875, 2 vols.), and

Garrucci (Storia della arte crist., 1872-80, 6 vols.)

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� 59. Places of Common Worship.

R. Hospinianus: De Templis, etc. Tig. 1603. And in his Opera, Genev.

1681.

Fabricius: De Templis vett. Christ. Helmst. 1704.

Muratori (R.C.): De primis Christianorum Ecclesiis. Arezzo, 1770.

H�bsch: Altchristliche Kirchen. Karlsruh, 1860.

Jos. Mullooly: St. Clement and his Basilica in Rome. Rome, 2nd ed.

1873.

De Vog��: Architecture civile et relig. du Ie au Vlle si�cle. Paris,

1877, 2 vols.

The numerous works on church architecture (by Fergusson, Brown, Bunsen,

Kugler, Kinkel, Kreuser, Schnaase, L�bke, Voillet-le-Duc, De Vog��

etc.) usually begin with the basilicas of the Constantinian age, which

are described in vol. III. 541 sqq.

The Christian worship, as might be expected from the humble condition

of the church in this period of persecution, was very simple, strongly

contrasting with the pomp of the Greek and Roman communion; yet by no

means puritanic. We perceive here, as well as in organization and

doctrine, the gradual and sure approach of the Nicene age, especially

in the ritualistic solemnity of the baptismal service, and the mystical

character of the eucharistic sacrifice.

Let us glance first at the places of public worship. Until about the

close of the second century the Christians held their worship mostly in

private houses, or in desert places, at the graves of martyrs, and in

the crypts of the catacombs. This arose from their poverty, their

oppressed and outlawed condition, their love of silence and solitude,

and their aversion to all heathen art. The apologists frequently

assert, that their brethren had neither temples nor altars (in the

pagan sense of these words), and that their worship was spiritual and

independent of place and ritual. Heathens, like Celsus, cast this up to

them as a reproach; but Origen admirably replied: The humanity of

Christ is the highest temple and the most beautiful image of God, and

true Christians are living statues of the Holy Spirit, with which no

Jupiter of Phidias can compare. Justin Martyr said to the Roman

prefect: The Christians assemble wherever it is convenient, because

their God is not, like the gods of the heathen, inclosed in space, but

is invisibly present everywhere. Clement of Alexandria refutes the

superstition, that religion is bound to any building.

In private houses the room best suited for worship and for the

love-feast was the oblong dining-hall, the triclinium, which was never

wanting in a convenient Greek or Roman dwelling, and which often had a

semicircular niche, like the choir [290] 90 in the later churches. An

elevated seat [291] 91 was used for reading the Scriptures and

preaching, and a simple tables [292] 92 for the holy communion. Similar

arrangements were made also in the catacombs, which sometimes have the

form of a subterranean church.

The first traces of special houses of worship [293] 93 occur in

Tertullian, who speaks of going to church, [294] 94 and in his

contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, who mentions the double meaning of

the word ekklesia. [295] 95 About the year 230, Alexander Severus

granted the Christians the right to a place in Rome against the protest

of the tavern-keepers, because the worship of God in any form was

better than tavern-keeping. After the middle of the third century the

building of churches began in great earnest, as the Christians enjoyed

over forty years of repose (260-303), and multiplied so fast that,

according to Eusebius, more spacious places of devotion became

everywhere necessary. The Diocletian persecution began (in 303,) with

the destruction of the magnificent church at Nicomedia, which,

according to Lactantius, even towered above the neighboring imperial

palace. [296] 96 Rome is supposed to have had, as early as the

beginning of the fourth century, more than forty churches. But of the

form and arrangement of them we have no account. With Constantine the

Great begins the era of church architecture, and its first style is the

Basilica. The emperor himself set the example, and built magnificent

churches in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Constantinople, which, however,

have undergone many changes. His contemporary, the historian Eusebius,

gives us the first account of a church edifice which Paulinus built in

Tyre between a.d. 313 and 322. [297] 97 It included a large portico

(propulon) a quadrangular atrium (aithrion) surrounded by ranges of

columns; a fountain in the centre of the atrium for the customary

washing of hands and feet before entering the church; interior

porticoes; the nave or central space (basileios oikos) with galleries

above the aisles, and covered by a roof of cedar of Lebanon; and the

most holy altar (hagion hagion thusiasterion). Eusebius mentions also

the thrones (thronoi) for the bishops and presbyters, and benches or

seats. The church was surrounded by halls and inclosed by a wall, which

can still be traced. Fragments of five granite columns of this building

are among the ruins of Tyre.

The description of a church in the Apostolic Constitutions, [298] 98

implies that the clergy occupy the space at the cast end of the church

(in the choir), and the people the nave, but mentions no barrier

between them. Such a barrier, however, existed as early as the fourth

century, when the laity were forbidden to enter the enclosure of the

altar.

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[290] Chorus, bema. The two are sometimes identified, sometimes

distinguished, the bema being the sanctuary proper for the celebration

of the holy mysteries, the choir the remaining part of the chancel for

the clergy; while the nave was for the laity.

[291] Ambon, suggestus, pulpitum.

[292] Trapeza, mensa sacra; also ara, altare.

[293] Ekklesia, ekklesiasterion, kuriaka, oikos theou,, ecclesia,

dominica, domus Dei, templum. The names for a church building in the

Teutonic and Slavonic languages (Kirche, Church, Kerk, Kyrka, Tserkoff,

etc.) are derived from the Greek kuriake, kuriakon, (belonging to the

Lord, the Lord's house), through the medium of the Gothic; the names in

the Romanic languages (Chiesa, Igreja, Eglise, etc.) from the Latin

ecclesia, although this is also from the Greek, and meant originally

assembly (either a local congregation, or the whole body of

Christians). Churches erected specially in honor of martyrs were called

martyria, memoriae, tropaea, tituli.

[294] In ecclcsima, in domum Dei venire

[295] Topos,andathroisma ton eklekton

[296] De Mort. Persec. c. 12. The Chronicle of Edessa (in Assem. Bibl

Orient. XI. 397) mentions the destruction of Christian temples a.d.

292.

[297] Hist. Ecel. X. 4. Eusebius also describes, in rhetorical

exaggeration and looseness, the churches built by Constantine in

Jerusalem, Antioch, and Constantinople (Vita Const. 1. III. 50; IV. 58,

59). See De Vog�e, Eglises de la terre-sainte, H�bsch, l.c., , -tnd

Smith & Cheetliam, I. 368 sqq.

[298] II. 57, ed. Ueltzen, p. 66 sqq.

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� 60. The Lord's Day.

See Lit. in vol. I. 476.

The celebration of the Lord's Day in memory of the resurrection of

Christ dates undoubtedly from the apostolic age. [299] 99 Nothing short

of apostolic precedent can account for the universal religious

observance in the churches of the second century. There is no

dissenting voice. This custom is confirmed by the testimonies of the

earliest post-apostolic writers, as Barnabas, [300] 00 Ignatius, [301]

01 and Justin Martyr. [302] 02 It is also confirmed by the younger

Pliny. [303] 03 The Didache calls the first day "the Lord's Day of the

Lord." [304] 04

Considering that the church was struggling into existence, and that a

large number of Christians were slaves of heathen masters, we cannot

expect an unbroken regularity of worship and a universal cessation of

labor on Sunday until the civil government in the time of Constantine

came to the help of the church and legalized (and in part even

enforced) the observance of the Lord's Day. This may be the reason why

the religious observance of it was not expressly enjoined by Christ and

the apostles; as for similar reasons there is no prohibition of

polygamy and slavery by the letter of the New Testament, although its

spirit condemns these abuses, and led to their abolition. We may go

further and say that coercive Sunday laws are against the genius and

spirit of the Christian religion which appeals to the free will of man,

and uses only moral means for its ends. A Christian government may and

ought to protect the Christian Sabbath against open desecration, but

its positive observance by attending public worship, must be left to

the conscientious conviction of individuals. Religion cannot be forced

by law. It looses its value when it ceases to be voluntary.

The fathers did not regard the Christian Sunday as a continuation of,

but as a substitute for, the Jewish Sabbath, and based it not so much

on the fourth commandment, and the primitive rest of God in creation,

to which the commandment expressly refers, as upon the resurrection of

Christ and the apostolic tradition. There was a disposition to

disparage the Jewish law in the zeal to prove the independent

originality of Christian institutions. The same polemic interest

against Judaism ruled in the paschal controversies, and made Christian

Easter a moveable feast. Nevertheless, Sunday was always regarded in

the ancient church as a divine institution, at least in the secondary

sense, as distinct from divine ordinances in the primary sense, which

were directly and positively commanded by Christ, as baptism and the

Lord's Supper. Regular public worship absolutely requires a stated day

of worship.

Ignatius was the first who contrasted Sunday with the Jewish Sabbath as

something done away with. [305] 05 So did the author of the so-called

Epistle of Barnabas. [306] 06 Justin Martyr, in controversy with a Jew,

says that the pious before Moses pleased God without circumcision and

the Sabbath, [307] 07 and that Christianity requires not one particular

Sabbath, but a perpetual Sabbath. [308] 08 He assigns as a reason for

the selection of the first day for the purposes of Christian worship,

because on that day God dispelled the darkness and the chaos, and

because Jesus rose from the dead and appeared to his assembled

disciples, but makes no allusion to the fourth commandment. [309] 09 He

uses the term "to sabbathize" (sabbatizein), only of the Jews, except

in the passage just quoted, where he spiritualizes the Jewish law.

Dionysius of Corinth mentions Sunday incidentally in a letter to the

church of Rome, a.d., 170: "To-day we kept the Lord's Day holy, in

which we read your letter." [310] 10 Melito of Sardis wrote a treatise

on the Lord's Day, which is lost. [311] 11 Irenaeus of Lyons, about

170, bears testimony to the celebration of the Lord's Day, [312] 12 but

likewise regards the Jewish Sabbath merely as a symbolical and typical

ordinance, and says that "Abraham without circumcision and without

observance of Sabbaths believed in God," which proves "the symbolical

and temporary character of those ordinances, and their inability to

make perfect." [313] 13 Tertullian, at the close of the second and

beginning of the third century, views the Lord's Day as figurative of

rest from sin and typical of man's final rest, and says: "We have

nothing to do with Sabbaths, new moons or the Jewish festivals, much

less with those of the heathen. We have our own solemnities, the Lord's

Day, for instance, and Pentecost. As the heathen confine themselves to

their festivals and do not observe ours, let us confine ourselves to

ours, and not meddle with those belonging to them." He thought it wrong

to fast on the Lord's Day, or to pray kneeling during its continuance.

"Sunday we give to joy." But he also considered it Christian duty to

abstain from secular care and labor, lest we give place to the devil.

[314] 14 This is the first express evidence of cessation from labor on

Sunday among Christians. The habit of standing in prayer on Sunday,

which Tertullian regarded as essential to the festive character of the

day, and which was sanctioned by an ecumenical council, was afterwards

abandoned by the western church.

The Alexandrian fathers have essentially the same view, with some

fancies of their own concerning the allegorical meaning of the Jewish

Sabbath.

We see then that the ante-Nicene church clearly distinguished the

Christian Sunday from the Jewish Sabbath, and put it on independent

Christian ground. She did not fully appreciate the perpetual obligation

of the fourth commandment in its substance as a weekly day of rest,

rooted in the physical and moral necessities of man. This is

independent of those ceremonial enactments which were intended only for

the Jews and abolished by the gospel. But, on the other hand, the

church took no secular liberties with the day. On the question of

theatrical and other amusements she was decidedly puritanic and

ascetic, and denounced them as being inconsistent on any day with the

profession of a soldier of the cross. She regarded Sunday as a sacred

day, as the Day of the Lord, as the weekly commemoration of his

resurrection and the pentecostal effusion of the Spirit, and therefore

as a day of holy joy and thanksgiving to be celebrated even before the

rising sun by prayer, praise, and communion with the risen Lord and

Saviour.

Sunday legislation began with Constantine, and belongs to the next

period.

The observance of the Sabbath among the Jewish Christians gradually

ceased. Yet the Eastern church to this day marks the seventh day of the

week (excepting only the Easter Sabbath) by omitting fasting, and by

standing in prayer; while the Latin church, in direct opposition to

Judaism, made Saturday a fast day. The controversy on this point began

as early as the, end of the second century

Wednesday, [315] 15 and especially Friday, [316] 16 were devoted to the

weekly commemoration of the sufferings and death of the Lord, and

observed as days of penance, or watch-days, [317] 17 and half-fasting

(which lasted till three o'clock in the afternoon). [318] 18

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[299] The original designations of the Christian Sabbath or weekly

rest-day are: he mia ormia sabbaton, the first day of the week (Matt.

28:1; Mark 16:2; Luke 24:1; John 21:1; Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2), and he

hemera kuriake, the Lord's Day, which first occurs in Rev. 1:10, then

in Ignatius and the fathers. The Latins render it Dominicus or Dominica

dies. Barnabas calls it the eighth day, in contrast to the Jewish

Sabbath. After Constantine the Jewish term Sabbath and the heathen term

Sunday (hemera tou heliou, dies Solis)were used also. In the edict of

Gratian, a.d. 386, two are combined: "Solis die, quem Dominicum rite`

dixere majores." On the Continent of Europe Sunday has ruled out

Sabbath completely; while in England, Scotland, and the United States

Sabbath is used as often as the other or oftener in religious

literature. The difference is characteristic of the difference in the

Continental and the Anglo-American observance of the Lord's Day.

[300] Ep., c. 15: "We celebrate the eighth day with joy, on which Jesus

rose from the dead, and, after having appeared [to his disciple, ;],

ascended to heaven." It does not follow from this that Barnabas put the

ascension of Christ likewise on Sunday.

[301] Ep. ad Magnes. c. 8, 9.

[302] Apol. I. 67.

[303] "Stato die, ' in his letter to Trajan, Ep. X. 97. This " stated

day, "on which the Christian, in Bithynia assembled before day-light to

sing hymns to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by a sacramentum,

must be the Lord's Day.

[304] Ch. 14: Kuriake kuriou, pleonastic. The adjective in Rev. 1:10.

[305] Ep. ad Magna. c. 8, 9 in the shorter Greek recension (wanting in

the Syriac edition).

[306] Cap. 15. This Epistle is altogether too fierce in its polemics

against Judaism to be the production of the apostolic Barnabas.

[307] Dial c. TryPh. M. 19, 27 (Tom. I. P. II. p. 68, 90, in the third

ed. of Otto).

[308] Dial. 12 (II, p. 46):sabbatizein humas (so Otto reads, but hemas

would be better) ho kainos nomos dia pantos (belong to

sabbatizein)ethelei. Comp. Tertullian, Contra Jud. c. 4: "Unde nos

intelligimis magis, sabbatizare nos ab omni opere servili semper

debere, et non tantum septimo quoque die, sed per omne tempus."

[309] Apol. I. 67 (I. p. 161):Ten de tou heliou hemeran koine pantes

ten suneleusin poioumetha, epeide prote estin hemera, en he ho theos to

skotos kai ten hulen trepsas , kosmon epoiese, kai Iesous Christos ho

hemeteros soter te aute hemera ek nekron aneste. k.t.l.

[310] Eusebius, H. E. IV. 23.

[311] Peri kuriakes logos. Euseb. IV. 26.

[312] In one of his fragments peri tou pascha, and by his part in the

Quartadecimanian controversy, which turned on the yearly celebration of

the Christian Passover, but implied universal agreement as to the

weekly celebration of the Resurrection. Comp. Hessey, Bampton Lectures

on Sunday. London, 1860, p. 373.

[313] Adv. Haer. IV. 16.

[314] De Orat. c. 23: "Nos vero sicut accepimus, solo die Dominicae

Resurrectionis non ab isto tantum [the bowing of the knee], sed omni

anxietatis habitu et officio cavere debemus, differentes etiam negotia,

ne quem diabolo locum demus." Other passages of Tertullian, Cyprian,

Clement of Alex., and Origen see in Hessey, l.c., pp. 375 ff.

[315] Feria quarta.

[316] Feria sexta, he paraskeue

[317] Dies stationum of the milites Christi.

[318] Semijejunia.

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� 61. The Christian Passover. (Easter).

R. Hospinianus: Festa Christ., h.e. de origine, progressu, ceremonies

el ritibusfestorum dierum Christ. Tig. 1593, and often.

A. G. Pillwitz: Gesch. der heil. Zeiten in der abendl�nd. Kirche.

Dresden, 1842.

M. A. Nickel (R.C.): Die heil. Zeiten u. Feste nach ihrer Gesch. u.

Feier in der kath. Kirche. Mainz, 1825-1838. 6 vols.

P. Piper: Gesch. des Osterfestes. Berl. 1845.

Lisco: Das christl. Kirchenjahr. Berlin, 1840, 4th ed. 1850.

Strauss (court-chaplain of the King of Prussia, d. 1863): Das evangel.

Kirchenjahr. Berlin, 1850.

Boberstag: Das evangel. Kirchenjahr. Breslau 1857.

H. Alt: Der Christliche Cultus, IInd Part: Das Kirchenjahr, 2nd ed.

Berlin 1860.

L. Hensley: Art. Easter in Smith and Cheetham (1875), I. 586-595.

F. X. Kraus (R.C.): Art. Feste in "R. Encykl. der Christl.

Alterth�mer," vol. I. (1881), pp. 486-502, and the Lit. quoted there.

The article is written by several authors, the section on Easter and

Pentecost by Dr. Funk of T�bingen.

The yearly festivals of this period were Easter, Pentecost, and

Epiphany. They form the rudiments of the church year, and keep within

the limits of the facts of the New Testament.

Strictly speaking the ante-Nicene church had two annual festive

seasons, the Passover in commemoration of the suffering of Christ, and

the Pentecoste in commemoration of the resurrection and exaltation of

Christ, beginning with Easter and ending with Pentecost proper. But

Passover and Easter were connected in a continuous celebration,

combining the deepest sadness with the highest joy, and hence the term

pascha (in Greek and Latin) is often used in a wider sense for the

Easter season, as is the case with the French paqueor paques, and the

Italian pasqua. The Jewish passover also lasted a whole week, and after

it began their Pentecost or feast of weeks. The death of Christ became

fruitful in the resurrection, and has no redemptive power without it.

The commemoration of the death of Christ was called the pascha

staurosimon or the Passover proper. [319] 19 The commemoration of the

resurrection was called the pascha anastasimon, and afterwards Easter.

[320] 20 The former corresponds to the gloomy Friday, the other to the

cheerful Sunday, the sacred days of the week in commemoration of those

great events.

The Christian Passover naturally grew out of the Jewish Passover as the

Lord's Day grew out of the Sabbath; the paschal lamb being regarded as

a prophetic type of Christ, the Lamb of God slain for our sins (1 Cor.

5:7, 8), and the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt as a type of the

redemption from sin. It is certainly the oldest and most important

annual festival of the church, and can be traced back to the first

century, or at all events to the middle of the second, when it was

universally observed, though with a difference as to the day, and the

extent of the fast connected with it. It is based on the view that

Christ crucified and risen is the centre of faith. The Jewish

Christians would very naturally from the beginning continue to

celebrate the legal passover, but in the light of its fulfillment by

the sacrifice of Christ, and would dwell chiefly on the aspect of the

crucifixion. The Gentile Christians, for whom the Jewish passover had

no meaning except through reflection from the cross, would chiefly

celebrate the Lord's resurrection as they did on every Sunday of the

week. Easter formed at first the beginning of the Christian year, as

the month of Nisan, which contained the vernal equinox (corresponding

to our March or April.), began the sacred year of the Jews. Between the

celebration of the death and the resurrection of Christ lay "the great

Sabbath," [321] 21 on which also the Greek church fasted by way of

exception; and "the Easter vigils," [322] 22 which were kept, with

special devotion, by the whole congregation till the break of day, and

kept the more scrupulously, as it was generally believed that the

Lord's glorious return would occur on this night. The feast of the

resurrection, which completed the whole work of redemption, became

gradually the most prominent part of the Christian Passover, and

identical with Easter. But the crucifixion continued to be celebrated

on what is called "Good Friday." [323] 23

The paschal feast was preceded by a season of penitence and fasting,

which culminated in "the holy week." [324] 24 This fasting varied in

length, in different countries, from one day or forty hours to six

weeks; [325] 25 but after the fifth century, through the influence of

Rome, it was universally fixed at forty days, [326] 26 with reference

to the forty days' fasting of Christ in the wilderness and the Old

Testament types of that event (the fasting of Moses and Elijah). [327]

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[319] Pascha, pascha, is not from the verb paschein, to, suffer (though

often confounded with it and with the Latin passio by the Father, who

were ignorant of Hebrew), but from the Hebrew chsk the Chaldee 'hsk ,

(Comp. the verb chsk to pass over, to spare). See Ex. chg. 12 and 13;

Lev. 23:4-9; Num. ch. 9. It has three meanings in the Sept. and the N.

T. 1) the paschal festival, called "the feast of unleavened bread," and

lasting from the fourteenth to the twentieth of Nisan, in commemoration

of the sparing of the first-born and the deliverance of Israel from

Egypt; 2) the paschal lamb which was slain between the two evenings.

(3-5 p. m.) on the 14^th of Nisan; 3) the paschal supper on the

evening- of the same day, which marked the beginning of the 15th of

Nisan, or the first day of the festival. In the first sense it

corresponds to the Christian Easter-festival, as the type corresponds

to the substance. Nevertheless the translation Easter for Passover in

the English version, Acts 12:4, is a strange anachronism (corrected in

the Revision).

[320] Easter is the resurrection festival which follow., ; the Passover

proper, but is included in the same festive week. The English Easter

(Anglo-Saxon easter, eastran, German Ostern) is connected with East and

sunrise, and is akin to eos, oriens, aurora (comp. Jac. Grimm's

Deutsche Mythol. 1835, p. 181 and 349, and Skeat's Etym. Dict. E. Lang.

sub Easter). The comparison of sunrise and the natural spring with the

new moral creation in the resurrection of Christ, and the transfer of

the celebration of Ostara, the old German divinity of the rising,

health-bringing light, to the Christian Easter festival, was easy and

natural, because all nature is a symbol of spirit, and the heathen

myths are dim presentiments and carnal anticipations of Christian

truths.

[321] To mega sabbaton, to hagion sabbaton , Sabbatum magnum.

[322] Pannuchides,vigiae paschae, Easter Eve. Good Friday and Easter

Eve were a continuous fast, which was prolonged till midnight or

cock-crow. See Tertull. Ad uxoR. II. 4; Euseb. H. E. VI. 34; Apost.

ConSt. V. 18; VII. 23.

[323] Various names: pascha staurosimou (as distinct from p.

anastasimou).hemera staurou, paraskeue megale or agia, parasceue, feria

sexta major, Good Friday, Charfreitag (fromcharis or from carus, dear).

But the celebration seems not to, have been universal; for Augustin

says in his letter Ad Januar., that he did not consider this day holy.

See Siegel, Handbuch der christl. Kirchl. Alterth�mer, I. 374 sqq.

[324] From Palm Sunday to Easter Eve. Hebdomas megale, or tou pascha,

hebdomas magna, hebdomas nigra (in opposition to dominica in albis),

hebdomas crux, Chaiwoche.

[325] Irenaeus, in his letter to Victor of Rome (Euseb. V. 24): "Not

only is the dispute respecting the day, but also respecting the manner

of fasting. For some think that the v ought to fast only one day, some

two, some more days; some compute their day as consisting of forty

hours night and day; and this diversity existing among those that

observe it, is not a matter that has just sprung up in our times, but

long ago among those before us, who perhaps not having ruled with

sufficient strictness, established the practice that arose from their

simplicity and ignorance."

[326] quadragesima.

[327] Matt. 4:2; comp. Ex. 34:28; 1 Kings 19:8.

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� 62. The Paschal Controversies.

I. The sources for the paschal controversies:

Fragments from Melito, Apollinarius, Polycrates, Clement of Alexandria,

Irenaeus, and Hippolytus, preserved in Euseb. H. E. IV. 3, 26; V.

23-25; VI. 13; The Chronicon Pasch. I. 12 sqq., a passage in the

Philosophumena of Hippolytus, Lib. VIII. cap. 18 (p. 435, ed. Duncker &

Schneidewin, 1859), a fragment from Eusebius in Angelo Mai's Nova P. P.

Bibl. T. IV. 2O9-216, and the Haeresies of Epiphanius, Haer. LXX. 1-3;

LXX. 9.

II. Recent works, occasioned mostly by the Johannean controversy:

Weitzel: Die Christl. Passafeier der drei ersten Jahrh. Pforzheim, 1848

(and in the "Studien und Kritiken," 1848, No. 4, against Baur).

Baur: Das Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrh. (1853). T�b. 3rd ed. 1863,

pp. 156-169. And several controversial essays against Steitz.

Hilgenfeld: Der Paschastreit und das Evang. Johannis (in "Theol.

Jahrb�cher" for 1849);Noch ein Wort �ber den Passahstreit (ibid. 1858);

and Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung f�r die

Kirchengesch. und f�r die Evangelienforschung urkundlich dargestellt.

Halle 1860 (410 pages).

Steitz: Several essays on the subject, mostly against Baur, in the

"Studien u. Kritiken, "1856, 1857, and 1859; in the "Theol. Jahrb�cher,

"1857, and art. Passah in "Herzog's Encycl." vol. XII. (1859), p. 149

sqq., revised in the new ed., by Wagenmann, XI. 270 sqq.

William Milligan: The Easter Controversies of the second century in

their relation to the Gospel of St. John, in the "Contemporary Review"

for Sept. 1867 (p. 101-118).

Emil Sch�rer: De Controversiis paschalibus sec. post Chr. soc. exortis,

Lips. 1869. By the same: Die Paschastreitigkeiten des 2^ten Jahrh., in

Kahnis' "Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol." 1870, pp. 182-284. Very full and

able.

C. Jos. von Hefele (R.C.): Conciliengeschichte, I. 86-101 (second ed.

Freib. 1873; with some important changes).

Abb� Duchesne: La question de la P�que, in "Revue des questions

historiques," July 1880.

Renan: L'�glise chr�t. 445-451; and M. Aur�le, 194-206 (la question de

la P�que.

Respecting the time of the Christian Passover and of the fast connected

with it, there was a difference of observance which created violent

controversies in the ancient church, and almost as violent

controversies in the modern schools of theology in connection with the

questions of the primacy of Rome, and the genuineness of John's Gospel.

[328] 28

The paschal controversies of the ante-Nicene age are a very complicated

chapter in ancient church-history, and are not yet sufficiently cleared

up. They were purely ritualistic and disciplinary, and involved no

dogma; and yet they threatened to split the churches; both parties

laying too much stress on external uniformity. Indirectly, however,

they involved the question of the independence of Christianity on

Judaism. [329] 29

Let us first consider the difference of observance or the subject of

controversy.

The Christians of Asia Minor, following the Jewish chronology, and

appealing to the authority of the apostles John and Philip, celebrated

the Christian Passover uniformly on the fourteenth of Nisan (which

might fall on any of the seven days of the week) by a solemn fast; they

fixed the close of the fast accordingly, and seem to have partaken on

the evening of this day, as the close of the fast, but indeed of the

Jewish paschal lamb, as has sometimes been supposed, [330] 30 but of

the communion and love-feast, as the Christian passover and the

festival of the redemption completed by the death of Christ. [331] 31

The communion on the evening of the 14th (or, according to the Jewish

mode of reckoning, the day from sunset to sunset, on the beginning of

the 15th) of Nisan was in memory of the last pascha supper of Christ.

This observance did not exclude the idea that Christ died as the true

paschal Lamb. For we find among the fathers both this idea and the

other that Christ ate the regular Jewish passover with his disciples,

which took place on the14th. [332] 32 From the day of observance the

Asiatic Christians were afterwards called Quartadecimanians. [333] 33

Hippolytus of Rome speaks of them contemptuously as a sect of

contentious and ignorant persons, who maintain that "the pascha should

be observed on the fourteenth day of the first month according to the

law, no matter on what day of the week it might fall." [334] 34

Nevertheless the Quartadecimanian observance was probably the oldest

and in accordance with the Synoptic tradition of the last Passover of

our Lord, which it commemorated. [335] 35

The Roman church, on the contrary, likewise appealing to early custom,

celebrated the death of Jesus always on a Friday, the day of the week

on which it actually occurred, and his resurrection always on a Sunday

after the March full moon, and extended the paschal fast to the latter

day; considering it improper to terminate the fast at an earlier date,

and to celebrate the communion before the festival of the resurrection.

Nearly all the other churches agreed with the Roman in this observance,

and laid the main stress on the resurrection-festival on Sunday. This

Roman practice created an entire holy week of solemn fasting and

commemoration of the Lord's passion, while the Asiatic practice ended

the fast on the 14^th of Nisan, which may fall sometimes several days

before Sunday.

Hence a spectacle shocking to the catholic sense of ritualistic

propriety and uniformity was frequently presented to the world, that

one part of Christendom was fasting and mourning over the death of our

Saviour, while the other part rejoiced in the glory of the

resurrection. We cannot be surprised that controversy arose, and

earnest efforts were made to harmonize the opposing sections of

Christendom in the public celebration of the fundamental facts of the

Christian salvation and of the most sacred season of the church-year.

The gist of the paschal controversy was, whether the Jewish paschal-day

(be it a Friday or not), or the Christian Sunday, should control the

idea and time of the entire festival. The Johannean practice of Asia

represented here the spirit of adhesion to historical precedent, and

had the advantage of an immovable Easter, without being Judaizing in

anything but the observance of a fixed day of the month. The Roman

custom represented the principle of freedom and discretionary change,

and the independence of the Christian festival system. Dogmatically

stated, the difference would be, that in the former case the chief

stress was laid on the Lord's death; in the latter, on his

resurrection. But the leading interest of the question for the early

Church was not the astronomical, nor the dogmatical, but the

ritualistic. The main object was to secure uniformity of observance,

and to assert the originality of the Christian festive cycle, and its

independence of Judaism; for both reasons the Roman usage at last

triumphed even in the East. Hence Easter became a movable festival

whose date varies from the end of March to the latter part of April.

The history of the controversy divides itself into three acts.

1. The difference came into discussion first on a visit of Polycarp,

bishop of Smyrna, to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, between a.d. 150 and

155. [336] 36 It was not settled; yet the two bishops parted in peace,

after the latter had charged his venerable guest to celebrate the holy

communion in his church. We have a brief, but interesting account of

this dispute by Irenaeus, a pupil of Polycarp, which is as follows:

[337] 37

"When the blessed Polycarp sojourned at Rome in the days of Anicetus,

and they had some little difference of opinion likewise with regard to

other points, [338] 38 they forthwith came to a peaceable understanding

on this head [the observance of Easter], having no love for mutual

disputes. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe

[339] 39 inasmuch as he [Pol.] had always observed with John, the

disciple of our Lord, and the other apostles, with whom he had

associated; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe Gr. (threi'n)

who said that he was bound to maintain the custom of the presbyters

(=bishops) before him. These things being so, they communed together;

and in the church Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, out of respect no

doubt, the celebration of the eucharist Gr. (thVn eujcaristivan), and

they separated from each other in peace, all the church being at peace,

both those that observed and those that did not observe [the fourteenth

of Nisan], maintaining peace."

This letter proves that the Christians of the days of Polycarp knew how

to keep the unity of the Spirit without uniformity of rites and

ceremonies. "The very difference in our fasting," says Irenaeus in the

same letter, "establishes the unanimity in our faith."

2. A few years afterwards, about a.d. 170, the controversy broke out in

Laodicea, but was confined to Asia, where a difference had arisen

either among the Quartadecimanians themselves, or rather among these

and the adherents of the Western observance. The accounts on this

interimistic sectional dispute are incomplete and obscure. Eusebius

merely mentions that at that time Melito of Sardis wrote two works on

the Passover. [340] 40 But these are lost, as also that of Clement of

Alexandria on the same topic. [341] 41 Our chief source of information

is Claudius Apolinarius (Apollinaris), [342] 42 bishop of Hierapolis,

in Phrygia, in two fragments of his writings upon the subject, which

have been preserved in the Chronicon Paschale. [343] 43 These are as

follows:

"There are some now who, from ignorance, love to raise strife about

these things, being guilty in this of a pardonable offence; for

ignorance does not so much deserve blame as need instruction. And they

say that on the fourteenth [of Nisan] the Lord ate the paschal lamb (to

probaton ephage) with his disciples, but that He himself suffered on

the great day of unleavened bread [344] 44 [i.e. the fifteenth of

Nisan]; and they interpret Matthew as favoring their view from which it

appears that their view does not agree with the law, [345] 45 and that

the Gospels seem, according to them, to be at variance. [346] 46

The Fourteenth is the true Passover of the Lord, the great sacrifice,

the. Son of God [347] 47 in the place of the lamb ... who was lifted up

upon the horns of the unicorn ... and who was buried on the day of the

Passover, the stone having been placed upon his tomb."

Here Apolinarius evidently protests against the Quartadecimanian

practice, yet simply as one arising from ignorance, and not as a

blameworthy heresy. He opposes it as a chronological and exegetical

mistake, and seems to hold that the fourteenth, and not the fifteenth,

is the great day of the death of Christ as the true Lamb of God, on the

false assumption that this truth depends upon the chronological

coincidence of the crucifixion and the Jewish passover. But the

question arises: Did he protest from the Western and Roman standpoint

which had many advocates in the East, [348] 48 or as a

Quartadecimanian? [349] 49 In the latter case we would be obliged to

distinguish two parties of Quartadecimanians, the orthodox or catholic

Quartadecimanians, who simply observed the 14th Nisan by fasting and

the evening communion, and a smaller faction of heretical and

schismatic Quartadecimanians, who adopted the Jewish practice of eating

a paschal lamb on that day in commemoration of the Saviour's last

passover. But there is no evidence for this distinction in the above or

other passages. Such a grossly Judaizing party would have been treated

with more severity by a catholic bishop. Even the Jews could no more

eat of the paschal lamb after the destruction of the temple in which it

had to be slain. There is no trace of such a party in Irenaeus,

Hippolytus [350] 50 and Eusebius who speak only of one class of

Quartadecimanians. [351] 51

Hence we conclude that Apolinarius protests against the whole

Quartadecimanian practice, although very mildly and charitably. The

Laodicean controversy was a stage in the same controversy which was

previously discussed by Polycarp and Anicetus in Christian charity, and

was soon agitated again by Polycrates and Victor with hierarchical and

intolerant violence.

3. Much more important and vehement was the third stage of the

controversy between 190 and 194, which extended over the whole church,

and occasioned many synods and synodical letters. [352] 52 The Roman

bishop Victor, a very different man from his predecessor Anicetus,

required the Asiatics, in an imperious tone, to abandon their

Quartadecimanian practice. Against this Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus,

solemnly protested in the name of a synod held by him, and appealed to

an imposing array of authorities for their primitive custom. Eusebius

has preserved his letter, which is quite characteristic.

"We," wrote the Ephesian bishop to the Roman pope and his church, "We

observe the genuine day; neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom.

For in Asia great lights [353] 53 have fallen asleep, which shall rise

again in the day of the Lord's appearing, in which he will come with

glory from heaven, and will raise up all the saints: Philip, one of the

twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin

daughters; his other daughter, also, who having lived under the

influence of the Holy Spirit, now likewise rests in Ephesus; moreover,

John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord, [354] 54 who was also a

priest, and bore the sacerdotal plate, [355] 55 both a martyr and

teacher; he is buried in Ephesus. Also Polycarp of Smyrna, both bishop

and martyr, and Thraseas, both bishop and martyr of Eumenia, who sleeps

in Smyrna. Why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who sleeps

in Laodicea; moreover, the blessed Papirius, and Melito, the eunuch

[celibate], who lived altogether under the influence of the Holy

Spirit, who now rests in Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven,

in which he shall rise from the dead. All these observed the fourteenth

day of the passover according to the gospel, deviating in no respect,

but following the rule of faith.

"Moreover, I, Polycrates, who am the least of you, according to the

tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have followed. For seven of

my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth; and my relatives always

observed the day when the people of the Jews threw away the leaven. I,

therefore, brethren, am now sixty-five years in the Lord, who having

conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and having studied

the whole of the Sacred Scriptures, am not at all alarmed at those

things with which I am threatened, to intimidate me. For they who are

greater than I have said, 'we ought to obey God rather than men.' ... I

could also mention the bishops that were present, whom you requested me

to summon, and whom I did call; whose names would present a great

number, but who seeing my slender body consented to my epistle, well

knowing that I did not wear my gray hairs for nought, but that I did at

all times regulate my life in the Lord Jesus." [356] 56

Victor turned a deaf ear to this remonstrance, branded the Asiatics as

heretics, and threatened to excommunicate them. [357] 57

But many of the Eastern bishops, and even Irenaeus, in the name of the

Gallic Christians, though he agreed with Victor on the disputed point,

earnestly reproved him for such arrogance, and reminded him of the more

Christian and brotherly conduct of his predecessors Anicetus, Pius,

Hyginus, Telesphorus, and Xystus, who sent the eucharist to their

dissenting brethren. He dwelt especially on the fraternal conduct of

Anicetus to Polycarp. Irenaeus proved himself on this occasion, as

Eusebius remarks, a true peacemaker, and his vigorous protest seems to

have prevented the schism.

We have from the same Irenaeus another utterance on this controversy,

[358] 58 saying: "The apostles have ordered that we should 'judge no

one in meat or in drink, or in respect to a feast-day or a new moon or

a sabbath day' (Col. 2:16). Whence then these wars? Whence these

schisms? We keep the feasts, but in the leaven of malice by tearing the

church of God and observing what is outward, in order to reject what is

better, faith and charity. That such feasts and fasts are displeasing

to the Lord, we have heard from the Prophets." A truly evangelical

sentiment from one who echoes the reaching of St. John and his last

words: "Children, love one another."

4. In the course of the third century the Roman practice gained ground

everywhere in the East, and, to anticipate the result, was established

by the council of Nicaea in 325 as the law of the whole church. This

council considered it unbecoming, in Christians to follow the usage of

the unbelieving, hostile Jews, and ordained that Easter should always

be celebrated on the first Sunday after the first full moon succeeding

the vernal equinox (March 21), and always after the Jewish passover.

[359] 59 If the full moon occurs on a Sunday, Easter-day is the Sunday

after. By this arrangement Easter may take place as early as March 22,

or as late as April 25.

Henceforth the Quartadecimanians were universally regarded as heretics,

and were punished as such. The Synod of Antioch, 341, excommunicated

them. The Montanists and Novatians were also cleared with the

Quartadecimanian observance. The last traces of it disappeared in the

sixth century.

But the desired uniformity in the observance of Easter was still

hindered by differences in reckoning the Easter Sunday according to the

course of the moon and the vernal equinox, which the Alexandrians fixed

on the 21^st of March, and the Romans on the 18^th; so that in the year

387, for example, the Romans kept Easter on the 21^st of March, and the

Alexandrians not till the 25^th of April. In the West also the

computation changed and caused a renewal of the Easter controversy in

the sixth and seventh centuries. The old British, Irish and Scotch

Christians, and the Irish missionaries on the Continent adhered to the

older cycle of eighty-four years in opposition to the later Dionysian

or Roman cycle of ninety-five years, and hence were styled

"Quartadecimanians "by their Anglo-Saxon and Roman opponents, though

unjustly; for they celebrated Easter always on a Sunday between the

14^th and the 20^th of the mouth (the Romans between the 15^th and

21^st). The Roman practice triumphed. But Rome again changed the

calendar under Gregory XIII. (a.d. 1583). Hence even to this day the

Oriental churches who hold to the Julian and reject the Gregorian

calendar, differ from the Occidental Christians in the time of the

observance of Easter.

All these useless ritualistic disputes might have been avoided if, with

some modification of the old Asiatic practice as to the close of the

fast, Easter, like Christmas, had been made an immovable feast at least

as regards the week, if not the day, of its observance.

Note.

The bearing of this controversy on the Johannean origin of the fourth

Gospel has been greatly overrated by the negative critics of the

T�bingen School. Dr. Baur, Schwegler, Hilgenfeld, Straus (Leben Jesu,

new ed. 1864, p. 76 sq.), Schenkel, Scholten, Samuel Davidson, Renan

(Marc-Aur�le, p. 196), use it as a fatal objection to the Johannean

authorship. Their argument is this: "The Asiatic practice rested on the

belief that Jesus ate the Jewish Passover with his disciples on the

evening of the 14^th of Nisan, and died on the 15^th; this belief is

incompatible with the fourth Gospel, which puts the death of Jesus, as

the true Paschal Lamb, on the 14^th of Nisan, just before the regular

Jewish Passover; therefore the fourth Gospel cannot have existed when

the Easter controversy first broke out about a.d. 160; or, at all

events, it cannot be the work of John to whom the Asiatic Christians so

confidently appealed for their paschal observance."

But leaving out of view the early testimonies for the authenticity of

John, which reach back to the first quarter of the second century, the

minor premise is wrong, and hence the conclusion falls. A closer

examination of the relevant passages of John leads to the result that

he agrees with the Synoptic account, which puts the last Supper on the

14^th, and the crucifixion on the 15^th of Nisan. (Comp. on this

chronological difficulty vol. I. 133 sqq.; and the authorities quoted

there, especially John Lightfoot, Wieseler, Robinson, Lange, Kirchner,

and McClellan.)

Weitzel, Steitz, and Wagenmann deny the inference of the T�bingen

School by disputing the major premise, and argue that the Asiatic

observance (in agreement with the T�bingen school and their own

interpretation of John's chronology) implies that Christ died as the

true paschal lamb on the 14^th, and not on the 15^th of Nisan. To this

view we object: 1) it conflicts with the extract from Apolinarius in

the Chronicon Paschale as given p. 214. 2) There is no contradiction

between the idea that Christ died as the true paschal lamb, and the

Synoptic chronology; for the former was taught by Paul (1 Cor. 5:7),

who was quoted for the Roman practice, and both were held by the

fathers; the coincidence in the time being subordinate to the fact. 3)

A contradiction in the primitive tradition of Christ's death is

extremely improbable, and it is much easier to conform the Johannean

chronology to the Synoptic than vice versa.

It seems to me that the Asiatic observance of the 14^th of Nisan was in

commemoration of the last passover of the Lord, and this of necessity

implied also a commemoration of his death, like every celebration of

the Lord's Supper. In any case, however, these ancient paschal

controversies did not hinge on the chronological question or the true

date of Christ's death at all but on the week-day and the manner of its

annual observance. The question was whether the paschal communion

should be celebrated on the 14^th of Nisan, or on the Sunday of the

resurrection festival, without regard to the Jewish chronology.

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[328] See note at the end of the section.

[329] So Renan regards the controversy, Marc-Aur�le, p. 194, as a

conflict between two kinds of Christianity. "le christianisme qui

s'envisageait comme une suite du judaisme," and "le christianisme qui

s'envisageait comme la destruction du judaisme."

[330] By Mosheim (De rebus christ. ante Const. M Com., p. 435 sqq.) and

Neander (in the first edition of his Church Hist., 1. 518, but not in

the second I. 512, Germ. ed., I. 298 in Torrey's translation). There is

no trace of such a Jewish custom on the part of the Quartadecimani.

This is admitted by Hefele (I. 87), who formerly held to three parties

in this controversy; but there were only two.

[331] The celebration of the eucharist is not expressly mentioned by

Eusebius, but may be inferred. He says (H. E. V. 23): "The churches of

all Asia, guided by older tradition (hosek paradoseosarchaioteras,

older than that of Rome), thought that they were bound to keep the

fourteenth day of the moon, on (or at the time of) the feast of the

Saviour's Passover (epi testou soteriou pascha eortes), that day on

which the Jews were commanded to kill the paschal lamb; it being

incumbent on them by all means to regulate the close of the fast by

that day on whatever day of the week it might happen to fall."

[332] Justin M. Dial.c.111; Iren. Adv. Haer. II. 22, 3; Tert. De Bapt.

19; Origen, In Matth.; Epiph. Haer. XLII. St. Paul first declared

Christ to be our passover (1 Cor. 5:7), and yet his companion Luke,

with whom his own account of the institution of the Lord's Supper

agrees, represents Christ's passover meal as takin, place on the 14th.

[333] The id '=14, quarta decima. See Ex. 12:6; Lev. 23:5, where this

day is prescribed for the celebration of the Passover. Hence

TessareskaidekatitaiQuartodecimani, more correctly Quartadecimani. This

sectarian name occurs in the canons of the councils of Laodicea, 364,

Constantinople, 381, etc.

[334] Philosph. or Refutat. of all Haeres. VIII. 18.

[335] So also Renan regards it, L'�gl. Chr�t., p. 445sq., but he brings

it, like Baur, in conflict with the chronology of the fourth Gospel. He

traces the Roman custom from the pontificate of Xystus and Telesphorus,

a.d. 120.

[336] Renan (l.c., p. 447) conjectures that Trenaeus and Florinus

accompanied Polycarp on that journey to Rome. Neander and others give a

wrong date, 162. Polycarp died in 155, see � 19, p. 51, The pontificate

of Anicetus began in 154 or before.

[337] In a fragment of a letter to the Roman bishop Victor, preserved

by Eusebius, H. E. V. c. 24 (ed. Heinichen, I. 253).

[338] kai peri hallon tinon mikra schontes (orechontes) pros allelous

[339] me terein, i.e. the fourteenth of Nisan, as appears from the

connection and from ch. 23. The terein consisted mainly in fasting, and

probably also the celebration of the eucharist in the evening. It was a

technical term for legal observances, Comp. John 9:16.

[340] H. E. IV. 26.

[341] With the exception of a few fragments in the Chrenicon Paschale.

[342] Eusebius spells his name Apolinarios (IV. 21 and 26, 27, ree

Heinichen's ed.), and so do Photius, and the Chron. Pachale in most

MSS. But the Latins spell his name Apollinaris. He lived under Marcus

Aurelius (161-180), was an apologist and opponent of Montanism which

flourished especially in Phrygia, and must not be confounded with one

of the two Apollinarius or Apollinaris, father and son, of Laodicea in

Syria, who flourished in the fourth century.

[343] Ed. Dindorf I. 13; in Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae I.p. 160. Quoted

and discussed by Milligan,l.c. p. 109 sq.

[344] If this is the genuine Quartadecimanian view, it proves

conclusively that it agreed with the Synoptic chronology as to the day

of Christ's death, and that Weitzel and Steitz are wrong on this point.

[345] Since according to the view of Apolinarius, Christ as the true

fulfillment of the law, must have died on the 14th, the day of the

legal passover.

[346] This seems to be the meaning of stasiazein dokei, kat' autous, ta

euangelia,inter se pugnare, etc. On the assumption namely that John

fixes the detail of Christ on the fourteenth of Nisan, which, however,

is a point in dispute. The opponents who started from the chronology of

the Synoptists, could retort this objections.

[347] The same argument is urged in the fragments of Hippolytus in the

Chronicon Paschale. But that Jesus was the true Paschal Lamb is a

doctrine in which all the churches were agreed.

[348] So Baur (p. 163 sq.) and the T�bingen School rightly maintain.

[349] As Weitzel, Steitz, and Lechler assume in opposition to Baur.

[350] In the passage of the Philosoph. above quoted and in the

fragments of the Paschal Chronicle.

[351] Epiphanius, it is true, distinguishes different opinions among

the Quartadecimanians (Haer. L. cap. 1-3 Contra Quartadecimanas), but

be makes no mention of the practice of eating a Paschal lamb, or of any

difference in this chronology of the death of Christ.

[352] Eusebius, H. E., V. 23-25.

[353] Megala stoicheia in the sense of stars used Ep. ad Diog. 7;

Justin Dial.c. 23 (ta ourania stoicheia).

[354] ho epi to stethos tou kuriou anapeson. Comp. John 1. 3: 25; 21:

20, This designation, as Renan admits Marc-Aur�le, p. 196, note 2),

implies that Polycrates acknowledged the Gospel of John as genuine.

[355] to petalon.On this singular expression, which is probably

figurative for priestly holiness, see vol. 1. p. 431, note 1.

[356] Euseb. V. 24 (ed. Heinichen, 1. p. 250 sqq).

[357] He is probably the author of the pseudo-Cypranic homily against

dice players (De Aleatoribus), which assumes the tone of the papal

encyclical.

[358] In the third fragment discovered by Pfaff, probably from his book

against Blastus. See Opera. ad. Stieren, I. 887.

[359] In the Synodical letter which the fathers of Nicaea addressed to

the churches of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis (Socrates, H. E. l.c. 9),

it is said: "We have also gratifying intelligence to communicate to you

relating to the unity of judgment on the subject of the most holy feast

of Easter; ...that all the brethren in the East who have heretofore

kept this festival at the same time as the Jews, will henceforth

conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who from the earliest time

have observed our period of celebrating Easter." Eusebius; reports

(Vita Const. III. 19) that especially the province of Asia acknowledged

the decree. He thinks that only God and the emperor Constantine could

remove this, ; evil of two conflicting celebrations of Easter.

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� 63. Pentecost.

Easter was followed by the festival of Pentecost. [360] 60 It rested on

the Jewish feast of harvest. It was universally observed, as early as

the second century, in commemoration of the appearances and heavenly

exaltation of the risen Lord, and had throughout a joyous character. It

lasted through fifty days--Quinquagesima --which were celebrated as a

continuous Sunday, by daily communion, the standing posture in prayer,

and the absence of all fasting. Tertullian says that all the festivals

of the heathen put together will not make up the one Pentecost of the

Christians. [361] 61 During that period the Acts of the Apostles were

read in the public service (and are read to this day in the Greek

church).

Subsequently the celebration was limited to the fortieth day as the

feast of the Ascension, and the fiftieth day, or Pentecost proper

(Whitsunday) as the feast of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit and the

birthday of the Christian Church. In this restricted sense Pentecost

closed the cycle of our Lord's festivals (the semestre Domini), among

which it held the third place (after Easter and Christmas). [362] 62 It

was also a favorite time for baptism, especially the vigil of the

festival.

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[360] Pentekoste (hemera), Quinquagesima, is the fiftieth day after the

Passover Sabbath, see vol. I. 225 sqq. It is used by the fathers; in it

wider sense for the whole period of fifty days, from Easter to

Whitsunday, and in a narrower sense for the single festival of

Whitsunday.

[361] De Idol. c. 12; Comp. De Bapt. c. 19; Const. Apost. V. 20.

[362] In this sense Pentecoste is first used by the Council of Elvira

(Granada) a.d. 306, can. 43. The week following was afterwards called

Hebdomadas Spiritus Sancti.

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� 64. The Epiphany

The feast of the Epiphany is of later origin. [363] 63 It spread from

the East towards the West, but here, even in the fourth century, it was

resisted by such parties as the Donatists, and condemned as an oriental

innovation. It was, in general, the feast of the appearance of Christ

in the flesh, and particularly of the manifestation of his Messiahship

by his baptism in the Jordan, the festival at once of his birth and his

baptism. It was usually kept on the 6th of January. [364] 64 When the

East adopted from the West the Christmas festival, Epiphany was

restricted to the celebration of the baptism of Christ, and made one of

the three great reasons for the administration of baptism.

In the West it was afterwards made a collective festival of several

events in the life of Jesus, as the adoration of the Magi, the first

miracle of Cana, and sometimes the feeding of the five thousand. It

became more particularly the "feast of the three kings," that is, the

wise men from the East, and was placed in special connexion with the

mission to the heathen. The legend of the three kings (Caspar,

Melchior, Baltazar) grew up gradually from the recorded gifts, gold,

frankincense, and myrrh, which the Magi offered to the new-born King,

of the Jews. [365] 65

Of the Christmas festival there is no clear trace before the fourth

century; partly because the feast of the Epiphany in a measure held the

place of it; partly because of birth of Christ, the date of which, at

any rate, was uncertain, was less prominent in the Christian mind than

his death and resurrection. It was of Western (Roman) origin, and found

its way to the East after the middle of the fourth century for

Chrysostom, in a Homily, which was probably preached Dec. 25, 386,

speaks of the celebration of the separate day of the Nativity as having

been recently introduced in Antioch.

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[363] he epiphaneia, ta epiphania, he theophaneia, hemera ton photon:

Epiphania, Theophania, Dies Luminum, Festura Trium Regum, etc. The

feast is first mentioned by Clement of Alex. as the annual

commemoration of the. baptism of Christ by the Gnostic sect of the

Basilidians (Strom. I. 21). Neander supposes that they derived it from

the Jewish Christians in Palestine. Chrysostom often alludes to it.

[364] Augustin, Serm. 202, � 2.

[365] Matt. 2:11. The first indistinct trace, perhaps, is in

Tertullian, Adv., Jud. c. 9: "Nam at Magos reges fere habuit Oriens."

The apocryphal Gospels of the infancy give us no fiction on that point.

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� 65. The Order of Public Worship.

The earliest description of the Christian worship is given us by a

heathen, the younger Pliny, a.d. 109, in his well-known letter to

Trajan, which embodies the result of his judicial investigations in

Bithynia. [366] 66 According to this, the Christians assembled on an

appointed day (Sunday) at sunrise, sang responsively a song to Christ

as to God, [367] 67 and then pledged themselves by an oath

(sacramentum) not to do any evil work, to commit no theft, robbery, nor

adultery, not to break their word, nor sacrifice property intrusted to

them. Afterwards (at evening) they assembled again, to eat ordinary and

innocent food (the agape).

This account of a Roman official then bears witness to the primitive

observance of Sunday, the separation of the love-feast from the morning

worship (with the communion), and the worship of Christ as God in song.

Justin Martyr, at the close of his larger Apology, [368] 68 describes

the public worship more particularly, as it was conducted about the

year 140. After giving a full account of baptism and the holy Supper,

to which we shall refer again, he continues:

"On Sunday [369] 69 a meeting of all, who live in the cities and

villages, is held, and a section from the Memoirs of the Apostles (the

Gospels) and the writings of the Prophets (the Old Testament) is read,

as long as the time permits. [370] 70 When the reader has finished, the

president, [371] 71 in a discourse, gives all exhortation [372] 72 to

the imitation of these noble things. After this we all rise in common

prayer. [373] 73 At the close of the prayer, as we have before

described, [374] 74 bread and wine with water are brought. The

president offers prayer and thanks for them, according to the power

given him, [375] 75 and the congregation responds the Amen. Then the

consecrated elements are distributed to each one, and partaken, and are

carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent. The wealthy and the

willing then give contributions according to their free will, and this

collection is deposited with the president, who therewith supplies

orphans and widows, poor and needy, prisoners and strangers, and takes

care of all who are in want. We assemble in common on Sunday because

this is the first day, on which God created the world and the light,

and because Jesus Christ our Saviour on the same day rose from the dead

and appeared to his disciples."

Here, reading of the Scriptures, preaching (and that as an episcopal

function), prayer, and communion, plainly appear as the regular parts

of the Sunday worship; all descending, no doubt, from the apostolic

age. Song is not expressly mentioned here, but elsewhere. [376] 76 The

communion is not yet clearly separated from the other parts of worship.

But this was done towards the end of the second century.

The same parts of worship are mentioned in different places by

Tertullian. [377] 77

The eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions contains already an

elaborate service with sundry liturgical prayers. [378] 78

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[366] Comp. �17, p. 46, and G. Boissier, De l'authenticit� de la lettre

de Pline au sujet des Chr�tiens, in the "Revue Arch�ol., " 1876, p.

114-125.

[367] "Quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, Carmenque,

Christo, Deo, dicere secum invicem."

[368] Apol. l.c. 65-67 (Opera, ed. Otto III. Tom. I. P. I. 177-188).

The passage quoted is from ch. 67.

[369] te tou Heliou legomene hemera

[370] Mechris enchorei

[371] Ho proestos, the presiding presbyter or bisbop.

[372] �Ten nouthesian kai paraklesin.

[373] Euchas pempomen, preces emittimus.

[374] Chap. 65.

[375] Hose dunamis auto, that is probably pro viribus, quantum potest;

or like Tertullian's "de pectore", and" ex proprio ingenio."Others

translate wrongly: totis viribus, with all his might, or with a clear,

load voice. Comp. Otto, l.c. 187. The passages, however, in no case

contain any opposition to forms of prayer which were certainly in use

already at the time, and familiar Without book to every worshipper;

above all the Lord's Prayer. The whole liturgical literature of the

fourth and fifth centuries presupposes a much, older liturgics

tradition. The prayers in the eighth, book of the Apost. Constitutions

are probably among the oldest Portions of the work.

[376] Cap. 13. Justin himself wrote a book entitled 'psaltes.

[377] See the passages quoted by Otto, l.c. 184 sq.

[378] B. VIII. 3 sqq. Also VII. 33 sqq. See translation in the

"Ante-Nicene Library, " vol. XVII., P. II. 191 sqq. and 212 sqq.

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� 66. Parts of Worship.

1. The reading of Scripture lessons from the Old Testament with

practical application and exhortation passed from the Jewish synagogue

to the Christian church. The lessons from the New Testament came

prominently into use as the Gospels and Epistles took the place of the

oral instruction of the apostolic age. The reading of the Gospels is

expressly mentioned by Justin Martyr, and the Apostolical Constitutions

add the Epistles and the Acts. [379] 79 During the Pentecostal season

the Acts of the Apostles furnished the lessons. But there was no

uniform system of selection before the Nicene age. Besides the

canonical Scripture, post-apostolic writings, as the Epistle of Clement

of Rome, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Pastor of Hermas, were read

in some congregations, and are found in important MSS. of the New

Testament. [380] 80 The Acts of Martyrs were also read on the

anniversary of their martyrdom.

2. The sermon [381] 81 was a familiar exposition of Scripture and

exhortation to repentance and a holy life, and gradually assumed in the

Greek church an artistic, rhetorical character. Preaching was at first

free to every member who had the gift of public speaking, but was

gradually confined as an exclusive privilege of the clergy, and

especially the bishop. Origen was called upon to preach before his

ordination, but this was even then rather an exception. The oldest

known homily, now recovered in full (1875), is from an unknown Greek or

Roman author of the middle of the second century, probably before a.d.

140 (formerly ascribed to Clement of Rome). He addresses the hearers as

"brothers" and "sisters," and read from manuscript. [382] 82 The homily

has no literary value, and betrays confusion and intellectual poverty,

but is inspired by moral earnestness and triumphant faith. It closes

with this doxology: "To the only God invisible, the Father of truth,

who sent forth unto us the Saviour and Prince of immortality, through

whom also He made manifest unto us the truth and the heavenly life, to

Him be the glory forever and ever. Amen." [383] 83

3. Prayer. This essential part of all worship passed likewise from the

Jewish into the Christian service. The oldest prayers of post-apostolic

times are the eucharistic thanksgivings in the Didache, and the

intercession at the close of Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians,

which seems to have been used in the Roman church. [384] 84 It is long

and carefully composed, and largely interwoven with passages from the

Old Testament. It begins with an elaborate invocation of God in

antithetical sentences, contains intercession for the afflicted, the

needy, the wanderers, and prisoners, petitions for the conversion of

the heathen, a confession of sin and prayer for pardon (but without a

formula of absolution), and closes with a prayer for unity and a

doxology. Very touching is the prayer for rulers then so hostile to the

Christians, that God may grant them health, peace, concord and

stability. The document has a striking resemblance to portions of the

ancient liturgies which begin to appear in the fourth century, but bear

the names of Clement, James and Mark, and probably include some

primitive elements. [385] 85

The last book of the Apostolical Constitutions contains the pseudo- or

post-Clementine liturgy, with special prayers for believers,

catechumens, the possessed, the penitent, and even for the dead, and a

complete eucharistic service. [386] 86

The usual posture in prayer was standing with outstretched arms in

Oriental fashion.

4. Song. The Church inherited the psalter from the synagogue, and has

used it in all ages as an inexhaustible treasury of devotion. The

psalter is truly catholic in its spirit and aim; it springs from the

deep fountains of the human heart in its secret communion with God, and

gives classic expression to the religious experience of all men in

every age and tongue. This is the best proof of its inspiration.

Nothing like it can be found in all the poetry of heathendom. The

psalter was first enriched by the inspired hymns which saluted the

birth of the Saviour of the world, the Magnificat of Mary, the

Benedictus of Zacharias, the Gloria in Excelsis of the heavenly host,

and the Nunc Dimittis of the aged Simeon. These hymns passed at once

into the service of the Church, to resound through all successive

centuries, as things of beauty which are "a joy forever." Traces of

primitive Christian poems can be found throughout the Epistles and the

Apocalypse. The angelic anthem (Luke 2:14) was expanded into the Gloria

in Excelsis, first in the Greek church, in the third, if not the

second, century, and afterwards in the Latin, and was used as the

morning hymn. [387] 87 It is one of the classical forms of devotion,

like the Latin Te Deum of later date. The evening hymn of the Greek

church is less familiar and of inferior merit.

The following is a free translation:

"Hail! cheerful Light, of His pure glory poured,

Who is th' Immortal Father, Heavenly, Blest,

Holiest of Holies--Jesus Christ our Lord!

Now are we come to the Sun's hour of rest,

The lights of Evening round us shine,

We sing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost Divine!

Worthiest art Thou at all times, to be sung

With undefiled tongue,

Son of our God, Giver of Life alone!

Therefore, in all the world, Thy glories, Lord, we own." [388] 88

An author towards the close of the second century [389] 89 could appeal

against the Artemonites, to a multitude of hymns in proof of the faith

of the church in the divinity of Christ: "How many psalms and odes of

the Christians are there not, which have been written from the

beginning by believers, and which, in their theology, praise Christ as

the Logos of God?" Tradition says, that the antiphonies, or responsive

songs; were introduced by Ignatius of Antioch. The Gnostics, Valentine

and Bardesanes also composed religious songs; and the church surely

learned the practice not from them, but from the Old Testament psalms.

The oldest Christian poem preserved to us which can be traced to an

individual author is from the pen of the profound Christian

philosopher, Clement of Alexandria, who taught theology ill that city

before a.d. 202. It is a sublime but somewhat turgid song of praise to

the Logos, as the divine educator and leader of the human race, and

though not intended and adapted for public worship, is remarkable for

its spirit and antiquity. [390] 90

Notes.

I. The Prayer of the Roman Church from the newly recovered portion of

the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, ch. 59-61 (in Bishop

Lightfoot's translation, St. Clement of Rome, Append. pp. 376-378):

"Grant unto us, Lord, that we may set our hope on Thy Name which is the

primal source of all creation, and open the eyes of our hearts, that we

may know Thee, who alone abidest Highest in the highest, Holy in the

holy; who layest low the insolence of the proud: who scatterest the

imaginings of nations; who settest the lowly on high, and bringest the

lofty low; who makest rich and makest poor; who killest and makest

alive; who alone art the Benefactor of spirits and the God of all

flesh; who lookest into the abysses, who scannest the works of man; the

Succor of them that are in peril, the Saviour of them that are in

despair; the Creator and Overseer of every spirit; who multipliest the

nations upon earth, and hast chosen out from all men those that love

Thee through Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through whom Thou didst

instruct us, didst sanctify us, didst honor us. We beseech Thee, Lord

and Master, to be our help and succor. Save those among us who are in

tribulation; have mercy on the lowly; lift up the fallen; show Thyself

unto the needy; heal the ungodly; convert the wanderers of Thy people;

feed the hungry; release our prisoners; raise up the weak; comfort the

faint-hearted. Let all the Gentiles know that Thou art God alone, and

Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy

pastures

"Thou through Thine operation didst make manifest the everlasting

faithful of the world. Thou, Lord, didst create the earth. Thou art

faithful throughout all generations, righteous in Thy judgments,

marvellous in strength and excellence. Thou that art wise in creating

and prudent in establishing that which Thou hast made, that art good in

the things which are seen and faithful with them that trust on Thee,

pitiful and compassionate, forgive us our iniquities and our

unrighteousnesses and our transgressions and shortcomings. Lay not to

our account every sin of Thy servants and Thine handmaids, but cleanse

us with the cleansing of Thy truth, and guide our steps to walk in

holiness and righteousness and singleness of heart, and to do such

things as are good and well-pleasing in Thy sight and in the sight of

our rulers. Yea Lord, make Thy face to shine upon us in peace for our

good, that we may be sheltered by Thy mighty hand and delivered from

every sin by Thine uplifted arm. And deliver up from them that hate us

wrongfully. Give concord and peace to us and to all that dwell on the

earth, as thou gavest to our fathers, when they called on Thee in faith

and truth with holiness, that we may be saved, while we render

obedience to Thine almighty and most excellent Name, and to our rulers

and governors upon the earth.

"Thou, Lord and Master, hast given them the power of sovereignty

through Thine excellent and unspeakable might, that we knowing the

glory and honor which Thou hast given them may submit ourselves unto

them, in nothing resisting Thy will. Grant unto them therefore, O Lord,

health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the

government which Thou hast given them without failure. For Thou, O

heavenly Master, King of the ages, givest to the sons of men glory and

honor and power over all things that are upon earth. Do Thou, Lord,

direct their counsel according to that which is good and well pleasing

in Thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with

godliness the power which Thou hast given them, they may obtain Thy

favor. O Thou, who alone art able to do these things and things far

more exceeding good than these for us, we praise Thee through the

High-priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom be,

the glory and the majesty unto Thee both now and for all generations

and for ever and ever. Amen."

II. A literal translation of the poem of Clement of Alexandria in

praise of Christ.

Humnos tou Soteros christou. (Stomion polon adaon).

"Bridle of untamed colts,

O footsteps of Christ,

Wing of unwandering birds,

O heavenly way,

Sure Helm of babes,

Perennial Word,

Shepherd of royal lambs!

Endless age,

Assemble Thy simple children,

Eternal Light,

To praise holily,

Fount of mercy,

To hymn guilelessly

Performer of virtue.

With innocent mouths

Noble [is the] life of those

Christ, the guide of children.

Who praise God

O Christ Jesus,

O King of saints,

Heavenly milk

All-subduing Word

Of the sweet breasts

Of the most high Father,

Of the graces of the Bride,

Prince of wisdom,

Pressed out of Thy wisdom.

Support of sorrows,

That rejoicest in the ages,

Babes nourished

Jesus, Saviour

With tender mouths,

Of the human race,

Filled with dewy spirit

Shepherd, Husbandman,

Of the spiritual breast.

Helm, Bridle,

Let us sing together

Heavenly Wing,

Simple praises

Of the all holy flock,

True hymns

Fisher of men

To Christ [the] King,

Who are saved,

Holy reward

Catching the chaste fishes

For the doctrine of life.

With sweet life

Let us sing together,

From the hateful wave

Sing in simplicity

Of a sea of vices.

To the mighty Child.

O choir of peace,

Guide [us], Shepherd

The Christ begotten,

Of rational sheep;

O chaste people

Guide harmless children,

Let us praise together

O holy King.

The God of peace."

This poem was for sixteen centuries merely a hymnological curiosity,

until an American Congregational minister, Dr. Henry Martyn Dexter, by

a happy reproduction, in 1846, secured it a place in modern hymn-books.

While preparing a sermon (as He. informs me) on "some prominent

characteristics of the early Christians" (text, Deut. 32:7, "Remember

the days of old"), he first wrote down an exact translation of the

Greek hymn of Clement, and then reproduced and modernized it for the

use of his congregation in connection with the sermon. It is well known

that many Psalms of Israel have inspired some of the noblest Christian

hymns. The 46^th Psalm gave the key-note of Luther's triumphant

war-hymn of the Reformation: "Ein' feste Burg." John Mason Neale dug

from the dust of ages many a Greek and Latin hymn, to the edification

of English churches, notably some portions of Bernard of Cluny's De

Contemptu Mundi, which runs through nearly three thousand dactylic

hexameters, and furnished the material for "Brief life is here our

portion." "For thee, O dear, dear Country," and "Jerusalem the golden."

We add Dexter's hymn as a fair specimen of a useful transfusion and

rejuvenation of an old poem.

1. Shepherd of tender youth,

None calls on Thee in vain;

Guiding in love and truth

Help Thou dost not disdain--

Through devious ways;

Help from above.

Christ, our triumphant King,

We come Thy name to sing;

4. Ever be Thou our Guide,

Hither our children bring

Our Shepherd and our Pride,

To shout Thy praise!

Our Staff and Song!

Jesus, Thou Christ of God

2. Thou art our Holy Lord,

By Thy perennial Word

The all-subduing Word,

Lead us where Thou hast trod,

Healer of strife!

Make our faith strong.

Thou didst Thyself abase,

That from sin's deep disgrace

5. So now, and till we die,

Thou mightest save our race,

Sound we Thy praises high,

And give us life.

And joyful sing:

Infants, and the glad throng

3. Thou art the great High Priest;

Who to Thy church belong,

Thou hast prepared the feast

Unite to swell the song

Of heavenly lov

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[379] BK. VII. 5.

[380] The Ep. of Clemens in the Codex Alexandrinus (A); Barnabas and

Hermas in the Cod. Sinaiticus.

[381] omilia, logos, sermo, tractatus.

[382] � 19, anaginosko humin. But the homily may have first been

delivered extempore, and taken down by short-hand writers

(tachugraphoi, notarii). See Lightfoot, p. 306.

[383] Ed. by Bryennios (1875), and in the Patr. Apost. ed. by de

Gebhardt and Harnack, I. 111-143. A good translation by Lightfoot, S.

Clement of Rome, Appendix, 380-390. Lightfoot says: "If the first

Epistle of Clement is the earliest foreshadowing of a Christian

liturgy, the so called Second Epistle is the first example of a

Christian homily." He thinks that the author was a bishop; Harnack,

that be was a layman, as be seems to distinguish himself from the

presbyters. Lightfoot assigns him to Corinth, and explains in this way

the fact that the homily was bound tip with the letter of Clement to

the Corinthians; while Harnack ably maintain, the Roman origin from the

time and circle of Hermas. Bryennios ascribe, ; it to Clement of Rome

(which is quite impossible), Hilgenfeld to Clement of Alexandria (which

is equally impossible).

[384] Ad Cor. ch. 59-61, discovered and first published by Bryennios,

1875. We give Clement's prayer below, p. 228 sq. The prayers if the

Didache(chs.9 and 10), brought to light by Bryennios, 1883, are still

older, and breathe the spirit of primitive simplicity. See � 68.

[385] See vol. III. 517 sqq., and add to the literature there, quoted,

Probst (R.C.), Die Liturgie der 3 ersten Jahrh., T�b., 1870; C. A.

Hammond, Ancient Liturgies (with introduction, notes, and liturgical

glossary), Oxford and Lond., 1878.

[386] Ap. Const., Bk. VIII., also in the liturgical collections of

Daniel, Neale, Hammond, etc.

[387] Const. Apost. lib. VII. 47. Also in Daniel's Thesaurus Hymnol.,

tom. III, p. 4, where it is called humnos heothinos(as in Cod. Alex.),

and commences: Doxa en hupsistois theo. Comp. Tom. II. 268 sqq. It is

also called hymnus angelicus while the Ter Sanctus (from Isa. 6:3) came

afterwards to be distinguished as hymnus seraphicus. Daniel ascribes

the former to the third century, Routh to the second. It is found with

slight variations at the end of the Alexandrian Codex of the Bible (in

the British Museum), and in the Zurich Psalter reprinted by Tischendorf

in his Monumenta Sacra. The Latin form is usually traced to Hilary of

Poictiers in the fourth century.

[388] Daniel, l.c. vol. III. p. 5. Comp. in part Const. Ap. VIII. 37.

The humnos heaperinosor humnos tou luchnikou, commences: Phos hilaron

hagias doches Athanatou patros ouraniou.

[389] In Euseb. H. E. V. 28.

[390] In the Paedag. III. 12 (p. 311 ed. Pott.); also in Daniel's

Thesaurus hymnologicus III. p. 3 and 4. Daniel calls it "vetustissimus

hymnus ecclesiae", but the Gloria in Excelsis may dispute this claim.

The poem has been often translated into Cierinan, by M�nter (in

Rambach's Anthologie christl. Ges�nge, I. p, 35); Dorner (Christologie,

I. 293); Fortlage (Ges�nge christl. Vorzeit, 1844, p. 38); and in rhyme

by Hagenbach (Die K. G. der 3 ersten Jahrh. p. 222 sq.). An English

translation may be found in Mrs. Charles: The Voice of Christian Life,

in Song, N. York, 1858, p. 44 sq., and a closer one in the "Ante-Nicene

Christian Library, " vol. V. p. 343 sq.

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� 67. Division of Divine Service. The Disciplina Arcani.

Richard Rothe: De Disciplinae Arcani, quae dicitur, in Ecclesia Christ.

Origine. Heidelb. 1841; and his art. on the subject in the first ed. of

Herzog (vol. I. 469-477).

C. A. Gerh. Von Zezschwitz: System der christl. kirchlichen Katechetik.

Leipz. 1863, vol. I. p. 154-227. See also his art. in the second ed. of

Herzog, I. 637-645 (abridged in Schaff's "Rel. Enc.").

G. Nath. Bonwetsch (of Dorpat): Wesen, Entstehunq und Fortgang der

Arkandisciplin, in Kahnis' "Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol." 1873, pp. 203

sqq.

J. P. Lundy: Monumental Christianity. N. York, 1876, p. 62-86.

Comp. also A. W. Haddan in Smith & Cheetham, I. 564-566; Wandinger, in

Wetzer & Welte, new ed. vol. I. (1882), 1234-1238. Older dissertations

on the subject by Schelstrate (1678), Meier (1679), Tenzell (1863),

Scholliner (1756), Lienhardt (1829), Toklot (1836), Frommann (1833),

Siegel (1836, I. 506 sqq.).

The public service was divided from. the middle of the second century

down to the close of the fifth, into the worship of the catechumens,

[391] 91 and the worship of the faithful. [392] 92 The former consisted

of scripture reading, preaching, prayer, and song, and was open to the

unbaptized and persons under penance. The latter consisted of the holy

communion, with its liturgical appendages; none but the proper members

of the church could attend it; and before it began, all catechumens and

unbelievers left the assembly at the order of the deacon, [393] 93 and

the doors were closed or guarded.

The earliest witness for this strict separation is Tertullian, who

reproaches the heretics with allowing the baptized and the unbaptized

to attend the same prayers, and casting the holy even before the

heathens. [394] 94 He demands, that believers, catechumens, and

heathens should occupy separate places in public worship. The

Alexandrian divines furnished a theoretical ground for this practice by

their doctrine of a secret tradition for the esoteric. Besides the

communion, the sacrament of baptism, with its accompanying confession,

was likewise treated as a mystery for the initiated, [395] 95 and

withdrawn from the view of Jews and heathens.

We have here the beginnings of the Christian mystery-worship, or what

has been called since 1679 "the Secret Discipline," (Disciplina

Arcani), which is presented in its full development in the liturgies of

the fourth century, but disappeared from the Latin church after the

sixth century, with the dissolution of heathenism and the universal

introduction of infant baptism.

The Secret Discipline had reference chiefly to the celebration of the

sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, but included also the

baptismal symbol, the Lord's Prayer, and the doctrine of the Trinity.

Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Cyril of Jerusalem, and other fathers

make a distinction between lower or elementary (exoteric) and higher or

deeper (esoteric) doctrines, and state that the latter are withheld

from the uninitiated out of reverence and to avoid giving offence to

the weak and the heathen. This mysterious reticence, however, does not

justify the inference that the Secret Discipline included

transubstantiation, purgatory, and other Roman dogmas which are not

expressly taught in the writings of the fathers. The argument from

silence is set aside by positive proof to the contrary. [396] 96 Modern

Roman archaeologists have pressed the whole symbolism of the Catacombs

into the service of the Secret Discipline, but without due regard to

the age of those symbolical representations.

The origin of the Secret Discipline has been traced by some to the

apostolic age, on the ground of the distinction made between "milk for

babes" and "strong meat" for those "of full age," and between speaking

to "carnal" and to "spiritual" hearers. [397] 97 But this distinction

has no reference to public worship, and Justin Martyr, in his first

Apology, addressed to a heathen emperor, describes the celebration of

baptism and the eucharist without the least reserve. Others derive the

institution from the sacerdotal and hierarchical spirit which appeared

in the latter part of the second century, and which no doubt favored

and strengthened it; [398] 98 still others, from the Greek and Roman

mystery worship, which would best explain many expressions and

formulas, together with all sorts of unscriptural pedantries connected

with these mysteries. [399] 99 Yet the first motive must be sought

rather in an opposition to heathenism; to wit, in the feeling of the

necessity of guarding the sacred transactions of Christianity, the

embodiment of its deepest truths, against profanation in the midst of a

hostile world, according to Matt. 7:6; especially when after Hadrian,

perhaps even from the time of Nero, those transactions came to be so

shamefully misunderstood and slandered. To this must be added a proper

regard for modesty and decency in the administration of adult baptism

by immersion. Finally--and this is the chief cause--the institution of

the order of catechumens led to a distinction of half-Christians and

full-Christians, exoteric and esoteric, and this distinction gradually

became established in the liturgy. The secret discipline was therefore

a temporary, educational and liturgical expedient of the ante-Nicene

age. The catechumenate and the division of the acts of worship grew

together and declined to, together. With the disappearance of adult

catechumens, or with the general use of infant baptism and the union of

church and state, disappeared also the secret discipline in the sixth

century: "cessante causa cessat effectus."

The Eastern church, however, has retained in her liturgies to this day

the ancient form for the dismission of catechumens, the special prayers

for them, the designation of the sacraments as "mysteries," and the

partial celebration of the mass behind the veil; though she also has

for centuries had no catechumens in the old sense of the word, that is,

adult heathen or Jewish disciples preparing for baptism, except in rare

cases of exception, or on missionary ground.

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[391] Leitourgia ton katechoumenon, Missa Catechumenorum. The name

missa (from which our mass is derived) occurs first in Augustin and in

the acts of the council of Carthage, a.d. 398. it arose from the

formula of dismission at the close of each part of the service, and is

equivalent to missio, dismissio. Augustin (Serm. 49, c. 8): "Take

notice, after the sermon the dismissal (missa) of the catechumens takes

place; the faithful will remain." Afterwards missa came to designate

exclusively the communion service. In the Greek church leitourgia or

litourgia, service, is the precise equivalent for missa.

[392] Leitourgia ton piston, Missa Fidelium.

[393] Me tis ton katechoumenon, me tis ton akroomenon, me tis apiston,

me tis heterodoxon, "Let none of the catechumens, let none of the

hearers, let none of the unbelievers, let none of the heterodox, stay

here." Const. Apost. viii. 12. Comp. Chrysostom Hom. in Matt. xxiii.

[394] De PraescR. Haer. C. 41: "Quis catechimenus, quis fidelis,

incertum est" that is, among the heretics); "pariter adeunt, pariter

orant, etiam ethnici, si supervenerint; sanctum canibus et porcis,

margaritas, licet non veras " (since they have no proper sacraments),

"jactabunt." But this does not apply to all heretics, least of all to

the Manichaeans, who carried the notion of mystery in the sacrament

much further than the Catholics.

[395] Muetoi, initiati=pistoi, fideles.

[396] The learned Jesuit Emanuel von Scheistrate first used this

argument in Antiquitas illustrate (Antw. 1678), and De Disciplina

Arcani (Rom. 1685); but he was refuted by the Lutheran W. Ernst

Tentzel, in his Dissert. de Disc. Arcani, Lips. 1683 and 1692. Tentzel,

Casaubon, Bingham, Rothe, and Zetzschwitz are wrong, however, in

confining the Disc. Arc. to the ritual and excluding the dogma. See

especially Cyril of Jerus. Katech, XVI. 26; XVIIL 32, 33.

[397] Heb. 5:12-14; 1 Cor. 3:1, 2. So some fathers who carry the Disc.

Arc. back to the Lord's command, Matt. 7:6, and in recent times Credner

(1844), and Wandinger (in the new ed. of Wetzer and Welte, I. 1237).

St. Paul, 1 Cor. 14:23-25, implies the presence of strangers in the

public services, but not necesarily during the communion.

[398] So Bonwetsch, l.c., versus Rothe and Zetzchwitz.

[399] The correspondence is very apparent in the ecclesiastical use of

such terms as musterion, sumbolon, muesis, mustagogein, katharsis ,

teleiosis, photismos(of baptism), etc. On the Greek, and especially the

Eleusinian cultus of mysteries, Comp. Lobeck, Aglaophanus, K�nigsberg,

1829; several articles of Preller in Pauly's Realencyklop. der

Alterthumswissenschaft III. 83 sqq., V. 311 sqq., Zetzs chwitz, l.c.

156 sqq., and L�bker's Reallex. des class. Alterthums. 5th ed. by Erler

(1877), p. 762. Lobeck has refuted the older view of Warburton and

Creuzer, that a secret wisdom, and especially the traditions of a

primitive revelation, were propagated in the Greek mysteries.

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� 68. Celebration of the Eucharist.

The celebration of the Eucharist or holy communion with appropriate

prayers of the faithful was the culmination of Christian worship. [400]

00 Justin Martyr gives us the following description, which still

bespeaks the primitive simplicity: [401] 01 "After the prayers [of the

catechumen worship] we greet one another with the brotherly kiss. Then

bread and a cup with water and wine are handed to the president

(bishop) of the brethren. He receives them, and offers praise, glory,

and thanks to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and the

Holy Spirit, for these his gifts. When he has ended the prayers and

thanksgiving, the whole congregation responds: 'Amen.' For 'Amen' in

the Hebrew tongue means: 'Be it so.' Upon this the deacons, as we call

them, give to each of those present some of the blessed bread, [402] 02

and of the wine mingled with water, and carry it to the absent in their

dwellings. This food is called with us the eucharist, of which none can

partake, but the believing and baptized, who live according to the

commands of Christ. For we use these not as common bread and common

drink; but like as Jesus Christ our Redeemer was made flesh through the

word of God, and took upon him flesh and blood for our redemption; so

we are taught, that the nourishment blessed by the word of prayer, by

which our flesh and blood are nourished by transformation

(assimilation), is the flesh and blood of the incarnate Jesus."

Then he relates the institution from the Gospels, and mentions the

customary collections for the poor.

We are not warranted in carrying back to this period the full

liturgical service, which we find prevailing with striking uniformity

in essentials, though with many variations in minor points, in all

quarters of the church in the Nicene age. A certain simplicity and

freedom characterized the period before us. Even the so-called

Clementine liturgy, in the eighth book of the pseudo-Apostolical

Constitutions, was probably not composed and written out in this form

before the fourth century. There is no trace of written liturgies

during the Diocletian persecution. But the germs (late from the second

century. The oldest eucharistic prayers have recently come to light in

the Didache ,which contains three thanksgivings, for the, cup, the

broken and for all mercies. (chs. 9 and 10.)

From scattered statements of the ante-Nicene fathers we may gather the

following view of the eucharistic service as it may have stood in the

middle of the third century, if not earlier.

The communion was a regular and the most solemn part of the Sunday

worship; or it was the worship of God in the stricter sense, in which

none but full members of the church could engage. In many places and by

many Christians it was celebrated even daily, after apostolic

precedent, and according to the very common mystical interpretation of

the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer. [403] 03 The service began,

after the dismission of the catechumens, with the kiss of peace, given

by the men to men, and by the women to women, in token of mutual

recognition as members of one redeemed family in the midst of a

heartless and loveless world. It was based upon apostolic precedent,

and is characteristic of the childlike simplicity, and love and joy of

the early Christians. [404] 04 The service proper consisted of two

principal acts: the oblation, [405] 05 or presenting of the offerings

of the congregation by the deacons for the ordinance itself, and for

the benefit of the clergy and the poor; and the communion, or partaking

of the consecrated elements. In the oblation the congregation at the

same time presented itself as a living thank-offering; as in the

communion it appropriated anew in faith the sacrifice of Christ, and

united itself anew with its Head. Both acts were accompanied and

consecrated by prayer and songs of praise.

In the prayers we must distinguish, first, the general thanksgiving

(the eucharist in the strictest sense of the word) for all the natural

and spiritual gifts of God, commonly ending with the seraphic hymn,

Isa. 6:3; secondly, the prayer of consecration, or the invocation of

the Holy Spirit [406] 06 upon the people and the elements, usually

accompanied by the recital of the words of institution and the Lord's

Prayer; and finally, the general intercessions for all classes,

especially for the believers, on the ground of the sacrifice of Christ

on the cross for the salvation of the world. The length and order of

the prayers, however, were not uniform; nor the position of the Lord's

Prayer, which sometimes took the place of the prayer of consecration,

being reserved for the prominent part of the service. Pope Gregory I.

says that it "was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the oblation

only by the Lord's Prayer." The congregation responded from time to

time, according to the ancient Jewish and the apostolic usage, with an

audible "Amen, "or "Kyrie eleison." The "Sursum corda," also, as an

incitement to devotion, with the response, "Habemus ad Dominum,"

appears at least as early as Cyprian's time, who expressly alludes to

it, and in all the ancient liturgies. The prayers were spoken, not read

from a book. But extemporaneous prayer naturally assumes a fixed form

by constant repetition.

The elements were common or leavened bread [407] 07 (except among the

Ebionites, who, like the later Roman church from the seventh century,

used unleavened bread), and wine mingled with water. This mixing was a

general custom in antiquity, but came now to have various mystical

meanings attached to it. The elements were placed in the hands (not in

the mouth) of each communicant by the clergy who were present, or,

according to Justin, by the deacons alone, amid singing of psalms by

the congregation (Psalm 34), with the words: "The body of Christ;" "The

blood of Christ, the cup of life;" to each of which the recipient

responded "Amen." [408] 08 The whole congregation thus received the

elements, standing in the act. [409] 09 Thanksgiving and benediction

concluded the celebration.

After the public service the deacons carried the consecrated elements

to the sick and to the confessors in prison. Many took portions of the

bread home with them, to use in the family at morning prayer. This

domestic communion was practised particularly in North Africa, and

furnishes the first example of a communio sub una specie. In the same

country, in Cyprian's time, we find the custom of infant communion

(administered with wine alone), which was justified from John 6:53, and

has continued in the Greek (and Russian) church to this day, though

irreconcilable with the apostle's requisition of a preparatory

examination (1 Cor. 11:28).

At first the communion was joined with a love feast, and was then

celebrated in the evening, in memory of the last supper of Jesus with

his disciples. But so early as the beginning of the second century

these two exercises were separated, and the communion was placed in the

morning, the love feast in the evening, except on certain days of

special observance. [410] 10 Tertullian gives a detailed description of

the Agape in refutation of the shameless calumnies of the heathens.

[411] 11 But the growth of the churches and the rise of manifold abuses

led to the gradual disuse, and in the fourth century even to the formal

prohibition of the Agape, which belonged in fact only to the childhood

and first love of the church. It was a family feast, where rich and

poor, master and slave met on the same footing, partaking of a simple

meal, hearing reports from distant congregations, contributing to the

necessities of suffering brethren, and encouraging each other in their

daily duties and trials. Augustin describes his mother Monica as going

to these feasts with a basket full of provisions and distributing them.

The communion service has undergone many changes in the course of time,

but still substantially survives with all its primitive vitality and

solemnity in all churches of Christendom,--a perpetual memorial of

Christ's atoning sacrifice and saving love to the human race. Baptism

and the Lord's Supper are institutions which proclaim from day to day

the historic Christ, and can never be superseded by contrivances of

human ingenuity and wisdom.

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[400] Names:eucharistia, koinonia, eucharistia, communio, communicatio,

etc.

[401] Apol. l.c. 65, 66

[402] Eucharistethentos artou

[403] Cyprian speaks of daily sacrifice, ;. Ep. 54: "Sacerdotes qui

Sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus." So Ambrose, Ep. 14 ad Marcell.,

and the oldest liturgical works. But that the observance was various,

is certified by Augustin, among others. Ep. 118 ad Januar. c. 2: "Alii

quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Dominico; alii certis diebus

accipiunt; alibi nullus dies intermittitur quo non offeratur; alibi

sabbato tantum et dominico; alibi tantum dominico." St. Basil says (Ep.

289): 'We commune four times in the week, on the Lord's Day, the fourth

day, the preparation day [Friday], and the Sabbath. "Chrysostom

complains of the small number of communicants at the daily sacrifice.

[404] Rom. 16:16; 1 Cor. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:12; 1 Thess. 5:26; 1 Pet.

5:14. The Kiss of Peace continued in the Latin church till the end of

the thirteenth century, and was then transferred to the close of the

service or exchanged for a mere form of words: Pax tibi et ecclesiae.

In the Russian church the clergy kiss each other during the recital of

the Nicene Creed to show the nominal union of orthodoxy and charity (so

often divided). In the Coptic church the primitive custom is still in

force, and in some small Protestant sects it has been revived.

[405] Prosphora.

[406] Epiklesis tou Pn. Hag. Irenaeus derives this invocatio Spiritus

S., as well as the oblation and the thanksgiving, from apostolic

instruction. See the 2nd fragment, in Stieren, I. 854. It appears in

all the Greek liturgies. In the Liturgia Jacobi it reads thus:Kai

exaposteilon eph' hemas kai epi ta proskeimena dora tauta to Pneuma sou

to panagion, to kurion kai zoopoion ... hina ... agiase kai poiese ton

men arton touton soma hagion tou Christou sou, kai to poterion touto

aima timion tou Chr. sou, hina genetai pasi tois ex hauton

metalambanousin eis haphesin hamartion kai eis zoen aionion, eis

hagiasmon psuchon kai somaton, eis kartophorian ergon agathon.

[407] Koinos artos, says; Justin, while in view of its sacred import be

calls it also uncommon bread and drink. The use of leavened or

unleavened bread became afterwards, as is well known, a point of

controversy between the Roman and Greek churches.

[408] This simplest form of distribution, "Soma Christou," and "Aima

Chr., poterion zoes" occurs in the Clementine liturgy of the Apostolic

Constitutions, VIII. 13, and seems to be the oldest. The Didache gives

no form of distribution.

[409] The standing posture of the congregation during the principal

prayers, and in the communion itself, seems to have been at first

universal. For this was, indeed, the custom always on the day of the

resurrection in distinction from Friday ("stantes oramus, quod est

signunt resurrectionis," says Augustin) besides, the communion was, in

the highest sense, a ceremony of festivity and joy; and finally, Justin

expressly observes: "Then we all stand up to prayer." After the twelfth

century, kneeling in receiving the elements became general, and passed

from the Catholic church into the Lutheran and Anglican, while most of

the Reformed churches; returned to the original custom of standing.

Sitting in the communion was first introduced after the Reformation by

the Presbyterian church of Scotland, and is very common in the United

States the deacons or elders banding the bread and cup to the

communicants in their pews. A curious circumstance is the sitting

posture of the Pope in the communion, which Dean Stanley regards as a

relic of the reclining or recumbent posture of the primitive disciples.

See his Christ. Instit. p. 250 sqq.

[410] On Maundy-Thursday, according, to Augustin's testimony, the

communion continued to be celebrated in the evening, "tanquam ad

insigniorem commemorationem." So on high feasts, as Christmas night,

Epiphany, and Easter Eve, and in fasting seasons. See Ambrose, Serm.

viii. in Ps. 118.

[411] Apol. c.39: "About the modest supper-room of the Christians alone

a great ado is made. Our feast explains itself by its name. The Greeks

call it love. Whatever it costs, our outlay in the name of piety is

gain, since with the good things of the feast we benefit the needy, not

as it is with you, do parasites aspire to the glory of satisfying their

licentious propensities, selling themselves for a belly-feast to all

disgraceful treatment-but as it is with God himself, a peculiar respect

is shown to the lowly. If the object of our feast be good, in the light

of that consider its further regulations. As it is an act of religious

service, it permits no vileness or immodesty. The participants, before

reclining, taste first of prayer to God. As much is eaten as satisfies

the cravings of hunger; as much is drunk as befits the chaste. They say

it is enough, as those who remember that even during the night they

have to worship God; they talk as those who know that the Lord is one

of their auditors. After the washing of hands and the bringing in of

lights, each is asked to stand forth and sing, as he can, a hymn to

God, either one from the holy Scriptures or one of his own composing-a

proof of the measure of our drinking. As the feast commenced with

prayer, so with prayer it closed. We go from it, not like troops of

mischief-doers, nor bands of roamers, nor to break out into licentious

acts, but to have aq ruucli care of our modesty and chastity as if we

had been at a school of virtue rather than a banquet." (Translation

from the "Ante-Nicene Library ").

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� 69. The Doctrine of the Eucharist.

Literature. See the works quoted, vol. I. 472, by Waterland (Episc. d.

1740), D�llinger (R. Cath., 1826; since 1870 Old Cath.), Ebrard

(Calvinistic, 1845), Nevin (Calvinistic, 1846), Kahnis (Luth. 1851, but

changed his view in his Dogmatik), E. B. Pusey (high Anglic., 1855),

R�ckert (Rationalistic, 1856), Vogan (high Anglic., 1871), Harrison

(Evang. Angl., 1871), Stanley (Broad Church Episc., 1881), Gude

(Lutheran, 1887).

On the Eucharistic doctrine of Ignatius, Justin, Irenaeus, and

Tertullian, there are also special treatises by Thiersch (1841),

Semisch (1842), Engelhardt (1842), Baur (1839 and 1857), Steitz (1864),

and others.

H�fling: Die Lehre der �ltesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus

der Christen. Erlangen, 1851.

Dean Stanley: The Eucharistic Sacrifice. In "Christian Institutions"

(N. Y. 1881) p. 73 sqq.

The doctrine concerning the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, not coming

into special discussion, remained indefinite and obscure. The ancient

church made more account of the worthy participation of the ordinance

than of the logical apprehension of it. She looked upon it as the

holiest mystery of the Christian worship, and accordingly celebrated it

with the deepest devotion, without inquiring into the mode of Christ's

presence, nor into the relation of the sensible signs to his flesh and

blood. It is unhistorical to carry any of the later theories back into

this age; although it has been done frequently in the apologetic and

polemic discussion of this subject.

1. The Eucharist as a Sacrament.

The Didache of the Apostles contains eucharistic prayers, but no theory

of the eucharist. Ignatius speaks of this sacrament in two passages,

only by way of allusion, but in very strong, mystical terms, calling it

the flesh of our crucified and risen Lord Jesus Christ, and the

consecrated bread a medicine of immortality and an antidote of

spiritual death. [412] 12 This view, closely connected with his

high-churchly tendency in general, no doubt involves belief in the real

presence, and ascribes to the holy Supper an effect on spirit and body

at once, with reference to the future resurrection, but is still

somewhat obscure, and rather an expression of elevated feeling than a

logical definition.

The same may be said of Justin Martyr, when he compares the descent of

Christ into the consecrated elements to his incarnation for our

redemption. [413] 13

Irenaeus says repeatedly, in combating the Gnostic Docetism, [414] 14

that bread and wine in the sacrament become, by the presence of the

Word of God, and by the power of the Holy Spirit, the body and blood of

Christ and that the receiving of there strengthens soul and body (the

germ of the resurrection body) unto eternal life. Yet this would hardly

warrant our ascribing either transubstantiation or consubstantiation to

Irenaeus. For in another place he calls the bread and wine, after

consecration, "antitypes," implying the continued distinction of their

substance from the body and blood of Christ. [415] 15 This expression

in itself, indeed, might be understood as merely contrasting here the

upper, as the substance, with the Old Testament passover, its type; as

Peter calls baptism the antitype of the saving water of the flood.

[416] 16 But the connection, and the usus loquendi of the earlier Greek

fathers, require us to take the term antitype, a the sense of type, or,

more precisely, as the antithesis of archetype. The bread and wine

represent and exhibit the body and blood of Christ as the archetype,

and correspond to them, as a copy to the original. In exactly the same

sense it is said in Heb. 9:24--comp. 8:5--that the earthly sanctuary is

the antitype, that is the copy, of the heavenly archetype. Other Greek

fathers also, down to the fifth century, and especially the author of

the Apostolical Constitutions, call the consecrated elements

"antitypes" (sometimes, like Theodoretus, "types") of the body and

blood of Christ. [417] 17

A different view, approaching nearer the Calvinistic or Reformed, we

meet with among the African fathers. Tertullian makes the words of

institution: Hoc est corpus meum, equivalent to: figura corporis mei,

to prove, in opposition to Marcion's docetism, the reality of the body

of Jesus--a mere phantom being capable of no emblematic representation

[418] 18 This involves, at all events, an essential distinction between

the consecrated elements and the body and blood of Christ in the

Supper. Yet Tertullian must not be understood as teaching a merely

symbolical presence of Christ; for in other places he speaks, according

to his general realistic turn, in almost materialistic language of an

eating of the body of Christ, and extends the participation even to the

body of the receiver. [419] 19 Cyprian likewise appears to favor a

symbolical interpretation of the words of institution, yet not so

clearly. The idea of the real presence would have much better suited

his sacerdotal conception of the ministry. In the customary mixing of

the wine with water he sees a type of the union of Christ with his

church, [420] 20 and, on the authority of John 6:53, holds the

communion of the Supper indispensable to salvation. The idea of a

sacrifice comes out very boldly in Cyprian.

The Alexandrians are here, as usual, decidedly spiritualistic. Clement

twice expressly calls the wine a symbol or an allegory of the blood of

Christ, and says, that the communicant receives not the physical, but

the spiritual blood, the life, of Christ; as, indeed, the blood is the

life of the body. Origen distinguishes still more definitely the

earthly elements from the heavenly bread of life, and makes it the

whole design of the supper to feed the soul with the divine word. [421]

21 Applying his unsound allegorical method here, he makes the bread

represent the Old Testament, the wine the New, and the breaking of the

bread the multiplication of the divine word! But these were rather

private views for the initiated, and can hardly be taken as presenting

the doctrine of the Alexandrian church.

We have, therefore, among the ante-Nicene fathers, three different

views, an Oriental, a North-African, and an Alexandrian. The first

view, that of Ignatius and Irenaeus, agrees most nearly with the

mystical character of the celebration of the eucharist, and with the

catholicizing features of the age.

2. The Eucharist as a Sacrifice.

This point is very important in relation to the doctrine, and still

more important in relation to the cultus and life, of the ancient

church. The Lord's Supper was universally regarded not only as a

sacrament, but also as a sacrifice, [422] 22 the true and eternal

sacrifice of the new covenant, superseding all the provisional and

typical sacrifices of the old; taking the place particularly of the

passover, or the feast of the typical redemption from Egypt. This

eucharistic sacrifice, however, the ante-Nicene fathers conceived not

as an unbloody repetition of the atoning sacrifice of Christ on the

cross, but simply as a commemoration and renewed appropriation of that

atonement, and, above all, a thank-offering of the whole church for all

the favors of God in creation and redemption. Hence the current name

itself--eucharist; which denoted in the first place the prayer of

thanksgiving, but afterwards the whole rite. [423] 23

The consecrated elements were regarded in a twofold light, as

representing at once the natural and the spiritual gifts of God, which

culminated in the self-sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Hence the

eucharistic prayer, like that connected with the typical passover,

related at the same time to creation and redemption, which were the

more closely joined in the mind of the church for their dualistic

separation by the Gnostics. The earthly gifts of bread and wine were

taken as types and pledges of the heavenly gifts of the same God, who

has both created and redeemed the world.

Upon this followed the idea of the self-sacrifice of the worshipper

himself, the sacrifice of renewed self-consecration to Christ in return

for his sacrifice on the cross, and also the sacrifice of charity to

the poor. Down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the eucharistic

elements were presented as a thank-offering by the members of the

congregation themselves, and the remnants went to the clergy and he

poor. In these gifts the people yielded themselves as a priestly race

and a living thank-offering to God, to whom they owed all the blessings

alike of providence and of grace. In later times the priest alone

offered the sacrifice. But even the Roman Missal retains a recollection

of the ancient custom in the plural form, "We offer," and in the

sentence: "All you, both brethren and sisters, pray that my sacrifice

and your sacrifice, which is equally yours as well as mine, may be meat

for the Lord."

This subjective offering of the whole congregation on the ground of the

objective atoning sacrifice of Christ is the real centre of the ancient

Christian worship, and particularly of the communion. It thus differed

both from the later Catholic mass, which has changed the thank-offering

into a sin-offering, the congregational offering into a priest

offering; and from the common Protestant cultus, which, in opposition

to the Roman mass, has almost entirely banished the idea of sacrifice

from the celebration of the Lord's Supper, except in the customary

offerings for the poor.

The writers of the second century keep strictly within the limits of

the notion of a congregational thank-offering. Thus Justin says

expressly, prayers and thanksgivings alone are the true and acceptable

sacrifices, which the Christians offer. Irenaeus has been brought as a

witness for the Roman doctrine, only on the ground of a false reading.

[424] 24 The African fathers, in the third century, who elsewhere

incline to the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution,

are the first to approach on this point the later Roman Catholic idea

of a sin-offering; especially Cyprian, the steadfast advocate of

priesthood and of episcopal authority. [425] 25 The ideas of

priesthood, sacrifice, and altar, are intimately connected, and a

Judaizing or paganizing conception of one must extend to all.

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[412] Ad Smyrn. c. 7; against the Docetists, who deny ten eucharistian

sarka einai tou soteros hemon L.Chr., k.t.l. and Ad Ephes. C. 20: Hos

(sc. hartos) estin pharmakon athanisias , antidotos tou me apothanein,

alla zen hen Iesou Christo dia pantos . Both passages are wanting in

the Syriac version. But the first is cited by Theodoret, Dial. III. p.

231, and must therefore have been known even in the Syrian church in

his time.

[413] Apol. I. 66 (I. 182, third ed. of Otto). Here also occurs already

the term metabole', which some Roman controversialists use at once as

an argument for transubstantiation. Justin says: Ex hes (i.e.trophes)

haima kai sarkes kata metabolen trephontai hemon, ex quo alimento

sanguis et carnes nostae per mutationem aluntur. But according to the

context, this denotes by no means a transmutation of the elements, but

either the assimilation of them to the body of the receiver, or the

operation of them upon the body, with reference to the future

resurrection. Comp. John 6:54 sqq., and like passages in Ignatius and

Irenaeus.

[414] Adv. haer. IV. 18, and passim.

[415] In the second of the Fragments discovered by Pfaff (Opp. Tren. ed

Stieren, vol. I. p. 855), which Maffei and other Roman divines have

unwarrantably declared spurious. It is there said that the Christians,

after the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice, call upon the Holy

Ghost, hopos apophene ten thusian tauten kai ton arton soma tou

Christou, kai to poterion to haima tou Chr., hina oi metalabontes

touton ton antitupon, tes apheseos ton hamartion kai zoes aioniou

tuchosin.

[416] 1 Pet. 3:20, 21.

[417] Const. Apost. l. V. c. 14 Ta antitupa musteria tou timiou somatos

autou kai haimatos. So VI. 30, and in a eucharistic prayer, VII. 25.

Other passages of the Greek fathers see in Stieren, l.c. p. 884 sq.

Comp. also Bleek's learned remarks in his large Com. on Heb. 8:5, and

9:24.

[418] Adv. Marc. IV. 40; and likewise III. 19. This interpretation is

plainly very near that of OEcolampadius, who puts the figure in the

predicate, and who attached no small weight to Tertullian's authority.

But the Zwinglian view, which puts the figure in theesti. instead of

the predicate, appears also in Tertullian, Adv. Marc. I. 14, in the

words: "Panem qui ipsum corpus suum repraesentat." The two

interpretations are only grammatical modifications of the same

symbolical theory.

[419] De Resur. Carnis, c. 8."Caro corpore et sanguine Christi

vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur." De Pudic. c. 9, he refers the

fatted calf, in the parable of the prodigal son, to the Lord's Supper,

and says: "Opimitate Dominici corporis vescitur, eucharistia

scilicet."De Orat. c. 6: "Quod et corpus Christi in pane censetur,"

which should probably be translated: is to be understood by the bread

(not contained in the bread).

[420] For this reason he considers the mixing essential. Epist. 63 (ed.

Bal.) c. 13: "Si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit

esse sine nobis; si vero aqua sit sola, plebs incipit esse sine

Christo. Quando autem utrumque miscetur et adunatione confusa sibi

invicem copitlatur, tunc sacramentum spirituale et cOEleste

perficitur."

[421] Comment. ser. in Matt. c. 85 (III. 898): "Panis iste, quem Dem

Verbum [Logos] corpus suum esse fatetur, verbum est nutritorium

animarum, verbum de Deo Verbo procedens, et panis de pani cOElesti ...

Non enim panem illum visibilem, quem tenebat in manibus, corpus situm

dicebat Deus Verbum, sed verbum, in cuius mysterio est panis ille

frangendus." Then the same of the wine. Origen evidently goes no higher

than the Zwinglian theory, while Clement approaches the Calvinistic

view of a spiritual real fruition of Christ's life in the Eucharist.

[422] Prosphora, thusia, oblatio, sacrificium.

[423] So among the Jews the cup of wine at the paschal supper was

called "the cup of blessing,"poterion eulogias =eucharistias , Comp. 1

Cor. 10:16.

[424] Adv. Haer. IV. c. 18, �. 4: "Verbum [the Logos] quod offertur

Deo;" instead of which should be read, according to other manuscripts:

"Verbum per quod offertur,"--which suits the connexion much better.

Comp. IV. 17, � 6: "Per Jes. Christum offert ecclesia." Stieren reads

"Verbum quod," but refers it not to Christ, but to the word of the

prayer. The passage is, at all events, too obscure and too isolated to

build a dogma upon.

[425] Epist. 63 ad Council. c. 14: "Si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus

noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris et sacrificium Patri

seipsum primus obtulit et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem praecepit:

utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, gui id, quod Christus

fecit, imitatur et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert."

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� 70. The Celebration of Baptism.

The Lit. see in vol. I. � 54, p. 465 sq., especially Wall and H�fling.

On the archaeology of baptism see Bingham's Antiquities, Augusti's

Denkw�rdigkeiten, the first vol. of Binterim, and the art. Baptism in

Smith and Cheetham, I. 155-172. Also Schaff, on the Didache (1885), p.

29-56. For pictorial illustrations see the monumental works of Cav. de

Rossi, Garrucci, Roller, on the catacombs, and Schaff, l.c.

The "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (ch. 7,) enjoins baptism, after

catechetical instruction, in these words: "Baptize into the name of the

Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost in living (running)

water. But if thou hast not living water, baptize into other water; and

if thou canst not in cold, then in warm. But if thou hast neither, pour

water upon the head thrice, into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy

Ghost."

Justin Martyr gives the following account of baptism: [426] 26 "Those

who are convinced of the truth of our doctrine, and have promised to

live according to it, are exhorted to prayer, fasting and repentance

for past sins; we praying and fasting with them. Then they are led by

its to a place where is water, and in this way they are regenerated, as

we also have been regenerated; that is, they receive the water-bath in

the name of God, the Father and Ruler of all, and of our Redeemer Jesus

Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. For Christ says: Except ye be born

again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. (John 3:5) Thus,

from children of necessity and ignorance, we become children of choice

and of wisdom, and partakers of the forgiveness of former sins .... The

baptismal bath is called also illumination (photismos) because those

who receive it are enlightened in the understanding."

This account may be completed by the following particulars from

Tertullian and later writers.

Before the act the candidate was required in a solemn vow to renounce

the service of the devil, that is, all evil, [427] 27 give himself to

Christ, and confess the sum of the apostolic faith in God the Father,

the Son, and Holy Spirit. [428] 28 The Apostles' Creed, therefore, is

properly the baptismal symbol, as it grew, in fact, out of the

baptismal formula.

This act of turning front sin and turning to God, or of repentance and

faith, on the part of the candidate, was followed by an appropriate

prayer of the minister, and then by the baptism itself into the triune

name, with three successive immersions in which the deacons and

deaconesses assisted. The immersion in thrice dipping the head of the

candidate who stood nude in the water. [429] 29 Single immersion seems

to have been introduced by Eunomius about 360, but was condemned on

pain of degradation, yet it reappeared afterwards in Spain, and Pope

Gregory I. declared both forms valid, the trine immersion as setting

forth the Trinity, the single immersion the Unity of the Godhead. [430]

30 The Eastern church, however, still adheres strictly to the trine

immersion. [431] 31 Baptism by pouring water from a shell or vessel or

from the hand on the head of the candidate very early occurs also and

was probably considered equivalent to immersion. [432] 32 The Didache

allows pouring in cases of scarcity of water. But afterwards this mode

was applied only to infirm or sick persons; hence called clinical

baptism. [433] 33 The validity of this baptism was even doubted by many

in the third century; and Cyprian wrote in its defence, taking the

ground that the mode of application of water was a matter of minor

importance, provided that faith was present in the recipient and

ministrant. [434] 34 According to ecclesiastical law clinical baptism

at least incapacitated for the clerical office. [435] 35 Yet the Roman

bishop Fabian ordained Novatian a presbyter, though he had been

baptized on a sickbed by aspersion. [436] 36

Thanksgiving, benediction, and the brotherly kiss concluded the sacred

ceremony.

Besides these essential elements of the baptismal rite, we find, so

early as the third century, several other subordinate usages, which

have indeed a beautiful symbolical meaning, but, like all redundancies,

could easily obscure the original simplicity of this sacrament, as it

appears in Justin Martyr's description. Among these appendages are the

signing of the cross on the forehead and breast of the subject, as a

soldier of Christ under the banner of the cross; giving him milk and

honey (also salt) in token of sonship with God, and citizenship in the

heavenly Canaan; also the unction of the head, the lighted taper, and

the white robe.

Exorcism, or the expulsion of the devil, which is not to be confounded

with the essential formula of renunciation, was probably practised at

first only in special cases, as of demoniacal possession. But after the

council of Carthage, a.d. 256, we find it a regular part of the

ceremony of baptism, preceding the baptism proper, and in some eases,

it would seem, several times repeated during the course of catechetical

instruction. To understand fully this custom, we should remember that

the early church derived the whole system of heathen idolatry, which it

justly abhorred as one of the greatest crimes, [437] 37 from the agency

of Satan. The heathen deities, although they had been eminent men

during their lives, were, as to their animating principle, identified

with demons--either fallen angels or their progeny. These demons, as we

may infer from many passages of Justin, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, and

others, were believed to traverse the air, to wander over the earth, to

deceive and torment the race, to take possession of men, to encourage

sacrifices, to lurk in statues, to speak through the oracles, to direct

the flights of birds, to work the illusions of enchantment and

necromancy, to delude the senses by false miracles, to incite

persecution against Christianity, and, in fact, to sustain the whole

fabric of heathenism with all its errors and vices. But even these evil

spirits were Subject to the powerful name of Jesus. Tertullian openly

challenges the pagan adversaries to bring demoniacs before the

tribunals, and affirms that the spirits which possessed them, would

bear witness to the truth of Christianity.

The institution of sponsors, [438] 38, first mentioned by Tertullian,

arose no doubt from infant baptism, and was designed to secure

Christian training, without thereby excusing Christian parents from

their duty.

Baptism might be administered at any time, but was commonly connected

with Easter and Pentecost, and in the East with Epiphany also, to give

it the greater solemnity. The favorite hour was midnight lit up by

torches. The men were baptized first, the women afterwards. During the

week following, the neophytes wore white garments as symbols of their

purity.

Separate chapels for baptism, or baptisteries, occur first in the

fourth century, and many of them still remain in Southern Europe.

Baptism might be performed in any place, where, as Justin says, "water

was." Yet Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, and the

pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions, require the element to be previously

consecrated, that it may become the vehicle of the purifying energy of

the Spirit. This corresponded to the consecration of the bread and wine

in the Lord's Supper, and involved no transformation of the substance.

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[426] Apol. I., c. 61 (I. 164 ed. Otto).

[427] Abrenunciatio diaboti. Tertullian: "Renunciare diabolo et pompae

et angelis ejus." Const. Apost.: Apotassomai to Satana kai tois ergois

autou kai tais pompais autou, kai tais latreiais autou, kai pasi tois

hup' auton This renunciation of the devil was made, at least in the

fourth century, as we learn from Cyril of Jerusalem, in the vestibule

of the baptistery, with the face towards the west, and the hand raised

in the repelling posture, as if Satan were present (hos paronti

apotassesthe Satana), and was sometimes accompanied with exsufflations,

or other signs of expulsion of the evil spirit.

[428] Homologesis, professio. The creed was either said by the

catechumen after The priest, or confessed in answer to questions, and

with the face turned eastwards towards the light.

[429] See the authorities (Quoted in Smith and Cheetham, I. 161, and

more fully in Augusti.. l.c."Ter mergitamur, " says Tertullian.

Immersion was very natural in Southern climates. The baptisteries of

the Nicene age, of which many remain in Asia, Africa, and Southern

Europe, were built for immersion, and all Oriental churches still

adhere to this mode. Garrucci (Storia della Arte Cristiana, I. 27)

says: "Antichissimo e solenne fu il rito d' immergere la persona nell'

acqua, e tre volte anche it capo, al pronunziare del ministro i tre

nomi." Schultze (Die Katacomben, p. 136): "Die Taufdarstellungen

vorkonstantinischer Zeit, deren Zahl sich auf drei bel�uft, zeigen

s�mmtlich erwachsene T�uflinge, in zvei F�lIen Knabent von etwa zw�lf

Jahren, im dritten Falle einen J�ngling. Der Act wird durch

Untertauchen vollzogen." Dean Stanley delights in pictorial

exaggeration of the baptismal immersion in patristic times as

contrasted with modern sprinkling. "Baptism," he says, "was not only a

bath, but a plunge--an entire submersion in the deep water, a leap as

into the rolling sea or the rushing river, where for the moment the

waves close over the bather's head, and he emerges again as from a

momentary grave; or it was a shock of a shower-bath--the rush of water

passed over the whole person from capacious vessels, so as to wrap the

recipient as within the veil of a splashing cataract. This was the part

of the ceremony on which the Apostles laid so much stress. It was to

them like a burial of the old former self and the rising up again of

the new self."Christian Institutions, (1881), p. 9. See Schaff, l.c. p.

41 sqq.

[430] Ep. I. 41 in reply to Leander, bishop of Hispala. Thomas Aquinas

(Summa Theol., Tom. IV., f. 615, ed. Migne) quotes this letter with

approval, but gives the preference to trina immersio, as expressing

"triduum sepulturus Christi et etiam Trinitas personarum."

[431] The Russian Orthodox Catechism defines baptism as "a sacrament,

in which a man who believes, having his body thrice plunged in water in

the name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, dies to the

carnal life of sin, and is born again of the Holy Ghost to a life

spiritual and holy." In the case of infants the act is usually

completed by pouring water over the head, the rest of the body being,

immersed. So I was informed by a Greek priest.

[432] Pouring or affusion is the present practice of the Roman Catholic

church. It is first found on pictures in the Roman catacombs, one of

which De Rossi assigns to the second century (in the cemetry of

Calixtus). "It is remarkable that in almost all the earliest

representations of baptism that have been preserved to us, this [the

pouring of water from vessels over the body] is the special act

represented." Marriott in Smith and Cheetham, I. 168. But the art of

painting can only represent a part of the act, not the whole process;

in all the Catacomb pictures the candidate stands with the feet in

water, and is undressed as for immersion, total or partial.

[433] "Baptismus clinicorum" (klinikoi, from kl'inebed) Clinicus or

grabbatarius designated one who was baptized on the sick bed.

[434] Ep. 69 (al. 75), ad Magnum. He answered the question as best be

could in the absence of any ecclesiastical decision at that time. This

Epistle, next to Tertullian's opposition to infant baptism, is the

oldest document in the controversial baptismal literature. Cyprian

quotes (ch. 12) several passages from the O.T. where "sprinkling" is

spoken of as an act of cleansing (Ez. 36:25, 26; Num. 8:5-7; 19:8-13),

and then concludes: "Whence it appears that sprinkling also of water

prevails equally with the salutary washing (adspersionem quoque aquae

instar salutaris lavacri obtinere); and that when this is done in the

church where the faith both of the receiver and the giver is sound (ubi

sit et accipieatis et dantis fides integra), all things hold and may be

consummated and perfected by the majesty of the Lord and by the truth

of faith." But in the same Ep., Cyprian denies the validity of

heretical and schismatic baptism in any form. See below, �74.

[435] The twelfth canon of the Council of Neo-Caesarea (after 314)

ordains: "Whosoever has received clinical baptism cannot be promoted to

the priesthood, because his [profession of] faith was not from free

choice, but from necessity (ex anankes ,fear of death), unless he,

excel afterwards in zeal and faith, or there is a deficiency of [able]

men." This canon passed into the Corpus jur. can. c. 1 Dist. 57. See

Hefele, Conciliengesch, I. 249 (2nd ed.).

[436] Pouring and sprinkling were still exceptional in the ninth

century according to Walafrid Strabo (De Rel. Eccl., c. 26), but they

made gradual progress with the spread of infant baptism, as the most

convenient mode, especially in Northern climates, and came into common

use in the West at the end of the thirteenth century, Thomas Aquinas

(d. 1274) says, that although it may be safer to baptize by immersion,

yet pouring and sprinkling are also allowable (Summa Theol. P. III. Qu.

LXVI. De Rapt. art. 7: in Migne's ed. Tom. IV. fol. 614): "Si totum

corpus aqu� non possit perfundi propter aquae paucitatem, vel propter

aliquam aliam causam, opportet caput perfundere, in quo manifestatur

principium animalis vitae. In Ireland aspersion seems to have been

practiced very early along with immersion." Trine immersion, with the

alternative of aspersion, is ordered in the earliest extant Irish

Baptismal Office, in the composition of which, however, Roman influence

is strongly marked." F. E. Warren, The Liturgy and Ritual of the CeItic

Church, Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1881, p. 65. Prof. Norman Fox and

other Baptist writer., ;, think that " neither infant baptism nor the

use of pouring and sprinkling for baptism would ever have been thought

of but for the superstitious idea that baptism was necessary to

salvation."But this idea prevailed among the fathers and in the Greek

church fully as much as in the Roman, while it is rejected in most

Protestant churches where sprinkling is practiced. Luther sought to

restore immersion, but without effect. Calvin took a similar view of

the subject as Thomas Aquinas, but he went farther and declared the

mode of application to be a matter of indifference, Inst. IV. ch. 15,

�19: " Whether the person who is baptized be wholly immersed (mergatur

totus)and whether thrice or once, or whether water be only poured

(infusa)or sprinkled upon him (aspergatur), is of no importance

(minimum refert): but this should be left free to the churches

according to the difference of countries. Yet the very word baptize

signifies to immerse (mergere); and it is certain that immersion was

the practice of the ancient church." Most Protestants agree with

Calvin, except the Baptists, who revived the ancient practice, but only

in part (single instead of trine immersion), and without the patristic

ideas of baptismal regeneration, infant baptism, and the necessity of

baptism for salvation. They regard baptism as a mere symbol which

exhibits the fact that regeneration and conversion have already taken

place.

[437] Tertullian calls it "principals crimen generis humani" (De idol.

c. 1), and Cyprian, "summum delictum" (Ep. x.).

[438] Anadochoi, sponsores, fideijussores.

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� 71. The Doctrine of Baptism.

This ordinance was regarded in the ancient church as the sacrament of

the new birth or regeneration, and as the solemn rite of initiation

into the Christian Church, admitting to all her benefits and committing

to all her obligations. It was supposed to be preceded, in the case of

adults, by instruction on the part of the church, and by repentance and

faith (i.e. conversion) on the part of the candidate, and to complete

and seal the spiritual process of regeneration, the old man being

buried, and the new man arising from the watery grave. Its effect

consists in the forgiveness of sins and the communication of the Holy

Spirit. Justin calls baptism "the water-bath for the forgiveness of

sins and regeneration," and "the bath of conversion and the knowledge

of God." It is often called also illumination, spiritual circumcision,

anointing, sealing, gift of grace, symbol of redemption, death of sins,

&c. [439] 39 Tertullian describes its effect thus: "When the soul comes

to faith, and becomes transformed through regeneration by water and

power from above, it discovers, after the veil of the old corruption is

taken away, its whole light. It is received into the fellowship of the

Holy Spirit; and the soul, which unites itself to the Holy Spirit, is

followed by the body." He already leans towards the notion of a magical

operation of the baptismal water. Yet the subjective condition of

repentance and faith was universally required. Baptism was not only an

act of God, but at the same time the most solemn surrender of man to

God, a vow for life and death, to live henceforth only to Christ and

his people. The keeping of this vow was the condition of continuance in

the church; the breaking of it must be followed either by repentance or

excommunication.

From John 3:5 and Mark 16:16, Tertullian and other fathers argued the

necessity of baptism to salvation. Clement of Alexandria supposed, with

the Roman Hermas and others, that even the saints of the Old Testament

were baptized in Hades by Christ or the apostles. But exception was

made in favor of the bloody baptism of martyrdom as compensating the

want of baptism with water; and this would lead to the evangelical

principle, that not the omission, but only the contempt of the

sacrament is damning. [440] 40

The effect of baptism, however, was thought to extend only to sins

committed before receiving it. Hence the frequent postponement of the

sacrament, [441] 41 which Tertullian very earnestly recommends, though

he censures it when accompanied with moral levity and presumption.

[442] 42 Many, like Constantine the Great, put it off to the bed of

sickness and of death. They preferred the risk of dying unbaptized to

that of forfeiting forever the baptismal grace. Death-bed baptisms were

then what death-bed repentances are now.

But then the question arose, how the forgiveness of sins committed

after baptism could be obtained? This is the starting point of the

Roman doctrine of the sacrament of penance. Tertullian [443] 43 and

Cyprian [444] 44 were the first to suggest that satisfaction must be

made for such sins by self-imposed penitential exercises and good

works) such as prayers and almsgiving. Tertullian held seven gross

sins, which he denoted mortal sins, to be unpardonable after baptism,

and to be left to the uncovenanted mercies of God; but the Catholic

church took a milder view, and even received back the adulterers and

apostates on their public repentance.

Notes

In reviewing the patristic doctrine of baptism which was sanctioned by

the Greek and Roman, and, with some important modifications, also by

the Lutheran and Anglican churches, we should remember that during the

first three centuries, and even in the age of Constantine, adult

baptism was the rule, and that the actual conversion of the candidate

was required as a condition before administering the sacrament (as is

still the case on missionary ground). Hence in preceding catechetical

instruction, the renunciation of the devil, and the profession of

faith. But when the same high view is applied without qualification to

infant baptism, we are confronted at once with the difficulty that

infants cannot comply with this condition. They may be regenerated

(this being an act of God), but they cannot be converted, i.e. they

cannot repent and believe, nor do they need repentance, having not yet

committed any actual transgression. Infant baptism is an act of

consecration, and looks to subsequent instruction and personal

conversion, as a condition to full membership of the church. Hence

confirmation came in as a supplement to infant baptism.

The strict Roman Catholic dogma, first clearly enunciated by St.

Augustin though with reluctant heart and in the mildest form, assigns

all unbaptized infants to hell on the round of Adam's sin and the

absolute necessity of baptism for salvation. A dogma horribile, but

falsum. Christ, who is the truth, blessed unbaptized infants, and

declared: "To such belongs again kingdom of heaven. The Augsburg

Confession (Art. IX.) still teaches against the Anabaptists: quod

baptismus sit necessarius ad salutem," but the leading Lutheran divines

reduce the absolute necessity of baptism to a relative or ordinary

necessity; and the Reformed churches, under the influence of Calvin's

teaching went further by making salvation depend upon divine election,

not upon the sacrament, and now generally hold to the salvation of all

infants dying in infancy. The Second Scotch Confession (a.d. 1580) was

the first to declare its abhorrence of "the cruel [popish] judgment

against infants departing without the sacrament," and the doctrine of

"the absolute necessity of baptism."

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[439] The patristic terms for baptism expressive of doctrine are

anagennesis, palingenesia(and loutron palingenesias ,Tit. 3:5),

theogenesisregeneratio, secunda or spiritualis nativitas, renascentia;

also photismos , photisma, illuminatio, sphragis,signaculum, seal,

muesis, mustagogia, initiation into the mysteries (the sacraments). The

sign was almost identified with the thing itself.

[440] "Non defectus (or privatio), sed contemtus sacramenti damnat."

This leaves the door open for the salvation of Quakers, unbaptized

children, and elect heathen who die with a desire for salvation.

[441] Procrastinatio baptismi.

[442] So the author of the Apost. Constit., VI. 15, disapproves those

who say: hotihotan teleuto, baptizomai, hina me hamarteso kai rhupano

to baptisma.

[443] De Paenitientia.

[444] De Opere et Eleemosynis.

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� 72. Catechetical Instruction and Confirmation.

Literature.

I. Cyril (Kurillos) of Jerusalem (315-386): Eighteen Catechetical

Lectures, addressed to Catechumens (Katecheseis photizomenon), and Five

Mystigogical Lectures, addressed to the newly baptized. Best ed.

byToutt�e, � 1720, reprinted in Migne's Patrol. Gr. vol. 33.

Augustin (d. 430): De Catechizandis Rudibus.

II. Bingham: Antiquities, X. 2.

Zezschwitz (T�b.):System der christl. Kirchl. Katechetik. Leipzig, vol.

I. 1863; vol. II. in 2 Parts, 1869 and 1872.

Joh. Mayer (R.C.):Geschichte des Katechumenats, and der Katechese, in

den ersten sechs Jahrh. Kempten, 1866.

A. Weiss (R.C.): Die altkirchliche P�dagogik dargestelit in Katecumenat

und Katechese der ersten sechs Jahrh. Freiburg, 1869.

Fr. X. Funk (R. C): Die Katechumenats-classen des christl. Alterthums,

in the T�bing. "Theol. Quartalschrift," T�b. 1883, p. 41-77.

1. The catechumenate or preparation for baptism was a very important

institution of the early church. It dates substantially from apostolic

times. Theophilus was "instructed" in the main facts of the gospel

history; and Apollos was "instructed" in the way of the Lord. [445] 45

As the church was set in the midst of a heathen world, and addressed

herself in her missionary preaching in the first instance to the adult

generation, she saw the necessity of preparing the susceptible for

baptism by special instruction under teachers called "catechists," who

were generally presbyters and deacons. [446] 46 The catechumenate

preceded baptism (of adults); whereas, at a later period, after the

general introduction of infant baptism, it followed. It was, on the one

hand, a bulwark of the church against unworthy members; on the other, a

bridge from the world to the church, a Christian novitiate, to lead

beginners forward to maturity. The catechumens or hearers [447] 47 were

regarded not as unbelievers, but as half-Christians, and were

accordingly allowed to attend all the exercises of worship, except the

celebration of the sacraments. They embraced people of all ranks, ages,

and grades of culture, even philosophers, statesmen, and

rhetoricians,--Justin, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian,

Cyprian, Arnobius, Lactantius, who all embraced Christianity in their

adult years.

The Didache contains in the first six chapters, a high-toned moral

catechism preparatory to baptism, based chiefly on the Sermon on the

Mount.

There was but one or at most two classes of Catechumens. The usual

division into three (or four) classes rests on confusion with the

classes of Penitents. [448] 48

The catechetical school of Alexandria was particularly renowned for its

highly learned character.

The duration of this catechetical instruction was fixed sometimes at

two years [449] 49 sometimes at three, [450] 50 but might be shortened

according to circumstances. Persons of decent moral character and

general intelligence were admitted to baptism without delay. The

Councils allow immediate admission in cases of sickness.

2. Confirmation [451] 51 was originally closely connected with baptism,

as its positive complement, and was performed by the imposition of

hands, and the anointing of several parts of the body with fragrant

balsam-oil, the chrism, as it was called. These acts were the medium of

the communication of the Holy Spirit, and of consecration to the

spiritual priesthood. Later, however, it came to be separated from

baptism, especially in the case of infants, and to be regarded as a

sacrament by itself. Cyprian is the first to distinguish the baptism

with water and the baptism with the Spirit as two sacraments; yet this

term, sacrament, was used as yet very indefinitely, and applied to all

sacred doctrines and rites.

The Western church, after the third century, restricted the power of

confirmation to bishops, on the authority of Acts 8:17; they alone, as

the successors of the apostles, being able to impart the Holy Ghost.

The Greek church extended this function to priests and deacons. The

Anglican church retains the Latin practice. Confirmation or some form

of solemn reception into full communion on personal profession of

faith, after proper instruction, was regarded as a necessary supplement

to infant baptism, and afterwards as a special sacrament.

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[445] Luke 1:4 (katechethes) Acts 18:25 (katechemenos); Comp. Rom.

2:18; 1 Cor.14:19; Gal. 6:6; Heb. 5:12. The verb katecheo means 1) to

resound; 2) to teach by word of mouth; 3) in Christian writers, to

instruct in the elements of religion.

[446] Katechetai, doctores audientium. The term designates a function,

not a special office or class.

[447] Katechoumenoi, akroatai, auditores, audientes.

[448] Akroomenoi, or audientes; gonuklinontes, or genuflectentes; and

photizomenoi, or competentes. So Ducange, Augusti, Neander, H�fling,

Hefele (in the first ed. of his Conciliengesch., but modified in the

second, vol. I. 246, 249), Zezschwitz, Herzog, and many others. Bona

and Bingham add even a fourth class (exothoumenoi). But this artificial

classification (as Dr. Funk has shown, l.c.) arose from a

misunderstanding of the fifth canon of Neocaesarea (between 314 and

325), which mentions one gonu klinon, but as representing a class of

penitents, not of catechumens. Suicer, Mayer, and Weiss assume but two

classes, audientes and competentes. Funk maintains that the candidates

for baptism (photizomenoi, companies or electi baptizandi) were already

numbered among the faithful (fideles), and that there was only one

class of catechumens.

[449] Conc. of Elvira, can. 42

[450] Const. Apost. VIII. 32.

[451] Sphragis, chrisma, confirmatio obsignatio, signaculum.

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� 73. Infant Baptism.

On Infant Baptism comp. Just. M.: Dial. c. Tryph. Jud. c. 43. IREN.:

Adv. Haer. II. 22, � 4, compared with III. 17, � 1, and other passages.

Tertul.: De Baptismo, c. 18. Cypr.: Epist. LIX. ad Fidum. Clem. Alex.:

Paedag. III. 217. Orig.: Com. in Rom. V. Opp. IV. 565, and Homil. XIV.

in Luc.

See Lit. in vol. I. 463sq., especially Wall. Comp. also W. R. Powers:

Irenaeusand Infant Baptism, in the "Am. Presb. and Theol. Rev." N. Y.

1867, pp. 239-267.

While the church was still a missionary institution in the midst of a

heathen world, infant baptism was overshadowed by the baptism of adult

proselytes; as, in the following periods, upon the union of church and

state, the order was reversed. At that time, too, there could, of

course, be no such thing, even on the part of Christian parents, as a

compulsory baptism, which dates from Justinian's reign, and which

inevitably leads to the profanation of the sacrament. Constantine sat

among the fathers at the great Council of Nicaea, and gave legal effect

to its decrees, and yet put off his baptism to his deathbed. The cases

of Gregory of Nazianzum, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustin, who had

mothers of exemplary piety, and yet were not baptized before early

manhood, show sufficiently that considerable freedom prevailed in this

respect even in the Nicene and post-Nicene ages. Gregory of Nazianzum

gives the advice to put off the baptism of children, where there is no

danger of death, to their third year. [452] 52

At the same time it seems an almost certain fact, though by many

disputed, that, with the baptism of converts, the optional baptism of

the children of Christian parents in established congregations, comes

down from the apostolic age. [453] 53 Pious parents would naturally

feel a desire to consecrate their offspring from the very beginning to

the service of the Redeemer, and find a precedent in the ordinance of

circumcision. This desire would be strengthened in cases of sickness by

the prevailing notion of the necessity of baptism for salvation. Among

the fathers, Tertullian himself not excepted--for he combats only its

expediency--there is not a single voice against the lawfulness and the

apostolic origin of infant baptism. No time can be fixed at which it

was first introduced. Tertullian suggests, that it was usually based on

the invitation of Christ: "Suffer the little children to come unto me,

and forbid them not." The usage of sponsors, to which Tertullian

himself bears witness, although he disapproves of it, and still more,

the almost equally ancient abuse of infant communion, imply the

existence of infant baptism. Heretics also practised it, and were not

censured for it.

The apostolic fathers make, indeed, no mention of it. But their silence

proves nothing; for they hardly touch upon baptism at all, except

Hermas, and he declares it necessary to salvation, even for the

patriarchs in Hades (therefore, as we may well infer, for children

also). Justin Martyr expressly teaches the capacity of all men for

spiritual circumcision by baptism; and his "all" can with the less

propriety be limited, since he is here speaking to a Jew. [454] 54 He

also says that many old men and women of sixty and seventy years of age

have been from childhood disciples of Christ. [455] 55 Polycarp was

eighty-six years a Christian, and must have been baptized in early

youth. According to Irenaeus, his pupil and a faithful bearer of

Johannean tradition, Christ passed through all the stages of life, to

sanctify them all, and came to redeem, through himself, "all who

through him are born again unto God, sucklings, children, boys, youths,

and adults." [456] 56 This profound view seems to involve an

acknowledgment not only of the idea of infant baptism, but also of the

practice of it; for in the mind of Irenaeus and the ancient church

baptism and regeneration were intimately connected and almost

identified. [457] 57 In an infant, in fact, any regeneration but

through baptism cannot be easily conceived. A moral and spiritual

regeneration, as distinct from sacramental, would imply conversion, and

this is a conscious act of the will, an exercise of repentance and

faith, of which the infant is not capable.

In the churches of Egypt infant baptism must have been practised from

the first. For, aside from some not very clear expressions of Clement

of Alexandria, Origen distinctly derives it from the tradition of the

apostles; and through his journeys in the East and West he was well

acquainted with the practice of the church in his time. [458] 58

The only opponent of infant baptism among the fathers is the eccentric

and schismatic Tertullian, of North Africa. He condemns the hastening

of the innocent age to the forgiveness of sins, and intrusting it with

divine gifts, while we would not commit to it earthly property. [459]

59 Whoever considers the solemnity of baptism, will shrink more from

the receiving, than from the postponement of it. But the very manner of

Tertullian's opposition proves as much in favor of infant baptism as

against it. He meets it not as an innovation, but as a prevalent

custom; and he meets it not with exegetical nor historical arguments,

but only with considerations of religious prudence. His opposition to

it is founded on his view of the regenerating effect of baptism, and of

the impossibility of having mortal sins forgiven in the church after

baptism; this ordinance cannot be repeated, and washes out only the

guilt contracted before its reception. On the same ground he advises

healthy adults, especially the unmarried, to postpone this sacrament

until they shall be no longer in danger of forfeiting forever the grace

of baptism by committing adultery, murder, apostasy, or any other of

the seven crimes which he calls mortal sins. On the same principle his

advice applies only to healthy children, not to sickly ones, if we

consider that he held baptism to be the indispensable condition of

forgiveness of sins, and taught the doctrine of hereditary sin. With

him this position resulted from moral earnestness, and a lively sense

of the great solemnity of the baptismal vow. But many put off baptism

to their death-bed, in moral levity and presumption, that they might

sin as long as they could.

Tertullian's opposition, moreover, had no influence, at least no

theoretical influence, even in North Africa. His disciple Cyprian

differed from him wholly. In his day it was no question, whether the

children of Christian parents might and should be baptized--on this all

were agreed,--but whether they might be baptized so early as the second

or third day after birth, or, according to the precedent of the Jewish

circumcision, on the eighth day. Cyprian, and a council of sixty-six

bishops held at Carthage in 253 under his lead, decided for the earlier

time, yet without condemning the delay. [460] 60 It was in a measure

the same view of the almost magical effect of the baptismal water, and

of its absolute necessity to salvation, which led Cyprian to hasten,

and Tertullian to postpone the holy ordinance; one looking more at the

beneficent effect of the sacrament in regard to past sins, the other at

the danger of sins to come.

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[452] Orat. XL.

[453] Comp. I. 469 sq. The fact is not capable of positive proof, but

rests on strong probabilities. The Baptists deny it. So does Neander,

but lie approves the practice of infant baptism as springing from the

spirit of Christianity.

[454] Dial. c. Tr. c. 43.

[455] Apol. l.c. 15 (Otto 1. 48): hoi ek paidon ematheteuthesan to

Christo

[456] Adv. Haer. II. 22, � 4: "Omnes venit per semetipsum salvare;

omnes, inquam qui per cum renascuntur in Deum, infantes et parvulos et

pueros et juvenes et seniores. Ideo per omnem venit aetatem, et

infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes; in parvulis parvulus,

sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes aetatem; simul et exemplunt illis

pietatis effectus et justitae et subjectionis, in juvenibus juvenis,"

etc. Neander, in discussing this passage remarks, that" from this idea,

founded on what is inmost in Christianity, becoming prominent in the

feeling of Christians, resulted the practice of infant baptism" (I.

312, Boston ed.)

[457] Irenaeus speaks of "the washing of regeneration, " and of the

"baptism of regeneration unto God,"to baptisma tes eis theon

anagenneseos (Adv. Haer. l.c. 21, � 1); he identifies the apostolic

commission to baptize with the potestas regenerationis in Deum (III.

17, � 1); he says that Christ descending into Hades, regenerated the

ancient patriarchs (III. c. 22, � 4; "in sinum suum recipiens pristinos

patres regeneravit eos in vitam Dei"), by which he probably meant

baptism (according to the fancy of Hermas, Clement of Alex., and

others). Compare an examination of the various passages of Irenaeus in

the article by Powers, who comes to the conclusion (l.c. p. 267) that "

Irenaeus everywhere implies baptism in the regeneration he so often

names."

[458] In Ep. ad Rom. (Opera, vol. IV. col. 1047 ed. Migne; or IV. 565

ed. Delarue): "Pro hoc et Ecclesia ab apostolis traditionem suscepit,

etiam parvulis baptismum dare." In Levit. Hom. VIII. (II. 496 in

Migne), he says that "secundum Ecclesiae observantiam" baptism was

given also to children (etiam parvulis). Comp. his Com. in Matt. XV.

(III. 1268 sqq.) where he seems to infer this custom from the example

of Christ blessing little children. That Origen himself was baptized in

childhood (185 or soon after), is nowhere expressly stated in his works

(as far as I know), but may be inferred as probable from his descent

of, and early religious instruction, by Christian parents (reported by

Euseb H. E. VI. 19: toOrigenei ta tes kata Christon didaskalias ek

progonon esozeto), in connection with the Egyptian custom. Comp.

Redepenning, Origenes, I. 49. It would certainly be more difficult to

prove that be was not baptized in infancy. He could easily make room

for infant baptism in his theological system, which involved the

Platonic idea of a prehistoric fall of the individual soul. But the

Cyprianic and Augustinian theology connected it with the historic fall

of Adam, and the consequent hereditary depravity and guilt.

[459] 'Quid festinat innocens aetas ad remissionem peccatorum?" The"

innocens" here is to be taken only in a relative sense; for Tertullian

in other plain teaches a vitium originis, or hereditary sin and guilt,

although not as distinctly and clearly as Augustin

[460] A later council of Carthage of the year 418 went further and

decreed: "item placuit, ut quicunque parvulos recentes ab uteris matrum

baptizandos negat ... anathema sit."

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� 74. Heretical Baptism.

On Heretical Baptism comp. Eusebius: H.E. VII. 3-5. Cyprian: Epist.

LXX.-LXXVI. The Acts of the Councils of Carthage, a.d. 255 and 256, and

the anonymous tract, De Rebaptismate, among Cyprian's works, and in

Routh's Reliquiae Sacrae, vol. v. 283-328.

Hefele: Conciliengeschichte, I. 117-132 (second ed.).

G. E. Steitz: Ketzertaufe, in Herzog, rev. ed., VII. 652-661.

Heretical baptism was, in the third century, the subject of a violent

controversy, important also for its bearing on the question of the

authority of the Roman see.

Cyprian, whose Epistles afford the clearest information on this

subject, followed Tertullian [461] 61 in rejecting baptism by heretics

as an inoperative mock-baptism, and demanded that all heretics coming

over to the Catholic church be baptized (he would not say re-baptized).

His position here was due to his high-church exclusiveness and his

horror of schism. As the one Catholic church is the sole repository of

all grace, there can be no forgiveness of sins, no regeneration or

communication of the Spirit, no salvation, and therefore no valid

sacraments, out of her bosom. So far he had logical consistency on his

side. But, on the other hand, he departed from the objective view of

the church, as the Donatists afterwards did, in making the efficacy of

the sacrament depend on the subjective holiness of the priest. "How can

one consecrate water," he asks, "who is himself unholy, and has not the

Holy Spirit?" He was followed by the North African church, which, in

several councils at Carthage in the years 255-6, rejected heretical

baptism; and by the church of Asia Minor, which had already acted on

this view, and now, in the person of the Cappadocian bishop Firmilian,

a disciple and admirer of the great Origen, vigorously defended it

against Rome, using language which is entirely inconsistent with the

claims of the papacy. [462] 62

The Roman bishop Stephen (253-257) appeared for the opposite doctrine,

on the ground of the ancient practice of his church. [463] 63 He

offered no argument, but spoke with the consciousness of authority, and

followed a catholic instinct. He laid chief stress on the objective

nature of the sacrament, the virtue of which depended neither on the

officiating priest, nor on the receiver, but solely on the institution

of Christ. Hence he considered heretical baptism valid, provided only

it was administered with intention to baptize and in the right form, to

wit, in the name of the Trinity, or even of Christ alone; so that

heretics coming into the church needed only confirmation or the

ratification of baptism by the Holy Ghost. "Heresy," says he, "produces

children and exposes them; and the church takes up the exposed

children, and nourishes them as her own, though she herself has not

brought them forth."

The doctrine of Cyprian was the more consistent from the hierarchical

point of view; that of Stephen, from the sacramental. The former was

more logical, the latter more practical and charitable. The one

preserved the principle of the exclusiveness of the church; the other,

that of the objective force of the sacrament, even to the borders of

the opus operatum theory. Both were under the direction of the same

churchly spirit, and the same hatred of heretics; but the Roman

doctrine is after all a happy inconsistency of liberality, an inroad

upon the principle of absolute exclusiveness, an involuntary

concession, that baptism, and with it the remission of sin and

regeneration, therefore salvation, are possible outside of Roman

Catholicism. [464] 64

The controversy itself was conducted with great warmth. Stephen, though

advocating the liberal view, showed the genuine papal arrogance and

intolerance. He would not even admit to his presence the deputies of

Cyprian, who brought him the decree of the African synod, and he called

this bishop, who in every respect excelled Stephen, and whom the Roman

church now venerates as one of her greatest saints, a false Christ and

false apostle. [465] 65 He broke off all intercourse with the African

church, as he had already with the Asiatic. But Cyprian and Firmilian,

nothing daunted, vindicated with great boldness, the latter also with

bitter vehemence, their different view, and continued in it to their

death. The Alexandrian bishop Dionysius endeavored to reconcile the two

parties, but with little success. The Valerian persecution, which soon

ensued, and the martyrdom of Stephen (257) and of Cyprian (258),

suppressed this internal discord.

In the course of the fourth century, however, the Roman theory

gradually gained on the other, received the sanction of the oecumenical

Council of Nicaea in 325, was adopted in North Africa during the

Donatistic controversies, by a Synod of Carthage, 348, defended by the

powerful dialectics of St. Augustin against the Donatists, and was

afterwards confirmed by the Council of Trent with an anathema on the

opposite view.

Note.

The Council of Trent declares (Sessio Sept., March 3, 1547, canon 4):

"If any one says that the baptism, which is even given by heretics in

the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, with the

intention of doing what the church doth, is not true baptism: let him

be anathema." The Greek church likewise forbids the repetition of

baptism which has been performed in the name of the Holy Trinity, but

requires trine immersion. See the Orthodox Conf. Quaest. CII. (in

Schaff's Creeds II. 376), and the Russian Catch. (II. 493), which says:

"Baptism, is spiritual birth: a man is born but once, therefore he is

also baptized but once." But the same Catechism declares "trine

immersion" to be "most essential in the administration of baptism"(II.

491).

The Roman church, following the teaching of St. Augustin, bases upon

the validity of heretical and schismatical baptism even a certain legal

claim on all baptized persons, as virtually belonging to her communion,

and a right to the forcible conversion of heretics under favorable

circumstances. [466] 66 But as there may be some doubt about the

orthodox form and intention of heretical baptism in the mind of the

convert (e.g. if he be a Unitarian), the same church allows a

conditional rebaptism with the formula: "If thou art not yet baptized,

I baptize thee," etc.

Evangelical creeds put their recognition of Roman Catholic or any other

Christian baptism not so much on the theory of the objective virtue of

the sacrament, as on a more comprehensive and liberal conception of the

church. Where Christ is, there is the church, and there are true

ordinances. The Baptists alone, among Protestants, deny the validity of

any other baptism but by immersion (in this respect resembling the

Greek church), but are very far on that account from denying the

Christian status of other denominations, since baptism with them is

only a sign (not a means) of regeneration or conversion, which precedes

the rite and is independent of it.

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[461] De Bapt. c. 15. Comp. also Clement of Alex., Strom. I. 375.

[462] See p. 162. Some Roman divines (Molkenkuhr and Tizzani, as quoted

by Hefele, p. 121) thought that such an irreverent Epistle as that of

Firmilian (the 75th among Cyprian's Epp.) cannot be historical, and

that the whole story of the controversy between Pope Stephen and St.

Cyprian must be a fabrication! Dogma versus facts

[463] According to Hippolytus (Philosoph.), the rebaptism of heretics

was unknown before Callistus, a.d. 218-223. Cyprian does not deny the

antiquity of the Roman customs but pleads that truth is better than

custom ("quasi consuetudo major sit veritate"). Hefele, 1. p. 121. The

Epistles of Stephen are lost, and we must learn his position from his

opponents.

[464] Unless it be maintained that the baptismal grace, if received

outside of the Catholic communion, is of no use, but rather increases

the guilt (like the knowledge of the heathen), and become, ; available

only by the subjective conversion and regular confirmation of the

heretic. This was the view of Augustin; see Steitz, l. c., p. 655 sq.

[465] "Pseudochristum, pseudoapostolum, et dolosum operarium." Firmil.

Ad Cyp. toward, ; the end (Ep. 75). Hefele (I. 120) calls this

unchristian intolerance of Stephen very mildly "eine grosse

Unfreundlichkeit."

[466] Augustin thus misinterpreted the "Coge intrare,"Luke 14:22, 23,

as justifying persecution (Ep. ad Bonifac., c. 6). If the holy bishop

of Hippo had foreseen the fearful consequences of his exegesis, be

would have shrunk from it in horror.

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CHAPTER VI:

CHRISTIAN ART.

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� 75. Literature.

Comp. the Lit. on the Catacombs, ch. VII.

FR. M�nter: Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.

Altona, 1825.

Gr�neisen: Ueber die Ursachen des Kunsthasses in den drei ersten

Jahrhunderten. Stuttg. 1831.

Helmsd�rfer: Christl. Kunstsymbolik u. Ikonographie. Frkf. 1839.

F. Piper: Mythologie u. Symbolik der christl. Kunst. 2 vols. Weimar,

1847-51. Ueber den christl. Bilderkreis. Berl. 1852 (p. 3-10). By the

same: Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie. Gotha, 1867.

J. B. De Rossi (R.C.): De Christianis monumentis ichthun exhibentibus,

in the third volume of Pitra's "Spicilegium Solesmense." Paris, 1855.

Also his great work on the Roman Catacombs (Roma Sotteranea,

1864-1867), and his Archaeol. "Bulletin" (Bulletino di Archeologia

cristiana, since 1863).

A. Welby Pugin (architect and Prof. of Ecclis. Antiquities at Oscott, a

convert to the R.C. Ch., d. 1852): Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament

and Costume. Lond. 1844, 4

P. Raffaelle Garrucci (Jesuit): Storia delta Arte Cristiana nei primi

otto secoli delta chiesa. Prato, 1872-'80, 6 vols. fol., with 500

magnificent plates and illustrations. A most important work, but

intensely Romish. By the same: Il crocifisso graffito in casa dei

Cesari. Rom. 1857.

Fr. Becker.: Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches

auf den Monumenten der Kirche der Katakomben, erl�utert. Breslau, 1866.

The same: Das Spott-Crucifix der r�mischen Kaiserpal�ste aus dem Anfang

des dritten Jahrh. Breslau, 1866 (44 pp.). The same: Die Wand-und

Deckengem�lde der r�m. Katakomben. Gera, 1876.

Abb� Jos. Al. Martigny: Diction. des Antiquit�s Chr�tiennes. Paris,

1865, second ed., 1877. (With valuable illustrations).

F. X. Kraus (R.C.): Die christl. Kunst in ihren fr�hesten Anf�ngen.

Leipzig, 1873 (219 pages and 53 woodcuts). Also several articles in his

"Real-Encyklop. der. christl. Alterth�mer," Freiburg i. B. 1880 sqq.

(The cuts mostly from Martigny).

H. Achelis: Das Symbol d. Fisches u. d. Fischdemkm�ler, Marb., 1888.

C. W. Bennett: Christian Archaeology, N. York, 1888.

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� 76. Origin of Christian Art.

Christianity owed its origin neither to art nor to science, and is

altogether independent of both. But it penetrates and pervades them

with its heaven-like nature, and inspires them with a higher and nobler

aim. Art reaches its real perfection in worship, as an embodiment of

devotion in beautiful forms, which afford a pure pleasure, and at the

same time excite and promote devotional feeling. Poetry and music, the

most free and spiritual arts, which present their ideals in word and

tone, and lead immediately from the outward form to the spiritual

substance, were an essential element of worship in Judaism, and passed

thence, in the singing of psalms, into the Christian church.

Not so with the plastic arts of sculpture and painting, which employ

grosser material--stone, wood, color--as the medium of representation,

and, with a lower grade of culture, tend almost invariably to abuse

when brought in contact with worship. Hence the strict prohibition of

these arts by the Monotheistic religions. The Mohammedans follow in

this respect the Jews; their mosques are as bare of images of living

beings as the synagogues, and they abhor the image worship of Greek and

Roman Christians as a species of idolatry.

The ante-Nicene church, inheriting the Mosaic decalogue, and engaged in

deadly conflict with heathen idolatry, was at first averse to those

arts. Moreover her humble condition, her contempt for all hypocritical

show and earthly vanity, her enthusiasm for martyrdom, and her

absorbing expectation of the speedy destruction of the world and

establishment of the millennial kingdom, made her indifferent to the

ornamental part of life. The rigorous Montanists, in this respect the

forerunners of the Puritans, were most hostile to art. But even the

highly cultivated Clement of Alexandria put the spiritual worship of

God in sharp contrast to the pictorial representation of the divine.

"The habit of daily view," he says, "lowers the dignity of the divine,

which cannot be honored, but is only degraded, by sensible material."

Yet this aversion to art seems not to have extended to mere symbols

such as we find even in the Old Testament, as the brazen serpent and

the cherubim in the temple. At all events, after the middle or close of

the second century we find the rude beginnings of Christian art in the

form of significant symbols in the private and social life of the

Christians, and afterwards in public worship. This is evident from

Tertullian and other writers of the third century, and is abundantly

confirmed by the Catacombs, although the age of their earliest

pictorial remains is a matter of uncertainty and dispute.

The origin of these symbols must be found in the instinctive desire of

the Christians to have visible tokens of religious truth, which might

remind them continually of their Redeemer and their holy calling, and

which would at the same time furnish them the best substitute for the

signs of heathen idolatry. For every day they were surrounded by

mythological figures, not only in temples and public places, but in

private houses, on the walls, floors, goblets, seal-rings, and

grave-stones. Innocent and natural as, this effort was, it could easily

lead, in the less intelligent multitude, to confusion of the sign with

the thing signified, and to many a superstition. Yet this result was

the less apparent in the first three centuries, because in that period

artistic works were mostly confined to the province of symbol and

allegory.

From the private recesses of Christian homes and catacombs artistic

representations of holy things passed into public churches ill the

fourth century, but under protest which continued for a long time and

gave rise to the violent image controversies which were not settled

until the second Council of Nicaea (787), in favor of a limited image

worship. The Spanish Council of Elvira (Granada) in 306 first raised

such a protest, and prohibited (in the thirty-sixth canon) "pictures in

the church (picturas in ecclessia), lest the objects of veneration and

worship should be depicted on the walls." This sounds almost

iconoclastic and puritanic; but in view of the numerous ancient

pictures and sculptures in the catacombs, the prohibition must be

probably understood as a temporary measure of expediency in that

transition period. [467] 67

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[467] See above, p. 180.

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� 77. The Cross and the Crucifix.

"Religion des Kreuzes, nur du verkn�pfest in Einem Kranze Der Demuth

und Kraft doppelte Palme zugleich."--(Schiller.). [468] 68

Comp. the works quoted in � 75, and the lists in Z�ckler and Fulda.

Justus Lipsius (R.C., d. 1606, is Prof. at Louvain): De Cruce libri

tres, ad sacram profanamque historiam utiles. Antw., 1595, and later

editions.

Jac. Gretser (Jesuit): De Cruce Christi rebusque ad eam pertinentibus.

Ingolst., 1598-1605, 3 vols. 4to; 3rd ed. revised, 1608; also in his

Opera, Ratisb., 1734, Tom. I.-III.

Wm. Haslam: The Cross and the Serpent: being a brief History of the

Triumph of the Cross. Oxford, 1849.

W. R. Alger: History of the Cross. Boston, 1858.

Gabr. De Mortillet: Le, Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme.

Paris, 1866.

A. Ch. A. Zestermann: Die bildliche Darstellung des Kreuzes und der

Kreuzigung historisch entwickelt. Leipzig, 1867 and 1868.

J. Stockbauer (R.C.):Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes. Schaffhausen, 1870.

O. Z�ckler (Prof. in Greifswald): Das Kreuz Christi.

Religionshistorische und kirchlich archaeologische Untersuchungen.

G�tersloh, 1875 (484 pages, with a large list of works, pp.

xiii.-xxiv.). English translation by M. G. Evans, Lond., 1878.

Ernst v. Bunsen: Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei alten Nationen und die

Entstehung des Kreuzsymbols der christlichen Kirche. Berlin, 1876.

(Full of hypotheses.)

Hermann Fulda: Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung, Eine antiquarische

Untersuchung. Breslau, 1878. Polemical against the received views since

Lipsius,. See a full list of literature in Fulda, pp. 299-328.

E. Dobbert: Zur Enttehungsgeschichte des Kreuzes, Leipzig, 1880.

The oldest and dearest, but also the, most abused, of the primitive

Christian symbols is the cross, the sign of redemption, sometimes

alone, sometimes with the Alpha and Omega, sometimes with the anchor of

hope or the palm of peace. Upon this arose, as early as the second

century, the custom of making the sign of the cross [469] 69 on rising,

bathing, going out, eating, in short, on engaging in any affairs of

every-day life; a custom probably attended in many cases even in that

age, with superstitious confidence in the magical virtue of this sign;

hence Tertullian found it necessary to defend the Christians against

the heathen charge of worshipping the cross (staurolatria). [470] 70

Cyprian and the Apostolical Constitutions mention the sign of the cross

as a part of the baptismal rite, and Lactantius speaks of it as

effective against the demons in the baptismal exorcism. Prudentius

recommends it as a preservative against temptations and bad dreams. We

find as frequently, particularly upon ornaments and tombs, the monogram

of the name of Christ, X P, usually combined in the cruciform

character, either alone, or with the Greek letters Alpha and Omega,

"the first and the last;" in later cases with the addition "In the

sign." [471] 71 Soon after Constantine's victory over Maxentius by the

aid of the Labarum (312), crosses were seen on helmets, bucklers,

standards, crowns, sceptres, coins and seals, in various forms. [472]

72

The cross was despised by the heathen Romans on account of the

crucifixion, the disgraceful punishment of slaves and the worst

criminals; but the Apologists reminded them of the unconscious

recognition of the salutary sign in the form of their standards and

triumphal symbols, and of the analogies in nature, as the form of man

with the outstretched arm, the flying bird, and the sailing ship. [473]

73 Nor was the symbolical use of the cross confined to the Christian

church, but is found among the ancient Egyptians, the Buddhists in

India, and the Mexicans before the conquest, and other heathen nations,

both as a symbol of blessing and a symbol of curse. [474] 74

The cross and the Lord's Prayer may be called the greatest martyrs in

Christendom. Yet both the superstitious abuse and the puritanic protest

bear a like testimony to the significance of the great fact of which it

reminds us.

The crucifix, that is the sculptured or carved representation of our

Saviour attached to the cross, is of much later date, and cannot be

clearly traced beyond the middle of the sixth century. It is not

mentioned by any writer of the Nicene and Chalcedonian age. One of the

oldest known crucifixes, if not the very oldest, is found in a richly

illuminated Syrian copy of the Gospels in Florence from the year 586.

[475] 75 Gregory of Tours (d. 595) describes a crucifix in the church

of St. Genesius, in Narbonne, which presented the crucified One almost

entirely naked. [476] 76 But this gave offence, and was veiled, by

order of the bishop, with a curtain, and only at times exposed to the

people. The Venerable Bede relates that a crucifix, bearing on one side

the Crucified, on the other the serpent lifted up by Moses, was brought

from Rome to the British cloister of Weremouth in 686. [477] 77

Note.

The first symbol of the crucifixion was the cross alone; then followed

the cross and the lamb--either the lamb with the cross on the head or

shoulder, or the lamb fastened on the cross; then the figure of Christ

in connection with the cross--either Christ holding it in his right

hand (on the sarcophagus of Probus, d. 395), or Christ with the cross

in the background (in the church of St. Pudentiana, built 398); at last

Christ nailed to the cross.

An attempt has been made to trace the crucifixes back to the third or

second century, in consequence of the discovery, in 1857, of a

mock-crucifix on the wall in the ruins of the imperial palaces on the

western declivity of the Palatine hill in Rome, which is preserved in

the Museo Kircheriano. It shows the figure of a crucified man with the

head of an ass or a horse, and a human figure kneeling before it, with

the inscription: "Alexamenos worships his God." [478] 78 This figure

was no doubt scratched on the wall by some heathen enemy to ridicule a

Christian slave or page of the imperial household, or possibly even the

emperor Alexander Severus (222-235), who, by his religious syncretism,

exposed himself to sarcastic criticism. The date of the caricature is

uncertain; but we know that in the second century the Christians, like

the Jews before them, were charged with the worship of an ass, and that

at that time there were already Christians in the imperial palace.

[479] 79 After the third Century this silly charge disappears. Roman

archaeologists (P. Garrucci, P. Mozzoni, and Martigny) infer from this

mock-crucifix that crucifixes were in use among Christians already at

the close of the second century, since the original precedes the

caricature. But this conjecture is not supported by any evidence. The

heathen Caecilius in Minucius Felix (ch. 10) expressly testifies the

absence of Christian simulacra. As the oldest pictures of Christ, so

far as we know, originated not among the orthodox Christians, but among

the heretical and half heathenish Gnostics, so also the oldest known

representation of the crucifix was a mock-picture from the hand of a

heathen--an excellent illustration of the word of Paul that the

preaching of Christ crucified is foolishness to the Greeks.

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[468] "Der deutscheit Muse sch�nstes Distichon."

[469] Signaculum or signum crucis.

[470] Apol. c.16; Ad Nat. I. 12. Julian the Apostate raised the same

charge against the Christians of his day.

[471] "in signo,"i.e. "In hoc signo vinces," the motto of Constantine.

[472] Archaeologists distinguish seven or more forms of the cross: (a)

crux decussata (St. Andrew's cross), X (b) crux commissa (the Egyptian

cross), T (c) crux immima or ordinaria (the upright Latin cross), -|-

(d) The inverted Latin cross of St. Peter, who considered himself

unworthy to suffer in the upright position like his Lord, -|- (e) The

Greek cross, consisting of four equally long arms, + (f) The double

cross, -|- --|--

| (g) The triple cross (used by the Pope), -|-

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The chief forms of the monogram are: [Six figures are inserted here.

Ed.]

The story of the miraculous invention and raising of the true cross of

Christ by Helena, the mother of Constantine, belongs to the Nicene age.

The connection of the cross with the a and o arose from the Apocalyptic

designation of Christ (Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13), which is thus explained

by Prudentius (Cathem. hymn. IX. 10-12): "Alpha et Omega cognominatus;

ipse fons et clausula, Omnia quae sunt, fuerunt, quaeque postfutura

sunt."

[473] Minut. Felix, Octav. c. 29: "Tropaea vestra victricia non tantum

simplicis crucisfaciem, verum etiam adfixi hominis imituntuR. Signum

sane crucis naturaliter visimus in navi, cum velis tumentibus vehitur,

cum expansis palmulis labitur; et cum ergitur jugum, crucis signum est;

et cum homo porrectis manibus Deum pura mente veneratoR. Ita signo

crucis aut ratio naturalis innititur, aut vestra religio formatur."

Comp. a very similar passage in Tertul., Apol. c.16; and Ad Nat. I. 12;

also Justin M., Apol. I. 55.

[474] When the temple of Serapis was destroyed (a.d. 390), signs of the

cross were found beneath the hieroglyphics, and heathen and Christians

referred it to their religion. Socrates, H. E. V. 17; Sozomenus, VI[.

15; Theodoret, V. 22. On the Buddhist cross see Medhurst, China, p.

217. At the discovery of Mexico the Spaniards found the sign of the

cross as an object of worship in the idol temples at Anahuac. Prescott,

Conquest of Mexico, III. 338-340. See on the heathen use of the Cross,

Haslam, Mortillet, Z�ckler (l.c., 7 sqq.), and Brinton, Myths of the

New World; also an article on "The pre-Christian Cross," in the

"Edinburgh Review," Jan. 1870. Z�ckler says (p. 95): "Alter FIuch und

Segen, alles Todeselend und alle Lebensherrlichkeit, die durch dir

vorchristliche Menschheit ausgebreitet gewesen, erscheinen in dem

Kreuze auf Golgatha conrentrirt zum wundervollsten Gebilde, der

religi�s sittlichen Entwicklung unseres Geschlechtes."

[475] See Becker, l. c., p. 38, Westwood's Palaeographia Sacra, and

Smith and Cheetbam, I. 515.

[476] "Pictura, quae Dominum nostrum quasi praecinctum linteo indicat

crucifixum."De Gloria. Martyrum, lib. l.c. 28.

[477] Opera, ed. Giles, iv. p. 376. A crucifix is found in an Irish MS.

Written about 800. See Westwood, as quoted in Smith and Cheetham, I.

516.

[478] Alexamenos sebet (ai) theon. The monument was first published by

the Jesuit Garrucci, and is fully discussed by Becker in the essay

quoted. A woodcut is also given in Smith and Cheetham, I. 516.

[479] Comp. on the supposed onolatreia of the Christians, Tertullian,

Apol. c.16 ("Nam et somniastis caput asininum esse Deum nostrum" etc.);

Ad nationes I. 11, 14; Minut. Felix, Octav. 9. Tertullian traces this

absurdity to Cornelius Tacitus, who charges it upon the Jews (Hist. V.

4).

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� 78. Other Christian Symbols.

The following symbols, borrowed from the Scriptures, were frequently

represented in the catacombs, and relate to the virtues and duties of

the Christian life: The dove, with or without the olive branch, the

type of simplicity and innocence; [480] 80 the ship, representing

sometimes the church, as safely sailing through the flood of

corruption, with reference to Noah's ark, sometimes the individual soul

on its voyage to the heavenly home under the conduct of the

storm-controlling Saviour; the palm-branch, which the seer of the

Apocalypse puts into the hands of the elect, as the sign of victory;

[481] 81 the anchor, the figure of hope; [482] 82 the lyre, denoting

festal joy and sweet harmony; [483] 83 the cock, an admonition to

watchfulness, with reference to Peter's fall; [484] 84 the hart which

pants for the fresh water-brooks; [485] 85 and the vine which, with its

branches and clusters, illustrates the union of the Christians with

Christ according to the parable, and the richness and joyfulness of

Christian life. [486] 86'

The phoenix, the symbol of rejuvenation and of the resurrection, is

derived from the well-known heathen myth. [487] 87

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[480] Comp. Matt. 3:16; 10:16; Gen. 8:11; Cant. 6:9.

[481] Rev. 7:9. The palm had a similar significance with the heathen,

Homace writes (Od. I. 1): "Palmaque nobilis Terrarum dominos evehit ad

deos."

[482] Heb. 6:19. Likewise among the heathen.

[483] Comp. Eph. 5:19.

[484] Matt. 26:34, and parallel passages.

[485] Ps. 42:1.

[486] John 15:1-6. The parables of the Good Shepherd, and of the Vine

and the Branches, both recorded only by St. John, seem to have been the

most prominent in the mind of the primitive Christians, as they are in

the catacombs. "What they valued" (says Stanley, Christ. Inst., p.

288), "what they felt, was new moral Influence, a new life stealing

through their veins, a new health imparted to their frames, a new

courage breathing in their faces, like wine to a weary laborer, like

sap in the hundred branches of a spreading tree, like juice in thousand

clusters of a spreading vine." But more important than this was the

idea of vital union of the believers with Christ and among each other,

symbolized by the vine and its branches.

[487] The fabulous phoenix is nowhere mentioned in the Bible, and is

first used by Clement of Rome, Ad Cor. c. 25, and by Tertiillian, De

Resur. c. 13. Comp. Pliny Hist. Nat. XIII. 4.

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� 79 Historical and Allegorical Pictures

From these emblems there was but one step to iconographic

representations. The Bible furnished rich material for historical,

typical, and allegorical pictures, which are found in the catacombs and

ancient monuments. Many of them (late from the third or even the second

century.

The favorite pictures from the Old Testament are Adam and Eve, the

rivers of Paradise, the ark of Noah, the sacrifice of Isaac, the

passage through the Red Sea, the giving of the law, Moses smiting the

rock, the deliverance of Jonah, Jonah naked under the gourd the

translation of Elijah, Daniel in the lions' den, the three children in

the fiery furnace. Then we have scenes from the Gospels, and from

apostolic and post-apostolic history, such as the adoration of the

Magi, their meeting with Herod, the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan, the

healing of the paralytic, the changing water into wine, the miraculous

feeding of five thousand, the ten virgins, the resurrection of Lazarus,

the entry into Jerusalem, the Holy Supper, the portraits of St. Peter

and St. Paul. [488] 88

The passion and crucifixion were never represented in the early

monuments, except by the symbol of the cross.

Occasionally we find also mythological representations, as Psyche with

wings, and playing with birds and flowers (an emblem of immortality),

Hercules, Theseus, and especially Orpheus, who with his magic song

quieted the storm and tamed the wild beasts.

Perhaps Gnosticism had a stimulating effect in art, as it had in

theology. At all events the sects of the Carpocratians, the

Basilideans, and the Manichaeans cherished art. Nationality also had

something to do with this branch of life. The Italians are by nature

art artistic people, and shaped their Christianity accordingly.

Therefore Rome is pre�minently the home of Christian art.

The earliest pictures in the catacombs are artistically the best, and

show the influence of classic models in the beauty and grace of form.

From the fourth century there is a rapid decline to rudeness and

stiffness, and a transition to the Byzantine type.

Some writers [489] 89 have represented this primitive Christian art

merely as pagan art in its decay, and even the Good Shepherd as a copy

of Apollo or Hermes. But while the form is often an imitation, the

spirit is altogether different, and the myths are understood as

unconscious prophecies and types of Christian verities, as in the

Sibylline books. The relation of Christian art to mythological art

somewhat resembles the relation of biblical Greek to classical Greek.

Christianity could not at once invent a new art any more than a new

language, but it emancipated the old from the service of idolatry and

immorality, filled it with a deeper meaning, and consecrated it to a

higher aim.

The blending of classical reminiscences and Christian ideas is best

embodied in the beautiful symbolic pictures of the Good Shepherd and of

Orpheus. [490] 90

The former was the most favorite figure, not only in the Catacombs, but

on articles of daily use, as rings, cups, and lamps. Nearly one hundred

and fifty such pictures have come down to us. The Shepherd, an

appropriate symbol of Christ, is usually represented as a handsome,

beardless, gentle youth, in light costume, with a girdle and sandals,

with the flute and pastoral staff, carrying a lamb on his shoulder,

standing between two or more sheep that look confidently up to him.

Sometimes he feeds a large flock on green pastures. If this was the

popular conception of Christ, it stood in contrast with the

contemporaneous theological idea of the homely appearance of the

Saviour, and anticipated the post-Constantinian conception.

The picture of Orpheus is twice found in the cemetery of Domitilla, and

once in that of Callistus. One on the ceiling in Domitilla, apparently

from the second century, is especially rich: it represents the

mysterious singer, seated in the centre on a piece of rock, playing on

the lyre his enchanting melodies to wild and tame animals--the lion,

the wolf, the serpent, the horse, the ram--at his feet--and the birds

in the trees; [491] 91 around the central figure are several biblical

scenes, Moses smiting the rock, David aiming the sling at Goliath (?),

Daniel among the lions, the raising of Lazarus. The heathen Orpheus,

the reputed author of monotheistic hymns (the Orphica), the centre of

so many mysteries, the fabulous charmer of all creation, appears here

either as a symbol and type of Christ Himself, [492] 92 or rather, like

the heathen Sibyl, an antitype and unconscious prophet of Christ,

announcing and foreshadowing Him as the conqueror of all the forces of

nature, as the harmonizer of all discords, and as ruler over life and

death.

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[488] For details the reader is referred to the great illustrated works

of Perre. De Rossi, Garrucci, Parker, Roller, Northcote and Brownlow,

etc.

[489] Raoul-Rochette (M�moires sur les antiquit�s chr�tiennes; and

Tableau des Catacombes), and Renan (Marc-Aurele, p. 542 sqq.).

[490] See the illustrations at the end of the volume.

[491] Comp. Horace, De Arte Po�t., 391 sqq. Silvestres homines sacer

interpresque deorum Caedibus et victufaedo delerruit Orpheus, Dictus ob

hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.

[492] This is the explanation of nearly all archaeologists since Bosio,

except Schultze (Die Katak., p. 105).

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� 80. Allegorical Representations of Christ.

Pictures of Christ came into use slowly and gradually, as the

conceptions concerning his personal appearance changed. The Evangelists

very wisely keep profound silence on the subject, and no ideal which

human genius may devise, can do justice to Him who was God manifest in

the flesh.

In the ante-Nicene age the strange notion prevailed that our Saviour,

in the state of his humiliation, was homely, according to a literal

interpretation of the Messianic prophecy: "He hath no form nor

comeliness." [493] 93 This was the opinion of Justin Martyr, [494] 94

Tertullian, [495] 95 and even of the spiritualistic Alexandrian divines

Clement, [496] 96 and Origen. [497] 97 A true and healthy feeling leads

rather to the opposite view; for Jesus certainly had not the

physiognomy of a sinner, and the heavenly purity and harmony of his

soul must in some way have shone, through the veil of his flesh, as it

certainly did on the Mount of Transfiguration. Physical deformity is

incompatible with the Old Testament idea of the priesthood, how much

more with the idea of the Messiah.

Those fathers, however, had the state of humiliation alone in their

eye. The exalted Redeemer they themselves viewed as clothed with

unfading beauty and glory, which was to pass from Him, the Head, to his

church also, in her perfect millennial state [498] We have here,

therefore, not an essential opposition made between holiness and

beauty, but only a temporary separation. Nor did the ante-Nicene

fathers mean to deny that Christ, even in the days of his humiliation,

had a spiritual beauty which captivated susceptible souls. Thus Clement

of Alexandria distinguishes between two kinds of beauty, the outward

beauty of the flesh, which soon fades away, and the beauty of the soul,

which consists in moral excellence and is permanent. "That the Lord

Himself," he says, "was uncomely in aspect, the Spirit testifies by

Isaiah: 'And we saw Him, and he had no form nor comeliness; but his

form was mean, inferior to men.' Yet who was more admirable than the

Lord? But it was not the beauty of the flesh visible to the eye, but

the true beauty of both soul and body, which He exhibited, which in the

former is beneficence; in the latter--that is, the flesh--immortality."

[499] 99 Chrysostom went further: he understood Isaiah's description to

refer merely to the scenes of the passion, and took his idea of the

personal appearance of Jesus from the forty-fifth Psalm, where he is

represented as "fairer than the children of men." Jerome and Augustin

had the same view, but there was at that time no authentic picture of

Christ, and the imagination was left to its own imperfect attempts to

set forth that human face divine which reflected the beauty of sinless

holiness.

The first representations of Christ were purely allegorical. He appears

now as a shepherd, who lays down his life for the sheep, [500] 00 or

carries the lost sheep on his shoulders; [501] 01 as a lamb, who bears

the sin of the world; [502] 02 more rarely as a ram, with reference to

the substituted victim in the history of Abraham and Isaac; [503] 03

frequently as a fisher. [504] 04 Clement of Alexandria, in his hymn,

calls Christ the "Fisher of men that are saved, who with his sweet life

catches the pure fish out of the hostile flood in the sea of iniquity."

The most favorite symbol seems to have been that of the fish. It was

the double symbol of the Redeemer and the redeemed. The corresponding

Greek Ichthys is a pregnant anagram, containing the initials of the

words: "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour." [505] 05 In some pictures

the mysterious fish is swimming in the water with a plate of bread and

a cup of wine on his back, with evident allusion to the Lord's Supper.

At the same time the fish represented the soul caught in the net of the

great Fisher of men and his servants, with reference to Matt. 4:19;

comp. 13:47. Tertullian connects the symbol with the water of baptism,

saying: [506] 06 "We little fishes (pisciculi) are born by our Fish

(secundum IChthUS nostrum), Jesus Christ in water, and can thrive only

by continuing in the water;" that is if we are faithful to our

baptismal covenant, and preserve the grace there received. The pious

fancy made the fish a symbol of the whole mystery of the Christian

salvation. The anagrammatic or hieroglyphic use of the Greek Ichthys

and the Latin Piscis-Christus belonged to the Disciplina Arcani, and

was a testimony of the ancient church to the faith in Christ's person

as the Son of God, and his work as the Saviour of the world. The origin

of this symbol must be traced beyond the middle of the second century,

perhaps to Alexandria, where there was a strong love for mystic

symbolism, both among the orthodox and the Gnostic heretics. [507] 07

It is familiarly mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and

Tertullian, and is found on ancient remains in the Roman catacombs,

marked on the grave-stones, rings, lamps, vases, and wall-pictures

[508] 08

The Ichthys-symbol went out of use before the middle of the fourth

century, after which it is only found occasionally as a reminiscence of

olden times.

Previous to the time of Constantine, we find no trace of an image of

Christ, properly speaking, except among the Gnostic Carpocratians,

[509] 09 and in the case of the heathen emperor Alexander Severus, who

adorned his domestic chapel, as a sort of syncretistic Pantheon, with

representatives of all religions. [510] 10 The above-mentioned idea of

the uncomely personal appearance of Jesus, the entire silence of the

Gospels about it, and the Old Testament prohibition of images,

restrained the church from making either pictures or statues of Christ,

until in the Nicene age a great change took place, though not without

energetic and long-continued opposition. Eusebius gives us, from his

own observation, the oldest report of a statue of Christ, which was

said to have been erected by the woman with the issue of blood,

together with her own statue, in memory of her cure, before her

dwelling at Caesarea Philippi (Paneas). [511] 11 But the same

historian, in a letter to the empress Constantia (the sister of

Constantine and widow of Licinius), strongly protested against images

of Christ, who had laid aside his earthly servant form, and whose

heavenly glory transcends the conception and artistic skill of man.

[512] 12

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[493] Isa. 53:2, 3; 52:14; Comp. Ps. 22.

[494] Dial. c. Tryphone Judaeo c. 14 (eis ten proten parousian tou

Christou, en e kai atimos kai aeides kai thnetos phanesesthai

kekerugmenos estin)c. 49 (pathetos kai atimos kai aeides); 85, 88, 100,

110, 121.

[495] Adv. Jud. c. 14: "ne aspectu quidem honestus," and then he quotes

Isa. 53:2 sqq.; 8:14; Ps. 22. De carne Christi, c. 9: "nec humanae

honestatis corpus fuit, nedum calestis claritatis."

[496] Paedag. III. 1, p. 252; Strom. lib. II. c. 5, p. 440; III. c. 17,

p. 559; VI. 17, p. 818 (ed. Potter).

[497] Contr. Cels. VI. c. 75, where Origen quotes from Celsus that

Christ's person did not differ from others in grandeur or beauty or

strength, but was, as the Christians report, "little, ill favored and

ignoble" (To soma mikron kai duseides kai agenes e'n). He admits the

"ill-favored," but denies the "ignoble," and doubts the "little," of

which there is no certain evidence. He then quotes the language of

Isaiah 53, but adds the description of Ps. 45:3, 4 (Sept.), which

represents the Messiah as a king arrayed in beauty. Celsus used this

false tradition of the supposed uncomeliness of Jesus as an argument

against his divinity, and an objection to the Christian religion.

[498] Comp. Tertullian, Adv. Jud. c. 14 (Opera, ed. Oehler II. 740),

where he quotes Dan. 7:13 sq., and Ps. 45:3, 4, for the heavenly beauty

and glory of the exalted Saviour, and says: "Primo sordibus indutus

est, id est carnis passibilis et mortalis indignitate ... dehinc

spoliatus pristina sorde, exornatus podere, et mitra et cidari munda,

id est secundi adventus; quoniam gloriam et honorent adeptus

demonstrator." Justin Martyr makes the same distinction between the

humility of the first and the glory of the second appearance.

Dial.c.Tryph. Jud. c. 14 and c. 49, etc. So does Origen in the passage

just quoted.

[499] Paedag. lib. III.c. 1, which treats of true beauty. Compare also

the last chapter in the second book, which is directed against the

extravagant fondness of females for dress and jewels ornaments the true

beauty of the soul, which "blossoms out in the flesh, exhibiting the

amiable comeliness of self-control, whenever the character, like a beam

of light, gleams in the form."

[500] John 10:11. Comp. above, p. 276

[501] Luke 15:3-7; Comp. Isa. 40:11; Ez. 34:11-15; Ps. 23.

[502] John 1:29; 1 Pet. 1:19; Rev. 5:12.

[503] Gen. 22:13.

[504] Christ calls the apostles "fishers of men," Matt. 4:19.

[505] IChThPsS ='I-esous Ch-ristos Th-eou U-hios S-oter. Comp.

Augustin, De Civit. Dei xviii. 23 (Jesus Christus Dei Filius Salvator),

The acrostic in the Sibyline Books (lib. viii. vs. 217 sqq.) adds to

this word stauros, the Schultza (Katak., p. 129), not satisfied with

this explanation, goes back to Matt. 7:10, where fish (ichthus) and

serpent (ophis) are contrasted, and suggested a contrast between Christ

and the devil (comp. Apoc. 12:14, 1. 2 Cor. 11:3) Rather artificial.

Merz derives the symbol from opson (hence opsarionin John 21:9) in the

sense of "fish, flesh." In Palestine fish was, next to bread, the

principal food, and a savory accompaniment of bread. It figures

prominently in the miraculous; feeding of the multitude (John 6:9, 11),

and in the meal of the risen Saviour on the shares of the Lake of

Tiberias (John 21:9, opsarion kai arton). By an allegorical stretch,

the fish might thus; become to the mind of the early church a symbol of

Christ's body, as the heavenly food which he gave for the salvation of

men (John 6:51).

[506] De Baptismo, c. 1.

[507] So Pitra, De Pisce symbolico, in "Spicil. Solesm.," III. 524.

Comp. Marriott, The Testimony of the Catacombs, p. 120 sqq.

[508] The oldest Ichthys-monument known so far was discovered in 1865

in the COEmeterium Domitillae, a hitherto inaccessible part of the

Roman catacombs, and is traced by Cavalier De Rossi to the first

century, by Becker to the first half of the second. It is in a wall

picture, representing three persons with three loaves of bread and a

fish. In other pictures we find fish, bread, and wine, with evident

allusion to the miraculous feeding (Matt. 15:17), and the meals of the

risen Saviour with his disciples (Luke, ch. 3; John, ch. 21). Paulinus

calls Christ "panis ipse verus et aquae vivae piscis." See the

interesting illustrators in Garrucci, Martigny, Kraus, and other

archaeological works.

[509] Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I. 25. The Carpocratians asserted that even

Pilate ordered a portrait of Christ to be made. Comp. Hippolytus,

Philos, VII.c. 32; Epiphanius, Adv. Haer. XXVI. 6; Augustin, De Haer,

c. 7.

[510] Apollonius, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ. See Lampridius, Vita

Alex Sev. c. 29.

[511] H. E. VII. 18. Comp. Matt. 9:20. Probably that alleged statue of

Christ was a monument of Hadrian, or some other emperor to whom the

Phoenicians did obeisance, in the form of a kneeling woman. Similar

representations are seen on coins, particularly from the age of

Hadrian. Julian the Apostate destroyed the two statues, and substituted

his own, which was riven by lightning (Sozom. V. 21).

[512] A fragment of this letter is preserved in the acts of the

iconoclastic Council of 754, and in the sixth act of the Second Council

of Nicaea, 787. See Euseb. Opp. ed. Migne, II.col. 1545, and Harduin,

Conc. IV. 406.

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� 81. Pictures of the Virgin Mary.

De Rossi: Imagines selectae Deiparae Virginis (Rome, 1863); Marriott:

Catacombs (Lond. 1870, pp. 1-63); Martigny: Dict. sub "Vierge;" KRAUS:

Die christl. Kunst (Leipz. 1873, p. 105); Northcote and Brownlow: Roma

Sotter. (2nd ed. Lond. 1879, Pt. II. p. 133 sqq.); Withrow: Catacombs

(N.Y. 1874, p. 30, 5 sqq.); Schultze: Die Marienbilder der altchristl.

Kunst, and Die Katacomben (Leipz. 1882, p. 150 sqq.); Von Lehner: Die

Marienverehrung in den 3 ersten Jahrh. (Stuttgart, 1881, p. 282 sqq.).

It was formerly supposed that no picture of the Virgin existed before

the Council of Ephesus (431), which condemned Nestorius and sanctioned

the theotokos, thereby giving solemn sanction and a strong impetus to

the cultus of Mary. But several pictures are now traced, with a high

degree of probability, to the third, if not the second century. From

the first five centuries nearly fifty representations of Mary have so

far been brought to the notice of scholars, most of them in connection

with the infant Saviour.

The oldest is a fragmentary wall-picture in the cemetery of Priscilla:

it presents Mary wearing a tunic and cloak, in sitting posture, and

holding at her breast the child, who turns his face round to the

beholder. Near her stands a young and beardless man (probably Joseph)

clothed in the pallium, holding a book-roll in one hand, pointing to

the star above with the other, and looking upon the mother and child

with the expression of joy; between and above the figures is the star

of Bethlehem; the whole represents the happiness of a family without

the supernatural adornments of dogmatic reflection. [513] 13 In the

same cemetery of Priscilla there are other frescos, representing

(according to De Rossi and Garrucci) the annunciation by the angel, the

adoration of the Magi, and the finding of the Lord in the temple. The

adoration of the Magi (two or four, afterwards three) is a favorite

part of the pictures of the holy family. In the oldest picture of that

kind in the cemetery of SS. Peter and Marcellinus, Mary sits on a

chair, holding the babe in her lap, and receiving the homage of two

Magi, one on each side, presenting their gifts on a plate. [514] 14 In

later pictures the manger, the ox and the ass, and the miraculous star

are added to the scene.

The frequent pictures of a lady in praying attitude, with uplifted or

outstretched arms (Orans or Orante), especially when found in company

with the Good Shepherd, are explained by Roman Catholic archaeologists

to mean the church or the blessed Virgin, or both combined, praying for

sinners. [515] 15 But figures of praying men as well as women are

abundant in the catacombs, and often represent the person buried in the

adjacent tomb, whose names are sometimes given. No Ora pro nobis, no

Ave Maria, no Theotokos or Deipara appears there. The pictures of the

Orans are like those of other women, and show no traces of Mariolatry.

Nearly all the representations in the catacombs keep within the limits

of the gospel history. But after the fourth century, and in the

degeneracy of art, Mary was pictured in elaborate mosaics, and on

gilded glasses, as the crowned queen of heaven, seated on a throne, in

bejewelled purple robes, and with a nimbus of glory, worshipped by

angels and saints.

The noblest pictures of Mary, in ancient and modern times, endeavor to

set forth that peculiar union of virgin purity and motherly tenderness

which distinguish "the Wedded Maid and Virgin Mother" from ordinary

women, and exert such a powerful charm upon the imagination and

feelings of Christendom. No excesses of Mariolatry, sinful as they are,

should blind us to the restraining and elevating effect of

contemplating, with devout reverence,

"The ideal of all womanhood,

So mild, so merciful, so strong, so good,

So patient, peaceful, loyal, loving, pure."

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[513] See the picture in De Rossi, Plate iv., Northcote and Brownlow,

Plate xx (II. 140), and in Schultze, Katak., p. 151. De Rossi ("

Bulletino, " 1865, 23, as quoted by N. and B.) declares it either

co�val with the first Christian art, or little removed from it, either

of the age of the Flavii or of Trajan and Hadrian, or at the very

latest, of the first Antonines. "On the roof of this tomb there was

figured in fine stucco the Good Shepherd between two sheep, and some

other subject, now nearly defaced." De Rossi supports his view of the

high antiquity of this Madonna by the superior, almost classical style

of art, and by the fact that the catacomb of Priscilla, the mother of

Pudens, is one of the oldest. But J. H. Parker, an experienced

antiquary, assigns this picture to a.d. 523. The young man is,

according to De Rossi, Isaiah or some other prophet; but Marriott and

Schultze refer him to Joseph, which is more probable, although the

later tradition of the Greek church derived from the Apocryphal Gospels

and strengthened by the idea of the perpetual virginity, represents him

as an old man with several children from a previous marriage (the

brethren of Jesus, changed into cousins by Jerome and the Latin

church). Northcote and Brownlow (II. 141) remark: "St. Joseph certainly

appears in some of the sarcophagi; and in the most ancient of them as a

young and beardless man, generally clad in a tunic. In the mosaics of

St. Mary Major's, which are of the fifth century, and in which he

appears four or five times, he is shown of nature age, if not old; and

from that time forward this became the more common mode of representing

him."

[514] See Plate xx. in N. and B. II 140. Schultze (p. 153) traces this

picture to the beginning of the third century.

[515] According to the usual Roman Catholic interpretation of the

apocalyptic vision of the woman clothed with the sun, and bringing

forth a man-child (12:1, 5). Cardinal Newman reasons inconclusively in

a letter to Dr. Pusey on his Eirenicon (p. 62): "I do not deny that,

under the image of the woman, the church is signified; but ... the holy

apostle would not have spoken of the church under this particular image

unless there had existed a blessed Virgin Mary, who was exalted on

high, and the object of veneration of all the faithful." When

accompanied by the Good Shepherd the Orans is supposed by Northcote and

Brownlow (II. 137) to represent Mar y a., ; the new Eve, as the

Shepherd is the new Adam. It must be admitted that the parallel between

Mary and Eve is as old as Irenaeus, and contains the fruitful germ of

Mariolatry, but in those pictures no such contrast is presented.

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CHAPTER VII:

THE CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS.

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� 82. Literature.

Comp. the works quoted in ch. VI., especially Garrucci (6 vols.), and

the Table of Illustrations at the end of this volume.

I. Older works. By Bosio (Roma Sotterranea, Rom. 1632; abridged edition

by P. Giovanni Severani da S. Severino, Rom. 1710, very rare); Boldetti

(1720); Bottari (1737); D'AGINCOURT (1825); R�stell (1830); Marchi

(1844); Maitland (The Church in the Catacombs, Lond. 1847); Louis

Perret (Catacombes de Rome, etc. Paris, 1853 sqq. 5 vols., with 325

splendid plates, but with a text that is of little value, and

superseded).

II. More recent works.

\*Giovanni Battista de Rossi (the chief authority on the Catacombs): La

Roma Sotterranea Cristiana descritta et illustrata, publ. by order of

Pope Pio Nono, Roma (cromolitografia Pontificia), Tom. I. 1864, Tom.

II. 1867, Tom. III. 1877, in 3 vols. fol. with two additional vols. of

plates and inscriptions. A fourth volume is expected. Comp. his

articles in the bimonthly "Bulletino di archeologia Cristiana," Rom.

1863 sqq., and several smaller essays. Roller calls De Rossi "le

fouilleur le mieux qualifi� fervent catholique, mais critique s�rieux."

\*J. Spencer Northcote (Canon of Birmingham) and W. R. Brownlow (Canon

of Plymouth): Roma Sotteranea. London (Longmans, Green & Co., 1869;

second edition, "rewritten and greatly enlarged," 1879, 2 vols. The

first vol. contains the History, the second, Christian Art. This work

gives the substance of the investigations of Commendatore De Rossi by

his consent, together with a large number of chromo-lithographic plates

and wood-engravings, with special reference to the cemetery of San

Callisto. The vol. on Inscriptions is separate, see below.

F. X. Kraus (R.C.), Roma Sotterranea. Die R�m. Katakomben. Freiburg. i.

B. (1873), second ed. 1879. Based upon De Rossi and the first ed. of

Northcote & Brownlow.

D. de Richemont: Les catacombes de Rome. Paris, 1870.

Wharton B. Marriott, B.S.F.S.A. (Ch. of England): The Testimony of the

Catacombs and of other Monuments of Christian Art from the second to

the eighteenth century, concerning questions of Doctrine now disputed

in the Church. London, 1870 (223 pages with illustrations). Discusses

the monuments referring to the cultus of the Virgin Mary, the supremacy

of the Pope, and the state after death.

F. Becker: Roms Altchristliche C�meterien. Leipzig, 1874.

W. H. Withrow (Methodist): The Catacombs of Rome and their Testimony

relative to Primitive Christianity. New York (Nelson & Phillips), 1874.

Polemical against Romanism. The author says (Pref., p. 6): "The

testimony of the catacombs exhibits, more strikingly than any other

evidence, the immense contrast between primitive Christianity and

modern Romanism."

John P. Lundy (Episc.): Monumental Christianity: or the Art and

Symbolism of the Primitive Church as Witnesses and Teachers of the one

Catholic Faith and Practice. New York, 1876. New ed. enlarged, 1882,

453 pages, richly illustrated.

\*John Henry Parker (Episc.): The Archaeology of Rome. Oxford and

London, 1877. Parts ix. and x.: Tombs in and near Rome, and Sculpture;

Part XII: The Catacombs. A standard work, with the best illustrations.

\*Theophile Roller (Protest.): Les Catacombes de Rome. Histoire de l'art

et des croyances religieuses pendant les premiers si�cles du

Christianisme. Paris, 1879-1881, 2 vols. fol, 720 pages text and 100

excellent plates en h�tiogravure, and many illustrations and

inscriptions. The author resided several years at Naples and Rome as

Reformed pastor.

M. Armellini (R.C.): Le Catacombe Romane descritte. Roma, 1880 (A

popular extract from De Rossi, 437 pages). By the same the more

important work: Il Cimiterio di S. Agnese sulla via Nomentana. Rom.

1880.

Dean Stanley: The Roman Catacombs, in his "Christian Institutions."

Lond. and N. York, 1881 (pp. 272-295).

Victor Schultze (Lutheran): Archaeologische Studien ueber

altchristliche Monumente. Mit 26 Holzschnitten. Wien, 1880; Die

Katakomben. Die altchristlichen Grabst�tten. Ihre Geschichte und ihre

Monumente (with 52 illustrations). Leipzig, 1882 (342 pages); Die

Katakomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel. Jena, 1877. Also the

pamphlet: Der theolog. Ertrag der Katakombenforschung. Leipz. 1882 (30

pages). The last pamphlet is against Harnack's review, who charged

Schultze with overrating the gain of the catacomb-investigations (see

the "Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1882.)

Bishop W. J. Kip: The Catacombs of Rome as illustrating the Church of

the First Three Centuries. N. York, 1853, 6th ed., 1887(212pages).

K. R�nneke: Rom's christliche Katakomben. Leipzig, 1886.

Comp. also Edmund Venables in Smith and Cheetham, I. 294-317; Heinrich

Merz in Herzog, VII. 559-568; Theod. Mommsen on the Roman Catac. in

"The Contemp. Review." vol. XVII. 160-175 (April to July, 1871); the

relevant articles in the Archaeol. Dicts. of Martigny and Kraus, and

the Archaeology of Bennett (1888).

III. Christian Inscriptions in the catacombs and other old monuments.

\*Commendatore J. B. de Rossi: Inscriptiones Christiana Urbis Romae

septimo seculo antiquiores. Romae, 1861 (XXIII. and 619 pages). Another

vol. is expected. The chief work in this department. Many inscriptions

also in his Roma Sott. and "Bulletino."

Edward Le Blant: Inscriptions chr�tiennes de la Gaule anterieures au

VIII^me si�cle. Paris, 1856 and 1865, 2 vols. By the same: Manuel

d'Epigraphie chr�tienne. Paris, 1869.

John McCaul: Christian Epitaphs of the First Six Centuries. Toronto,

1869. Greek and Latin, especially from Rome.

F. Becker: Die Inschriften der r�mischen C�meterien. Leipzig, 1878.

\*J. Spencer Northcote (R.C. Canon of Birmingham): Epitaphs of the

Catacombs or Christian Inscriptions in Rome during the First Four

Centuries. Lond., 1878 (196 pages).

G. T. Stokes on Greek and Latin Christian Inscriptions; two articles in

the "Contemporary Review" for 1880 and 1881.

V. Schultze discusses the Inscriptions in the fifth section of his work

Die Katakomben (1882), pp. 235-274, and gives the literature.

The Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum by B�ckh, and Kirchhoff, and the

Corpus Inscriptionium Lat, edited for the Berlin Academy by, Th.

Mommsen and others, 1863 sqq. (not yet completed), contain also

Christian Inscriptions. Prof. E. H�bner has added those of Spain (1871)

and Britain (1873). G. Petrie has collected the Christian Inscriptions

in the Irish language, ed. by Stokes. Dublin, 1870 sqq. Comp. the art.

"Inscriptions," in Smith and Cheetham, I. 841.

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� 83. Origin and History of the Catacomb.

The Catacombs of Rome and other cities open a new chapter of Church

history, which has recently been dug up from the bowels of the earth.

Their discovery was a revelation to the world as instructive and

important as the discovery of the long lost cities of Pompeii and

Herculaneum, and of Nineveh and Babylon. Eusebius says nothing about

them; the ancient Fathers scarcely allude to them, except Jerome and

Prudentius, and even they give us no idea of their extent and

importance. Hence the historians till quite recently have passed them

by in silence. [516] 16 But since the great discoveries of Commendatore

De Rossi and other archaeologists they can no longer be ignored. They

confirm, illustrate, and supplement our previous knowledge derived from

the more important literary remains.

The name of the Catacombs is of uncertain origin, but is equivalent to

subterranean cemeteries or resting-places for the dead. [517] 17 First

used of the Christian cemeteries in the neighborhood of Rome, it was

afterwards applied to those of Naples, Malta, Sicily, Alexandria,

Paris, and other cities.

It was formerly supposed that the Roman Catacombs were originally

sand-pits (arenariae) or stone-quarries (lapidicinae), excavated by the

heathen for building material, and occasionally used as receptacles for

the vilest corpses of slaves and criminals. [518] 18 But this view is

now abandoned on account of the difference of construction and of the

soil. A few of the catacombs, however, about five out of thirty, are

more or less closely connected with abandoned sand-pits. [519] 19

The catacombs, therefore, with a few exceptions, are of Christian

origin, and were excavated for the express purpose of Christian burial.

Their enormous extent, and the mixture of heathen with Christian

symbols and inscriptions, might suggest that they were used by heathen

also; but this is excluded by the fact of the mutual aversion of

Christians and idolaters to associate in life and in death. The

mythological features are few, and adapted to Christian ideas. [520] 20

Another erroneous opinion, once generally entertained, regarded the

catacombs as places of refuge from heathen persecution. But the immense

labor required could not have escaped the attention of the police. They

were, on the contrary, the result of toleration. The Roman government,

although (like all despotic governments) jealous of secret societies,

was quite liberal towards the burial clubs, mostly of the poorer

classes, or associations for securing, by regular contributions, decent

interment with religious ceremonies. [521] 21 Only the worst criminals,

traitors, suicides, and those struck down by lightning (touched by the

gods) were left unburied. The pious care of the dead is an instinct of

human nature, and is found among all nations. Death is a mighty leveler

of distinctions and preacher of toleration and charity; even despots

bow before it, and are reminded of their own vanity; even hard hearts

are moved by it to pity and to tears. "De mortuis nihil nisi bonum."

The Christians enjoyed probably from the beginning the privilege of

common cemeteries, like the Jews, even without an express enactment.

Galienus restored them after their temporary confiscation during the

persecution of Valerian (260). [522] 22

Being mostly of Jewish and Oriental descent, the Roman Christians

naturally followed the Oriental custom of cutting their tombs in rocks,

and constructing galleries. Hence the close resemblance of the Jewish

and Christian cemeteries in Rome. [523] 23 The ancient Greeks and

Romans under the empire were in the habit of burning the corpses

(crematio) for sanitary reasons, but burial in the earth (humatio),

outside of the city near the public roads, or on hills, or in natural

grottos, was the older custom; the rich had their own sepulchres

(sepulcra).

In their catacombs the Christians could assemble for worship and take

refuge in times of persecution. Very rarely they were pursued in these

silent retreats. Once only it is reported that the Christians were shut

up by the heathen in a cemetery and smothered to death.

Most of the catacombs were constructed during the first three

centuries, a few may be traced almost to the apostolic age. [524] 24

After Constantine, when the temporal condition of the Christians

improved, and they could bury their dead without any disturbance in the

open air, the cemeteries were located above ground, especially above

the catacombs, and around the basilicas; or on other land purchased or

donated for the purpose. Some catacombs owe their origin to individuals

or private families, who granted the use of their own grounds for the

burial of their brethren; others belonged to churches. The Christians

wrote on the graves appropriate epitaphs and consoling thoughts, and

painted on the walls their favorite symbols. At funerals they turned

these dark and cheerless abodes into chapels; under the dim light of

the terra-cotta lamps they committed dust to dust, ashes to ashes, and

amidst the shadows of death they inhaled the breath of the resurrection

and life everlasting. But it is an error to suppose that the catacombs

served as the usual places of worship in times of persecution; for such

a purpose they were entirely unfitted; even the largest could

accommodate, at most, only twenty or thirty persons within convenient

distance. [525] 25

The devotional use of the catacombs began in the Nicene age, and

greatly stimulated the worship of martyrs and saints. When they ceased

to be used for burial they became resorts of pious pilgrims. Little

chapels were built for the celebration of the memory of the martyrs.

St. Jerome relates, [526] 26 how, while a school-boy, about a.d. 350,

he used to go with his companions every Sunday to the graves of the

apostles and martyrs in the crypts at Rome, "where in subterranean

depths the visitor passes to and fro between the bodies of the entombed

on both walls, and where all is so dark, that the prophecy here finds

its fulfillment: The living go down into Hades. [527] 27 Here and there

a ray from above, not falling in through a window, but only pressing in

through a crevice, softens the gloom; as you go onward, it fades away,

and in the darkness of night which surrounds you, that verse of Virgil

comes to your mind:

"Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent." [528] 28

The poet Prudentius also, in the beginning of the fifth century,

several times speaks of these burial places, and the devotions held

within them. [529] 29

Pope Damasus (366-384) showed his zeal in repairing and decorating the

catacombs, and erecting new stair-cases for the convenience of

pilgrims. His successors kept up the interest, but by repeated repairs

introduced great confusion into the chronology of the works of art.

The barbarian invasions of Alaric (410), Genseric (455), Ricimer (472),

Vitiges (537), Totila (546), and the Lombards (754), turned Rome into a

heap of ruins and destroyed many valuable treasures of classical and

Christian antiquity. But the pious barbarism of relic hunters did much

greater damage. The tombs of real and imaginary saints were rifled, and

cartloads of dead men's bones were translated to the Pantheon and

churches and chapels for more convenient worship. In this way the

catacombs gradually lost all interest, and passed into decay and

complete oblivion for more than six centuries.

In the sixteenth century the catacombs were rediscovered, and opened an

interesting field for antiquarian research. The first discovery was

made May 31, 1578, by some laborers in a vineyard on the Via Salaria,

who were digging pozzolana, and came on an old subterranean cemetery,

ornamented with Christian paintings, Greek and Latin inscriptions and

sculptured sarcophagi. "In that day," says De Rossi, "was born the name

and the knowledge of Roma Sotterranea." One of the first and principal

explorers was Antonio Bosio, "the Columbus of this subterranean world."

His researches were published after his death (Roma, 1632). Filippo

Neri, Carlo Borromeo, and other restorers of Romanism spent, like St.

Jerome of old, whole nights in prayer amid these ruins of the age of

martyrs. But Protestant divines discredited these discoveries as

inventions of Romish divines seeking in heathen sand-pits for Christian

saints who never lived, and Christian martyrs who never died. [530] 30

In the present century the discovery and investigation of the catacombs

has taken a new start, and is now an important department of Christian

archaeology. The dogmatic and sectarian treatment has given way to a

scientific method with the sole aim to ascertain the truth. The

acknowledged pioneer in this subterranean region of ancient church

history is the Cavalier John Baptist de Rossi, a devout, yet liberal

Roman Catholic. His monumental Italian work (Roma Sotterranea,

1864-1877) has been made accessible in judicious condensations to

French, German, and English readers by Allard (1871), Kraus (1873 and

1879), Northcote & Brownlow (1869 and 1879). Other writers, Protestant

as well as Roman Catholic, are constantly adding to our stores of

information. Great progress has been made in the chronology and the

interpretation of the pictures in the catacombs.

And yet the work is only begun. More than one half of ancient Christian

cemeteries are waiting for future exploration. De Rossi treats chiefly

of one group of Roman catacombs, that of Callistus. The catacombs in

Naples, Syracuse, Girgenti, Melos, Alexandria, Cyrene, are very

imperfectly known; still others in the ancient apostolic churches may

yet be discovered, and furnish results as important for church history

as the discoveries of Ilium, Mycenae, and Olympia for that of classical

Greece.

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[516] Mosheim and Gibbon in the last century, and even Neander,

Gieseler, andBaur, in our age, ignore the very existence of the

catacombs, except that Gieseler quotes the well-known passage of

Jerome. But Dean Milman, in his History of Christianity, Hase, Kurtz,

Kraus, and others, in their manuals, take brief notice of them.

[517] katakumbion, catacumba, also (in some MSS.) catatumba. Various

derivations: 1) From kata (down from, downwards, as in katabaino,

katakeimai, katapempo), and tumbos (compare the late Latin tumba, the

French tombe, tombeau, and the English tomb, grave), i.e. a tomb down

in the earth, as distinct from tombs on the surface. This corresponds

best to the thing itself. 2) From kata and koimao (to sleep), which

would make it equivalent to koimeterion, dormitorium, sleeping place.

3) From kata and kumbe (the hollow of a vessel) or (cup), kumbion (a

small cup, Lat. cymbium), which would simply give us the idea of a

hollow place. So Venables in Smith and Cheetham. Very unlikely. 4) A

hybrid term from katav and the Latin decumbo, to lie down, to recline.

So Marchi, and Northcote and Brownlow (I. 263). The word first occurs

in a Christian calendar of the third or fourth century (in Catacumbas),

and in a letter of Gregory I. to the Empress Constantia, towards the

end of the sixth century (Epp. III. 30), with a special local

application to San Sebastian. The earlier writers use the terms

koimeteria, coemeteria (whence our cemetery), also cryptae, crypts

[518] So Aringhi, Baronius; Severano, Bottari, Boldetti, and all

writers prior to Marchi, and his pupils, the two brothers De Rossi, who

turned the current of opinion. See Northcote and Br. I. 377 sqq.

[519] The sand-pits and stone-quarries were made wide enough for a

horse and cart, and are cut in the tufa litoide and pozzolana pura,

which furnish the best building material in Rome; while the catacombs

have generally very narrow passages, run in straight lines, often cross

each other at sharp angles, and are excavated in the tufa granulare,

which is too soft for building-stone, and too much mixed with earth to

be used for cement, but easily worked, and adapted for the construction

of galleries and chambers. See Northcote and Br. I. 376-390. The

exceptions are also stated by these authors. J. H. Parker has

discovered loculi for Christian burial in the recesses of a deserted

sand-pit.

[520] See the remarks of Northcote and Br. I. 276 against J. H. Parker,

who asserts the mixed use of the catacombs for heathens and

Christians."

[521] This view is supported by Professor Mommsen, the Roman historian,

who says (in "Contemporary Review," vol. xxvii. p. 168): "Associations

of poor people who clubbed together for the burial of their members

were not only tolerated but supported by the imperial government, which

otherwise was very strict against associations. From this point of

view, therefore, there was no legal impediment to the acquisition of

these properties. Christian associations have from the very beginning

paid great attention to their burials; it was considered the duty of

the wealthier members to provide for the burial of the poor, and St.

Ambrose still allowed churches to sell their communion plate, in order

to enlarge the cemeteries of the faithful. The catacombs show what

could be achieved by such means at Rome. Even if their fabulous

dimensions are reduced to their right measure, they form an immense

work, without beauty and ornament, despising in architecture and

inscription not only pomp and empty phraseology, but even nicety and

correctness, avoiding the splendor and grandeur as well as the tinsel

and vanity of the life of the great town that was hurrying and

throbbing above, the true commentary of the words of Christ-'My kingdom

is not of this world.'

[522] Euseb. H. E. VII. 13: 1, ta ton kaloumenon koimeterion

apolambanein epitrepon choria.

[523] Roller says (in Lichtenberger's Encycl. des Sc. Rel. II.

685)."Les juifs ensevelissaient dans le roc. A Rome ils ont creus� de

grandes catacombes presque identique � celles des chr�tiens. Ceux-ci

ont �t� leurs imitateurs. Les Etrusques se servaient aussi de grottes;

mais ils ne les reliaient point par des galeries illimit�es." Dean

Stanley (l.c. p. 274): "The Catacombs are the standing monuments of the

Oriental and Jewish character, even of Western Christianity. The fact

that they are the counterparts of the rock-hewn tombs of Palestine, and

yet more closely of the Jewish cemeteries in the neighborhood of Rome,

corresponds to the fact that the early Roman Church was not a Latin but

an Eastern community, speaking Greek and following the usages of Syria.

And again, the ease with which the Roman Christians had recourse to

these cemeteries is an indication of the impartiality of the Roman law,

which extended (as De Rossi has well pointed out) to this despised sect

the same protection in regard to burial, even during the times of

persecution, that was accorded to the highest in the land. They thus

bear witness, to the unconscious fostering care of the Imperial

Government over the infant church. They are thus monuments, not so much

of the persecution as of the toleration which the Christians received

at the hands of the Roman Empire."

[524] De Rossi (as quoted by Northcote and Brownlow I. 112): "Precisely

in those cemeteries to which history or tradition assigns apostolic

origin, I see, in the light of the most searching archaeological

criticism, the cradle both of Christian subterranean sepulchres, of

Christian art, and of Christian inscriptions; there I had memorials of

persons who appear to belong to the times of the Flavii and of Trajan;

and finally I discover precise dates of those times."

[525] Schultze (Die Katak., p. 73 and 83) maintains in opposition to

Marchi, that the catacombs were nothing but burial place, and used only

for the burial service, and that the little chapels (ecclesiolae) were

either private sepulchral chambers or post-Constantinian structures.

[526] Com. in Ez. 40.

[527] He refers to such passages as Ps. 55:15; Num. 16:33.

[528] Aen. II. 755: "Horror on every side, and terrible even the

silence." Or in German: "Grauen rings um mich her, und schreckvoll

selber die Stille."

[529] Peristeph. XI. 153 sqq

[530] E. g. Bishop Burnet (who visited the catacombs in 1685): Letters

from Italy and Switzerland in 1685 and 1686. He believed that the

catacombs were the common burial places of the ancient heathen. G. S.

Cyprian (1699), J. Basnage (1699), and Peter Zorn (1703), wrote on the

subject in polemical interest against Rome.

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� 84. Description of the Catacombs.

The Roman catacombs are long and narrow passages or galleries and

cross-galleries excavated in the bowels of the earth in the hills

outside and around the city, for the burial of the dead. They are dark

and gloomy, with only an occasional ray of light from above. The

galleries have two or more stories, all filled with tombs, and form an

intricate net-work or subterranean labyrinth. Small compartments

(loculi) were cut out like shelves in the perpendicular walls for the

reception of the dead, and rectangular chambers (cubicula) for

families, or distinguished martyrs. They were closed with a slab of

marble or tile. The more wealthy were laid in sarcophagi. The ceiling

is flat, sometimes slightly arched. Space was economized so as to leave

room usually only for a single person; the average width of the

passages being 2� to 3 feet. This economy may be traced to the poverty

of the early Christians, and also to their strong sense of community in

life and in death. The little oratories with altars and episcopal

chairs cut in the tufa are probably of later construction, and could

accommodate only a few persons at a time. They were suited for funeral

services and private devotion, but not for public worship.

The galleries were originally small, but gradually extended to enormous

length. Their combined extent is counted by hundreds of miles, and the

number of graves by millions. [531] 31

The oldest and best known of the Roman cemeteries is that of St.

Sebastian, originally called Ad Catacumbas, on the Appian road, a

little over two miles south of the city walls. It was once, it is said,

the temporary resting-place of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul,

before their removal to the basilicas named after them; also of

forty-six bishops of Rome, and of a large number of martyrs.

The immense cemetery of Pope Callistus (218-223) on the Via Appia

consisted originally of several small and independent burial grounds

(called Lucinae, Zephyrini, Callisti, Hippoliti). It has been

thoroughly investigated by De Rossi. The most ancient part is called

after Lucina, and measures 100 Roman feet in breadth by 180 feet in

length. The whole group bears the name of Callistus, probably because

his predecessor, Zephyrinus "set him over the cemetery" (of the church

of Rome). [532] 32 He was then a deacon. He stands high in the

estimation of the Roman church, but the account given of him by

Hippolytus is quite unfavorable. He was certainly a remarkable man, who

rose from slavery to the highest dignity of the church.

The cemetery of Domitilla (named in the fourth century St. Petronillae,

Nerei et Achillei) is on the Via Ardeatina, and its origin is traced

back to Flavia Domitilla, grand-daughter or great-grand-daughter of

Vespasian. She was banished by Domitian (about a.d. 95) to the island

of Pontia "for professing Christ." [533] 33 Her chamberlains (eunuchi

cubicularii), Nerus and Achilleus, according to an uncertain tradition,

were baptized by St. Peter, suffered martyrdom, and were buried in a

farm belonging to their mistress. In another part of this cemetery De

Rossi discovered the broken columns of a subterranean chapel and a

small chamber with a fresco on the wall, which represents an elderly

matron named "Veneranda," and a young lady, called in the inscription

"Petronilla martyr," and pointing to the Holy Scriptures in a chest by

her side, as the proofs of her faith. The former apparently introduces

the latter into Paradise. [534] 34 The name naturally suggests the

legendary daughter of St. Peter. [535] 35 But Roman divines, reluctant

to admit that the first pope had any children (though his marriage is

beyond a doubt from the record of the Gospels), understand Petronilla

to be a spiritual daughter, as Mark was a spiritual son, of the apostle

(1 Pet. 5:13), and make her the daughter of some Roman Petronius or

Petro connected with the family of Domitilla.

Other ancient catacombs are those of Pruetextatus, Priscilla (St.

Silvestri and St. Marcelli), Basilla (S. Hermetis, Basillae, Proti, et

Hyacinthi), Maximus, St. Hippolytus, St. Laurentius, St. Peter and

Marcellinus, St. Agnes, and the Ostrianum (Ad Nymphas Petri, or Fons

Petri, where Peter is said to have baptized from a natural well). De

Rossi gives a list of forty-two greater or lesser cemeteries, including

isolated tombs of martyrs, in and near Rome, which date from the first

four centuries, and are mentioned in ancient records. [536] 36

The furniture of the catacombs is instructive and interesting, but most

of it has been removed to churches and museums, and must be studied

outside. Articles of ornament, rings, seals, bracelets, neck-laces,

mirrors, tooth-picks, ear-picks, buckles, brooches, rare coins,

innumerable lamps of clay (terra-cotta), or of bronze, even of silver

and amber, all sorts of tools, and in the case of children a variety of

playthings were inclosed with the dead. Many of these articles are

carved with the monogram of Christ, or other Christian symbols. (The

lamps in Jewish cemeteries bear generally a picture of the golden

candlestick).

A great number of flasks and cups also, with or without ornamentation,

are found, mostly outside of the graves, and fastened to the

grave-lids. These were formerly supposed to have been receptacles for

tears, or, from the red, dried sediment in them, for the blood of

martyrs. But later archaeologists consider them drinking vessels used

in the agapae and oblations. A superstitious habit prevailed in the

fourth century, although condemned by a council of Carthage (397), to

give to the dead the eucharistic wine, or to put a cup with the

consecrated wine in the grave. [537] 37

The instruments of torture which the fertile imagination of credulous

people had discovered, and which were made to prove that almost every

Christian buried in the catacombs was a martyr, are simply implements

of handicraft. The instinct of nature prompts the bereaved to deposit

in the graves of their kindred and friends those things which were

constantly used by them. The idea prevailed also to a large extent that

the future life was a continuation of the occupations and amusements of

the present, but free from sin and imperfection.

On opening the graves the skeleton appears frequently even now very

well preserved, sometimes in dazzling whiteness, as covered with a

glistening glory; but falls into dust at the touch.

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[531] I hesitate to state the figures. Roman archaeologists, as Marchi,

J. B. de Rossi and his brother Michael de R. (a practical

mathematician), Martigny and others estimate the length of the Roman

catacombs variously at from 350 to 900 miles, or as "more than the

whole length of Italy" (Northcote and Brownlow, I. 2). Allowance is

made for from four to seven millions of graves! It seems incredible

that there should have been so many Christians in Rome in four

centuries, even if we include the numerous strangers. All such

estimates are purely conjectural. See Smith and Cheetham, I. 301. Smyth

(l.c. p. 15) quotes Rawlinson as saying that 7,000,000 of graves in 400

years' time gives an average population of from 500,000 to 700,000.

Total population of Rome, 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 at the beginning of

the empire.

[532] This is so stated by Hippolytus, Philosoph. IX. 11. Zephyrinus

was buried there contrary to the custom of burying the popes in St.

Peter's crypt in the Vatican. Callistus was hurled from a window in

Trastevere, and hastily removed to the nearest cemetery on the Via

Aurelia. The whole report of Hippolytus about Callistus is discredited

by Northcote and Brownlow (I. 497 sqq.), but without good reason.

[533] Eusebius, H. E. III. 18. De Rossi distinguishes two Christian

Domitillas, and defends this view against Mommsen See "Bulletino,"

1875, pp. 69-77, and Mommsen, Corp. Inscript. Lat., Tom. VI. p. 172, as

quoted by Northcote and Br. I. 86. See also Mommsen in "The Contemp.

Review," XVII. 169 sq. Lightfoot. Philippians, p. 22, and S. Clement of

R., 257.

[534] See the picture in Northcote and Br. I. 182, and on the whole

subject of Petronilla, pp. 122, 176-186.

[535] Acta Sanct. Maii, III. 11.

[536] See also the list in N. and Br. I. pp. xx-xxi, and in Smith and

Cheetham, I. 315.

[537] The curious controversy about these blood-stained phials is not

yet closed. Chemical experiments have led to no decided results. The

Congregation of Rites and Relics decided, in 1668, that the phiolae

cruentae or ampullae sanguinolentaewere blood-vessels of martyrs, and

Pius IX. confirmed the decision in 1863. It was opposed by

distinguished Roman scholars (Mabillon, Tillemont, Muratori, the Jesuit

P�re de Buck (De phialis rubricatis, Brussels, 1855), but defended

again, though cautiously and to a very limited extent by De Rossi (III.

602), Northcote and Brownlow (II. 330-343), and by F. X. Kraus (Die

Blutampullen der R�m. Katakomben, 1868, and Ueber den gegenw. Stand der

Frage nach dem Inhalt und der Bedeutung der r�m. Blutampullen, 1872).

Comp. also Schultze: Die sogen. Blutgl�ser der R�m. Kat. (1880), and

Die Katakomben (1882, pp. 226-232). Roller thinks that the phials

contained probably perfumery, or perhaps eucharistic wine.

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� 85. Pictures and Sculptures.

The most important remains of the catacombs are the pictures,

sculptures, and epitaphs.

I. Pictures. These have already been described in the preceding

chapter. They are painted al fresco on the wall and ceiling, and

represent Christian symbols, scenes of Bible history, and allegorical

conceptions of the Saviour. A few are in pure classic style, and betray

an early origin when Greek art still flourished in Rome; but most of

them belong to the period of decay. Prominence is given to pictures of

the Good Shepherd, and those biblical stories which exhibit the

conquest of faith and the hope of the resurrection. The mixed character

of some of the Christian frescos may be explained partly from the

employment of heathen artists by Christian patrons, partly from old

reminiscences. The Etrurians and Greeks were in the habit of painting

their tombs, and Christian Greeks early saw the value of pictorial

language as a means of instruction. In technical skill the Christian

art is inferior to the heathen, but its subjects are higher, and its

meaning is deeper.

II. The works of sculpture are mostly found on sarcophagi. Many of them

are collected in the Lateran Museum. Few of them date from the

ante-Nicene age. [538] 38 They represent in relief the same subjects as

the wall-pictures, as far as they could be worked in stone or marble,

especially the resurrection of Lazarus, Daniel among the lions, Moses

smiting the rock, the sacrifice of Isaac.

Among the oldest Christian sarcophagi are those of St. Helena, the

mother of Constantine (d. 328), and of Constantia, his daughter (d.

354), both of red porphyry, and preserved in the Vatican Museum. The

sculpture on the former probably represents the triumphal entry of

Constantine into Rome after his victory over Maxentius; the sculpture

on the latter, the cultivation of the vine, probably with a symbolical

meaning. [539] 39

The richest and finest of all the Christian sarcophagi is that of

Junius Bassus, Prefect of Rome, a.d. 359, and five times Consul, in the

crypt of St. Peter's in the Vatican. [540] 40 It was found in the

Vatican cemetery (1595). It is made of Parian marble in Corinthian

style. The subjects represented in the upper part are the sacrifice of

Abraham, the capture of St. Peter, Christ seated between Peter and

Paul, the capture of Christ, and Pilate washing his hands; in the lower

part are the temptation of Adam and Eve, suffering Job, Christ's

entrance into Jerusalem, Daniel among the lions, and the capture of St.

Paul.

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[538] Renan dates the oldest sculptures from the end of the third

century: "Les sarcophages sculpt�s, repr�sentant des sc�nes sacr�es,

apparaissent vers la fin du IIIe si�cle. Comme les peintures

chr�tiennes, ils ne s'�cartent gu�re, sauf pour le sujet, des habitudes

de l'art pa�en du m�me temps." (Marc Aur�le, p. 546). Comp. also

Schultze, Die Katak. 165-186, and especially the IXth part of John

Henry Parker's great work, which treats on the Tombs in and near Rome,

1877.

[539] See photographs of both in Parker, Part IX, Nos. 209 and 210, and

pp. 41 and 42.

[540] See a photograph in Parker, l.c., Plate XIII; also in Lundy,

Monum. Christianity, p. 112.

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� 86. Epitaphs.

"Rudely written, but each letter

Full of hope, and yet of heart-break,

Full of all the tender pathos of the Here

and the Hereafter."

To perpetuate, by means of sepulchral inscriptions, the memory of

relatives and friends, and to record the sentiments of love and esteem,

of grief and hope, in the face of death and eternity, is a custom

common to all civilized ages and nations. These epitaphs are limited by

space, and often provoke rather than satisfy curiosity, but contain

nevertheless in poetry or prose a vast amount of biographical and

historical information. Many a grave-yard is a broken record of the

church to which it belongs.

The Catacombs abound in such monumental inscriptions, Greek and Latin,

or strangely mixed (Latin words in Greek characters), often rudely

written, badly spelt, mutilated, and almost illegible, with and without

symbolical figures. The classical languages were then in a process of

decay, like classical eloquence and art, and the great majority of

Christians were poor and illiterate people. One name only is given in

the earlier epitaphs, sometimes the age, and the day of burial, but not

the date of birth.

More than fifteen thousand epitaphs have been collected, classified,

and explained by De Rossi from the first six centuries in Rome alone,

and their number is constantly increasing. Benedict XIV. founded, in

1750, a Christian Museum, and devoted a hill in the Vatican to the

collection of ancient sarcophagi. Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. patronized

it. In this Lapidarian Gallery the costly pagan and the simple

Christian inscriptions and sarcophagi confront each other on opposite

walls, and present a striking contrast. Another important collection is

in the Kircherian Museum, in the Roman College, another in the

Christian Museum of the University of Berlin. [541] 41 The entire field

of ancient epigraphy, heathen and Christian in Italy and other

countries, has been made accessible by the industry and learning of

Gruter, Muratori, Marchi, De Rossi, Le Blant, B�ckh, Kirchhoff, Orelli,

Mommsen, Henzen, H�bner, Waddington, McCaul.

The most difficult part of this branch of archaeology is the chronology

(the oldest inscriptions being mostly undated). [542] 42 Their chief

interest for the church historian is their religion, as far as it may

be inferred from a few words.

The key-note of the Christian epitaphs, as compared with the heathen,

is struck by Paul in his words of comfort to the Thessalonians, that

they should not sorrow like the heathen who have no hope, but remember

that, as Jesus rose from the dead, so God will raise them also that are

fallen asleep in Jesus.

Hence, while the heathen epitaphs rarely express a belief in

immortality, but often describe death as an eternal sleep, the grave as

a final home, and are pervaded by a tone of sadness, the Christian

epitaphs are hopeful and cheerful. The farewell on earth is followed by

a welcome from heaven. Death is but a short sleep; the soul is with

Christ and lives in God, the body waits for a joyful resurrection: this

is the sum and substance of the theology of Christian epitaphs. The

symbol of Christ (Ichthys) is often placed at the beginning or end to

show the ground of this hope. Again and again we find the brief, but

significant words: "in peace;" [543] 43 "he" or "she sleeps in peace;"

[544] 44 "live in God," or "in Christ;" "live forever." [545] 45 "He

rests well." "God quicken thy spirit." "Weep not, my child; death is

not eternal." "Alexander is not dead, but lives above the stars, and

his body rests in this tomb." [546] 46 "Here Gordian, the courier from

Gaul, strangled for the faith, with his whole family, rests in peace.

The maid servant, Theophila, erected this." [547] 47

At the same time stereotyped heathen epitaphs continued to be used but

of course not in a polytheistic sense), as "sacred to the funeral

gods," or "to the departed spirits." [548] 48 The laudatory epithets of

heathen epitaphs are rare, [549] 49 but simple terms of natural

affection very frequent, as "My sweetest child;" "Innocent little

lamb;" "My dearest husband;" "My dearest wife;" "My innocent dove;" "My

well-deserving father," or "mother." [550] 50 A. and B. "lived

together" (for 15, 20, 30, 50, or even 60 years) "without any complaint

or quarrel, without taking or giving offence." [551] 51 Such

commemoration of conjugal happiness and commendations of female

virtues, as modesty, chastity, prudence, diligence, frequently occur

also on pagan monuments, and prove that there were many exceptions to

the corruption of Roman society, as painted by Juvenal and the

satirists.

Some epitaphs contain a request to the dead in heaven to pray for the

living on earth. [552] 52 At a later period we find requests for

intercession in behalf of the departed when once, chiefly through the

influence of Pope Gregory I., purgatory became an article of general

belief in the Western church. [553] 53 But the overwhelming testimony

of the oldest Christian epitaphs is that the pious dead are already in

the enjoyment of peace, and this accords with the Saviour's promise to

the penitent thief, and with St. Paul's desire to depart and be with

Christ, which is far better. [554] 54 Take but this example: "Prima,

thou livest in the glory of God, and in the peace of our Lord Jesus

Christ." [555] 55

Notes.

I. Selection of Roman Epitaphs.

The following selection of brief epitaphs in the Roman catacombs is

taken from De Rossi, and Northcote, who give facsimiles of the original

Latin and Greek. Comp. also the photographic plates in Roller, vol. I.

Nos. X, XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII; and vol. II. Nos. LXI, LXII, LXV, and

LXVI.

1. To dear Cyriacus, sweetest son. Mayest thou live in the Holy Spirit.

2. Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. To Pastor, a good and innocent

son, who lived 4 years, 5 months and 26 days. Vitalis and Marcellina,

his parents.

3. In eternal sleep (somno aeternali). Aurelius Gemellus, who lived ...

years and 8 months and 18 days. His mother made this for her dearest

well-deserving son. In peace. I commend [to thee], Bassilla, the

innocence of Gemellus.

4. Lady Bassilla [= Saint Bassilla], we, Crescentius and Micina,

commend to thee our daughter Crescen [tina], who lived 10 months and

... days.

5. Matronata Matrona, who lived a year and 52 days. Pray for thy

parents.

6. Anatolius made this for his well-deserving son, who lived 7 years, 7

months and 20 days. May thy spirit rest well in God. Pray for thy

sister.

7. Regina, mayest thou live in the Lord Jesus (vivas in Domino Jesu).

8. To my good and sweetest husband Castorinus, who lived 61 years, 5

months and 10 days; well-deserving. His wife made this. Live in God!

9. Amerimnus to his dearest, well-deserving wife, Rufina. May God

refresh thy spirit.

10. Sweet Faustina, mayest thou live in God.

11. Refresh, O God, the soul of ....

12. Bolosa, may God refresh thee, who lived 31 years; died on the 19^th

of September. In Christ.

13. Peace to thy soul, Oxycholis.

14. Agape, thou shalt live forever.

15. In Christ. To Paulinus, a neophyte. In peace. Who lived 8 years.

16. Thy spirit in peace, Filmena.

17. In Christ. Aestonia, a virgin; a foreigner, who lived 41 years and

8 days. She departed from the body on the 26^th of February.

18. Victorina in peace and in Christ.

19. Dafnen, a widow, who whilst she lived burdened the church in

nothing.

20. To Leopardus, a neophyte, who lived 3 years, 11 months. Buried on

the 24^th of March. In peace.

21. To Felix, their well-deserving son, who lived 23 years and 10 days;

who went out of the world a virgin and a neophyte. In peace. His

parents made this. Buried on the 2^d of August.

22. Lucilianus to Bacius Valerius, who lived 9 years, 8 [months], 22

days. A catechumen.

23. Septimius Praetextatus Caecilianus, servant of God, who has led a

worthy life. If I have served Thee [O Lord], I have not repented, and I

will give thanks to Thy name. He gave up his soul to God (at the age

of) thirty-three years and six months. [In the crypt of St. Cecilia in

St. Callisto. Probably a member of some noble family, the third name is

mutilated. De Rossi assigns this epitaph to the beginning of the third

century.]

24. Cornelius. Martyr. Ep. [iscopus].

II. The Autun Inscription.

This Greek inscription was discovered a.d. 1839 in the cemetery Saint

Pierre l'Estrier near Autun (Augustodunum, the ancient capital of

Gallia Aeduensis), first made known by Cardinal Pitra, and thoroughly

discussed by learned archaeologists of different countries. See the

Spicilegium Solesmense (ed. by Pitra), vols. I.-III., Raf. Garrucci,

Monuments d' epigraphie ancienne, Paris 1856, 1857; P. Lenormant,

M�moire sur l' inscription d' Autun, Paris 1855; H. B. Marriott, The

Testimony of the Catacombs, Lond. 1870, pp. 113-188. The Jesuit fathers

Secchi and Garrucci find in it conclusive evidence of

transubstantiation and purgatory, but Marriott takes pains to refute

them. Comp. also Schultze, Katak. p. 118. The Ichthys-symbol figures

prominently in the inscription, and betrays an early origin, but

archaeologists differ: Pitra, Garrucci and others assign it to a.d.

160-202; Kirchhoff, Marriott, and Schultze, with greater probability,

to the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century,

Lenormant and Le Blant to the fifth or sixth. De Rossi observes that

the characters are not so old as the ideas which they express. The

inscription has some gaps which must be filled out by conjecture. It is

a memorial of Pectorius to his parents and friends, in two parts; the

first six lines are an acrostic (Ichthys), and contain words of the

dead (probably the mother); in the second part the son speaks. The

first seems to be older. Schultze conjectures that it is an old

Christian hymn. The inscription begins with Ichthuos a (uraniou hag)

ion (or perhaps theion) genos, and concludes with mneseo Pektoriou, who

prepared the monument for his parents. The following is the translation

(partly conjectural) of Marriott (l.c. 118):

'Offspring of the heavenly Ichthys, see that a heart of holy reverence

be thine, now that from Divine waters thou hast received, while yet

among mortals, a fount of life that is to immortality. Quicken thy

soul, beloved one, with ever-flowing waters of wealth-giving wisdom,

and receive the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints. Eat with

a longing hunger, holding Ichthys in thine hands.'

'To Ichthys ... Come nigh unto me, my Lord [and] Saviour [be thou my

Guide] I entreat Thee, Thou Light of them for whom the hour of death is

past.'

'Aschandius, my Father, dear unto mine heart, and thou [sweet Mother,

and all] that are mine ... remember Pectorius.'

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[541] Under the care of Professor Piper (a pupil of Neander), who even

before De Rossi introduced a scientific knowledge of the sepulchral

monuments and inscriptions. Comp. his "Monumental Theology," and his

essay "Ueber den kirchenhistorischen Gewinn aus Inschriften, in the

Jahrb�cher f. D. Theologie," 1875.

[542] De Rossi traces some up to the first century, but Renan

(Marc-Aur�le, p. 536) maintains: "Les inscriptions chr�tiennes des

catacombes ne remontent qu' au commencement du IIIesi�cle."

[543] In pace; en eirene. Frequent also in the Jewish cemeteries

(shalom).

[544] Dormit in pace; requiescit in pace; in pace Domini; koimatai en

eirene.The pagan formula "depositus" also occurs, but with an altered

meaning: a precious treasure intrusted to faithful keeping for a short

time.

[545] Vivas, orvive in Deo; vivas in aeternum; vivas inter sanctos.

Contrast with these the pagan declamations: Sit tibi terra levis; Ossa

tua bene quiescant Ave; Vale.

[546] This inscription in the cemetery of Callistus dates from the time

of persecution, probably in the third century, and alludes to it in

these words: "For while on his knees, and about to sacrifice to the

true God, he was led away to execution. O sad times! in which among

sacred rites and prayers, even in caverns, we are not safe. What can be

more wretched than such a life? and what than such a death? when they

cannot be buried by their friends and relations-still at the end they

shine like stars in heaven (tandem in caelo corruscant)." See Maitland,

The Church in the Cat., second ed. p. 40.

[547] This inscription is in Latin words, but in Greek uncial letters.

See Perret, II. 152, and Aringhi, p. 387.

[548] D. M. or D. M. S. =Dis Manibus sacrum (others explain: Deo Magno

or Maximo);memoriae aeterrae, etc. See Schultze, p. 250 sq. Sometimes

the monogram of Christ is inserted before S, and then the meaning may

be Deo Magno Christo Sacrum, or Christo Salvatori. So Northcote, p. 99,

who refers to Tit. 2:13.

[549] More frequent in those after the middle of the fourth century, as

inconparabilis, mirae sapientiae or innocentiae, rarissimi exempli,

eximiae bonitatis.

[550] Dulcis, dulcissimus, ordulcissima, carus, orcara, carissimus,

optimus, incomparabilis, famulus Dei, puella Deo placita, agathos,

hagios , theosebes, semnos, etc.

[551] Sine ulla querela, sine ulla contumelia, sine laesione animi,

sine ulla offensa, sine jurgio, sine lite motesta, etc.

[552] "Pete, or roga, ora, pro nobis, pro parentibus, pro conjuge, pro

filiis, pro sorore." These petitions are comparatively rare among the

thousands of undated inscriptions before Constantine, and mostly

confined to members of the family. The Autun inscription (probably from

the fourth century) ends with the petition of Pectorius to his departed

parents, to think of him as often as they look upon Christ. See

Marriott, p. 185.

[553] Dr. McCaul, of Toronto (as quoted in Smith and Cheetham, 1. 856)

says: I recollect but two examples in Christian epitaphs of the first

six centuries of the address to the reader for his prayers, so common

in mediaeval times."

[554] Luke 23:43; Phil. 1:23; 2 Cor. 5:8.

[555] Prima, vives in gloria Dei et in pace Domini nostri."Scratched in

the mortar round a grave in the cemetery of Thraso, in Rome, quoted by

Northcote, p. 89. He also quotes Paulinus of Nola, who represents a

whole host of saints going forth from heaven to receive the soul of St.

Felix as soon as it had left the body, and conducting it in triumph

before the throne of God. A distinction, however was made by Tertullian

and other fathers between Paradise or Abraham's bosom, whither the

pious go, and heaven proper. Comp. Roller's discussion of the idea of

refrigerium which often meets us in the epitaphs, Les Catacombes, I.

225 sqq.

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� 87. Lessons of the Catacombs.

The catacombs represent the subterranean Christianity of the

ante-Nicene age. They reveal the Christian life in the face of death

and eternity. Their vast extent, their solemn darkness, their

labyrinthine mystery, their rude epitaphs, pictures, and sculptures,

their relics of handicrafts worship, and martyrdom give us a lively and

impressive idea of the social and domestic condition, the poverty and

humility, the devotional spirit, the trials and sufferings, the faith

and hope of the Christians from the death of the apostles to the

conversion of Constantine. A modern visitor descending alive into this

region of the dead, receives the same impression as St. Jerome more

than fifteen centuries ago: he is overcome by the solemn darkness, the

terrible silence, and the sacred associations; only the darkness is

deeper, and the tombs are emptied of their treasures. "He who is

thoroughly steeped in the imagery of the catacombs," says Dean Stanley,

not without rhetorical exaggeration, "will be nearer to the thoughts of

the early church than he who has learned by heart the most elaborate

treatise even of Tertullian or of Origen." [556] 56

The discovery of this subterranean necropolis has been made unduly

subservient to polemical and apologetic purposes both by Roman Catholic

and Protestant writers. The former seek and find in it monumental

arguments for the worship of saints, images, and relics, for the cultus

of the Virgin Mary, the primacy of Peter, the seven sacraments, the

real presence, even for transubstantiation, and purgatory; while the

latter see there the evidence of apostolic simplicity of life and

worship, and an illustration of Paul's saying that God chose the

foolish, the weak, and the despised things of the world to put to shame

them that are wise and strong and mighty. [557] 57

A full solution of the controversial questions would depend upon the

chronology of the monuments and inscriptions, but this is exceedingly

uncertain. The most eminent archaeologists hold widely differing

opinions. John Baptist de Rossi of Rome, the greatest authority on the

Roman Catholic side, traces some paintings and epitaphs in the crypts

of St. Lucina and St. Domitilia back even to the close of the first

century or the beginning of the second. On the other hand, J. H.

Parker, of Oxford, an equally eminent archaeologist, maintains that

fully three-fourths of the fresco-paintings belong to the latest

restorations of the eighth and ninth centuries, and that "of the

remaining fourth a considerable number are of the sixth century." He

also asserts that in the catacomb pictures "there are no religious

subjects before the time of Constantine," that "during the fourth and

fifth centuries they are entirely confined to Scriptural subjects," and

that there is "not a figure of a saint or martyr before the sixth

century, and very few before the eighth, when they became abundant."

[558] 58 Renan assigns the earliest pictures of the catacombs to the

fourth century, very few (in Domitilla) to the third. [559] 59 Theodore

Mommsen deems De Rossi's argument for the early date of the Coemeterium

Domitillae before a.d. 95 inconclusive, and traces it rather to the

times of Hadrian and Pius than to those of the Flavian emperors. [560]

60

But in any case it is unreasonable to seek in the catacombs for a

complete creed any more than in a modern grave-yard. All we can expect

there is the popular elements of eschatology, or the sentiments

concerning death and eternity, with incidental traces of the private

and social life of those times. Heathen, Jewish, Mohammedan, and

Christian cemeteries have their characteristic peculiarities, yet all

have many things in common which are inseparable from human nature.

Roman Catholic cemeteries are easily recognized by crosses, crucifixes,

and reference to purgatory and prayers for the dead; Protestant

cemeteries by the frequency of Scripture passages in the epitaphs, and

the expressions of hope and joy in prospect of the immediate transition

of the pious dead to the presence of Christ. The catacombs have a

character of their own, which distinguishes them from Roman Catholic as

well as Protestant cemeteries.

Their most characteristic symbols and pictures are the Good Shepherd,

the Fish, and the Vine. These symbols almost wholly disappeared after

the fourth century, but to the mind of the early Christians they

vividly expressed, in childlike simplicity, what is essential to

Christians of all creeds, the idea of Christ and his salvation, as the

only comfort in life and in death. The Shepherd, whether from the

Sabine or the Galilean hills, suggested the recovery of the lost sheep,

the tender care and protection, the green pasture and fresh fountain,

the sacrifice of life: in a word, the whole picture of a Saviour. [561]

61 The popularity of this picture enables us to understand the immense

popularity of the Pastor of Hermas, a religious allegory which was

written in Rome about the middle of the second century, and read in

many churches till the fourth as a part of the New Testament (as in the

Sinaitic Codex). The Fish expressed the same idea of salvation, under a

different form, but only to those who were familiar with the Greek (the

anagrammatic meaning of Ichthys) and associated the fish with daily

food and the baptismal water of regeneration. The Vine again sets forth

the vital union of the believer with Christ and the vital communion of

all believers among themselves.

Another prominent feature of the catacombs is their hopeful and joyful

eschatology. They proclaim in symbols and words a certain conviction of

the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, rooted

and grounded in a living union with Christ in this world. [562] 62

These glorious hopes comforted and strengthened the early Christians in

a time of poverty, trial, and persecution. This character stands in

striking contrast with the preceding and contemporary gloom of

paganism, for which the future world was a blank, and with the

succeeding gloom of the mediaeval eschatology which presented the

future world to the most serious Christians as a continuation of penal

sufferings. This is the chief, we may say, the only doctrinal, lesson

of the catacombs.

On some other points they incidentally shed new light, especially on

the spread of Christianity and the origin of Christian art. Their

immense extent implies that Christianity was numerically much stronger

in heathen Rome than was generally supposed. [563] 63 Their numerous

decorations prove conclusively, either that the primitive Christian

aversion to pictures and sculptures, inherited from the Jews, was not

so general nor so long continued as might be inferred from some

passages of ante-Nicene writers, or, what is more likely, that the

popular love for art inherited from the Greeks and Romans was little

affected by the theologians, and ultimately prevailed over the scruples

of theorizers.

The first discovery of the catacombs was a surprise to the Christian

world, and gave birth to wild fancies about the incalculable number of

martyrs, the terrors of persecution, the subterranean assemblies of the

early Christians, as if they lived and died, by necessity or

preference, in darkness beneath the earth. A closer investigation has

dispelled the romance, and deepened the reality.

There is no contradiction between the religion of the ante-Nicene

monuments and the religion of the ante-Nicene literature. They

supplement and illustrate each other. Both exhibit to us neither the

mediaeval Catholic nor the modern Protestant, but the post-apostolic

Christianity of confessors and martyrs, simple, humble, unpretending,

unlearned, unworldly, strong in death and in the hope of a blissful

resurrection; free from the distinctive dogmas and usages of later

times; yet with that strong love for symbolism, mysticism, asceticism,

and popular superstitions which we find in the writings of Justin

Martyr, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen.

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[556] Study of Ecclesiastical History, prefixed to his Lectures on the

History of the Eastern Church, p. 59.

[557] The apologetic interest for Romanism is represented by Marchi, De

Rossi, Garrucci, Le Blant., D. de Richemond, Armellini, Bertoli,

Maurus, Wolter (Die r�m. Katakomben und die Sakramente der kath.

Kirche, 1866), Martigny (Dictionaire, etc., 1877), A. Kuhn (1877),

Northcote and Brownlow (1879), F. X. Kraus (Real=Encykl. der christl.

Alterth�mer, 1880 sqq.), Diepolder (1882), and among periodicals, by De

Rossi's Bulletino, theCivilt� Cattolica, the Revue de l'art chr�tien,

and the Revue arch�ologique. Among the Protestant writers on the

catacombs are Piper, Parker, Maitland, Lundy, Withrow, Becker, Stanley,

Schultze, Heinrici, and Roller. See among others: Heinrici, Zur Deutung

der Bildwerke altchristlicher Grabst�tten, in the "Studien und

Kritiken" for 1882, p. 720-743, and especially Piper, Monumentale

Theologie.

[558] Catacombs, Pref. p. xi. The writer of the article Catacombs in

the "Encycl. Brit." v. 214 (ninth ed.), is of the same opinion: "It is

tolerably certain that the existing frescos are restorations of the

eighth, or even a later century, from which the character of the

earlier work can only very imperfectly be discovered." He then refers

to Parker's invaluable photographs taken in the catacombs by magnesian

light, and condemns, with Milman, the finished drawings in Perret's

costly work as worthless to the historian, who wants truth and

fidelity.

[559] Marc-Aur�le, p. 543.

[560] "Contemp. Rev." for May, 1871, p. 170.

[561] Stanley, 1.c., p. 283: "What was the popular Religion of the

first Christians? It was, in one word, the Religion of the Good

Shepherd. The kindness, the courage, the grace, the love, the beauty of

the Good Shepherd was to them, if we may so say, Prayer Book and

Articles, Creeds and Canons, all in one. They looked on that figure,

and it conveyed to them all that they wanted. As ages passed on, the

Good Shepherd faded away from the mind of the Christian world, and

other emblems of the Christian faith have taken his place. Instead of

the gracious and gentle Pastor, there came the Omnipotent Judge or the

Crucified Sufferer, or the Infant in His Mother's arms, or the Master

in His Parting Supper, or the figures of innumerable saints and angels,

or the elaborate expositions of the various forms of theological

controversy."

[562] See the concluding chapter in the work of Roller, II. 347 sqq.

Raoul-Rochette characterizes the art of the Catacombs as "unsyst�me

d'illusions consolantes." Schultze sees in the sepulchral symbols

chiefly Auferstehungsgedanken and Auferstehungshoffnungen. Heinrici

dissents from him by extending the symbolism to the present life as a

life of hope in Christ. "Nicht der Gedanke an die Auferstehung des

Fleisches f�r sich, sondern die christliche Hoffnung �berhaupt, wie sie

aus der sicheren Lebensgemeinschaft mit Christus erbl�ht und Leben wie

Sterben des Gl�ubigen beherrscht, bedingt die Wahl der religi�s

bedeutsamen Bilder. Sie sind nicht Symbole der einstigen Auferstehung,

sondern des unverlierbaren Heilsbesitzes in Christus." ("Studien und

Krit." 1842, p. 729).

[563] Theodore Mommsen (in "The Contemp. Rev." for May, 1871, p. 167):

The enormous space occupied by the burial vaults of Christian Rome, in

their extent not surpassed even by the system of cloacae or sewers of

Republican Rome, is certainly the work of that community which St. Paul

addressed in his Epistle to the Romans--a living witness of its immense

development corresponding to the importance of the capital."

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CHAPTER VIII:

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN CONTRAST WITH PAGAN CORRUPTION.

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� 88. Literature.

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Justin. The practical treatises of Tertullian. The Epistles of Cyprian.

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ihrem lebendigen Glauben und heil. Leben. Frankf. 1696, and often

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49-107).

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� 89. Moral Corruption of the Roman Empire.

Besides the Lit. quoted in � 88, comp. the historical works on the

Roman Empire by Gibbon, Merivale, and Ranke; also J. J. A. Amp�re's

Histoire Romaine � Rome (1856-64, 4 vols.).

Friedlaender'sSittengeschichte Roms (from Augustus to the Antonines.

Leipzig, 3 vols., 5th ed. 1881); and Marquardt and Mommsen's Handbuch

der r�mischen Alterth�mer (Leipz. 1871, second ed. 1876, 7 vols.,

divided into Staatsrecht, Staatsverwaltung, Privatleben).

Christianity is not only the revelation of truth, but also the fountain

of holiness under the unceasing inspiration of the spotless example of

its Founder, which is more powerful than all the systems of moral

philosophy. It attests its divine origin as much by its moral workings

as by its pure doctrines. By its own inherent energy, without noise and

commotion, without the favor of circumstance--nay, in spite of all

possible obstacles, it has gradually wrought the greatest moral

reformation, we should rather say, regeneration of society which

history has ever seen while its purifying, ennobling, and cheering

effects upon the private life of countless individuals are beyond the

reach of the historian, though recorded in God's book of life to be

opened on the day of judgment.

To appreciate this work, we must first review the moral condition of

heathenism in its mightiest embodiment in history.

When Christianity took firm foothold on earth, the pagan civilization

and the Roman empire had reached their zenith. The reign of Augustus

was the golden age of Roman literature; his successors added Britain

and Dacia to the conquests of the Republic; internal organization was

perfected by Trajan and the Antonines. The fairest countries of Europe,

and a considerable part of Asia and Africa stood under one imperial

government with republican forms, and enjoyed a well-ordered

jurisdiction. Piracy on the seas was abolished; life and property were

secure. Military roads, canals, and the Mediterranean Sea facilitated

commerce and travel; agriculture was improved, and all branches of

industry flourished. Temples, theatres, aqueducts, public baths, and

magnificent buildings of every kind adorned the great cities;

institutions of learning disseminated culture; two languages with a

classic literature were current in the empire, the Greek in the East,

the Latin in the West; the book trade, with the manufacture of paper,

was a craft of no small importance, and a library belonged to every

respectable house. The book stores and public libraries were in the

most lively streets of Rome, and resorted to by literary people.

Hundreds of slaves were employed as scribes, who wrote simultaneously

at the dictation of one author or reader, and multiplied copies almost

as fast as the modern printing press. [564] 64 The excavations of

Pompeii and Herculaneum reveal a high degree of convenience and taste

in domestic life even in provincial towns; and no one can look without

amazement at the sublime and eloquent ruins of Rome, the palaces of the

Caesars, the Mausoleum of Hadrian, the Baths of Caracalla, the

Aqueducts, the triumphal arches and columns, above all the Colosseum,

built by Vespasian, to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, and for

more than eighty thousand spectators. The period of eighty-four years

from the accession of Nerva to the death of Marcus Aurelius has been

pronounced by high authority "the most happy and prosperous period in

the history of the world." [565] 65

But this is only a surface view. The inside did not correspond to the

outside. Even under the Antonines the majority of men groaned under the

yoke of slavery or poverty; gladiatorial shows brutalized the people;

fierce wars were raging on the borders of the empire; and the most

virtuous and peaceful of subjects--the Christians--had no rights, and

were liable at any moment to be thrown before wild beasts, for no other

reason than the profession of their religion. The age of the full bloom

of the Graeco-Roman power was also the beginning of its decline. This

imposing show concealed incurable moral putridity and indescribable

wretchedness. The colossal piles of architecture owed their erection to

the bloody sweat of innumerable slaves, who were treated no better than

so many beasts of burden; on the Flavian amphitheatre alone toiled

twelve thousand Jewish prisoners of war; and it was built to gratify

the cruel taste of the people for the slaughter of wild animals and

human beings made in the image of God. The influx of wealth from

conquered nations diffused the most extravagant luxury, which collected

for a single meal peacocks from Samos, pike from Pessinus, oysters from

Tarentum, dates from Egypt, nuts from Spain, in short the rarest dishes

from all parts of the world, and resorted to emetics to stimulate

appetite and to lighten the stomach. "They eat," says Seneca, "and then

they vomit; they vomit, and then they eat." Apicius, who lived under

Tiberius, dissolved pearls in the wine he drank, squandered an enormous

fortune on the pleasures of the table, and then committed suicide.

[566] 66 He found imperial imitators in Vitellius and Heliogabalus (or

Elaogabal). A special class of servants, the cosmetes, had charge of

the dress, the smoothing of the wrinkles, the setting of the false

teeth, the painting of the eye-brows, of wealthy patricians. Hand in

hand with this luxury came the vices of natural and even unnatural

sensuality, which decency forbids to name. Hopeless poverty stood in

crying contrast with immense wealth; exhausted provinces, with

revelling cities. Enormous taxes burdened the people, and misery was

terribly increased by war, pestilence, and famine. The higher or ruling

families were enervated, and were not strengthened or replenished by

the lower. The free citizens lost physical and moral vigor, and sank to

an inert mass. The third class was the huge body of slaves, who

performed all kinds of mechanical labor, even the tilling of the soil,

and in times of danger were ready to join the enemies of the empire. A

proper middle class of industrious citizens, the only firm basis of a

healthy community, cannot co�xist with slavery, which degrades free

labor. The army, composed largely of the rudest citizens and of

barbarians, was the strength of the nation, and gradually stamped the

government with the character of military despotism. The virtues of

patriotism, and of good faith in public intercourse, were extinct. The

basest avarice, suspicion and envy, usuriousness and bribery, insolence

and servility, everywhere prevailed.

The work of demoralizing the people was systematically organized and

sanctioned from the highest places downwards. There were, it is true,

some worthy emperors of old Roman energy and justice, among whom

Trajan, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius stand foremost; all honor

to their memory. But the best they could do was to check the process of

internal putrefaction, and to conceal the sores for a little while;

they could not heal them. Most of the emperors were coarse military

despots, and some of them monsters of wickedness. There is scarcely an

age in the history of the world, in which so many and so hideous vices

disgraced the throne, as in the period from Tiberius to Domitian, and

from Commodus to Galerius. "The annals of the emperors," says Gibbon,

"exhibit a strong and various picture of human nature, which we should

vainly seek among the mixed and doubtful characters of modern history.

In the conduct of those monarchs we may trace the utmost lines of vice

and virtue; the most exalted perfection and the meanest degeneracy of

our own species." [567] 67 "Never, probably," says Canon Farrar, "was

there any age or any place where the worst forms of wickedness were

practised with a more unblushing effrontery than in the city of Rome

under the government of the Caesars." [568] 68 We may not even except

the infamous period of the papal pornocracy, and the reign of Alexander

Borgia, which were of short duration, and excited disgust and

indignation throughout the church.

The Pagan historians of Rome have branded and immortalized the vices

and crimes of the Caesars: the misanthropy, cruelty, and voluptuousness

of Tiberius; the ferocious madness of Caius Caligula, who had men

tortured, beheaded, or sawed in pieces for his amusement, who seriously

meditated the butchery of the whole senate, raised his horse to the

dignity of consul and priest, and crawled under the bed in a storm; the

bottomless vileness of Nero, "the inventor of crime," who poisoned or

murdered his preceptors Burrhus and Seneca, his half-brother and

brother-in-law Britannicus, his mother Agrippina, his wife Octavia, his

mistress Poppaea, who in sheer wantonness set fire to Rome, and then

burnt innocent Christians for it as torches in his gardens, figuring

himself as charioteer in the infernal spectacle; the swinish gluttony

of Vitellins, who consumed millions of money in mere eating; the

refined wickedness of Domitian, who, more a cat than a tiger, amused

himself most with the torments of the dying and with catching flies;

the shameless revelry of Commodus with his hundreds of concubines, and

ferocious passion for butchering men and beasts on the arena; the mad

villainy of Heliogabalus, who raised the lowest men to the highest

dignities, dressed himself in women's clothes, married a dissolute boy

like himself, in short, inverted all the laws of nature and of decency,

until at last he was butchered with his mother by the soldiers, and

thrown into the muddy Tiber. And to fill the measure of impiety and

wickedness, such imperial monsters were received, after their death, by

a formal decree of the Senate, into the number of divinities and their

abandoned memory was celebrated by festivals, temples, and colleges of

priests! The emperor, in the language of Gibbon, was at once "a priest,

an atheist, and a god." Some added to it the dignity of amateur actor

and gladiator on the stage. Domitian, even in his lifetime, caused

himself to be called "Dominus et Deus noster," and whole herds of

animals to be sacrificed to his gold and silver statues. It is

impossible to imagine a greater public and official mockery of all

religion.

The wives and mistresses of the emperors were not much better. They

revelled in luxury and vice, swept through the streets in chariots

drawn by silver-shod mules, wasted fortunes on a single dress,

delighted in wicked intrigues, aided their husbands in dark crimes and

shared at last in their tragic fate, Messalina the wife of Claudius,

was murdered by the order of her husband in the midst of her nuptial

orgies with one of her favorites; and the younger Agrippina, the mother

of Nero, after poisoning her husband, was murdered by her own son, who

was equally cruel to his wives, kicking one of them to death when she

was in a state of pregnancy. These female monsters were likewise

deified, and elevated to the rank of Juno or Venus.

From the higher regions the corruption descended into the masses of the

people, who by this time had no sense for anything but "Panem et

Circenses," and, in the enjoyment of these, looked with morbid

curiosity and interest upon the most flagrant vices of their masters.

No wonder that Tacitus, who with terse eloquence and old Roman severity

exposes the monstrous character of Nero and other emperors to eternal

infamy, could nowhere, save perhaps among the barbarian Germans,

discover a star of hope, and foreboded the fearful vengeance of the

gods, and even the speedy destruction of the empire. And certainly

nothing could save it from final doom, whose approach was announced

with ever-growing distinctness by wars, insurrections, inundations,

earthquakes, pestilence, famine, irruption of barbarians, and prophetic

calamities of every kind. Ancient Rome, in the slow but certain process

of dissolution and decay, teaches the

"... sad moral of all human tales;

'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;

First freedom, and then glory--when that fails,

Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last."

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[564] Friedl�nder, III. 369 sqq. (5th ed.), gives much interesting

information about the book trade in Rome, which was far more extensive

than is generally supposed, and was facilitated by slave-labor. Books

were cheap. The first book of Martial (over 700 verses in 118 poems)

cost in the best outfit only 5 denarii (80 cts.). Julius Caesar

conceived the plan of founding public libraries, but was prevented from

carrying it into effect. In the fourth century there were no less than

twenty-eight public libraries in Rome. The ease and enjoyment of

reading, however, were considerably diminished by the many errors, the

absence of division and punctuation. Asinius Pollio introduced the

custom of public readings of new works before invited circles.

[565] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. III. Renan expresses the same view.

[566] Either from disgust of life, or because he thought he could not

live off the remaining ten million of sesterces, after he had wasted

sixty or a hundred million. Seneca, Ad Helv. x. 9. Heliogabalus chose

Apicius as his model. These, however, are exceptional cases, and became

proverbial. See on this whole subject of Roman luxury the third volume

of Friedlaender's Sittengeschichte, pp. 1-152. He rather modifies the

usual view, and thinks that Apicius had more imitators among French

epicures under Louis XIV., XV., and XVI. than among the Roman nobles,

and that some petty German princes of the eighteenth century, like King

August of Saxony (who wasted eighty thousand thalers on a single

opera), and Duke Karl of W�rttemberg, almost equalled the heathen

emperors in extravagance and riotous living, at the expense of their

poor subjects. The wealth of the old Romans was much surpassed by that

of some modern Russian and English noblemen, French bankers, and

American merchant princes, but had a much greater purchasing value. The

richest Romans were Ca. Lentulus, and Narcissus (a freedman of Nero),

and their fortune amounted to four hundred million sesterces (from

sixty-five to seventy million marks); while Mazarin left two hundred

million francs, Baron James Rothschild (d. 1868) two thousand million

francs (l.c. p. 13 sqq.). The architecture of the imperial age

surpassed all modern palaces in extravagance and splendor, but in parks

and gardens the modem English far surpass the ancient Romans (p. 78

sqq.).

[567] Decline and Fall, ch. III.

[568] Seekers after God, p. 37.

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� 90. Stoic Morality

ED. Zeller: The Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics. Translated from the

German by O. J. Reichel. London (Longman, Green & Co.), 1870. Chs.

x-xii treat of the Stoic Ethics and Religion.

F. W. Farrar (Canon of Westminster): Seekers a after God. London

(Macmillan & Co.), first ed. n. d. (1869), new ed. 1877 (Seneca,

Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, 336 pages).

Comp. also the essays on Seneca and Paul by Fleury, Aubertin, Baur,

Lightfoot, and Reuss (quoted in vol. I. 283).

Let us now turn to the bright side of heathen morals, as exhibited in

the teaching and example of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and

Plutarch--three pure and noble characters--one a slave, the second an

emperor, the third a man of letters, two of them Stoics, one a

Platonist. It is refreshing to look upon a few green spots in the moral

desert of heathen Rome. We may trace their virtue to the guidance of

conscience (the good demon of Socrates), or to the independent working

of the Spirit of God, or to the indirect influence of Christianity,

which already began to pervade the moral atmosphere beyond the limits

of the visible church, and to infuse into legislation a spirit of

humanity and justice unknown before, or to all these causes combined.

It is certain that there was in the second century a moral current of

unconscious Christianity, which met the stronger religious current of

the church and facilitated her ultimate victory.

It is a remarkable fact that two men who represent the extremes of

society, the lowest and the highest, were the last and greatest

teachers of natural virtue in ancient Rome. They shine like lone stars

in the midnight darkness of prevailing corruption. Epictetus the slave,

and Marcus Aurelius, the crowned ruler of an empire, are the purest

among the heathen moralists, and furnish the strongest "testimonies of

the naturally Christian soul."

Both belonged to the school of Zeno.

The Stoic philosophy was born in Greece, but grew into manhood in Rome.

It was predestinated for that stern, grave, practical, haughty,

self-governing and heroic character which from the banks of the Tiber

ruled over the civilized world. [569] 69 In the Republican period Cato

of Utica lived and died by his own hand a genuine Stoic in practice,

without being one in theory. Seneca, the contemporary of St. Paul, was

a Stoic in theory, but belied his almost Christian wisdom in practice,

by his insatiable avarice, anticipating Francis Bacon as "the wisest,

brightest, meanest of mankind." [570] 70 Half of his ethics is mere

rhetoric. In Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius the Stoic theory and

practice met in beautiful harmony, and freed from its most

objectionable features. They were the last and the best of that school

which taught men to live and to die, and offered an asylum for

individual virtue and freedom when the Roman world at large was rotten

to the core.

Stoicism is of all ancient systems of philosophy both nearest to, and

furthest from, Christianity: nearest in the purity and sublimity of its

maxims and the virtues of simplicity, equanimity, self-control, and

resignation to an all-wise Providence; furthest in the spirit of pride,

self-reliance, haughty contempt, and cold indifference. Pride is the

basis of Stoic virtue, while humility is the basis of Christian

holiness; the former is inspired by egotism, the latter by love to God

and man; the Stoic feels no need of a Saviour, and calmly resorts to

suicide when the house smokes; while the Christian life begins with a

sense of sin, and ends with triumph over death; the resignation of the

Stoic is heartless apathy and a surrender to the iron necessity of

fate; the resignation of the Christian, is cheerful submission to the

will of an all-wise and all-merciful Father in heaven; the Stoic sage

resembles a cold, immovable statue, the Christian saint a living body,

beating in hearty sympathy with every joy and grief of his fellow-men.

At best, Stoicism is only a philosophy for the few, while Christianity

is a religion for all.

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[569] Zeller, l.c. p. 37: "Nearly all the most important Stoics before

the Christian era belong by birth to Asia Minor, to Syria, and to the

islands of the Eastern Archipelago. Then follow a line of Roman Stoics,

among whom the Phrygian Epictetus occupies a prominent place; but

Greece proper is exclusively represented by men of third or fourth-rate

capacity."

[570] Niebuhr says of Seneca: "He acted on the principle that he could

dispense with the laws of morality which he laid down for others."

Macaulay: "The business of the philosopher was to declaim in praise of

poverty, with two millions sterling at usury; to meditate epigrammatic

conceits about the evils of luxury in gardens which moved the envy of

sovereigns; to rant about liberty while fawning on the insolent and

pampered freedman of a tyrant; to celebrate the divine beauty of virtue

with the same pen which had just before written a defense of the murder

of a mother by a son." Farrar (l.c. p. 161): "In Seneca's life, we see

as clearly as in those of many professed Christians, that it is

impossible to be at once worldly and righteous. His utter failure was

due to the vain attempt to combine in his own person two opposite

characters--that of a Stoic and that of a courtier .... In him we see

some of the most glowing pictures of the nobility of poverty combined

with the most questionable avidity in the pursuit of wealth." For a

convenient collection of Seneca's resemblances to Scripture, see

Farrar, ch. XV., 174-185. The most striking passages are: "A sacred

spirit dwells within us, the observer and guardian of all our evil and

our good ... there is no good man without God."Ep. ad Lucil. 41. Comp.

1 Cor. 3:16."Not one of us is without fault ... no man is found who can

acquit himself." De Ira I.14; II. 27. Comp. 1 John 1:8. "Riches ....

the greatest source of human trouble. "De Tranqu. An. 8. Comp. 1 Tim.

6:10 ."You must live for another, if you wish to live for yourself."Ep.

48. Comp. Rom. 12:10. "Let him who hath conferred a favor hold his

tongue." De Benef. II.11 Comp. Matt. 6:3.

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� 91. Epictetus.

Epicteti. Dissertationum ab Arriano digestarum Libri IV. Euiusdem

Enchiridion et ex deperditis Sermonibus Fragmenta ... recensuit ...

Joh. Schweigh�user. Lips. 1799, 1800. 5 vols. The Greek text with a

Latin version and notes.

The Works of Epictetus. Consisting of his Discourses, in four books,

the Enchiridion, and Fragments. A translation from the Greek, based on

that of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson. Boston

(Little, Brown & Co.), 1865. A fourth ed. of Mrs. Carter's translation

was published in 1807 with introduction and notes.

The Discourses of Epictetus, with the Enchiridion and Fragments.

Translated, with Notes, etc., by George Long. London (George Bell &

Sons), 1877.

There are also other English, as well as German and French, versions.

Epictetus was born before the middle of the first century, at

Hierapolis, a city in Phrygia, a few miles from Colossae and Laodicea,

well known to us from apostolic history. He was a compatriot and

contemporary of Epaphras, a pupil of Paul, and founder of Christian

churches in that province. [571] 71 There is a bare possibility that he

had a passing acquaintance with him, if not with Paul himself. He came

as a slave to Rome with his master, Epaphroditus, a profligate freedman

and favorite of Nero (whom he aided in committing suicide), and was

afterwards set at liberty. He rose above his condition. "Freedom and

slavery," he says in one of his Fragments, "are but names of virtue and

of vice, and both depend upon the will. No one is a slave whose will is

free." He was lame in one foot and in feeble health. The lameness, if

we are to credit the report of Origen, was the result of ill treatment,

which he bore heroically. When his master put his leg in the torture,

he quietly said: "You will break my leg;" and when the leg was broken,

he added: "Did I not tell you so?" This reminds one of Socrates who is

reported to have borne a scolding and subsequent shower from Xantippe

with the cool remark: After the thunder comes the rain. Epictetus heard

the lectures of Musonius Rufus, a distinguished teacher of the Stoic

philosophy under Nero and Vespasian, and began himself to teach. He was

banished from Rome by Domitian, with all other philosophers, before

a.d. 90. He settled for the rest of his life in Nicopolis, in Southern

Epirus, not far from the scene of the battle of Actium. There he

gathered around him a large body of pupils, old and young, rich and

poor, and instructed them, as a second Socrates, by precept and

example, in halls and public places. The emperor Hadrian is reported to

have invited him back to Rome (117), but in vain. The date of his death

is unknown.

Epictetus led from principle and necessity a life of poverty and

extreme simplicity, after the model of Diogenes, the arch-Cynic. His

only companions were an adopted child with a nurse. His furniture

consisted of a bed, a cooking vessel and earthen lamp. Lucian ridicules

one of his admirers, who bought the lamp for three thousand drachmas,

in the hope of becoming a philosopher by using it. Epictetus

discouraged marriage and the procreation of children. Marriage might do

well in a "community of wise men," but "in the present state of

things," which he compared to "an army in battle array," it is likely

to withdraw the philosopher from the service of God. [572] 72 This

view, as well as the reason assigned, resembles the advice of St. Paul,

with the great difference, that the apostle had the highest conception

of the institution of marriage as reflecting the mystery of Christ's

union with the church. "Look at me," says Epictetus, "who am without a

city, without a house, without possessions, without a slave; I sleep on

the ground; I have no wife, no children, no praetorium, but only the

earth and the heavens, and one poor cloak. And what do I want? Am I not

without sorrow? Am I not without fear? Am I not free? ... Did I ever

blame God or man? ... Who, when he sees me, does not think that he sees

his king and master?" His epitaph fitly describes his character: "I was

Epictetus, a slave, and maimed in body, and a beggar for poverty, and

dear to the immortals."

Epictetus, like Socrates, his great exemplar, wrote nothing himself,

but he found a Xenophon. His pupil and friend, Flavius Arrianus, of

Nicomedia, in Bithynia, the distinguished historian of Alexander the

Great, and a soldier and statesman under Hadrian, handed to posterity a

report of the oral instructions and familiar conversations (diatribai)

of his teacher. Only four of the original eight books remain. He also

collected his chief maxims in a manual (Enchiridion). His biography of

that remarkable man is lost.

Epictetus starts, like Zeno and Cleanthes, with a thoroughly practical

view of philosophy, as the art and exercise of virtue, in accordance

with reason and the laws of nature. He bases virtue on faith in God, as

the supreme power of the universe, who directs all events for

benevolent purposes. The philosopher is a teacher of righteousness, a

physician and surgeon of the sick who feel their weakness, and are

anxious to be cured. He is a priest and messenger of the gods to erring

men, that they might learn to be happy even in utter want of earthly

possessions. If we wish to be good, we must first believe that we are

bad. Mere knowledge without application to life is worthless. Every man

has a guardian spirit, a god within him who never sleeps, who always

keeps him company, even in solitude; this is the Socratic daimonion,

the personified conscience. We must listen to its divine voice. "Think

of God more often than you breathe. Let discourse of God be renewed

daily, more surely than your food." The sum of wisdom is to desire

nothing but freedom and contentment, and to bear and forbear. All

unavoidable evil in the world is only apparent and external, and does

not touch our being. Our happiness depends upon our own will, which

even Zeus cannot break. The wise man joyously acquiesces in what he

cannot control, knowing that an all-wise Father rules the whole. "We

ought to have these two rules always in readiness: that there is

nothing good or evil except in the will; and that we ought not to lead

events, but to follow them." [573] 73 If a brother wrongs me, that is

his fault; my business is to conduct myself rightly towards him. The

wise man is not disturbed by injury and injustice, and loves even his

enemies. All men are brethren and children of God. They own the whole

world; and hence even banishment is no evil. The soul longs to be freed

from the prison house of the body and to return to God.

Yet Epictetus does not clearly teach the immortality of the soul. He

speaks of death as a return to the elements in successive

conflagrations. Seneca approaches much more nearly the Platonic and

Socratic, we may say Christian, view of immortality. The prevailing

theory of the Stoics was, that at the end of the world all individual

souls will be resolved into the primary substance of the Divine Being.

[574] 74

Epictetus nowhere alludes directly to Christianity, but he speaks once

of "Galileans," who by enthusiasm or madness were free from all fear.

[575] 75 He often recurs to his predecessors, Socrates, Diogenes, Zeno,

Musonius Rufus. His ethical ideal is a cynic philosopher, naked,

penniless, wifeless, childless, without want or desire, without passion

or temper, kindly, independent, contented, imperturbable, looking

serenely or indifferently at life and death. It differs as widely from

the true ideal as Diogenes who lived in a tub, and sought with a

lantern in daylight for "a man," differs from Christ who, indeed, had

not where to lay his head, but went about doing good to the bodies and

souls of men.

Owing to the purity of its morals, the Enchiridion of Epictetus was a

favorite book. Simplicius, a Neo-Platonist, wrote an elaborate

commentary on it; and monks in the middle ages reproduced and

Christianized it. Origen thought Epictetus had done more good than

Plato. Niebuhr says: "His greatness cannot be questioned, and it is

impossible for any person of sound mind not to be charmed by his

works." Higginson says: "I am acquainted with no book more replete with

high conceptions of the deity and noble aims of man." This is, of

course, a great exaggeration, unless the writer means to confine his

comparison to heathen works.

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[571] Col. 1:7; 4:12, 13.

[572] Disc. III. 22. Comp. 1 Cor. 7:35; but also Eph. 5:28-33. Farrar,

l.c., p. 213, thinks that the philosopher and the apostle agree in

recommending celibacy as "a counsel of perfection." But this is the

Roman Catholic, not the Scripture view.

[573] Discourses, III. 10. Here E. discusses the manner in which we

ought to bear sickness.

[574] The only point about which the Stoics were undecided was whether

all souls would last until that time as separate souls, or whether, as

Chrysippus held, only the souls of the wise would survive."Zeller,

l.c., p. 205.

[575] Disc. IV. 7: "Through madness (hupo manias) it is possible for a

man to be so disposed towards these things and through habit (hupo

ethous), as the Galileans." By Galileans he no doubt means Christians,

and the allusion is rather contemptuous, like the allusion of Marcus

Aurelius to the martyrs, with this difference that the emperor

attributes to obstinacy what Epictetus attributes to "habit." But

Schweigh�user (II. 913 sq.) suspects that the reading hupo ethous is

false, and that Arrian wrote hupo aponoias , hos hoi Gal., so that,

Epictetus ascribed to the Christians fury and desperation or dementia.

To the Greeks the gospel is foolishness, 1 Cor. 1:22.

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� 92. Marcus Aurelius.

Markou Antoninou tou autokratoros ton eis heauton biblia ib' (De Rebus

suis libri xii). Ed. by Thomas Gataker, with a Latin Version and Notes

(including those of Casaubon). Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1697, 2 vols. fol.

The second vol. contains critical dissertations. (The first ed.

appeared at Cambridge, 1652, in 1 vol.) English translation by George

Long, revised ed. London, 1880.

See the liter. quoted in � 20, above (especially Renan's Marc. Aur�le,

1882).

Marcus Aurelius, the last and best representative of Stoicism, ruled

the Roman Empire for twenty years (a.d. 161-180) at the height of its

power and prosperity. He was born April 26, 121, in Rome, and carefully

educated and disciplined in Stoic wisdom. Hadrian admired him for his

good nature, docility, and veracity, and Antoninus Pius adopted him as

his son and successor. He learned early to despise the vanities of the

world, maintained the simplicity of a philosopher in the splendor of

the court, and found time for retirement and meditation amid the cares

of government and border wars, in which he was constantly engaged.

Epictetus was his favorite author. He left us his best thoughts, a sort

of spiritual autobiography, in the shape of a diary which he wrote, not

without some self-complacency, for his own improvement and enjoyment

during the last years of his life (172-175) in the military camp among

the barbarians. He died in Panonia of the pestilence which raged in the

army (March 17, 180). [576] 76 His last words were: "Weep not for me,

weep over the pestilence and the general misery, [577] 77 and save the

army. Farewell!" He dismissed his servants and friends, even his son,

after a last interview, and died alone.

The philosophic emperor was a sincere believer in the gods, their

revelations and all-ruling providence. His morality and religion were

blended. But he had no clear views of the divinity. He alternately uses

the language of the polytheist, the deist, and the pantheist. He

worshipped the deity of the universe and in his own breast. He thanks

the gods for his good parents and teachers, for his pious mother, for a

wife, whom he blindly praises as "amiable, affectionate, and pure," and

for all the goods of life. His motto was "never to wrong any man in

deed or word." [578] 78 He claimed no perfection, yet was conscious of

his superiority, and thankful to the gods that he was better than other

men. He traced the sins of men merely to ignorance and error. He was

mild, amiable, and gentle; in these respects the very reverse of a hard

and severe Stoic, and nearly approaching a disciple of Jesus. We must

admire his purity, truthfulness, philanthropy, conscientious devotion

to duty, his serenity of mind in the midst of the temptations of power

and severe domestic trials, and his resignation to the will of

providence. He was fully appreciated in his time, and universally

beloved by his subjects. We may well call him among the heathen the

greatest and best man of his age. [579] 79 "It seems" (says an able

French writer, Martha), "that in him the philosophy of heathenism grows

less proud, draws nearer and nearer to a Christianity which it ignored

or which it despised, and is ready to fling itself into the arms of the

'Unknown God.' In the sad Meditations of Aurelius we find a pure

serenity, sweetness, and docility to the commands of God, which before

him were unknown, and which Christian grace has alone surpassed. If he

has not yet attained to charity in all that fullness of meaning which

Christianity has given to the world, he already gained its unction, and

one cannot read his book, unique in the history of Pagan philosophy,

without thinking of the sadness of Pascal and the gentleness of

F�n�lon."

The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius are full of beautiful moral maxims,

strung together without system. They bear a striking resemblance to

Christian ethics. They rise to a certain universalism and

humanitarianism which is foreign to the heathen spirit, and a prophecy

of a new age, but could only be realized on a Christian basis. Let us

listen to some of his most characteristic sentiments:

"It is sufficient to attend to the demon [the good genius] within, and

to reverence it sincerely. And reverence for the demon consists in

keeping it pure from passion and thoughtlessness and dissatisfaction

with what comes from God and men." [580] 80 "Do not act as if thou wert

going to live ten thousand years. Death hangs over thee. While thou

livest, while it is in thy power, be good." [581] 81 "Do not disturb

thyself. Make thyself all simplicity. Does any one do wrong? It is to

himself that he does the wrong. Has anything happened to thee? Well;

out of the universe from the beginning everything which happens has

been apportioned and spun out to thee. In a word, thy life is short.

Thou must turn to profit the present by the aid of reason and justice.

Be sober in thy relaxation. Either it is a well-arranged universe or a

chaos huddled together, but still a universe." [582] 82 "A man must

stand erect, and not be kept erect by others ." [583] 83 Have I done

something for the general interest? Well, then, I have had my reward.

Let this always be present to my mind, and never stop [doing good]."

[584] 84 "What is thy art? to be good." [585] 85 "It is a man's duty to

comfort himself and to wait for the natural dissolution, and not to be

vexed at the delay." [586] 86 "O Nature: from thee are all things, in

thee are all things, to thee all things return." [587] 87 "Willingly

give thyself up to Clotho" [one of the fates], "allowing her to spin

thy thread into whatever things she pleases. Every thing is only for a

day, both that which remembers and that which is remembered." [588] 88

"Consider that before long thou wilt be nobody and nowhere, nor will

any of the things exist which thou now seest, nor any of those who are

now living. For all things are formed by nature to change and be

turned, and to perish, in order that other things in continuous

succession may exist." [589] 89 "It is best to leave this world as

early as possible, and to bid it friendly farewell." [590] 90

These reflections are pervaded by a tone of sadness; they excite

emotion, but no enthusiasm; they have no power to console, but leave an

aching void, without hope of an immortality, except a return to the

bosom of mother nature. They are the rays of a setting, not of a

rising, sun; they are the swansong of dying Stoicism. The end of that

noble old Roman was virtually the end of the antique world. [591] 91

The cosmopolitan philosophy of Marcus Aurelius had no sympathy with

Christianity, and excluded from its embrace the most innocent and most

peaceful of his subjects. He makes but one allusion to the Christians,

and unjustly traces their readiness for martyrdom to "sheer obstinacy"

and a desire for "theatrical display." [592] 92 He may have had in view

some fanatical enthusiasts who rushed into the fire, like Indian

gymnosophists, but possibly such venerable martyrs as Polycarp and

those of Southern Gaul in his own reign. Hence the strange phenomenon

that the wisest and best of Roman emperors permitted (we cannot say,

instigated, or even authorized) some of the most cruel persecutions of

Christians, especially in Lugdunum and Vienne. We readily excuse him on

the ground of ignorance. He probably never saw the Sermon on the Mount,

nor read any of the numerous Apologies addressed to him.

But persecution is not the only blot on his reputation. He wasted his

affections upon a vicious and worthless son, whom he raised in his

fourteenth year to full participation of the imperial power, regardless

of the happiness of millions, and upon a beautiful but faithless and

wicked wife, whom he hastened after her death to cover with divine

honors. His conduct towards Faustina was either hypocritical or

unprincipled. [593] 93 After her death he preferred a concubine to a

second wife and stepmother of his children.

His son and successor left the Christians in peace, but was one of the

worst emperors that disgraced the throne, and undid all the good which

his father had done. [594] 94

Aristotle was the teacher of Alexander; Seneca, the teacher of Nero;

Marcus Aurelius, the father of Commodus.

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[576] According to less probable accounts he died of suicide, or of

poison administered to him by order of his son, Commodus. See Renan, p.

485.

[577] "Quid me fletis, et non magis de pestilentia et communi morte

cogitatis?" Capitolinus, M. Aurelius.

[578] Medit. v. 31.

[579] So Renan, Marc-Aur�le, p. 488, without qualification: "Avec lui,

la philosophie a r�gn�. Un moment, gr�ce � lui, le monde a �t� gouvern�

par l'homme le meilleur et le plus grand de son si�cle." But elsewhere

he puts Antoninus Pius above Aurelius. "Of the two, " he says

(Conf�rences d'Angleterre, translated by Clara Erskine Clement, p. 140

sq.): "I consider Antonine the greatest. His goodness did not lead him

into faults: he was not tormented with that internal trouble which

disturbed, without ceasing, the heart of his adopted son. This strange

malady, this restless study of himself, this demon of scrupulousness,

this fever of perfection, are signs of a less strong and distinguished

nature. As the finest thoughts are those which are not written,

Antonins had in this respect also a superiority over Marcus Aurelius.

But let us add, that we should be ignorant of Antonine, if Marcus

Aurelius had not transmitted to us that exquisite portrait of his

adopted father, in which he seems to have applied himself through

humility, to painting the picture of a better man than himself."

[580] Medit. II. 13.

[581] IV. 17.

[582] IV. 26, 27.

[583] III. 5

[584] IX. 4.

[585] . IX. 5.

[586] V. 10.

[587] IV. 23.

[588] IV. 34, 35.

[589] XII. 21.

[590] IX. 2, 3; XI. 3.

[591] The significant title of Renan's book is Marc-Aur�le et la fin du

monde antique.

[592] XI. 3: "What a soul that is which is ready, if at any moment it

must be separated from the body, and ready either to be extinguished or

dispersed, or continue to exist; but so that this readiness comes from

a man's own judgment, not from mere obstinacy, as with the Christians,

but considerately and with dignity, and in a way to persuade another

without scenic show (atragodos)." I have availed myself in these

extracts of Long's excellent translation, but compared them with the

Greek original in Gataker's edition.

[593] At his earnest request the obsequious Senate declared Faustina a

goddess; she was represented in her temples with the attributes of

Juno, Venus, and Ceres; and it was decreed that on the day of their

nuptials the youth of both sexes should pay their vows before the altar

of this adulterous woman. See Gibbon, ch. IV. A bas-relief in the

museum of the Capitol at Rome represents Faustina borne to heaven by a

messenger of the gods, and her husband looking at her with admiration

and love. Renan apologizes for his favorite hero on the ground of the

marvellous beauty of Faustina, and excuses her, because she naturally

grew tired of the dull company of an ascetic philosopher!

[594] Renan thus describes the sudden relapse (p. 490): "Horrible

d�ception pourles gens de bien! Tant de vertu, tant d'amour

n'aboutissant qu'� mettre le monde entre les mains d'un �quarrisseur de

b�tes, d'un gladiateur ! Apr�s cette belle apparition d'un monde

�lys�en sur la terre, retomber dans l'enfer des C�sars, qu'on

croyaitferm� pour toujours ! La foi dans le bien fut alors perdue.

Apr�s Caligula, apr�s N�ron, apr�s Domitien, on avait pu esp�rer

encore. Les exp�riences n' avaient pas �t� d�cisives. Maintenant, c'est

apr�s le plus grand effort de rationalisme gouvernemental, opr�s

quatre-ving quatre ans d'un r�gime excellent, apr�s Nerva, Trajan,

Adrien, Antonin., Marc-Aur�le, que le r�gne du mal recommence, pire que

jamais. Adieu, verta; adieu, raison. Puisque Marc-Aur�le n'a pas pu

sauver le monde, qui le sauvera?"

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� 93. Plutarch.

Ploutarchou tou Chaironeos ta Ethika. Ed. Tauchnitz Lips. The same with

a Latin version and notes in

Plutarchi Chaeronensis Moralia, id est, Opera, exceptis vitis, reliqua.

Ed. by Daniel Wyttenbach. Oxon. 1795-1800, 8 vols. (including 2 Index

vols.). French ed. by D�bner, in the Didot collection.

Plutarch's Morals. Translated from the Greek by several Hands. London,

1684-'94, 5th ed. 1718. The same as corrected and revised by William W.

Goodwin (Harvard University). With an introduction by Ralph Waldo

Emerson. Boston, 1870, 5 vols.

Octave Greard: De la moralit� de Plutarque. Paris, 1866.

Richard Chenevix Trench (Archbishop of Dublin): Plutarch, his life, his

Parallel Lives, and his Morals. London (Macmillan & Co.), 2nd ed. 1874.

W. M�ller: Ueber die Religion des Plutarch. Kiel, 1881.

Julia Wedgwood: Plutarch and the unconscious Christianity of the first

two centuries. In the "Contemporary Review" for 1881, pp. 44-60.

Equally remarkable, as a representative of "unconscious Christianity"

and "seeker after the unknown God" though from a different

philosophical standpoint, is the greatest biographer and moralist of

classical antiquity.

It is strange that Plutarch's contemporaries are silent about him. His

name is not even mentioned by any Roman writer. What we know of him is

gathered from his own works. He lived between a.d. 50 and 125, mostly

in his native town of Chaeroneia, in Boeotia, as a magistrate and

priest of Apollos. He was happily married, and had four sons and a

daughter, who died young. His Conjugal Precepts are full of good advice

to husbands and wives. The letter of consolation he addressed to his

wife on the death of a little daughter, Timoxena, while she was absent

from home, gives us a favorable impression of his family life, and

expresses his hope of immortality. "The souls of infants," he says at

the close of this letter, "pass immediately into a better and more

divine state." He spent some time in Rome (at least twice, probably

under Vespasian and Domitian), lectured on moral philosophy to select

audiences, and collected material for his Parallel Lives of Greeks and

Romans. He was evidently well-bred, in good circumstances, familiar

with books, different countries, and human nature and society in all

its phases. In his philosophy he stands midway between Platonism and

Neo-Platonism. He was "a Platonist with an Oriental tinge." [595] 95 He

was equally opposed to Stoic pantheism and Epicurean naturalism, and

adopted the Platonic dualism of God and matter. He recognized a supreme

God, and also the subordinate divinities of the Hellenic religion. The

gods are good, the demons are divided between good and bad, the human

soul combines both qualities. He paid little attention to metaphysics,

and dwelt more on the practical questions of philosophy, dividing his

labors between historical and moral topics. He was an utter stranger to

Christianity, and therefore neither friendly nor hostile. There is in

all his numerous writings not a single allusion to it, although at his

time there must have been churches in every considerable city of the

empire. He often speaks of Judaism, but very superficially, and may

have regarded Christianity as a Jewish sect. But his moral philosophy

makes a very near approach to Christian ethics.

His aim, as a writer, was to show the greatness in the acts and in the

thoughts of the ancients, the former in his "Parallel Lives," the

latter in his "Morals," and by both to inspire his contemporaries to

imitation. They constitute together an encyclopaedia of well-digested

Greek and Roman learning. He was not a man of creative genius, but of

great talent, extensive information, amiable, spirit, and universal

sympathy. Emerson calls him "the chief example of the illumination of

the intellect by the force of morals." [596] 96

Plutarch endeavored to build up morality on the basis of religion. He

is the very opposite of Lucian, who as an architect of ruin, ridiculed

and undermined the popular religion. He was a strong believer in God,

and his argument against atheism is well worth quoting." There has

never been," he says, "a state of atheists. You may travel over the

world, and you may find cities without walls, without king, without

mint, without theatre or gymnasium; but you will never find a city

without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner

may a city stand without foundations, than a state without belief in

the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all

legislation." [597] 97

In his treatise on The Wrong Fear of the Gods, he contrasts

superstition with atheism as the two extremes which often meet, and

commends piety or the right reverence of the gods as the golden mean.

Of the two extremes he deems superstition the worse, because it makes

the gods capricious, cruel, and revengeful, while they are friends of

men, saviours (soteres), and not destroyers. (Nevertheless

superstitious people can more easily be converted to true faith than

atheists who have destroyed all religious instincts.)

His remarkable treatise on The Delays of Divine Justice in punishing

the wicked, [598] 98 would do credit to any Christian theologian. It is

his solution of the problem of evil, or his theodicy. He discusses the

subject with several of his relatives (as Job did with his friends),

and illustrates it by examples. He answers the various objections which

arise from the delay of justice and vindicates Providence in his

dealings with the sinner. He enjoins first modesty and caution in view

of our imperfect knowledge. God only knows best when and how and how

much to punish. He offers the following considerations: 1) God teaches

us to moderate our anger, and never to punish in a passion, but to

imitate his gentleness and forbearance. 2) He gives the wicked an

opportunity to repent and reform. 3) He permits them to live and

prosper that he may use them as executioners of his justice on others.

He often punishes the sinner by the sinner. 4) The wicked are sometimes

spared that they may bless the world by a noble posterity. 5)

Punishment is often deferred that the hand of Providence may be more

conspicuous in its infliction. Sooner or later sin will be punished, if

not in this world, at least in the future world, to which Plutarch

points as the final solution of the mysteries of Providence. He looked

upon death as a good thing for the good soul, which shall then live

indeed; while the present life "resembles rather the vain illusions of

some dream."

The crown of Plutarch's character is his humility, which was so very

rare among ancient philosophers, especially the Stoics, and which comes

from true self-knowledge. He was aware of the native depravity of the

soul, which he calls "a storehouse and treasure of many evils and

maladies." [599] 99 Had he known the true and radical remedy for sin,

he would no doubt have accepted it with gratitude.

We do not know how far the influence of these saints of ancient

paganism, as we may call Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and Plutarch,

extended over the heathens of their age, but we do know that their

writings had and still have an elevating and ennobling effect upon

Christian readers, and hence we may infer that their teaching and

example were among the moral forces that aided rather than hindered the

progress and final triumph of Christianity. But this religion alone

could bring about such a general and lasting moral reform as they

themselves desired.

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[595] So Trench calls him, l.c. p. 112. The best account of his

philosophy is given by Zeller in his Philosophie der Griechen, Part

III., 141-182; and more briefly by Ueberweg, Hist. of Phil. (Eng. Ver.)

I. 234-236.

[596] Introduction to Goodwin's ed. p. xi.

[597] Adv. Colotem (an Epicurean), c. 31 (Moralia, ed. Tauchnitz, VI.

265).

[598] � De Sera Numinis Vindicta. in Goodwin's ed. vol. IV. 140-188.

[599] Poikilon ti kai polupathes kakon tameion thesaurisma, hos phesi

Demokritos. Animi ne an corporis affectiones sint pejores, c. 2 (in

Wyttenbach's ed. Tom. III. p. 17).

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� 94. Christian Morality.

The ancient world of classic heathenism, having arrived at the height

of its glory, and at the threshold of its decay, had exhausted all the

resources of human nature left to itself, and possessed no recuperative

force, no regenerative principle. A regeneration of society could only

proceed from religion. But the heathen religion had no restraint for

vice, no comfort for the poor and oppressed; it was itself the muddy

fountain of immorality. God, therefore, who in his infinite mercy

desired not the destruction but the salvation of the race, opened in

the midst of this hopeless decay of a false religion a pure fountain of

holiness, love, and peace, in the only true and universal religion of

his Son Jesus Christ.

In the cheerless waste of pagan corruption the small and despised band

of Christians was an oasis fresh with life and hope. It was the salt of

the earth, and the light of the world. Poor in this world's goods, it

bore the imperishable treasures of' the kingdom of heaven. Meek and

lowly in heart, it was destined, according to the promise of the Lord

without a stroke of the sword, to inherit the earth. In submission it

conquered; by suffering and death it won the crown of life.

The superiority of the principles of Christian ethics over the heathen

standards of morality even under its most favorable forms is

universally admitted. The superiority of the example of Christ over all

the heathen sages is likewise admitted. The power of that peerless

example was and is now as great as the power of his teaching. It is

reflected in every age and every type of purity and goodness. But every

period, while it shares in the common virtues and graces, has its

peculiar moral physiognomy. The ante-Nicene age excelled in

unworldliness, in the heroic endurance of suffering and persecution, in

the contempt of death, and the hope of resurrection, in the strong

sense of community, and in active benevolence.

Christianity, indeed, does not come "with observation." Its deepest

workings are silent and inward. The operations of divine grace commonly

shun the notice of the historian, and await their revelation on the

great day of account, when all that is secret shall be made known. Who

can measure the depth and breadth of all those blessed experiences of

forgiveness, peace, gratitude, trust in God, love for God and love for

man, humility and meekness, patience and resignation, which have

bloomed as vernal flowers on the soil of the renewed heart since the

first Christian Pentecost? Who can tell the number and the fervor of

Christian prayers and intercessions which have gone up from lonely

chambers, caves, deserts, and martyrs' graves in the silent night and

the open day, for friends and foes, for all classes of mankind, even

for cruel persecutors, to the throne of the exalted Saviour? But where

this Christian life has taken root in the depths of the soul it must

show itself in the outward conduct, and exert an elevating influence on

every calling and sphere of action. The Christian morality surpassed

all that the noblest philosophers of heathendom had ever taught or

labored for as the highest aim of man. The masterly picture of it in

the anonymous Epistle to Diognetus is no mere fancy sketch, but a

faithful copy from real life. [600] 00

When the apologists indignantly repel the heathen calumnies, and

confidently point to the unfeigned piety, the brotherly love, the love

for enemies, the purity and chastity, the faithfulness and integrity,

the patience and gentleness, of the confessors of the name of Jesus,

they speak from daily experience and personal observation. "We, who

once served lust," could Justin Martyr say without exaggeration, "now

find our delight only in pure morals; we, who once followed sorcery,

have now consecrated ourselves to the eternal good God; we, who once

loved gain above all, now give up what we have for the common use, and

share with every needy one; we, who once hated and killed each other;

we, who would have no common hearth with foreigners for difference of

customs, now, since the appearance of Christ, live with them, pray for

our enemies, seek to convince those who hate us without cause, that

they may regulate their life according to the glorious teaching of

Christ, and receive from the all-ruling God the same blessings with

ourselves." Tertullian could boast that he knew no Christians who

suffered by the hand of the executioner, except for their religion.

Minutius Felix tells the heathens [601] 01: "You prohibit adultery by

law, and practise it in secret; you punish wickedness only in the overt

act; we look upon it as criminal even in thought. You dread the

inspection of others; we stand in awe of nothing but our own

consciences as becomes Christians. And finally your prisons are

overflowing with criminals; but they are all heathens, not a Christian

is there, unless he be an apostate." Even Pliny informed Trajan, that

the Christians, whom he questioned on the rack respecting the character

of their religion, had bound themselves by an oath never to commit

theft, robbery, nor adultery, nor to break their word and this, too at

a time when the sins of fraud, uncleanness and lasciviousness of every

form abounded all around. Another heathen, Lucian, bears testimony to

their benevolence and charity for their brethren in distress, while he

attempts to ridicule this virtue as foolish weakness in an age of

unbounded selfishness.

The humble and painful condition of the church under civil oppression

made hypocrisy more rare than in times of peace, and favored the

development of the heroic virtues. The Christians delighted to regard

themselves as soldiers of Christ, enlisted under the victorious

standard of the cross against sin, the world, and the devil. The

baptismal vow was their oath of perpetual allegiance; [602] 02 the

Apostles' creed their parole; [603] 03 the sign of the cross upon the

forehead, their mark of service; [604] 04 temperance, courage, and

faithfulness unto death, their cardinal virtues; the blessedness of

heaven, their promised reward. "No soldier," exclaims Tertullian to the

Confessors, "goes with his sports or from his bed-chamber to the

battle; but from the camp, where he hardens and accustoms himself to

every inconvenience. Even in peace warriors learn to bear labor and

fatigue, going through all military exercises, that neither soul nor

body may flag .... Ye wage a good warfare, in which the living God is

the judge of the combat, the Holy Spirit the leader, eternal glory the

prize." To this may be added the eloquent passage of Minutius Felix

[605] 05: "How fair a spectacle in the sight of God is a Christian

entering the lists with affliction, and with noble firmness combating

menaces and tortures, or with a disdainful smile marching to death

through the clamors of the people, and the insults of the executioners;

when he bravely maintains his liberty against kings and princes, and

submits to God, whose servant he is; when, like a conqueror, he

triumphs over the judge that condemns him. For he certainly is

victorious who obtains what he fights for. He fights under the eye of

God, and is crowned with length of days. You have exalted some of your

stoical sufferers to the skies; such as Scaevola who, having missed his

aim in an attempt to kill the king voluntarily burned the mistaking

hand. Yet how many among us have suffered not only the hand, but the

whole body to be consumed without a complaint, when their deliverance

was in their own power! But why should I compare our elders with your

Mutius, or Aquilius, or Regulus, when our very children, our sons and

daughters, inspired with patience, despise your racks and wild beasts,

and all other instruments of cruelty? Surely nothing but the strongest

reasons could persuade people to suffer at this rate; and nothing else

but Almighty power could support them under their sufferings."

Yet, on the other hand, the Christian life of the period before

Constantine has been often unwarrantably idealized. In a human nature

essentially the same, we could but expect the same faults which we

found even in the apostolic churches. The Epistles of Cyprian afford

incontestable evidence, that, especially in the intervals of repose, an

abatement of zeal soon showed itself, and, on the reopening of

persecution, the Christian name was dishonored by hosts of apostates.

And not seldom did the most prominent virtues, courage in death, and

strictness of morals, degenerate into morbid fanaticism and unnatural

rigor.

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[600] See � 2, p. 9. sq.

[601] Octavius, cap. 35.

[602] Sacramentum militiae Christianae

[603] Symbolum, or,tessera militaris.

[604] Character militaris, stigma militare,

[605] . Octavius, cap. 37

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� 95. The Church and Public Amusements.

Tertullian: De Spectaculis. On the Roman Spectacles see the abundant

references in Friedlaender, II. 255-580 (5th ed.)

Christianity is anything but sanctimonious gloominess and misanthropic

austerity. It is the fountain of true joy, and of that peace which

"passeth all understanding." But this joy wells up from the

consciousness of pardon and of fellowship with God, is inseparable from

holy earnestness, and has no concord with worldly frivolity and sensual

amusement, which carry the sting of a bad conscience, and beget only

disgust and bitter remorse. "What is more blessed," asks Tertullian,

"than reconciliation with God our Father and Lord; than the revelation

of the truth, the knowledge of error; than the forgiveness of so great

past misdeeds? Is there a greater joy than the disgust with earthly

pleasure, than contempt for the whole world, than true freedom, than an

unstained conscience, than contentment in life and fearlessness in

death?"

Contrast with this the popular amusements of the heathen: the theatre,

the circus, and the arena. They were originally connected with the

festivals of the gods, but had long lost their religious character and

degenerated into nurseries of vice. The theatre, once a school of

public morals in the best days of Greece, when Aeschylos and Sophocles

furnished the plays, had since the time of Augustus room only for low

comedies and unnatural tragedies, with splendid pageantry, frivolous

music, and licentious dances. [606] 06 Tertullian represents it as the

temple of Venus and Bacchus, who are close allies as patrons of lust

and drunkenness. [607] 07 The circus was devoted to horse and chariot

races, hunts of wild beasts, military displays and athletic games, and

attracted immense multitudes. "The impatient crowd," says the historian

of declining Rome [608] 08 "rushed at the dawn of day to secure their

places, and there were many who passed a sleepless and anxious night in

the adjacent porticos. From the morning to the evening careless of the

sun or of the rain, the spectators, who sometimes amounted to the

number of four hundred thousand, remained in eager attention; their

eyes fixed on the horses and charioteers, their minds agitated with

hope and fear for the success of the colors which they espoused; and

the happiness of Rome appeared to hang on the event of a race. The same

immoderate ardor inspired their clamors and their applause as often as

they were entertained with the hunting of wild beasts and the various

modes of theatrical representation."

The most popular, and at the same time the most inhuman and brutalizing

of these public spectacles were the gladiatorial fights in the arena.

There murder was practised as an art, from sunrise to sunset, and

myriads of men and beasts were sacrificed to satisfy a savage curiosity

and thirst for blood. At the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheatre

from five to nine thousand wild beasts (according to different

accounts) were slain in one day. No less than ten thousand gladiators

fought in the feasts which Trajan gave to the Romans after the conquest

of Dacia, and which lasted four months (a.d. 107). Under Probus (a.d.

281) as many as a hundred lions, a hundred lionesses, two hundred

leopards, three hundred bears, and a thousand wild boars were massacred

in a single day. [609] 09 The spectacles of the worthless Carinus (284)

who selected his favorites and even his ministers from the dregs of the

populace, are said to have surpassed those of all his predecessors. The

gladiators were condemned criminals, captives of war, slaves, and

professional fighters; in times of persecution innocent Christians were

not spared, but thrown before lions and tigers. Painted savages from

Britain, blonde Germans from the Rhine and Danube, negroes from Africa,

and wild beasts, then much more numerous than now, from all parts of

the world, were brought to the arena. Domitian arranged fights of

dwarfs and women.

The emperors patronized these various spectacles as the surest means of

securing the favor of the people, which clamored for "Panem et

Circenses." Enormous sums were wasted on them from the public treasury

and private purses. Augustus set the example. Nero was so extravagantly

liberal in this direction that the populace forgave his horrible vices,

and even wished his return from death. The parsimonious Vespasian built

the most costly and colossal amphitheatre the world has ever seen,

incrusted with marble, decorated with statues, and furnished with gold,

silver, and amber. Titus presented thousands of Jewish captives after

the capture of Jerusalem to the provinces of the East for slaughter in

the arena. Even Trajan and Marcus Aurelius made bountiful provision for

spectacles, and the latter, Stoic as he was, charged the richest

senators to gratify the public taste during his absence from Rome. Some

emperors as Nero, Commodus, and Caracalla, were so lost to all sense of

dignity and decency that they delighted and gloried in histrionic and

gladiatorial performances. Nero died by his own hand, with the

explanation: "What an artist perishes in me." Commodus appeared no less

than seven hundred and thirty-five times on the stage in the character

of Hercules, with club and lion's skin, and from a secure position

killed countless beasts and men.

The theatrical passion was not confined to Rome, it spread throughout

the provinces. Every considerable city had an amphitheatre, and that

was the most imposing building, as may be seen to this day in the ruins

at Pompeii, Capua, Puteoli, Verona, Nismes, Autun (Augustodunum), and

other places. [610] 10

Public opinion favored these demoralizing amusements almost without a

dissenting voice. [611] 11 Even such a noble heathen as Cicero

commended them as excellent schools of courage and contempt of death.

Epictetus alludes to them with indifference. Seneca is the only Roman

author who, in one of his latest writings, condemned the bloody

spectacles from the standpoint of humanity, but without effect.

Paganism had no proper conception of the sanctity of human life; and

even the Stoic philosophy, while it might disapprove of bloody games as

brutal and inhuman, did not condemn them as the sin of murder.

To this gigantic evil the Christian church opposed an inexorable

Puritanic rigor in the interest of virtue and humanity. No compromise

was possible with such shocking public immorality. Nothing would do but

to flee from it and to warn against it. The theatrical spectacles were

included in "the pomp of the devil," which Christians renounced at

their baptism. They were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to

attend them. It sometimes happened that converts, who were overpowered

by their old habits and visited the theatre, either relapsed into

heathenism, or fell for a long time into a state of deep dejection.

Tatianus calls the spectacles terrible feasts, in which the soul feeds

on human flesh and blood. Tertullian attacked them without mercy, even

before he joined the rigorous Montanists. He reminds the catechumens,

who were about to consecrate themselves to the service of God, that

"the condition of faith and the laws of Christian discipline forbid,

among other sins of the world, the pleasures of the public shows." They

excite, he says, all sorts of wild and impure passions, anger, fury,

and lust; while the spirit of Christianity is a spirit of meekness,

peace, and purity." What a man should not say he should not hear. All

licentious speech, nay, every idle word is condemned by God. The things

which defile a man in going out of his mouth, defile him also when they

go in at his eyes and ears. The true wrestlings of the Christian are to

overcome unchastity by chastity, perfidy by faithfulness, cruelty by

compassion and charity." Tertullian refutes the arguments with which

loose Christians would plead for those fascinating amusements; their

appeals to the silence of the Scriptures, or even to the dancing of

David before the ark, and to Paul's comparison of the Christian life

with the Grecian games. He winds up with a picture of the fast

approaching day of judgment, to which we should look forward. He

inclined strongly to the extreme view, that all art is a species of

fiction and falsehood, and inconsistent with Christian truthfulness. In

two other treatises [612] 12 he warned the Christian women against all

display of dress, in which the heathen women shone in temples,

theatres, and public places. Visit not such places, says he to them,

and appear in public only for earnest reasons. The handmaids of God

must distinguish themselves even outwardly from the handmaids of Satan,

and set the latter a good example of simplicity, decorum, and chastity.

The opposition of the Church had, of course, at first only a moral

effect, but in the fourth century it began to affect legislation, and

succeeded at last in banishing at least the bloody gladiatorial games

from the civilized world (with the single exception of Spain and the

South American countries, which still disgrace themselves by

bull-fights). Constantine, even as late as 313, committed a great

multitude of defeated barbarians to the wild beasts for the amusement

of the people, and was highly applauded for this generous act by a

heathen orator; but after the Council of Nicaea, in 325, he issued the

first prohibition of those bloody spectacles in times of peace, and

kept them out of Constantinople. [613] 13 "There is scarcely," says a

liberal historian of moral progress, "any other single reform so

important in the moral history of mankind as the suppression of the

gladiatorial shows, and this feat must be almost exclusively ascribed

to the Christian church. When we remember how extremely few of the best

and greatest men of the Roman world had absolutely condemned the games

of the amphitheatre, it is impossible to regard, without the deepest

admiration, the unwavering and uncompromising consistency of the

patristic denunciations." [614] 14

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[606] Friedlaender, II. 391: "Neben den gewaltigen Aufregungen, die

Circus und Arena boten, konnte die B�hne ihre Anziehungskraft, f�r die

Massen nur durch unedle Mittel behaupten durch rohe Belustigung und

raffinirten Sinnenkitzel: und so hat sie, statt dem verderblichen

Einfluss jener anderen Schauspiele die Wage zu halten, zur Corruption

und Verwilderung Roms nicht am wenigsten beigetragcn."

[607] De Spectac. c. 10. Comp. Minut. Felix, Octav. c. 37.

[608] Gibbon, ch. XXXI. (vol. III. 384, ed. Smith).

[609] Gibbon, ch. XII. (I. 646).

[610] See the long list of amphitheatres in Friedlaender, II. 502-566.

[611] Friedlaender, II. 370: "In der ganzen r�mischen Literatur

begegnen wir kaum einer Aeusserung des Abscheus, den die heutige Welt

gegen diese unmenschlichen Lustbarkeiten empfindet. In der Regel werden

die Fechterspiele mit der gr�ssten Gleichgiltigkeit erw�hnt. Die Kinder

spielen Gladiatoren wie jetzt in Andalusien Stier und Matador."

[612] De Habitu Muliebri, and De Cultu Feminarum.

[613] On the action of his successors, see vol. III. 122 sq.

[614] Lecky, Hist. of Europ. Morals, II. 36 sq.

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� 96. Secular Callings and Civil Duties.

As to the various callings of life, Christianity gives the instruction:

"Let each man abide in that calling wherein he was called." [615] 15 It

forbids no respectable pursuit, and only requires that it be followed

in a new spirit to the glory of God and the benefit of men. This is one

proof of its universal application--its power to enter into all the

relations of human life and into all branches of society, under all

forms of government. This is beautifully presented by the unknown

author of the Epistle to Diognetus. Tertullian protests to the

heathens: [616] 16 "We are no Brahmins nor Indian gymnosophists, no

hermits, no exiles from life. [617] 17 We are mindful of the thanks we

owe to God, our Lord and Creator; we despise not the enjoyment of his

works; we only temper it, that we may avoid excess and abuse. We dwell,

therefore, with you in this world, not without markets and fairs, not

without baths, inns, shops, and every kind of intercourse. We carry on

commerce and war, [618] 18 agriculture and trade with you. We take part

in your pursuits, and give our labor for your use."

But there were at that time some callings which either ministered

solely to sinful gratification, like that, of the stage-player, or were

intimately connected with the prevailing idolatry, like the

manufacture, decoration, and sale of mythological images and symbols,

the divination of astrologers, and all species of magic. These callings

were strictly forbidden in the church, and must be renounced by the

candidate for baptism. Other occupations, which were necessary indeed,

but commonly perverted by the heathens to fraudulent

purposes--inn-keeping, for example--were elevated by the Christian

spirit. Theodotus at Ancyra made his house a refuge for the Christians

and a place of prayer in the Diocletian persecution, in which he

himself suffered martyrdom.

In regard to military and civil offices under the heathen government,

opinion was divided. Some, on the authority of such passages as Matt.

5:39 and 26:52, condemned all war as unchristian and immoral;

anticipating the views of the Mennonites and Friends. Others appealed

to the good centurion of Capernaum and Cornelius of Caesarea, and held

the military life consistent with a Christian profession. The tradition

of the legio fulminatrix indicates that there were Christian soldiers

in the Roman armies under Marcus Aurelius, and at the time of

Diocletian the number of Christians at the court and in civil office

was very considerable.

But in general the Christians of those days, with their lively sense of

foreignness to this world, and their longing for the heavenly home, or

the millennial reign of Christ, were averse to high office in a heathen

state. Tertullian expressly says, that nothing was more alien to them

than politics. [619] 19 Their conscience required them to abstain

scrupulously from all idolatrous usages, sacrifices, libations, and

flatteries connected with public offices; and this requisition must

have come into frequent collision with their duties to the state, so

long as the state remained heathen. They honored the emperor as

appointed to earthly government by God, and as standing nearest of all

men to him in power; and they paid their taxes, as Justin Martyr

expressly states, with exemplary faithfulness. But their obedience

ceased whenever the emperor, as he frequently did, demanded of them

idolatrous acts. Tertullian thought that the empire would last till the

end of the world,--then supposed to be near at hand--and would be

irreconcilable with the Christian profession. Against the idolatrous

worship of the emperor he protests with Christian boldness: "Augustus,

the founder of the empire, would never be called Lord; for this is a

surname of God. Yet I will freely call the emperor so, only not in the

place of God. Otherwise I am free from him; for I have only one Lord,

the almighty and eternal God, who also is the emperor's Lord .... Far

be it from me to call the emperor God, which is not only the most

shameful, but the most pernicious flattery."

The comparative indifference and partial aversion of the Christians to

the affairs of the state, to civil legislation and administration

exposed them to the frequent reproach and contempt of the heathens.

Their want of patriotism was partly the result of their superior

devotion to the church as their country, partly of their situation in a

hostile world. It must not be attributed to an "indolent or criminal

disregard for the public welfare" (as Gibbon intimates), but chiefly to

their just abhorrence of the innumerable idolatrous rites connected

with the public and private life of the heathens. While they refused to

incur the guilt of idolatry, they fervently and regularly prayed for

the emperor and the state, their enemies and persecutors. [620] 20 They

were the most peaceful subjects, and during this long period of almost

constant provocation, abuse, and persecutions, they never took part in

those frequent insurrections and rebellions which weakened and

undermined the empire. They renovated society from within, by revealing

in their lives as well as in their doctrine a higher order of private

and public virtue, and thus proved themselves patriots in the best

sense of the word.

The patriotism of ancient Greece and republican Rome, while it commands

our admiration by the heroic devotion and sacrifice to the country, was

after all an extended selfishness, and based upon the absolutism of the

State and the disregard of the rights of the individual citizen and the

foreigner. It was undermined by causes independent of Christianity. The

amalgamation of different nationalities in the empire extinguished

sectionalism and exclusivism, and opened the wide view of a universal

humanity. Stoicism gave this cosmopolitan sentiment a philosophical and

ethical expression in the writings of Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus

Aurelius. Terence embodied it in his famous line: "Homo sum: humani

nihil a me alienum puto." But Christianity first taught the fatherhood

of God, the redemption by Christ, the common brotherhood of believers,

the duty of charity for all men made in the image of God. It is true

that monasticism, which began to develop itself already in the third

century, nursed indifference to the state and even to the family, and

substituted the total abandonment of the world for its reformation and

transformation. It withdrew a vast amount of moral energy and

enthusiasm from the city to the desert, and left Roman society to

starvation and consumption. But it preserved and nursed in solitude the

heroism of self-denial and consecration, which, in the collapse of the

Roman empire, became a converting power of the barbarian conquerors,

and laid the foundation for a new and better civilization. The decline

and fall of the Roman empire was inevitable; Christianity prolonged its

life in the East, and diminished the catastrophe of its collapse in the

West, by converting and humanizing the barbarian conquerors. [621] 21

St. Augustin pointed to the remarkable fact that amid the horrors of

the sack of Rome by the Goths, "the churches of the apostles and the

crypts of the martyrs were sanctuaries for all who fled to them,

whether Christian or pagan," and "saved the lives of multitudes who

impute to Christ the ills that have befallen their city." [622] 22

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[615] 1 Cor. 7:20.

[616] Apol. c. 42.

[617] Exules vitae.

[618] "Militamus," which proves that many Christians served in the

army.

[619] Apol. c. 38: "Nec ulla res aliena magis quam publica."

[620] See the prayer for rulers in the newly discovered portions of the

Epistle of Clement of Rome, quoted in � 66,above.

[621] Gibbon, ch. 36, admits this in part. "If the decline of the Roman

empire was hastened by the conversion of Constantine, the victorious

religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious

temper of the conquerors." Milman says of the Church: "If

treacherous(?) to the interests of the Roman empire, it was true to

those of mankind" (III. 48). Lecky (II. 153) says: "It is impossible to

deny that the Christian priesthood contributed materially both by their

charity and by their arbitration, to mitigate the calamities that

accompanied the dissolution of the empire; and it is equally impossible

to doubt that their political attitude greatly increased their power

for good. Standing between the conflicting form, almost indifferent to

the issue, and notoriously exempt from the passions of the combat, they

obtained with the conqueror, and used for the benefit of the conquered,

a degree of influence they would never have possessed had they been

regarded as Roman patriots."

[622] De Civ. Dei. l.c. 1.

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� 97. The Church and Slavery.

See Lit. vol. I. � 48, especially Wallon's Histoire de l'esclavage

(Paris, new ed. 1879, 3 vols). Comp. also V. Lechler: Sklaverei und

Christenthum. Leipzig, 1877, 1878; Theod. Zahn: Sklaverei und

Christenthum In Der Alten Welt. Heidelberg, 1879. Overbeck: Verh. d.

alten Kirche zur Sclaverei im r�m. Reiche. 1875.

Heathenism had no conception of the general and natural rights of men.

The ancient republics consisted in the exclusive dominion of a minority

over an oppressed majority. The Greeks and Romans regarded only the

free, i.e. the free-born rich and independent citizens as men in the

full sense of the term, and denied this privilege to the foreigners,

the laborers, the poor, and the slaves. They claimed the natural right

to make war upon all foreign nations, without distinction of race, in

order to subject them to their iron rule. Even with Cicero the

foreigner and the enemy are synonymous terms. The barbarians were taken

in thousands by the chance of war (above 100,000 in the Jewish war

alone) and sold as cheap as horses. Besides, an active slave-trade was

carried on in the Euxine, the eastern provinces, the coast of Africa,

and Britain. The greater part of mankind in the old Roman empire was

reduced to a hopeless state of slavery, and to a half brutish level.

And this evil of slavery was so thoroughly interwoven with the entire

domestic and public life of the heathen world, and so deliberately

regarded, even by the greatest philosophers, Aristotle for instance, as

natural and indispensable, that the abolition of it, even if desirable,

seemed to belong among the impossible things.

Yet from the outset Christianity has labored for this end; not by

impairing the right of property, not by outward violence, nor sudden

revolution; this, under the circumstances, would only have made the

evil worse; but by its moral power, by preaching the divine descent and

original unity of all men, their common redemption through Christ, the

duty of brotherly love, and the true freedom of the spirit. It placed

slaves and masters on the same footing of dependence on God and of

freedom in God, the Father, Redeemer, and Judge of both. It conferred

inward freedom even under outward bondage, and taught obedience to God

and for the sake of God, even in the enjoyment of outward freedom. This

moral and religious freedom must lead at last to the personal and civil

liberty of the individual. Christianity redeems not only the soul but

the body also, and the process of regeneration will end in the

resurrection and glorification of the entire natural world.

In the period before us, however, the abolition of slavery, save

isolated cases of manumission, was utterly out of question, considering

only the enormous number of the slaves. The world was far from ripe for

such a step. The church, in her persecuted condition, had as yet no

influence at all over the machinery of the state and the civil

legislation. And she was at that time so absorbed in the transcendent

importance of the higher world and in her longing for the speedy return

of the Lord, that she cared little for earthly freedom or temporal

happiness. Hence Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, counsels

servants to serve only the more zealously to the glory of the Lord,

that they may receive from God the higher freedom; and not to attempt

to be redeemed at the expense of their Christian brethren, lest they be

found slaves to their own caprice. From this we see that slaves, in

whom faith awoke the sense of manly dignity and the desire of freedom,

were accustomed to demand their redemption at the expense of the

church, as a right, and were thus liable to value the earthly freedom

more than the spiritual. Tertullian declares the outward freedom

worthless without the ransom of the soul from the bondage of sin. "How

can the world," says he, "make a servant free? All is mere show in the

world, nothing truth. For the slave is already free, as a purchase of

Christ; and the freedman is a servant of Christ. If thou takest the

freedom which the world can give for true, thou hast thereby become

again the servant of man, and hast lost the freedom of Christ, in that

thou thinkest it bondage." Chrysostom, in the fourth century, was the

first of the fathers to discuss the question of slavery at large in the

spirit of the apostle Paul, and to recommend, though cautiously, a

gradual emancipation.

But the church before Constantine labored with great success to elevate

the intellectual and moral condition of the slaves, to adjust inwardly

the inequality between slaves and masters, as the first and efficient

step towards the final outward abolition of the evil, and to influence

the public opinion even of the heathens. Here the church was aided by a

concurrent movement in philosophy and legislation. The cruel views of

Cato, who advised to work the slaves, like beasts of burden, to death

rather than allow them to become old and unprofitable, gave way to the

milder and humane views of Seneca, Pliny, and Plutarch, who very nearly

approach the apostolic teaching. To the influence of the later Stoic

philosophy must be attributed many improvements in the slave-code of

imperial Rome. But the most important improvements were made from the

triumph of Constantine to the reign of Justinian, under directly

Christian influences. Constantine issued a law in 315, forbidding the

branding of slaves on the face to prevent the disfiguration of the

figure of celestial beauty (i.e. the image of God). [623] 23 He also

facilitated emancipation, in an edict of 316, by requiring only a

written document, signed by the master, instead of the previous

ceremony in the presence of the prefect and his lictor.

It is here to be considered, first of all, that Christianity spread

freely among the slaves, except where they were so rude and degraded as

to be insensible to all higher impressions. They were not rarely (as

Origen observes) the instruments of the conversion of their masters,

especially of the women, and children, whose training was frequently

intrusted to them. Not a few slaves died martyrs, and were enrolled

among the saints; as Onesimus, Eutyches, Victorinus, Maro, Nereus,

Achilleus, Blandina, Potamiaena, Felicitas. Tradition makes Onesimus,

the slave of Philemon, a bishop. The church of St. Vital at

Ravenna--the first and noblest specimen of Byzantine architecture in

Italy--was dedicated by, Justinian to the memory of a martyred slave.

But the most remarkable instance is that of Callistus, who was

originally a slave, and rose to the chair of St. Peter in Rome

(218-223). Hippolytus, who acquaints us with his history, attacks his

doctrinal and disciplinarian views, but does not reproach him for his

former condition. Callistus sanctioned the marriages between free

Christian women and Christian slaves. Celsus cast it up as a reproach

to Christianity, that it let itself down so readily to slaves, fools,

women, and children. But Origen justly saw an excellence of the new

religion in this very fact, that it could raise this despised and, in

the prevailing view, irreclaimable class of men to the level of moral

purity and worth. If, then, converted slaves, with the full sense of

their intellectual and religious superiority still remained obedient to

their heathen masters, and even served them more faithfully than

before, resisting decidedly only their immoral demands (like

Potamiaena, and other chaste women and virgins in the service of

voluptuous masters)--they showed, in this very self-control, the best

proof of their ripeness for civil freedom, and at the same time

furnished the fairest memorial of that Christian faith, which raised

the soul, in the enjoyment of sonship with God and in the hope of the

blessedness of heaven, above the sufferings of earth. Euelpistes, a

slave of the imperial household, who was carried with Justin Martyr to

the tribunal of Rusticus, on being questioned concerning his condition,

replied: "I am a slave of the emperor, but I am also a Christian, and

have received liberty from Jesus Christ; by his grace I have the same

hope as my brethren." Where the owners of the slaves themselves became

Christians, the old relation virtually ceased; both came together to

the table of the Lord, and felt themselves brethren of one family, in

striking contrast with the condition of things among their heathen

neighbors as expressed in the current proverb: "As many enemies as

slaves." [624] 24 Clement of Alexandria frequently urges that "slaves

are men like ourselves," though he nowhere condemns the institution

itself. That there actually were such cases of fraternal fellowship,

like that which St. Paul recommended to Philemon, we have the testimony

of Lactantius, at the end of our period, who writes in his Institutes,

no doubt from life: "Should any say: Are there not also among you poor

and rich, servants and masters, distinctions among individuals? No; we

call ourselves brethren for no other reason than that we hold ourselves

all equal. For since we measure everything human not by its outward

appearance, but by its intrinsic value we have notwithstanding the

difference of outward relations, no slaves, but we call them and

consider them brethren in the Spirit and fellow-servants in religion."

[625] 25 The same writer says: "God would have all men equal .... With

him there is neither servant nor master. If he is the same Father to

all, we are all with the same right free. So no one is poor before God,

but he who is destitute of righteousness; no one rich, but he who is

full of virtues." [626] 26

The testimony of the catacombs, as contrasted with pagan epitaphs,

shows that Christianity almost obliterated the distinction between the

two classes of society. Slaves are rarely mentioned. "While it is

impossible," says De Rossi, "to examine the pagan sepulchral

inscriptions of the same period without finding mention of a slave or a

freedman, I have not met with one well-ascertained instance among the

inscriptions of the Christian tombs." [627] 27

The principles of Christianity naturally prompt Christian slave-holders

to actual manumission. The number of slaveholders before Constantine

was very limited among Christians, who were mostly poor. Yet we read in

the Acts of the martyrdom of the Roman bishop Alexander, that a Roman

prefect, Hermas, converted by that bishop, in the reign of Trajan,

received baptism at an Easter festival with his wife and children and

twelve hundred and fifty slaves, and on this occasion gave all his

slaves their freedom and munificent gifts besides. [628] 28 So in the

martyrology of St. Sebastian, it is related that a wealthy Roman

prefect, Chromatius, under Diocletian, on embracing Christianity,

emancipated fourteen hundred slaves, after having them baptized with

himself, because their sonship with God put an end to their servitude

to man. [629] 29 Several epitaphs in the catacombs mention the fact of

manumission. In the beginning of the fourth century St. Cantius,

Cantianus, and Cantianilla, of an old Roman family, set all their

slaves, seventy-three in number, at liberty, after they had received

baptism. [630] 30 St. Melania emancipated eight thousand slaves; St.

Ovidius, five thousand; Hermes, a prefect in the reign of Trajan,

twelve hundred and fifty. [631] 31

These legendary traditions may indeed be doubted as to the exact facts

in the case, and probably are greatly exaggerated; but they, are

nevertheless conclusive as the exponents of the spirit which animated

the church at that time concerning the duty of Christian masters. It

was felt that in a thoroughly Christianized society there can be no

room for despotism on the one hand and slavery on the other.

After the third century the manumission became a solemn act, which took

place in the presence of the clergy and the congregation. It was

celebrated on church festivals, especially on Easter. The master led

the slave to the altar; there the document of emancipation was read,

the minister pronounced the blessing, and the congregation received him

as a free brother with equal rights and privileges. Constantine found

this custom already established, and African councils of the fourth

century requested the emperor to give it general force. He placed it

under the superintendence of the clergy.

Notes.

H. Wallon, in his learned and able Histoire de l'esclavage dans

l'antiquit� (second ed. Paris, 1879, 3 vols.), shows that the gospel in

such passages as Matt. 23:8; Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11; 1 Cor. 12:13 sounded

the death knell of slavery, though it was very long in dying, and thus

sums up the teaching of the ante-Nicene church (III. 237): "Minutius

F�lix, Tertullien et tous ceux communaut� de, nature, cette communaut�

de patrie dans la r�publique du monde, en un language familier � la

philosophie, mais qui trouvait parmi les chr�tiens avec une sanction

plus haute et un sens plus complet, une application plus s�rieuse.

Devant cc droit commun des hommes, fond� sur le droit divin, le

pr�tendu droit des gens n'�tait plus qu' une monstrueuse injustice."

For the views of the later fathers and the influence of the church on

the imperial legislation, see ch. VIII. to X. in his third volume.

Lecky discusses the relation of Christianity to slavery in the second

vol. of his History of European Morals, pp. 66-90, and justly remarks:

"The services of Christianity in this sphere were of three kinds. It

supplied a new order of relations, in which the distinction of classes

was unknown. It imparted a moral dignity to the servile classes, and it

gave an unexampled impetus to the movement of enfranchisement."

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[623] "Facies, quae ad similitudinen pulchritudinis est coelestis

figurata." Cod. Just. IX 17. 17.

[624] Totidem esse hostes, quot servos." Seneca, Ep. 47. From the time

of the Servile Wars the Romans lived in constant fear of slave

conspiracies and insurrections. The slaves formed nearly one half of

the population, and in some agricultural districts, as in Sicily and

Calabria, they were largely in the majority.

[625] Lib. v. c. 15 (ed. Fritsche. Lips. 1842, p. 257).

[626] Inst. v. 14 (p. 257): "Deus enim, qui homines general et

inspirat, omnes aequos, id est pares esse voluit; eandem conditionem

vivendi onnibus posuit; omnes ad sapientiam genuit; omnibus

immortalitatem spopondit, nemo a beneficiis coelestibus segregatur ....

Nemo apud cum servus est, nemo dominus; si enim cunctis idem Pater est,

aequo jure omnes liberi sumus.

[627] Bulletino for 1866, p. 24. V. Schultze (Die Katakomben, P. 258)

infers from the monuments that in the early Christian congregations

slavery was reduced to a minimum.

[628] Acta Sanct. Boll. Maj. tom. i. p. 371

[629] Acta Sanct. Ian. tom. iii. 275.

[630] Acta Sanct. Maj. tom. vi. 777.

[631] Champagny, Charit� chr�t. p. 210 (as quoted by Lecky, II. 74).

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� 98. The Heathen Family.

In ancient Greece and Rome the state was the highest object of life,

and the only virtues properly recognized--wisdom, courage, moderation,

and justice--were political virtues. Aristotle makes the state, that is

the organized body of free citizens [632] 32 (foreigners and slaves are

excluded), precede the family and the individual, and calls man

essentially a "political animal." In Plato's ideal commonwealth the

state is everything and owns everything, even the children.

This political absolutism destroys the proper dignity and rights of the

individual and the family, and materially hinders the development of

the domestic and private virtues. Marriage was allowed no moral

character, but merely a political import for the preservation of the

state, and could not be legally contracted except by free citizens.

Socrates, in instructing his son concerning this institution, tells

him, according to Xenophon, that we select only such wives as we hope

will yield beautiful children. Plato recommends even community of women

to the class of warriors in his ideal republic, as the best way to

secure vigorous citizens. Lycurgus, for similar reasons, encouraged

adultery under certain circumstances, requiring old men to lend their

young and handsome wives to young and strong men.

Woman was placed almost on the same level with the slave. She differs,

indeed, from the slave, according to Aristotle, but has, after all,

really no will of her own, and is hardly capable of a higher virtue

than the slave. Shut up in a retired apartment of the house, she spent

her life with the slaves. As human nature is essentially the same in

all ages, and as it in never entirely forsaken by the guidance of a

kind Providence, we must certainly suppose that female virtue was

always more or less maintained and appreciated even among the heathen.

Such characters as Penelope, Nausicaa, Andromache, Antigone, Iphigenia,

and Diotima, of the Greek poetry and history, bear witness of this.

Plutarch's advice to married people, and his letter of consolation to

his wife after the death of their daughter, breathe a beautiful spirit

of purity and affection. But the general position assigned to woman by

the poets, philosophers, and legislators of antiquity, was one of

social oppression and degradation. In Athens she was treated as a minor

during lifetime, and could not inherit except in the absence of male

heirs. To the question of Socrates: "Is there any one with whom you

converse less than with the wife?" his pupil, Aristobulus, replies: "No

one, or at least very few." If she excelled occasionally, in Greece, by

wit and culture, and, like Aspasia, Phryne, La�s, Theodota, attracted

the admiration and courtship even of earnest philosophers like

Socrates, and statesmen like Pericles, she generally belonged to the

disreputable class of the hetaerae or amicae. In Corinth they were

attached to the temple of Aphrodite, and enjoyed the sanction of

religion for the practice of vice. [633] 33 These dissolute women were

esteemed above housewives, and became the proper and only

representatives of some sort of female culture and social elegance. To

live with them openly was no disgrace even for married men. [634] 34

How could there be any proper conception and abhorrence of the sin of

licentiousness and adultery, if the very gods, a Jupiter, a Mars, and a

Venus, were believed to be guilty of those sins! The worst vices of

earth were transferred to Olympus.

Modesty forbids the mention of a still more odious vice, which even

depraved nature abhors, which yet was freely discussed and praised by

ancient poets and philosophers, practised with neither punishment nor

dishonor, and likewise divinely sanctioned by the example of Apollo and

Hercules, and by the lewdness of Jupiter with Ganymede. [635] 35

The Romans were originally more virtuous, domestic, and chaste, as they

were more honest and conscientious, than the Greeks. With them the wife

was honored by the title domina, matrona, materfamilias. At the head of

their sacerdotal system stood the flamens of Jupiter, who represented

marriage in its purity, and the vestal virgins, who represented

virginity. The Sabine women interceding between their parents and their

husbands, saved the republic; the mother and the wife of Coriolanus by

her prayers averted his wrath, and raised the siege of the Volscian

army; Lucretia who voluntarily sacrificed her life to escape the

outrage to her honor offered by king Tarquin, and Virginia who was

killed by her father to save her from slavery and dishonor, shine in

the legendary history of Rome as bright examples of unstained purity.

But even in the best days of the republic the legal status of woman was

very low. The Romans likewise made marriage altogether subservient to

the interest of the state, and allowed it in its legal form to free

citizens alone. The proud maxims of the republic prohibited even the

legitimate nuptials of a Roman with a foreign queen; and Cleopatra and

Berenice were, as strangers, degraded to the position of concubines of

Mark Antony and Titus. According to ancient custom the husband bought

his bride from her parents, and she fulfilled the co�mption by

purchasing, with three pieces of copper, a just introduction to his

house and household deities. But this was for her simply an exchange of

one servitude for another. She became the living property of a husband

who could lend her out, as Cato lent his wife to his friend Hortensius,

and as Augustus took Livia from Tiberius Nero." Her husband or master,

says Gibbon, [636] 36 "was invested with the plenitude of paternal

power. By his judgment or caprice her behavior was approved or

censured, or chastised; he exercised the jurisdiction of life and

death; and it was allowed, that in cases of adultery or drunkenness,

the sentence might be properly inflicted. She acquired and inherited

for the sole profit of her lord; and so clearly was woman defined, not

as a person, but as a thing, that, if the original title were

deficient, she might be claimed like other movables, by the use and

possession of an entire year."

Monogamy was the rule both in Greece and in Rome, but did not exclude

illegitimate connexions. Concubinage, in its proper legal sense, was a

sort of secondary marriage with a woman of servile or plebeian

extraction, standing below the dignity of a matron and above the infamy

of a prostitute. It was sanctioned and regulated by law; it prevailed

both in the East and the West from the age of Augustus to the tenth

century, and was preferred to regular marriage by Vespasian, and the

two Antonines, the best Roman emperors. Adultery was severely punished,

at times even with sudden destruction of the offender; but simply as an

interference with the rights and property of a free man. The wife had

no legal or social protection against the infidelity of her husband.

The Romans worshipped a peculiar goddess of domestic life; but her name

Viriplaca, the appeaser of husbands, indicates her partiality. The

intercourse of a husband with the slaves of his household and with

public prostitutes was excluded from the odium and punishment of

adultery. We say nothing of that unnatural abomination alluded to in

Rom. 1:26, 27, which seems to have passed from the Etruscans and Greeks

to the Romans, and prevailed among the highest as well as the lowest

classes. The women, however, were almost as corrupt as their husbands,

at least in the imperial age. Juvenal calls a chaste wife a "rara avis

in terris." Under Augustus free-born daughters could no longer be found

for the service of Vesta, and even the severest laws of Domitian could

not prevent the six priestesses of the pure goddess from breaking their

vow. The pantomimes and the games of Flora, with their audacious

indecencies, were favorite amusements." The unblushing, undisguised

obscenity of the Epigrams of Martial, of the Romances of Apuleius and

Petronius, and of some of the Dialogues of Lucian, reflected but too

faithfully the spirit of their times." [637] 37

Divorce is said to have been almost unknown in the ancient days of the

Roman republic, and the marriage tie was regarded as indissoluble. A

senator was censured for kissing his wife in the presence of their

daughter. But the merit of this virtue is greatly diminished if we

remember that the husband always had an easy outlet for his sensual

passions in the intercourse with slaves and concubines. Nor did it

outlast the republic. After the Punic war the increase of wealth and

luxury, and the influx of Greek and Oriental licentiousness swept away

the stern old Roman virtues. The customary civil and religious rites of

marriage were gradually disused; the open community of life between

persons of similar rank was taken as sufficient evidence of their

nuptials; and marriage, after Augustus, fell to the level of any

partnership, which might be dissolved by the abdication of one of the

associates. "Passion, interest, or caprice," says Gibbon on the

imperial age, "suggested daily, motives for the dissolution of

marriage; a word, a sign, a message, a letter, the mandate of a

freedman, declared the separation; the most tender of human connections

was degraded to a transient society of profit or pleasure." [638] 38

Various remedies were tardily adopted as the evil spread, but they

proved inefficient, until the spirit of Christianity gained the control

of public opinion and improved the Roman legislation, which, however,

continued for a long time to fluctuate between the custom of heathenism

and the wishes of the church. Another radical evil of heathen family

life, which the church had to encounter throughout the whole extent of

the Roman Empire, was the absolute tyrannical authority of the parent

over the children, extending even to the power of life and death, and

placing the adult son of a Roman citizen on a level with the movable

things and slaves, "whom the capricious master might alienate or

destroy, without being responsible to any earthly tribunal."

With this was connected the unnatural and monstrous custom of exposing

poor, sickly, and deformed children to a cruel death, or in many cases

to a life of slavery and infamy-a custom expressly approved, for the

public interest, even by a Plato, an Aristotle, and a Seneca!

"Monstrous offspring," says the great Stoic philosopher, "we destroy;

children too, if born feeble and ill-formed, we drown. It is not wrath,

but reason, thus to separate the useless from the healthy." "The

exposition of children"--to quote once more from Gibbon--"was the

prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity: it was sometimes prescribed,

often permitted, almost always practised with impunity by the nations

who never entertained the Roman ideas of paternal power; and the

dramatic poets, who appeal to the human heart, represent with

indifference a popular custom which was palliated by the motives of

economy and compassion .... The Roman Empire was stained with the blood

of infants, till such murders were included, by Valentinian and his

colleagues, in the letter and spirit of the Cornelian law. The lessons

of jurisprudence and Christianity had been insufficient to eradicate

this inhuman practice, till their gentle influence was fortified by the

terrors of capital punishment." [639] 39

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[632] Koinonia ton eleutheron.

[633] Their name hetairai was an Attic euphonism for pornai. In the

temple of Aphrodite at Corinth more than a thousand hetaerae were

employed as hierodulae and were the ruin of foreigners (Strabo, VIII.

6, 20). Korinthia kore was a synonym for hetaera, and expressive of the

acme of voluptuousness. A full account of these hetaerae and of the

whole domestic life of the ancient Greeks may be found in Becker's

Charicles, translated by Metcalf, third ed. London, 1866. Becker says

(p. 242), that in the period of the greatest refinement of classical

Greece, "sensuality, if not the mother, was at all events the nurse of

the Greek perception of the beautiful." Plato himself, even in his

ideal state, despaired of restricting his citizens to the lawful

intercourse of marriage.

[634] Aspasia bewitched Pericles by her beauty and genius; and Socrates

acknowledged his deep obligation to the instructions of a courtesan

named Diotima.

[635] Lecky (II. 311) derives this unnatural vice of Greece from the

influence of the public games, which accustomed men to the

contemplation of absolute nudity, and awoke unnatural passions. See the

thirteenth book of Athenaeus, Grote on the Symposium of Plato, and the

full account in D�llinger's Heidenthum und Judenthum, 1857, p. 684 sqq.

He says: "Bei den Griechen tritt das Laster der Paederastie mit allen

symptomen einer grossen nationalen Krankheit, gleichsam eines ethischen

Miasma auf; es zeigt. sich als ein Gef�hl, das st�rker and heftiger

wirkte, als die Weiberliebe bei andern V�lkern, massloser,

leidenschaftlicher in seinem Ausbr�chen war ... In der ganzen Literatur

der vorchristlichen Periode ist kaum ein Schriftsteller zu finden, der

sich entschieden dagegen erkl�rt h�tte. Vielmehr war die ganze

Gesellschaft davon angesteckt, und man athmete das Miama, so zu sagen,

mit der Luft ein." Even Socrates and Plato gave this morbid vice the

sanction of their great authority, if not in practice, at least in

theory. Comp. Xenophon's Mem. VIII. 2, Plato's Charmides, and his

descriptions of Eros, and D�llinger, l.c. p. 686 sq. Zeno, the founder

of the austere sect of Stoics, was praised for the moderation with

which he practiced this vice.

[636] Chapter XLIV., where he discusses at length the Roman code of

laws.

[637] Lecky, II. 321.

[638] Gibbon (ch. XLIV.) confirms the statement by several examples, to

which more might be added. Maecenas, "qui uxores millies duxit"

(Seneca, Ep. 114) was as notorious for his levity in forming and

dissolving the nuptial tie, as famous for his patronage of literature

and art. Martial (Epigr. VI. 7), though in evident poetical

exaggeration, speaks of ten husbands in one month. Juvenal (Satir. VI.

229) exposes a matron, who in five years submitted to the embraces of

eight husbands. Jerome (Ad Gerontiam) "saw at Rome a triumphant husband

bury his twenty-first wife, who had interred twenty-two of his less

sturdy predecessors." These are extreme cases, and hardly furnish a

sufficient basis for a general judgment of the state of society in

Rome, much less in the provinces. We should not forget the noble and

faithful Roman women even in the days of imperial corruption, as

Mallonia, who preferred suicide to the embraces of Tiberius; Helvia,

the mother of Seneca, and Paulina his wife, who opened her vein to

accompany him to the grave; the elder Arria who, when her husband

Paetus was condemned to death under Claudius (42), and hesitated to

commit suicide, plunged the dagger in her breast, and, drawing it out,

said to him with her dying breath: "My Paetus, it does not pain"

(Paete, non dolet); and her worthy daughter, Caecinia Arria, the wife

of Thrasea, who was condemned to death (66), and her granddaughter

Fannia, who accompanied her husband Helvidius Priscus twice into

banishment, and suffered a third for his sake after his execution (93).

See Pliny, Epist. III.16; Tacitus, Ann. XVI. 30-34; Friedlaender, I.

459 sqq. . Nor should we overlook the monumental evidences of conjugal

devotion and happiness in numerous Roman epitaphs. See Friedlaender, I.

463. Yet sexual immorality reached perhaps its lowest depths in

imperial Rome, far lower than in the worst periods of the dark ages, or

in England under Charles II., or in France under Louis XIV. and XV. And

it is also certain, as Lecky says (II. 326), "that frightful excesses

of unnatural passion, of which the most corrupt of modern courts

present no parallel, were perpetrated with but little concealment on

the Palatine." Prenuptial unchastity of men was all but universal among

the Romans, according to Cicero's testimony. Even Epictetus, the

severest among the Stoic moralists, enjoins only moderation, not entire

abstinence, from this form of vice. Lampridius relates of Alexander

Severus, who otherwise legislated against vice, that he provided his

unmarried provincial governors with a concubine as a part of their

outfit, because "they could not exist without one" (quod sine

concubinis esse non possent)."

[639] Ch. XLIV. See a good chapter on the exposure of children in

Brace, Gesta Christi, p. 72-83.

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� 99. The Christian Family.

Such was the condition of the domestic life of the ancient world, when

Christianity, with its doctrine of the sanctity of marriage, with its

injunction of chastity, and with its elevation of woman from her

half-slavish condition to moral dignity and equality with man, began

the work of a silent transformation, which secured incalculable

blessings to generations yet unborn. It laid the foundation for a

well-ordered family life. It turned the eye from the outward world to

the inward sphere of affection, from the all-absorbing business of

politics and state-life into the sanctuary of home; and encouraged the

nurture of those virtues of private life, without which no true public

virtue can exist. But, as the evil here to be abated, particularly the

degradation of the female sex and the want of chastity, was so deeply

rooted and thoroughly interwoven in the whole life of the old world,

this ennobling of the family, like the abolition of slavery, was

necessarily a very slow process. We cannot wonder, therefore, at the

high estimate of celibacy, which in the eyes of many seemed to be the

only radical escape from the impurity and misery of married life as it

generally stood among the heathen. But, although the fathers are much

more frequent and enthusiastic in the praise of virginity than in that

of marriage, yet their views on this subject show an immense advance

upon the moral standard of the greatest sages and legislators of Greece

and Rome.

Chastity before marriage, in wedlock, and in celibacy, in man as well

as in woman, so rare in paganism, was raised to the dignity of a

cardinal virtue and made the corner-stone of the family. Many a female

martyr preferred cruel torture and death to the loss of honor. When St.

Perpetua fell half dead from the horns of a wild bull in the arena, she

instinctively drew together her dress, which had been torn in the

assault. The acts of martyrs and saints tell marvellous stories,

exaggerated no doubt, yet expressive of the ruling Christian sentiment,

about heroic resistance to carnal temptation, the sudden punishment of

unjust charges of impurity by demoniacal possession or instant death,

the rescue of courtesans from a life of shame and their radical

conversion and elevation even to canonical sanctity. [640] 40 The

ancient councils deal much with carnal sins so fearfully prevalent, and

unanimously condemn them in every shape and form. It is true, chastity

in the early church and by the unanimous consent of the fathers was

almost identified with celibacy, as we shall see hereafter; but this

excess should not blind us to the immense advance of patristic over

heathen morals.

Woman was emancipated, in the best sense of the term, from the bondage

of social oppression, and made the life and light of a Christian home.

Such pure and heroic virgins as the martyred Blandina, and Perpetua,

and such devoted mothers as Nonna, Anthusa, and Monica, we seek in vain

among the ancient Greek and Roman maidens and matrons, and we need not

wonder that the heathen Libanius, judging from such examples as the

mother of his pupil Chrysostom, reluctantly exclaimed: "What women have

these Christians!" The schoolmen of the middle ages derived from the

formation of woman an ingenious argument for her proper position: Eve

was not taken from the feet of Adam to be his slave, nor from his head

to be his ruler, but from his side to be his beloved partner. [641] 41

At the same time here also we must admit that the ancient church was

yet far behind the ideal set up in the New Testament, and

counterbalanced the elevation of woman by an extravagant over-estimate

of celibacy. It was the virgin far more than the faithful wife and

mother of children that was praised and glorified by the fathers; and

among the canonized saints of the Catholic calendar there is little or

no room for husbands and wives, although the patriarchs, Moses, and

some of the greatest prophets (Isaiah, Ezekiel), and apostles (Peter

taking the lead) lived in honorable wedlock.

Marriage was regarded in the church from the beginning as a sacred

union of body and soul for the propagation of civil society, and the

kingdom of God, for the exercise of virtue and the promotion of

happiness. It was clothed with a sacramental or semi-sacramental

character on the basis of Paul's comparison of the marriage union with

the relation of Christ to his church. [642] 42 It was in its nature

indissoluble except in case of adultery, and this crime was charged not

only to the woman, but to the man as even the more guilty party, and to

every extra-connubial carnal connection. Thus the wife was equally

protected against the wrongs of the husband, and chastity was made the

general law of the family life.

We have a few descriptions of Christian homes from the ante-Nicene age,

one from an eminent Greek father, another from a married presbyter of

the Latin church.

Clement of Alexandria enjoins upon Christian married persons united

prayer and reading of the Scriptures, [643] 43 as a daily morning

exercise, and very beautifully says: "The mother is the glory of her

children, the wife is the glory of her husband, both are the glory of

the wife, God is the glory of all together." [644] 44

Tertullian, at the close of the book which he wrote to his wife, draws

the following graphic picture, which, though somewhat idealized, could

be produced only from the moral spirit of the gospel and actual

experience: [645] 45 "How can I paint the happiness of a marriage which

the church ratifies, the oblation (the celebration of the communion)

confirms, the benediction seals, angels announce, the Father declares

valid. Even upon earth, indeed, sons do not legitimately marry without

the consent of their fathers. What a union of two believers--one hope,

one vow, one discipline, and one worship! They are brother and sister,

two fellow-servants, one spirit and one flesh. Where there is one

flesh, there is also one spirit. They pray together, fast together,

instruct, exhort, and support each other. They go together to the

church of God, and to the table of the Lord. They share each other's

tribulation, persecution, and revival. Neither conceals anything from

the other; neither avoids, neither annoys the other. They delight to

visit the sick, supply the needy, give alms without constraint, and in

daily zeal lay their offerings before the altar without scruple or

hindrance. They do not need to keep the sign of the cross hidden, nor

to express slyly their Christian joy, nor to suppress the blessing.

Psalms and hymns they sing together, and they vie with each other in

singing to God. Christ rejoices when he sees and hears this. He gives

them his peace. Where two are together in his name, there is he; and

where he is, there the evil one cannot come."

A large sarcophagus represents a scene of family worship: on the right,

four men, with rolls in their hands, reading or singing; on the left,

three women and a girl playing a lyre.

For the conclusion of a marriage, Ignatius [646] 46 required "the

consent of the bishop, that it might be a marriage for God, and not for

pleasure. All should be done to the glory of God." In Tertullian's

time, [647] 47 as may be inferred from the passage just quoted, the

solemnization of marriage was already at least a religious act, though

not a proper sacrament, and was sealed by the celebration of the holy

communion in presence of the congregation. The Montanists were disposed

even to make this benediction of the church necessary to the validity

of marriage among Christians. All noisy and wanton Jewish and heathen

nuptial ceremonies, and at first also the crowning of the bride, were

discarded; but the nuptial ring, as a symbol of union, was retained.

In the catacombs the marriage ceremony is frequently represented by the

man and the woman standing side by side and joining hands in token of

close union, as also on heathen documents. On a gilded glass of the

fourth century, the couple join hands over a small nuptial altar, and

around the figures are inscribed the words (of the priest): "May ye

live in God." [648] 48

Mixed marriages with heathens and also with heretics, were unanimously

condemned by the voice of the church in agreement with the Mosaic

legislation, unless formed before conversion, in which case they were

considered valid. [649] 49 Tertullian even classes such marriages with

adultery. What heathen, asks he, will let his wife attend the nightly

meetings of the church, and the slandered supper of the Lord, take care

of the sick even in the poorest hovels, kiss the chains of the martyrs

in prison rise in the night for prayer, and show hospitality to strange

brethren? Cyprian calls marriage with an unbeliever a prostitution of

the members of Christ. The Council of Elvira in Spain (306) forbade

such mixed marriages on pain of excommunication, but did not dissolve

those already existing. We shall understand this strictness, if, to say

nothing of the heathen marriage rites, and the wretchedly loose notions

on chastity and conjugal fidelity, we consider the condition of those

times, and the offences and temptations which met the Christian in the

constant sight of images of the household gods, mythological pictures

on the walls, the floor, and the furniture; in the libations at table;

in short, at every step and turn in a pagan house.

Second marriage.--From the high view of marriage, and also from an

ascetic over-estimate of celibacy, arose a very, prevalent aversion to

re-marriage, particularly of widows. The Shepherd of Hermas allows this

reunion indeed, but with the reservation, that continuance in single

life earns great honor with the Lord. Athenagoras goes so far as to

call the second marriage a "decent adultery." [650] 50

The Montanists and Novatians condemned re-marriage, and made it a

subject of discipline.

Tertullian came forward with the greatest decision, as advocate of

monogamy against both successive and simultaneous polygamy. [651] 51 He

thought thus to occupy the true middle ground between the ascetic

Gnostics, who rejected marriage altogether, and the Catholics, who

allowed more than one. [652] 52 In the earlier period of his life, when

he drew the above picture of Christian marriage, before his adoption of

Montanism., he already placed a high estimate on celibacy as a superior

grade of Christian holiness, appealing to 1 Cor. 7:9 and advised at

least his wife, in case of his death, not to marry again, especially

with a heathen; but in his Montanistic writings, "De Exhortatione

Castitatis" and "De Monogamia," he repudiates second marriage from

principle, and with fanatical zeal contends against it as unchristian,

as an act of polygamy, nay of "stuprum" and "adulterium." He opposes it

with all sorts of acute argument; now, on the ground of an ideal

conception of marriage as a spiritual union of two souls for time and

eternity; now, from an opposite sensuous view; and again, on principles

equally good against all marriage and in favor of celibacy. Thus, on

the one hand, he argues, that the second marriage impairs the spiritual

fellowship with the former partner, which should continue beyond the

grave, which should show itself in daily intercessions and in yearly

celebration of the day of death, and which hopes even for outward

reunion after the resurrection. [653] 53 On the other hand, however, he

places the essence of marriage in the communion of flesh, [654] 54 and

regards it as a mere concession, which God makes to our sensuality, and

which man therefore should not abuse by repetition. The ideal of the

Christian life, with him, not only for the clergy, but the laity also,

is celibacy. He lacks clear perception of the harmony of the moral and

physical elements which constitutes the essence of marriage; and

strongly as he elsewhere combats the Gnostic dualism, he here falls in

with it in his depreciation of matter and corporeity, as necessarily

incompatible with spirit. His treatment of the exegetical arguments of

the defenders of second marriage is remarkable. The levirate law, he

says, is peculiar to the Old Testament economy. To Rom. 7:2 he replies,

that Paul speaks here from the position of the Mosaic law, which,

according to the same passage is no longer binding on Christians. In 1

Cor. 7, the apostle allows second marriage only in his subjective,

human judgment, and from regard to our sensuous infirmity; but in the

same chapter (1 Cor 7:40) he recommends celibacy to all, and that on

the authority of the Lord, adding here, that he also has the Holy

Spirit, i.e. the principle, which is active in the new prophets of

Montanism. The appeal to 1 Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:6, from which the right of

laymen to second marriage was inferred, as the prohibition of it there

related only to the clergy, he met with the doctrine of the universal

priesthood of believers, which admitted them all both to the privileges

and to the obligations of priests. But his reasoning always amounts in

the end to this: that the state of original virgin purity, which has

nothing at all to do with the sensual, is the best. The true chastity

consists therefore not in the chaste spirit of married partners, but in

the entire continence of "virgines" and "spadones." The desire of

posterity, he, contrary to the Old Testament, considers unworthy of a

Christian, who, in fact, ought to break away entirely from the world,

and renounce all inheritance in it. Such a morality, forbidding the

same that it allows, and rigorously setting as an ideal what it must in

reality abate at least for the mass of mankind, may be very far above

the heathen level, but is still plainly foreign to the deeper substance

and the world-sanctifying principle of Christianity.

The Catholic church, indeed, kept aloof from this Montanistic

extravagance, and forbade second marriage only to the clergy (which the

Greek church does to this day); yet she rather advised against it, and

leaned very decidedly towards a preference for celibacy, as a higher

grade of Christian morality. [655] 55

As to the relation of parents and children, Christianity exerted from

the beginning a most salutary influence. It restrained the tyrannical

power of the father. It taught the eternal value of children as heirs

of the kingdom of heaven, and commenced the great work of education on

a religious and moral basis. It resisted with all energy the exposition

of children, who were then generally devoured by dogs and wild beasts,

or, if found, trained up for slavery or doomed to a life of infamy.

Several apologists, the author to the Epistle of Diognetus, Justin

Martyr, [656] 56 Minutius Felix, Tertullian, and Arnobius speak with

just indignation against this unnatural custom. Athenagoras declares

abortion and exposure to be equal to murder. [657] 57 No heathen

philosopher had advanced so far. Lactantius also puts exposure on a par

with murder even of the worst kind, and admits no excuse on the ground

of pity or poverty, since God provides for all his creatures. [658] 58

The Christian spirit of humanity gradually so penetrated the spirit of

the age that the better emperors, from the time of Trajan, began to

direct their attention to the diminution of these crying evils; but the

best legal enactments would never have been able to eradicate them

without the spiritual influence of the church. The institutions and

donations of Trajan, Antonins Pius, Septimius Severus, and private

persons, for the education of poor children, boys and girls, were

approaches of the nobler heathen towards the genius of Christianity.

Constantine proclaimed a law in 315 throughout Italy "to turn parents

from using a parricidal hand on their new-born children, and to dispose

their hearts to the best sentiments." The Christian fathers, councils,

emperors, and lawgivers united their efforts to uproot this monstrous

evil and to banish it from the civilized world. [659] 59

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[640] Among the converted courtesans of the ancient church in the Roman

calendar are St. Mary Magdalene, St. Mary of Egypt, St. Afra, St.

Pelagia, St. Thais, and St. Theodota. See Charles de Bussy Les

Courtisanes saintes. St. Vitalius, it is said, visited dens of vice

every night, gave money to the inmates to keep them from sin, and

offered up prayers for their conversion. A curious story is told of St.

Serapion, who went to such a place by appointment, and prayed and

prayed and prayed till the unfortunate courtesan was converted and fell

half dead at his feet. See Lecky, II. 338.

[641] This beautiful idea (often attributed to Matthew Henry, the

commentator) was first suggested by Augustin. De Genesi ad Literam, l.

IX. c. 13 (in Migne's ed. of Opera, III.col. 402), and fully stated by

Peter the Lombard, Sentent. l. II. Dist. XVIII. (de formatione

mulieris): "Mulier de viro, non de qualibet parte corporis viri, sed de

latere eius formata est, ut ostenderetur quia in consortium creabatur

dilectionis, ne forte, si fuisset de capite facta, viro ad dominationem

videretur preferenda, aut si de pedibus, ad servitutem subjicienda.

Quia igitur viro nec domina, nec ancilla parabatur, sed socia, nec

capite, nec de pedibus, sed de latere fuerat producenda, ut juxta se

ponendam cognosceret quam de suo latere sumptam didicisset." And again

by Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theol. Pars. I. Quaest. XCII. Art. III. (in

Migne's ed. l.col. 1231).

[642] Eph. 5:28-32. The Vulgate translates to musterion in ver. 32 by

sacramentum, and thus furnished a quasi-exegetical foundation to the

Catholic doctrine of the sacrament of marriage. The passage is so used

by the Council of Trent and in the Roman Catechism. Ellicott (in loc.)

judges that "the words cannot possibly be urged in favor of the

sacramental nature of marriage, but that the very fact of the

comparison does place marriage on a far holier and higher basis than

modern theories are disposed to admit." Bengel refers "the mystery "

not to marriage, but to the union of Christ with the church ("non

matrimonium humanum sed ipsa conjunctio Christi et ecclesiae "). Meyer

refers it to the preceding quotation from Genesis; Estius and Ellicott

to the intimate conjugal relationship.

[643] Euche kai anagnosis.

[644] Paedag. III. 250

[645] Ad Uxorem, l II.c. 8.

[646] Ad Polyc. c. 5. In the Syr. version, c. 2.

[647] Tert. Ad Uxor. II. 8; Comp. De Monog. c. 11; De Pudic. c. 4.

[648] Vivatis in Deo. See the picture in Northcote and Brownlow, II.

303. In other and later pictures the ceremony is presided over by

Christ, who either crowns the married couple, or is represented by his

monogram. Ibid. p. 302.

[649] According to 1 Cor. 7:12, 16.

[650] Legat. 33: Ho deuteros gamos euprepes esti moiseia. According to

Origen, bigamists may be saved, but will not be crowned by Christ (Hom.

XVII. in Luc.). Theophilus Ad Autol. III. 15, says that with the

Christians enkrateia askeitai, monogamia tereitai. Perhaps even

Irenaeus held a similar view, to judge from the manner in which he

speaks of the woman of Samaria (John 4:7), "quae in uno viro non

mansit, sed fornicata est in multis nuptiis." Adv. Haer. III. 17, � 2

[651] Comp. Hauber: Tertullian's Kampf gegen die zweite Ehe, in the

"Studien und Kritiken" for 1845, p. 607 sqq.

[652] De Monog. 1: "Haeretici nuptias auferunt, psychici ingerunt; illi

nec semel, isti non semel nubunt."

[653] De Exhort Cast. c. 11: "Duplex rubor est, quia in secundo

matramonio duae uxores eundem circumstant maritum, una spiritu, alia in

carne. Nequeenim pristinam poteris odisse, cui etiam religiosiorem

reservas affectionem ut jam receptae apud Dominum, pro cujus spiritu

postulas, pro qua oblationes annuas reddis. Stabis ergo ad Dominum cum

tot uxoribus quot in oratione commemoras, et offeres pro duabus," etc.

[654] De Exhort Cast. c. 9:Leges videntur matrimonii et stupri

differentiam facere, per diversitatem illiciti, non per conditionem rei

ipsius .... Nuptiae ipsae ex eo constant quod est stuprum."

[655] "Non prohibemus secundas nuptias, " says Ambrose, "sed non

suademus." None of the fathers recommends remarriage or even approves

of it. Jerome represented the prevailing view of the Nicene age. He

took the lowest view of marriage as a mere safeguard against

fornication and adultery, and could conceive of no other motive for

second or third marriage but animal passion. "The first Adam, " he

says, "had one wife; the second Adam had no wife. Those who approve of

digamy hold forth a third Adam, who was twice married, whom they

follow" (Contra Jovin. 1). Gregory of Nazianzum infers from the analogy

of marriage to the union of Christ with his church that second marriage

is to be reproved, as there is but one Christ and one church (Orat.

XXXI).

[656] Apol. I. 27 and 29.

[657] Apol. c. 35

[658] Inst. Div. vi. 20 (p. 48 ed. Lips): "Let no one imagine that even

this is allowed, to strangle newly-born children, which is the greatest

impiety; for God breathes into their souls for life, and not for death.

But men (that there may be no crime with which they may not pollute

their hands) deprive souls as yet innocent and simple of the light

which they themselves have not given. Can they be considered innocent

who expose their own offspring as a prey to dogs, and as far as it

depends upon themselves, kill them in a more cruel manner than if they

had strangled them? Who can doubt that he is impious who gives occasion

for the pity of others? For, although that which he has wished should

befall the child--namely, that it should be brought up--he has

certainly consigned his own offspring either to servitude or to the

brothel? But who does not understand, who is ignorant what things may

happen, or are accustomed to happen, in the case of each sex, even

through error? For this is shown by the example of OEdipus alone,

confused with twofold guilt. It is therefore as wicked to expose as it

is to kill. But truly parricides complain of the scantiness of their

means, and allege that they have not enough for bringing up more

children; as though, in truth, their means were in the power of these

who possess them, or God did not daily make the rich poor, and the poor

rich. Wherefore, if any one on account of poverty shall be unable to

bring up children, it is better to abstain from marriage than with

wicked hands to mar the work of God."

[659] For further details see Brace, l.c. 79 sqq., and Terme et

Monfalcon, Hist. des enfants trouv�s. Paris, 1840.

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� 100. Brotherly Love, and Love for Enemies.

Schaubach: Das Verh�ltniss der Moral des classischen Alterthums zur

christlichen, beleuchtet durch vergleichende Er�rterung der Lehre von

der Feindesliebe, in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1851, p. 59-121.

Also the works of Schmidt, Chastel, Uhlhorn, etc., quoted at � 88

above.

It is generally admitted, that selfishness was the soul of heathen

morality. The great men of antiquity rose above its sordid forms, love

of gain and love of pleasure, but were the more under the power of

ambition and love of fame. It was for fame that Miltiades and

Themistocles fought against the Persians; that Alexander set out on his

tour of conquest; that Herodotus wrote his history, that Pindar sang

his odes, that Sophocles composed his tragedies, that Demosthenes

delivered his orations, that Phidias sculptured his Zeus. Fame was set

forth in the Olympian games as the highest object of life; fame was

held up by Aeschylus as the last comfort of the suffering; fame was

declared by Cicero, before a large assembly, the ruling passion of the

very best of men. [660] 60 Even the much-lauded patriotism of the

heroes of ancient Greece and Rome was only an enlarged egotism. In the

catalogue of classical virtues we look in vain for the two fundamental

and cardinal virtues, love and humility. The very word which

corresponds in Greek to humility [661] 61 signifies generally, in

classical usage, a mean, abject mind. The noblest and purest form of

love known to the heathen moralist is friendship, which Cicero praises

as the highest good next to wisdom. But friendship itself rested, as

was freely admitted, on a utilitarian, that is, on an egotistic basis,

and was only possible among persons of equal or similar rank in

society. For the stranger, the barbarian, and the enemy, the Greek and

Roman knew no love, but only contempt and hatred. The jus talionis, the

return of evil for evil, was universally acknowledged throughout the

heathen world as a just principle and maxim, in direct opposition to

the plainest injunctions of the New Testament. [662] 62 We must offend

those who offend us, says Aeschylus. [663] 63 Not to take revenge was

regarded as a sign of weakness and cowardice. To return evil for good

is devilish; to return good for good is human and common to all

religions; to return good for evil is Christlike and divine, and only

possible in the Christian religion.

On the other hand, however, we should suppose that every Christian

virtue must find some basis in the noblest moral instincts and

aspirations of nature; since Christianity is not against nature, but

simply above it and intended for it. Thus we may regard the liberality,

benevolence, humanity and magnanimity which we meet with in heathen

antiquity, as an approximation to, and preparation for, the Christian

virtue of charity. The better schools of moralists rose more or less

above the popular approval of hatred of the enemy, wrath and revenge.

Aristotle and the Peripatetics, without condemning this passion as

wrong in itself, enjoined at least moderation in its exercise. The

Stoics went further, and required complete apathy or suppression of all

strong and passionate affections. Cicero even declares placability and

clemency one of the noblest traits in the character of a great man,

[664] 64 and praises Caesar for forgetting nothing except injuries.

Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius, who were already

indirectly and unconsciously under the influence of the atmosphere of

Christian morality, decidedly condemn anger and vindictiveness, and

recommend kindness to slaves, and a generous treatment even of enemies.

But this sort of love for an enemy, it should be remembered, in the

first place, does not flow naturally from the spirit of heathenism, but

is, as it were, an accident and exception; secondly, it is not enjoined

as a general duty, but expected only from the great and the wise;

thirdly, it does not rise above the conception of magnanimity, which,

more closely considered, is itself connected with a refined form of

egotism, and with a noble pride that regards it below the dignity of a

gentleman to notice the malice of inferior men; [665] 65 fourthly, it

is commended only in its negative aspect as refraining from the right

of retaliation, not as active benevolence and charity to the enemy,

which returns good for evil; and finally it is nowhere derived from a

religious principle, the love of God to man, and therefore has no

proper root, and lacks the animating soul.

No wonder, then, that in spite of the finest maxims of a few

philosophers, the imperial age was controlled by the coldest

selfishness, so that, according to the testimony of Plutarch,

friendship had died out even in families, and the love of brothers and

sisters was supposed to be possible only in a heroic age long passed

by. The old Roman world was a world without charity. Julian the

Apostate, who was educated a Christian, tried to engraft charity upon

heathenism, but in vain. The idea of the infinite value of each human

soul, even the poorest and humblest, was wanting, and with it the basis

for true charity.

It was in such an age of universal egotism that Christianity first

revealed the true spirit of love to man as flowing from the love of

God, and exhibited it in actual life. This cardinal virtue we meet

first within the Church itself, as the bond of union among believers,

and the sure mark of the genuine disciple of Jesus. "That especially,"

says Tertullian to the heathen, in a celebrated passage of his

Apologeticus, "which love works among us, exposes us to many a

suspicion. 'Behold,' they say, 'how they love one another!' Yea, verily

this must strike them; for they hate each other. 'And how ready they

are to die for one another!' Yea, truly; for they are rather ready to

kill one another. And even that we call each other 'brethren,' seems to

them suspicious for no other reason, than that, among them, all

expressions of kindred are only feigned. We are even your brethren, in

virtue of the common nature, which is the mother of us all; though ye,

as evil brethren, deny your human nature. But how much more justly are

those called and considered brethren, who acknowledge the one God as

their Father; who have received the one Spirit of holiness; who have

awaked from the same darkness of uncertainty to the light of the same

truth?... And we, who are united in spirit and in soul, do not hesitate

to have also all things common, except wives. For we break fellowship

just where other men practice it."

This brotherly love flowed from community of life in Christ. Hence

Ignatius calls believers "Christ-bearers" and "God-bearers." [666] 66

The article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe in the communion of

saints;" the current appellation of "brother" and "sister;" and the

fraternal kiss usual on admission into the church, and at the Lord's

Supper, were not empty forms, nor even a sickly sentimentalism, but the

expression of true feeling and experience, only strengthened by the

common danger and persecution. A travelling Christian, of whatever

language or country, with a letter of recommendation from his bishop,

[667] 67 was everywhere hospitably received as a long known friend. It

was a current phrase: In thy brother thou hast seen the Lord himself.

The force of love reached beyond the grave. Families were accustomed to

celebrate at appointed times the memory, of their departed members; and

this was one of the grounds on which Tertullian opposed second

marriage.

The brotherly love expressed itself, above all, in the most

self-sacrificing beneficence to the poor and sick, to widows and

orphans, to strangers and prisoners, particularly to confessors in

bonds. It magnifies this virtue in our view, to reflect, that the

Christians at that time belonged mostly to the lower classes, and in

times of persecution often lost all their possessions. Every

congregation was a charitable society, and in its public worship took

regular collections for its needy members. The offerings at the

communion and love-feasts, first held on the evening, afterwards on the

morning of the Lord's Day, were considered a part of worship. [668] 68

To these were added numberless private charities, given in secret,

which eternity alone will reveal. The church at Rome had under its care

a great multitude of widows, orphans, blind, lame, and sick, [669] 69

whom the deacon Laurentius, in the Decian persecution, showed to the

heathen prefect, as the most precious treasures of the church. It

belonged to the idea of a Christian housewife, and was particularly the

duty of the deaconesses, to visit the Lord, to clothe him, and give him

meat and drink, in the persons of his needy disciples. Even such

opponents of Christianity as Lucian testify to this zeal of the

Christians in labors of love, though they see in it nothing but an

innocent fanaticism. "It is incredible," says Lucian, "to see the ardor

with which the people of that religion help each other in their wants.

They spare nothing. Their first legislator has put into their heads

that they are all brethren." [670] 70

This beneficence reached beyond the immediate neighborhood. Charity

begins at home, but does not stay at, home. In cases of general

distress the bishops appointed special collections, and also fasts, by

which food might be saved for suffering brethren. The Roman church sent

its charities great distances abroad. [671] 71 Cyprian of Carthage,

who, after his conversion, sold his own estates for the benefit of the

poor, collected a hundred thousand sestertia, or more than three

thousand dollars, to redeem Christians of Numidia, who had been taken

captive by neighboring barbarians; and he considered it a high

privilege "to be able to ransom for a small sum of money him, who has

redeemed us from the dominion of Satan with his own blood." A father,

who refused to give alms on account of his children, Cyprian charged

with the additional sin of binding his children to an earthly

inheritance, instead of pointing them to the richest and most loving

Father in heaven.

Finally, this brotherly love expanded to love even for enemies, which

returned the heathens good for evil, and not rarely, in persecutions

and public misfortunes, heaped coals of fire on their heads. During the

persecution under Gallus (252), when the pestilence raged in Carthage,

and the heathens threw out their dead and sick upon the streets, ran

away from them for fear of the contagion, and cursed the Christians as

the supposed authors of the plague, Cyprian assembled his congregation,

and exhorted them to love their enemies; whereupon all went to work;

the rich with their money, the poor with their hands, and rested not,

till the dead were buried, the sick cared for, and the city saved from

desolation. The same self-denial appeared in the Christians of

Alexandria during a ravaging plague under the reign of Gallienus. These

are only a few prominent manifestations of a spirit which may be traced

through the whole history of martyrdom and the daily prayers of the

Christians for their enemies and persecutors. For while the love of

friends, says Tertullian, is common to all men, the love of enemies is

a virtue peculiar to Christians. [672] 72 "You forget," he says to the

heathens in his Apology, "that, notwithstanding your persecutions, far

from conspiring against you, as our numbers would perhaps furnish us

with the means of doing, we pray for you and do good to you; that, if

we give nothing for your gods, we do give for your poor, and that our

charity spreads more alms in your streets than the offerings presented

by your religion in your temples."

The organized congregational charity of the ante-Nicene age provided

for all the immediate wants. When the state professed Christianity,

there sprang up permanent charitable institutions for the poor, the

sick, for strangers, widows, orphans, and helpless old men. [673] 73

The first clear proof of such institutions we find in the age of Julian

the Apostate, who tried to check the progress of Christianity and to

revive paganism by directing the high priest of Galatia, Arsacius, to

establish in every town a Xenodochium to be supported by the state and

also by private contributions; for, he said, it was a shame that the

heathen should be left without support from their own, while "among the

Jews no beggar can be found, and the godless Galilaeans" (i.e. the

Christians) "nourish not only their own, but even our own poor." A few

years afterwards (370) we hear of a celebrated hospital at Caesarea,

founded by St. Basilius, and called after him "Basilias," and similar

institutions all over the province of Cappadocia. We find one at

Antioch at the time of Chrysostom, who took a practical interest in it.

At Constantinople there were as many as thirty-five hospitals. In the

West such institutions spread rapidly in Rome, Sicily, Sardinia, and

Gaul. [674] 74

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[660] Pro Archia poeta, c. 11: "Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et

optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur."

[661] Tapeinos. tapeinophron,tapeinotes, tapeinophrosune.

[662] Matt. 5:23, 24, 44; 6:12; 18:21. Rom. 12:17, 19, 20. 1 Cor. 13:7.

I Thess. 5:15. 1 Pet. 3:9.

[663] Prom. Vinct. v. 1005, Comp. 1040. Many passages of similar import

from Homer, Hesiod, Sophocles, Euripedes, etc., see quoted on p. 81

sqq. of the article of Schaubach referred to above.

[664] De Offic. I. 25: "Nihil enim laudabilius, nihil magno et

praeclaro viro dignius placabilitate et clementia."

[665] Comp. Seneca, De ira II. 32: "Magni animi est injurias despicere.

Illemagnus et nobilis est, qui more magnae ferae latratus minutorum

canum securus exaudit."

[666] Christophoroi, theophoroi

[667] Grammata tetupomena or koinonika: epistolae or literae formatae;

so called, because composed after a certain tupos or forma, to guard

against frequent forgeries.

[668] Comp. James 1:27; Hebr. 13:1-3, 16.

[669] Comelius, in Euseb. H. E. VI. 43.

[670] De Morte Peregr. c. 13.

[671] Dionysius of Corinth, in Eus. IV. 23.

[672] Ad Scapulam, c. 1: Ita enim disciplina jubemur diligere inimicos

quoque,et orare pro iis qui nos persequuntur, ut haec sit perfecta et

propria bonitas nostra, non communis. Amicos enim diligere omnium est,

inimicos autem solorum Christianorum."

[673] Nosocomia, Ptochotrophia, Xenodochia, Cherotrophia,

Orphanotrophia, Brephotrophia, Gerontocomia (for old men).

[674] See Uhlhorn, Book III.ch. 4 (p. 319 sqq.).

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� 101. Prayer and Fasting.

In regard to the importance and the necessity of prayer, as the pulse

and thermometer of spiritual life, the ancient church had but one

voice. Here the plainest and the most enlightened Christians met; the

apostolic fathers, the steadfast apologists, the realistic Africans,

and the idealistic Alexandrians. Tertullian sees in prayer the daily

sacrifice of the Christian, the bulwark of faith, the weapon against

all the enemies of the soul. The believer should not go to his bath nor

take his food without prayer; for the nourishing and refreshing of the

spirit must precede that of the body, and the heavenly must go before

the earthly. "Prayer," says he, "blots out sins, repels temptations,

quenches persecutions, comforts, the desponding, blesses the

high-minded, guides the wanderers, calms the billows, feeds the poor,

directs the rich, raises the fallen, holds up the falling, preserves

them that stand." Cyprian requires prayer by day and by night; pointing

to heaven, where we shall never cease to pray and give thanks. The same

father, however, falls already into that false, unevangelical view,

which represents prayer as a meritorious work and a satisfaction to be

rendered to God. [675] 75 Clement of Alexandria conceives the life of a

genuine Christian as an unbroken prayer. "In every place he will pray,

though not openly, in the sight of the multitude. Even on his walks, in

his intercourse with others, in silence, in reading, and in labor, he

prays in every way. And though he commune with God only in the chamber

of his soul, and call upon the Father only with a quiet sigh, the

Father is near him." The same idea we find in Origen, who discourses in

enthusiastic terms of the mighty inward and outward effects of prayer,

and with all his enormous learning, regards prayer as the sole key to

the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures.

The order of human life, however, demands special times for this

consecration of the every-day business of men. The Christians generally

followed the Jewish usage, observed as times of prayer the hours of

nine, twelve, and three, corresponding also to the crucifixion of

Christ, his death, and his descent from the cross; the cock-crowing

likewise, and the still hour of midnight they regarded as calls to

prayer.

With prayer for their own welfare, they united intercessions for the

whole church, for all classes of men, especially for the sick and the

needy, and even for the unbelieving. Polycarp enjoins on the church of

Philippi to pray for all the saints, for kings and rulers, for haters

and persecutors, and for the enemies of the cross. "We pray," says

Tertullian, "even for the emperors and their ministers, for the holders

of power on earth, for the repose of all classes, and for the delay of

the end of the world."

With the free outpourings of the heart, without which living piety

cannot exist, we must suppose, that, after the example of the Jewish

church, standing forms of prayer were also used, especially such as

were easily impressed on the memory and could thus be freely delivered.

The familiar "ex pectore" and "sine monitore" of Tertullian prove

nothing against this; for a prayer committed to memory may and should

be at the same time a prayer of the heart, as a familiar psalm or hymn

may be read or sung with ever new devotion. The general use of the

Lord's Prayer in the ancient church in household and public worship is

beyond all doubt. The Didache (ch. 8) enjoins it three times a day.

Tertullian, Cyprian, Origen, wrote special treatises upon it. They

considered it the model prayer, prescribed by the Lord for the whole

church. Tertullian calls it the "regular and usual prayer, a brief

summary of the whole gospel, and foundation of all the other prayers of

the Christians." The use of it, however, was restricted to

communicants; because the address presupposes the worshipper's full

sonship with God, and because the fourth petition was taken in a

mystical sense, as referring to the holy Supper, and was therefore

thought not proper for catechumens.

As to posture in prayer; kneeling or standing, the raising or closing

of the eyes, the extension or elevation of the hands, were considered

the most suitable expressions of a bowing spirit and a soul directed

towards God. On Sunday the standing posture was adopted, in token of

festive joy over the resurrection from sin and death. But there was no

uniform law in regard to these forms. Origen lays chief stress on the

lifting of the soul to God and the bowing of the heart before him; and

says that, where circumstances require, one can worthily pray sitting,

or lying, or engaged in business.

After the Jewish custom, fasting was frequently joined with prayer,

that the mind, unencumbered by earthly matter, might devote itself with

less distraction to the contemplation of divine things. The apostles

themselves sometimes employed this wholesome discipline, [676] 76

though without infringing the gospel freedom by legal prescriptions. As

the Pharisees were accustomed to fast twice in the week, on Monday and

Thursday, the Christians appointed Wednesday and especially Friday, as

days of half-fasting or abstinence from flesh, [677] 77 in

commemoration of the passion and crucifixion of Jesus. They did this

with reference to the Lord's words: "When the bridegroom shall be taken

away from them, then will they fast." [678] 78

In the second century arose also the custom of Quadragesimal fasts

before Easter, which, however, differed in length in different

countries; being sometimes reduced to forty hours, sometimes extended

to forty days, or at least to several weeks. Perhaps equally ancient

are the nocturnal fasts or vigils before the high festivals, suggested

by the example of the Lord and the apostles. [679] 79 But the

Quatemporal fasts [680] 80 are of later origin, though founded likewise

on a custom of the Jews after the exile. On special occasions the

bishops appointed extraordinary fasts, and applied the money saved to

charitable purposes; a usage which became often a blessing to the poor.

Yet hierarchical arrogance and Judaistic legalism early intruded here,

even to the entire destruction of the liberty of a Christian man. [681]

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This rigidity appeared most in the Montanists. Besides the usual fasts,

they observed special Xerophagiae [682] 82 as they were called; seasons

of two weeks for eating only dry or properly uncooked food, bread,

salt, and water. The Catholic church, with true feeling, refused to

sanction these excesses as a general rule, but allowed ascetics to

carry fasting even to extremes. A confessor in Lyons, for example,

lived on bread and water alone, but forsook that austerity when

reminded that he gave offence to other Christians by so despising the

gifts of God.

Against the frequent over-valuation of fasting, Clement of Alexandria

quotes the word of Paul: The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,

therefore neither abstinence from wine and flesh, but righteousness and

peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

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[675] De Orat. Domin. 33: "Cito orationes ad Deum adscendunt, quas ad

Deum merita operis nostri imponunt."De Lapsis 17:"Dominus orandus est,

Dominus nostra satisfactione placandus est."Epist. xl. 2: "Preces et

orationes, quibus Dominus longa et continua satisfactione placandus

est."

[676] Comp. Acts 13:2; 14:23; 2 Cor. 6:5

[677] Semijejunium, abstinentia.

[678] Matt. 9:15.

[679] Luke 6:12. Acts 16:25.

[680] From quatuor tempora.

[681] Comp. Matt. 9:15; Gal. 4:9; 5:1.

[682] Xerophagiai, aridus victus. See Tertullian, De Jejuu, 15;

Hippolytus. Philos. VIII. 19.

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� 102. Treatment of the Dead

Comp. Chapter VII. on the Catacombs.

The pious care of the living for the beloved dead is rooted in the

noblest instincts of human future, and is found among all nations,

ancient and modern, even among barbarians. Hence the general custom of

surrounding the funeral with solemn rites and prayers, and giving the

tomb a sacred and inviolable character. The profane violation of the

dead and robbery of graves were held in desecration, and punished by

law. [683] 83 No traditions and laws were more sacred among the

Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans than those that guarded and protected the

shades of the departed who can do no harm to any of the living. "It is

the popular belief," says Tertullian, "that the dead cannot enter Hades

before they are buried." Patroclus appears after his death to his

friend Achilles in a dream, and thus exhorts him to provide for his

speedy burial:

"Achilles, sleepest thou, forgetting me?

Never of me unmindful in my life,

Thou dost neglect me dead. O, bury me

Quickly, and give me entrance through the gates

Of Hades; for the souls, the forms of those

Who live no more, repulse me, suffering not

That I should join their company beyond

The river, and I now must wander round

The spacious portals of the House of Death." [684] 84

Christianity intensified this regard for the departed, and gave it a

solid foundation by the doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the

resurrection of the body. Julian the Apostate traced the rapid spread

and power of that religion to three causes: benevolence, care of the

dead, and honesty. [685] 85 After the persecution under Marcus

Aurelius, the Christians in Southern Gaul were much distressed because

the enraged heathens would not deliver them the corpses of their

brethren for burial. [686] 86 Sometimes the vessels of the church were

sold for the purpose. During the ravages of war, famine, and

pestilence, they considered it their duty to bury the heathen as well

as their fellow-Christians. When a pestilence depopulated the cities in

the reign of the tyrannical persecutor Maximinus, "the Christians were

the only ones in the midst of such distressing circumstances that

exhibited sympathy and humanity in their conduct. They continued the

whole day, some in the care and burial of the dead, for numberless were

they for whom there was none to care; others collected the multitude of

those wasting by the famine throughout the city, and distributed bread

among all. So that the fact was cried abroad, and men glorified the God

of the Christians, constrained, as they were by the facts, to

acknowledge that these were the only really pious and the only real

worshippers of God." [687] 87 Lactantius says: "The last and greatest

office of piety is the burying of strangers and the poor; which subject

these teachers of virtue and justice have not touched upon at all, as

they measure all their duties by utility. We will not suffer the image

and workmanship of God to lie exposed as a prey to beasts and birds;

but we will restore it to the earth, from which it had its origin; and

although it be in the case of an unknown man, we will fulfil the office

of relatives, into whose place, since they are wanting, let kindness

succeed; and wherever there shall be need of man, there we will think

that our duty is required." [688] 88

The early church differed from the pagan and even from the Jewish

notions by a cheerful and hopeful view of death, and by discarding

lamentations, rending of clothes, and all signs of extravagant grief.

The terrors of the grave were dispelled by the light of the

resurrection, and the idea of death was transformed into the idea of a

peaceful slumber. No one, says Cyprian, should be made sad by death,

since in living is labor and peril, in dying peace and the certainty of

resurrection; and he quotes the examples of Enoch who was translated,

of Simeon who wished to depart in peace, several passages from Paul,

and the assurance of the Lord that he went to the Father to prepare

heavenly mansions for us. [689] 89 The day of a believer's death,

especially if he were a martyr, was called the day of his heavenly

birth. His grave was surrounded with symbols of hope and of victory;

anchors, harps, palms, crowns. The primitive Christians always showed a

tender care for the dead; under a vivid impression of the unbroken

communion of saints and the future resurrection of the body in glory.

For Christianity redeems the body as well as the soul, and consecrates

it a temple of the Holy Spirit. Hence the Greek and Roman custom of

burning the corpse (crematio) was repugnant to Christian feeling and

the sacredness of the body. [690] 90 Tertullian even declared it a

symbol of the fire of hell, and Cyprian regarded it as equivalent to

apostasy. In its stead, the church adopted the primitive Jewish usage

of burial (inhumatio), [691] 91 practiced also by the Egyptians and

Babylonians. The bodies of the dead were washed, [692] 92 wrapped in

linen cloths, [693] 93 sometimes embalmed, [694] 94 and then, in the

presence of ministers, relatives, and friends, with prayer and singing

of psalms, committed as seeds of immortality to the bosom of the earth.

Funeral discourses were very common as early as the Nicene period.

[695] 95 But in the times of persecution the interment was often

necessarily performed as hastily and secretly as possible. The

death-days of martyrs the church celebrated annually at their graves

with oblations, love feasts, and the Lord's Supper. Families likewise

commemorated their departed members in the domestic circle. The current

prayers for the dead were originally only thanksgiving for the grace of

God manifested to them. But they afterwards passed into intercessions,

without any warrant in the reaching of the apostles, and in connection

with questionable views in regard to the intermediate state.

Tertullian, for instance, in his argument against second marriage, says

of the Christian widow, she prays for the soul of her departed husband,

[696] 96 and brings her annual offering on the day of his departure.

The same feeling of the inseparable communion of saints gave rise to

the usage, unknown to the heathens, of consecrated places of common

burial. [697] 97 For these cemeteries, the Christians, in the times of

persecution, when they were mostly poor and enjoyed no corporate

rights, selected remote, secret spots, and especially subterranean

vaults, called at first crypts, but after the sixth century commonly

termed catacombs, or resting-places, which have been discussed in a

previous chapter.

We close with a few stanzas of the Spanish poet Prudentius (d. 405), in

which he gives forcible expression to the views and feelings of the

ancient church before the open grave: [698] 98

"No more, ah, no more sad complaining;

Resign these fond pledges to earth:

Stay, mothers, the thick-falling tear-drops;

This death is a heavenly birth.

Take, Earth, to thy bosom so tender,--

Take, nourish this body. How fair,

How noble in death! We surrender

These relics of man to thy care

This, this was the home of the spirit,

Once built by the breath of our God;

And here, in the light of his wisdom,

Christ, Head of the risen, abode.

Guard well the dear treasure we lend thee

The Maker, the Saviour of men:

Shall never forget His beloved,

But claim His own likeness again."

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[683] And it occurs occasionally even among Christian nations. The

corpse of the richest merchant prince of New York, Alexander T. Stewart

(d. 1876), was stolen from St. Mark's grave-yard, and his splendid

mausoleum in Garden City on Long Island is empty.

[684] Iliad XXIII. 81-88, in Bryant's translation (IT. 284)-

[685] Epist, XLIX. ad Arsacium, the pagan high-priest in Galatia.

[686] Eus. IX. 8.

[687] Eusebius, H. E. V. I.

[688] Instit. Div. Vl.c. 12

[689] Testim. l. III.c. 58

[690] Comp. 1 Cor. 3:16; 6:19; 2 Cor. 6:16. Burial was the prevailing

Oriental and even the earlier Roman custom before the empire, and was

afterwards restored, no doubt under the influence of Christianity

Minucius Felix says (Octav. c. 34): "Veterem et meliorem consuetudinem

humandi frequentamus." Comp. Cicero, De Leg. II. 22; Pliny, Hist. Nat.

VII. 54; Augustin, De Civ Dei I. 12, 13. Sometimes dead Christians were

burned during the persecution by the heathen to ridicule their hope of

a resurrection.

[691] Comp. Gen. 23:19; Matt. 27:60; John 11:17; Acts 5:6; 8:2.

[692] Acts 9:37.

[693] Matt. 27:59; Luke 23:53; John 11:44.

[694] John 19:39 sq.; 12:7.

[695] We have the funeral orations of Eusebius at the death of

Constantine, of Gregory of Nazianzum on his father, brother, and

sister, of Ambrose on Theodosius.

[696] "Pro anima ejus orat!" Compare, however, the prevailing cheerful

tone of the epigraphs in the catacombs, p. 301-303.

[697] Koimeteria, cimeteria, dormitoria, areae.

[698] From his Iam maesta quiesce querela, the concluding part of his

tenth Cathemerinon, Opera, ed. Obbarius (1845), p. 41; Schaff, Christ

in Song, p. 506 (London ed.). Another version by E. Cagwall: "Cease, ye

tearful mourners, Thus your hearts to rend: Death is life's beginning

Rather than its end."

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� 103. Summary of Moral Reforms.

Christianity represents the thoughts and purposes of God in history.

They shine as so many stars in the darkness of sin and error. They are

unceasingly opposed, but make steady progress and are sure of final

victory. Heathen ideas and practices with their degrading influences

controlled the ethics, politics, literature, and the house and home of

emperor and peasant, when the little band of despised and persecuted

followers of Jesus of Nazareth began the unequal struggle against

overwhelming odds and stubborn habits. It was a struggle of faith

against superstition, of love against selfishness, of purity against

corruption, of spiritual forces against political and social power.

Under the inspiring influence of the spotless purity of Christ's

teaching and example, and aided here and there by the nobler instincts

and tendencies of philosophy, the Christian church from the beginning

asserted the individual rights of man, recognized the divine image in

every rational being, taught the common creation and common redemption,

the destination of all for immortality and glory, raised the humble and

the lowly, comforted the prisoner and captive, the stranger and the

exile, proclaimed chastity as a fundamental virtue, elevated woman to

dignity and equality with man, upheld the sanctity and inviolability of

the marriage tie, laid the foundation of a Christian family and happy

home, moderated the evils and undermined the foundations of slavery,

opposed polygamy and concubinage, emancipated the children from the

tyrannical control of parents, denounced the exposure of children as

murder, made relentless war upon the bloody games of the arena and the

circus, and the shocking indecencies of the theatre, upon cruelty and

oppression and every vice infused into a heartless and loveless world

the spirit of love and brotherhood, transformed sinners into saints,

frail women into heroines, and lit up the darkness of the tomb by the

bright ray of unending bliss in heaven.

Christianity reformed society from the bottom, and built upwards until

it reached the middle and higher classes, and at last the emperor

himself. Then soon after the conversion of Constantine it began to

influence legislation, abolished cruel institutions, and enacted laws

which breathe the spirit of justice and humanity. We may deplore the

evils which followed in the train of the union of church and state, but

we must not overlook its many wholesome effects upon the Justinian code

which gave Christian ideas an institutional form and educational power

for whole generations to this day. From that time on also began the

series of charitable institutions for widows and orphans, for the poor

and the sick, the blind and the deaf, the intemperate and criminal, and

for the care of all unfortunate,--institutions which we seek in vain in

any other but Christian countries.

Nor should the excesses of asceticism blind us against the moral

heroism of renouncing rights and enjoyments innocent in themselves, but

so generally abused and poisoned, that total abstinence seemed to most

of the early fathers the only radical and effective cure. So in our

days some of the best of men regard total abstinence rather than

temperance, the remedy of the fearful evils of intemperance.

Christianity could not prevent the irruption of the Northern barbarians

and the collapse of the Roman empire. The process of internal

dissolution had gone too far; nations as well as individuals may

physically and morally sink so low that they, are beyond the

possibility of recovery. Tacitus, the heathen Stoic in the second

century, and Salvianus, the Christian presbyter in the fifth, each a

Jeremiah of his age, predicted the approaching doom and destruction of

Roman society, looked towards the savage races of the North for fresh

blood and new vigor. But the Keltic and Germanic conquerors would have

turned Southern Europe into a vast solitude (as the Turks have laid

waste the fairest portions of Asia), if they had not embraced the

principles, laws, and institutions of the Christian church.

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CHAPTER IX:

ASCETIC TENDENCIES.

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� 104. Ascetic Virtue and Piety.

Ad. M�hler (R.C.): Geschichte des M�nchthums in der Zeit seiner ersten

Entstehung u. ersten Ausbildung, 1836 ("Vermischte Schriften," ed.

D�llinger. Regensb. 1839, II. p. 165 sqq.).

Is. Taylor (Independent): Ancient Christianity, 4th ed. London, 1844,

I. 133-299 (anti-Puseyite and anti Catholic).

H. Ruffner (Presbyt.): The Fathers of the Desert; or an Account of the

Origin and Practice of Monkery among heathen nations; its passage into

the church; and some wonderful Stories of the Fathers concerning the

primitive Monks and Hermits. N. York, 1850. 2 vols.

Otto Z�ckler (Lutheran): Kritische Geschichte der Askese. Frkf. and

Erlangen, 1863 (434 pages).

P. E. Lucius Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der

Askese. Strasburg, 1879.

H. Weingarten: Ueber den Ursprung des M�nchthums im

nach-Konstantinischen Zeittalter. Gotha, 1877. And his article in

Herzog's "Encykl." new ed. vol. X. (1882) p. 758 sqq. (abridged in

Schaff's Herzog, vol. II. 1551 sqq. N. Y. 1883).

Ad. Harnack: Das M�nchthum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte. Giessen,

1882.

The general literature on Monasticism is immense, but belongs to the

next period. See vol. III. 147 sq., and the list of books in Z�ckler,

l.c. p. 10-16.

Here we enter a field where the early church appears most remote from

the free spirit of evangelical Protestantism and modern ethics and

stands nearest the legalistic and monastic ethics of Greek and Roman

Catholicism. Christian life was viewed as consisting mainly in certain

outward exercises, rather than an inward disposition, in a multiplicity

of acts rather than a life of faith. The great ideal of virtue was,

according to the prevailing notion of the fathers and councils, not so

much to transform the world and sanctify the natural things and

relations created by God, as to flee from the world into monastic

seclusion, and voluntarily renounce property and marriage. The Pauline

doctrine of faith and of justification by grace alone steadily

retreated, or rather, it was never yet rightly enthroned in the general

thought and life of the church. The qualitative view of morality

yielded more and more to quantitative calculation by the number of

outward meritorious and even supererogatory works, prayer, fasting,

alms-giving, voluntary poverty, and celibacy. This necessarily brought

with it a Judaizing self-righteousness and overestimate of the ascetic

life, which developed, by an irresistible impulse, into the hermit-life

and monasticism of the Nicene age. All the germs of this asceticism

appear in the second half of the third century, and even earlier.

Asceticism in general is a rigid outward self-discipline, by which the

spirit strives after full dominion over the flesh, and a superior grade

of virtue. [699] 99 It includes not only that true moderation or

restraint of the animal appetites, which is a universal Christian duty,

but total abstinence from enjoyments in themselves lawful, from wine,

animal food, property, and marriage, together with all kinds of

penances and mortifications of the body. In the union of the

abstractive and penitential elements, or of self-denial and

self-punishment, the catholic asceticism stands forth complete in light

and shade; exhibiting, on the one hand, wonderful examples of heroic

renunciation of self and the world, but very often, on the other, a

total misapprehension and perversion of Christian morality; the

renunciation involving, more or less a Gnostic contempt of the gifts

and ordinances of the God of nature, and the penance or self-punishment

running into practical denial of the all-sufficient merits of Christ.

The ascetic and monastic tendency rests primarily upon a lively, though

in morbid sense of the sinfulness, of the flesh and the corruption of

the world; then upon the desire for solitude and exclusive occupation

with divine things; and finally, upon the ambition to attain

extraordinary holiness and merit. It would anticipate upon earth the

life of angels in heaven. [700] 00 It substitutes all abnormal,

self-appointed virtue and piety for the normal forms prescribed by the

Creator; and not rarely looks down upon the divinely-ordained standard

with spiritual pride. It is a mark at once of moral strength and moral

weakness. It presumes a certain degree of culture, in which man has

emancipated himself from the powers of nature and risen to the

consciousness of his moral calling; but thinks to secure itself against

temptation only by entire separation from the world, instead of

standing in the world to overcome it and transform it into the kingdom

of God.

Asceticism is by no means limited to the Christian church, but it there

developed its highest and noblest form. We observe kindred phenomena

long before Christ; among the Jews, in the Nazarites, the Essenes, and

the cognate Therapeutae, [701] 01 and still more among the heathens, in

the old Persian and Indian religions, especially among the Buddhists,

who have even a fully developed system of monastic life, which struck

some Roman missionaries as the devil's caricature of the Catholic

system. In Egypt the priests of Serapis led a monastic life. [702] 02

There is something in the very climate of the land of the Pharaohs, in

its striking contrast between the solitude of the desert and the

fertility of the banks of the Nile, so closely bordering on each other,

and in the sepulchral sadness of the people, which induces men to

withdraw from the busy turmoil and the active duties of life. It is

certain that the first Christian hermits and monks were Egyptians. Even

the Grecian philosophy was conceived by the Pythagoreans, the

Platonists, and the Stoics, not as theoretical knowledge merely, but

also as practical wisdom, and frequently joined itself to the most

rigid abstemiousness, so that "philosopher" and "ascetic" were

interchangeable terms. Several apologists of the second century had by

this practical philosophy particularly the Platonic, been led to

Christianity; and they on this account retained their simple dress and

mode of life. Tertullian congratulates the philosopher's cloak on

having now become the garb of a better philosophy. In the show of

self-denial the Cynics, the followers of Diogenes, went to the extreme;

but these, at least in their later degenerate days, concealed under the

guise of bodily squalor, untrimmed nails, and uncombed hair, a vulgar

cynical spirit, and a bitter hatred of Christianity.

In the ancient church there was a special class of Christians of both

sexes who, under the name of "ascetics" or "abstinents," [703] 03

though still living in the midst of the community, retired from

society, voluntarily renounced marriage and property, devoted

themselves wholly to fasting, prayer, and religious contemplation, and

strove thereby to attain Christian perfection. Sometimes they formed a

society of their own, [704] 04 for mutual improvement, an ecclesiola in

ecelesia, in which even children could be received and trained to

abstinence. They shared with the confessors the greatest regard from

their fellow-Christians, had a separate seat in the public worship, and

were considered the fairest ornaments of the church. In times of

persecution they sought with enthusiasm a martyr's death as the crown

of perfection.

While as yet each congregation was a lonely oasis in the desert of the

world's corruption, and stood in downright opposition to the

surrounding heathen world, these ascetics had no reason for separating

from it and flying into the desert. It was under and after Constantine,

and partly as the result of the union of church and state, the

consequent transfer of the world into the church, and the cessation of

martyrdom, that asceticism developed itself to anchoretism and monkery,

and endeavored thus to save the virgin purity of the church by carrying

it into the wilderness. The first Christian hermit, Paul of Thebes, is

traced back to the middle of the third century, but is lost in the mist

of fable; St. Anthony, the real father of monks, belongs to the age of

Constantine. [705] 05 At the time of Cyprian [706] 06 there was as yet

no absolutely binding vow. The early origin and wide spread of this

ascetic life are due to the deep moral earnestness of Christianity, and

the prevalence of sin in all the social relations of the then still

thoroughly pagan world. It was the excessive development of the

negative, world-rejecting element in Christianity, which preceded its

positive effort to transform and sanctify the world.

The ascetic principle, however, was not confined, in its influence, to

the proper ascetics and monks. It ruled more or less the entire

morality and piety of the ancient and mediaeval church; though on the

other hand, there were never wanting in her bosom protests of the free

evangelical spirit against moral narrowness and excessive regard to the

outward works of the law. The ascetics were but the most consistent

representatives of the old catholic piety, and were commended as such

by the apologists to the heathens. They formed the spiritual nobility,

the flower of the church, and served especially as examples to the

clergy.

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[699] Askesis, from askeo,to exercise, to strengthen; primarily applied

to athletic and gymnastic exercise-, but used also, even by the

heathens and by Philo, of moral self-discipline. Clement of Alex.

represents the whole Christian life as an askesis (Strom. IV. 22) and

calls the patriarch Jacob an asketes(Paedlag. I. 7). But at the same

time the term asketaiwas applied from the middle of the second century

by Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius,

Jerome, etc., to a special class of self-denying Christians. Clement of

Alex., styles them eklekton eklektoteroi(Quis Dives salv. 36; Strom.

VIII. 15). Thus " ascetics" assumed the same meaning as " religious" in

the middle ages. Z�ckler takes a comprehensive view of asceticism, and

divides it into eight branches, 1) the asceticism of penal discipline

and self-castigation; 2) of domestic life; 3) of diet (fasting,

abstinence); 4) of sexual life (celibacy); 5) of devotion; 6) of

contemplation; 7) of practical life; 8) of social life (solitude,

poverty, obedience).

[700] Matt. 22:30. Hence the frequent designation of monastic life as a

vita angelica.

[701] As described by Philo in his tract De vita contemplativa (peri

biou theoretikou). Eusebius (II. 17) mistook the Therapeutae for

Christian ascetics, and later historians for Christian monks. It was

supposed that Philo was converted by the Apostle Peter. This error was

not dispelled till after the Reformation. Lucius in his recent

monograph, sees in that tract an apology of Christian asceticism

written at the close of the third century under the name of Philo. But

Weingarten (in Herzog X. 761 sqq.) again argues for the Jewish, though

post-Philonic origin of that book.

[702] The Serapis monks have been made known by the researches of

Letronne, Boissier, and especially Brunet de Presle (M�moire sur le

S�rapeum de Memphis, 1852 and 1865). Weingarten derives Christian

monasticism from this source, and traces the resemblance of the two.

Pachomius was himself a monk of Serapis before his conversion. See

Revillout, Le reclus du Serapeum (Paris 1880, quoted by Weingarten in

Herzog X. 784).

[703] Asketai,continentes also parthenoi, virgines.

[704] Asketerion.

[705] Paul of Thebes withdrew in his sixteenth year, under the Decian

persecution (250), to a cavern in the lower Thebais, and lived there

for one hundred and thirteen years, fed by a raven, and known only to

God until St. Anthony, about 350, revealed his existence to the world.

But his biography is a pious romance of Jerome, the most zealous

promoter of asceticism and monasticism in the West. "The Life of St.

Anthony" (d. about 356) is usually ascribed to St. Athanasius, and has

undoubtedly a strong historic foundation. Eusebius never mentions him,

for the two passages in the Chronicon (ed. Sch�ne II. 192, 195) belong

to the continuation of Jerome. But soon after the middle of the fourth

century Anthony was regarded as the patriarch of monasticism, and his

biography exerted great influence upon Gregory of Nazianzum, Jerome,

and Augustin. See vol. III. 179 sqq. Weingarten denies the Athanasian

authorship of the biography, but not the historic existence of Anthony

(in Herzog, revised ed. vol. X. 774).

[706] Epist. LXII.

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� 105. Heretical and Catholic Asceticism.

But we must now distinguish two different kinds of asceticism in

Christian antiquity: a heretical and an orthodox or Catholic. The

former rests on heathen philosophy, the latter is a development of

Christian ideas.

The heretical asceticism, the beginnings of which are resisted in the

New Testament itself, [707] 07 meets us in the Gnostic and Manichaean

sects. It is descended from Oriental and Platonic ideas, and is based

on a dualistic view of the world, a confusion of sin with matter, and a

perverted idea of God and the creation. It places God and the world at

irreconcilable enmity, derives the creation from an inferior being,

considers the human body substantially evil, a product of the devil or

the demiurge, and makes it the great moral business of man to rid

himself of the same, or gradually to annihilate it, whether by

excessive abstinence or by unbridled indulgence. Many of the Gnostics

placed the fall itself in the first gratification of the sexual desire,

which subjected man to the dominion of the Hyle.

The orthodox or catholic asceticism starts from a literal and

overstrained construction of certain passages of Scripture. It admits

that all nature is the work of God and the object of his love, and

asserts the divine origin and destiny of the human body, without which

there could, in fact, be no resurrection, and hence no admittance to

eternal glory. [708] 08 It therefore aims not to mortify the body, but

perfectly to control and sanctify it. For the metaphysical dualism

between spirit and matter, it substitutes the ethical conflict between

the spirit and the flesh. But in practice it exceeds the simple and

sound limits of the Bible, falsely substitutes the bodily appetites and

affections, or sensuous nature, as such, for the flesh, or the

principle of selfishness, which resides in the soul as well as the

body; and thus, with all its horror of heresy, really joins in the

Gnostic and Manichaean hatred of the body as the prison of the spirit.

This comes out especially in the depreciation of marriage and the

family life, that divinely appointed nursery of church and state, and

in excessive self-inflictions, to which the apostolic piety affords not

the remotest parallel. The heathen Gnostic principle of separation from

the world and from the body, [709] 09 as a means of self-redemption,

after being theoretically exterminated, stole into the church by a back

door of practice, directly in face of the Christian doctrine of the

high destiny of the body and perfect redemption through Christ.

The Alexandrian fathers furnished a theoretical basis for this

asceticism in the distinction of a lower and higher morality, which

corresponds to the Platonic or Pythagorean distinction between the life

according to nature and the life above nature or the practical and

contemplative life. It was previously suggested by Hermas about the

middle of the second century. [710] 10 Tertullian made a corresponding

opposite distinction of mortal and venial sins. [711] 11 Here was a

source of serious practical errors, and an encouragement both to moral

laxity and ascetic extravagance. The ascetics, and afterwards the

monks, formed or claimed to be a moral nobility, a spiritual

aristocracy, above the common Christian people; as the clergy stood in

a separate caste of inviolable dignity above the laity, who were

content with a lower grade of virtue. Clement of Alexandria, otherwise

remarkable for his elevated ethical views, requires of the sage or

gnostic, that he excel the plain Christian not only by higher

knowledge, but also by higher, emotionless virtue, and stoical

superiority to all bodily conditions; and he inclines to regard the

body, with Plato, as the grave and fetter [712] 12 of the soul. How

little he understood the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith,

may be inferred from a passage in the Stromata, where be explains the

word of Christ: "Thy faith hath saved thee," as referring, not to faith

simply, but to the Jews only, who lived according to the law; as if

faith was something to be added to the good works, instead of being the

source and principle of the holy life. [713] 13 Origen goes still

further, and propounds quite distinctly the catholic doctrine of two

kinds of morality and piety, a lower for all Christians, and a higher

for saints or the select few. [714] 14 He includes in the higher

morality works of supererogation, [715] 15 i.e. works not enjoined

indeed in the gospel, yet recommended as counsels of perfection, [716]

16 which were supposed to establish a peculiar merit and secure a

higher degree of blessedness. He who does only what is required of all

is an unprofitable servant; [717] 17 but he who does more, who

performs, for example, what Paul, in 1 Cor. 7:25, merely recommends,

concerning the single state, or like him, resigns his just claim to

temporal remuneration for spiritual service, is called a good and

faithful servant. [718] 18

Among these works were reckoned martyrdom, voluntary poverty, and

voluntary celibacy. All three, or at least the last two of these acts,

in connection with the positive Christian virtues, belong to the idea

of the higher perfection, as distinguished from the fulfilment of

regular duties, or ordinary morality. To poverty and celibacy was

afterwards added absolute obedience; and these three things were the

main subjects of the consilia evangelica and the monastic vow.

The ground on which these particular virtues were so strongly urged is

easily understood. Property, which is so closely allied to the

selfishness of man and binds him to the earth, and sexual intercourse,

which brings out sensual passion in its greatest strength, and which

nature herself covers with the veil of modesty;--these present

themselves as the firmest obstacles to that perfection, in which God

alone is our possession, and Christ alone our love and delight.

In these things the ancient heretics went to the extreme. The Ebionites

made poverty the condition of salvation. The Gnostics were divided

between the two excesses of absolute self-denial and unbridled

self-indulgence. The Marcionites, Carpocratians, Prodicians, false

Basilidians, and Manichaeans objected to individual property, from

hatred to the material world; and Epiphanes, in a book "on Justice"

about 125, defined virtue as a community with equality, and advocated

the community of goods and women. The more earnest of these heretics

entirely prohibited marriage and procreation as a diabolical work, as

in the case of Saturninus, Marcion, and the Encratites; while other

Gnostic sects substituted for it the most shameless promiscuous

intercourse, as in Carpocrates, Epiphanes, and the Nicolaitans.

The ancient church, on the contrary, held to the divine institution of

property and marriage, and was content to recommend the voluntary

renunciation of these intrinsically lawful pleasures to the few elect,

as means of attaining Christian perfection. She declared marriage holy,

virginity more holy. But unquestionably even the church fathers so

exalted the higher holiness of virginity, as practically to neutralize,

or at least seriously to weaken, their assertion of the holiness of

marriage. The Roman church, in spite of the many Bible examples of

married men of God from Abraham to Peter, can conceive no real holiness

without celibacy, and therefore requires celibacy of its clergy without

exception.

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[707] Tim. 4:3; Col. 2:16 sqq. Comp. Rom. 14.

[708] The 51st Apostolic Canon, while favoring ascetism as a useful

discipline, condemns those who "abhor" things in themselves innocent,

as marriage, or flesh, or wine, and "blasphemously slander God's work,

forgetting that all things are very good, and that God made man, male

and female." The Canon implies that there were such heretical ascetics

in the church, and they are threatened with excommunication.

[709] Entwetlichung and Entleiblichung.

[710] Pastor Hermae. Simil. V. 3."If you do any good beyond or outside

of what is commanded by God (ektos tes entoles tou theou), you will

gain for yourself more abundant glory (doxan perissoteran), and will be

more honored by God then you would otherwise be."

[711] Peccata irremissibilia and remissibilia, or mortalia and

venialia.

[712] Taphos, desmos

[713] Strom. VI. 14: "When we hear, 'Thy faith hath saved thee' (Mark

5:34), do not understand him to say absolutely that those who have

believed in any way whatever shall be saved, unless also works follow.

But it was to the Jews alone that he spoke this utterance, who kept the

law and lived blamelessly, who wanted only faith in the Lord."

[714] In Ep. ad Rom. c. iii. ed. de la Rue iv. p. 507: "Donec quis hoc

tantum facit, quod debet, i.e. quae praecepta sunt, inutilis servus. Si

autem addas aliquid ad praeceptum, tunc non jam inutilis servus eris,

sed dicetur ad te: Euge serve bone et fidelis. Quid autem sit quod

addatur praeceptis et supra debitum fiat Paulus ap. dixit: De

virginibus autem praeceptum Dominiai non habeo, consilium autem do,

tamquam misericordiam as-secutus a Domino (1 Cor. 7:25). Hoc opus super

praeceptum est. Et iterum praeceptum est, ut hi qui evangelium

nunciant, de evangelio vivant. Paulus autem dicit, quia nullo horum

usus sum: et ideo non inutilis erit servus, sed fidelis et prudens."

[715] Opera supererogatonia.

[716] Matt. 19:21; Luke 14:26; 1 Cor. 7;8 sq. 25. Hence consilia

evangelica in distinction from.

[717] Luke 17:10.

[718] Matt. 25:21.

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� 106. Voluntary Poverty.

The recommendation of voluntary poverty was based on a literal

interpretation of the Lord's advice to the rich young ruler, who had

kept all the commandments from his youth up: "If thou wouldest be

perfect, go, sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt

have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me." [719] 19 To this were

added the actual examples of the poverty of Christ and his apostles,

and the community of goods in the first Christian church at Jerusalem.

Many Christians, not of the ascetics only, but also of the clergy, like

Cyprian, accordingly gave up all their property at their conversion,

for the benefit of the poor. The later monastic societies sought to

represent in their community of goods the original equality and the

perfect brotherhood of men.

Yet on the other hand, we meet with more moderate views. Clement of

Alexandria, for example, in a special treatise on the right use of

wealth, [720] 20 observes, that the Saviour forbade not so much the

possession of earthly property, as the love of it and desire for it;

and that it is possible to retain the latter, even though the

possession itself be renounced. The earthly, says he, is a material and

a means for doing good, and the unequal distribution of property is a

divine provision for the exercise of Christian love and beneficence.

The true riches are the virtue, which can and should maintain itself

under all outward conditions; the false are the mere outward

possession, which comes and goes.

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[719] Matt. 19:21.

[720] Tis ho sozomenos plousios.

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� 107. Voluntary Celibacy.

The old catholic exaggeration of celibacy attached itself to four

passages of Scripture, viz. Matt. 19:12; 22:30; 1 Cor. 7:7 sqq.; and

Rev. 14:4; but it went far beyond them, and unconsciously admitted

influences from foreign modes of thought. The words of the Lord in

Matt. 22:30 (Luke 20:35 sq.) were most frequently cited; but they

expressly limit unmarried life to the angels, without setting it up as

the model for men. Rev. 14:4 was taken by some of the fathers more

correctly in the symbolical sense of freedom from the pollution of

idolatry. The example of Christ, though often urged, cannot here

furnish a rule; for the Son of God and Saviour of the world was too far

above all the daughters of Eve to find an equal companion among them,

and in any case cannot be conceived as holding such relations. The

whole church of the redeemed is his pure bride. Of the apostles some at

least were married, and among them Peter, the oldest and most prominent

of all. The advice of Paul in 1 Cor. 7 is so cautiously given, that

even here the view of the fathers found but partial support; especially

if balanced with the Pastoral Epistles, where marriage is presented as

the proper condition for the clergy. Nevertheless he was frequently

made the apologist of celibacy by orthodox and heretical writers. [721]

21 Judaism--with the exception of the paganizing Essenes, who abstained

from marriage--highly honors the family life; it allows marriage even

to the priests and the high-priests, who had in fact to maintain their

order by physical reproduction; it considers unfruitfulness a disgrace

or a curse.

Heathenism, on the contrary, just because of its own degradation of

woman, and its low, sensual conception of marriage, frequently includes

celibacy in its ideal of morality, and associates it with worship. The

noblest form of heathen virginity appears in the six Vestal virgins of

Rome, who, while girls of from six to ten years, were selected for the

service of the pure goddess, and set to keep the holy fire burning on

its altar; but, after serving thirty years, were allowed to return to

secular life and marry. The penalty for breaking their vow of chastity

was to be buried alive in the campus sceleratus.

The ascetic depreciation of marriage is thus due, at least in part, to

the influence of heathenism. But with this was associated the Christian

enthusiasm for angelic purity in opposition to the horrible

licentiousness of the Graeco-Roman world. It was long before

Christianity raised woman and the family life to the purity and dignity

which became them in the kingdom of God. In this view, we may the more

easily account for many expressions of the church fathers respecting

the female sex, and warnings against intercourse with women, which to

us, in the present state of European and American civilization, sound

perfectly coarse and unchristian. John of Damascus has collected in his

Parallels such patristic expressions as these: "A woman is an evil." "A

rich woman is a double evil." "A beautiful woman is a whited

sepulchre." "Better is a man's wickedness than a woman's goodness." The

men who could write so, must have forgotten the beautiful passages to

the contrary in the proverbs of Solomon; yea, they must have forgotten

their own mothers.

On the other hand, it may be said, that the preference given to

virginity had a tendency to elevate woman in the social sphere and to

emancipate her from that slavish condition under heathenism, where she

could be disposed of as an article of merchandise by parents or

guardians, even in infancy or childhood. It should not be forgotten

that many virgins of the early church devoted their whole energies as

deaconesses to the care of the sick and the poor, or exhibited as

martyrs a degree of passive virtue and moral heroism altogether unknown

before. Such virgins Cyprian, in his rhetorical language, calls "the

flowers of the church, the masterpieces of grace, the ornament of

nature, the image of God reflecting the holiness of our Saviour, the

most illustrious of the flock of Jesus Christ, who commenced on earth

that life which we shall lead once in heaven."

The excessive regard for celibacy and the accompanying depreciation of

marriage date from about the middle of the second century, and reach

their height in the Nicene age.

Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, expresses himself as yet very

moderately: "If any one can remain in chastity of the flesh to the

glory of the Lord of the flesh" [or, according to another reading, "of

the flesh of the Lord], let him remain thus without boasting; [722] 22

if he boast, he is lost, and if it be made known, beyond the bishop,

[723] 23 he is ruined." What a stride from this to the obligatory

celibacy of the clergy! Yet the admonition leads us to suppose, that

celibacy was thus early, in the beginning of the second century, in

many cases, boasted of as meritorious, and allowed to nourish spiritual

pride. Ignatius is the first to call voluntary virgins brides of Christ

and jewels of Christ.

Justin Martyr goes further. He points to many Christians of both sexes

who lived to a great age unpolluted; and he desires celibacy to prevail

to the greatest possible extent. He refers to the example of Christ,

and expresses the singular opinion, that the Lord was born of a virgin

only to put a limit to sensual desire, and to show that God could

produce without the sexual agency of man. His disciple Tatian ran even

to the Gnostic extreme upon this point, and, in a lost work on

Christian perfection, condemned conjugal cohabitation as a fellowship

of corruption destructive of prayer. At the same period Athenagoras

wrote, in his Apology: "Many may be found among us, of both sexes, who

grow old unmarried, full of hope that they are in this way more closely

united to God."

Clement of Alexandria is the most reasonable of all the fathers in his

views on this point. He considers eunuchism a special gift of divine

grace, but without yielding it on this account preference above the

married state. On the contrary, he vindicates with great decision the

moral dignity and sanctity of marriage against the heretical

extravagances of his time, and lays down the general principle, that

Christianity stands not in outward observances, enjoyments, and

privations, but in righteousness and peace of heart. Of the Gnostics he

says, that, under the fair name of abstinence, they act impiously

towards the creation and the holy Creator, and repudiate marriage and

procreation on the ground that a man should not introduce others into

the world to their misery, and provide new nourishment for death. He

justly charges them with inconsistency in despising the ordinances of

God and yet enjoying the nourishment created by the same hand,

breathing his air, and abiding in his world. He rejects the appeal to

the example of Christ, because Christ needed no help, and because the

church is his bride. The apostles also he cites against the impugners

of marriage. Peter and Philip begot children; Philip gave his daughters

in marriage; and even Paul hesitated not to speak of a female companion

(rather only of his right to lead about such an one, as well as Peter).

We seem translated into an entirely different, Protestant atmosphere,

when in this genial writer we read: The perfect Christian, who has the

apostles for his patterns, proves himself truly a man in this, that he

chooses not a solitary life, but marries, begets children, cares for

the household, yet under all the temptations which his care for wife

and children, domestics and property, presents, swerves not from his

love to God, and as a Christian householder exhibits a miniature of the

all-ruling Providence.

But how little such views agreed with the spirit of that age, we see in

Clement's own stoical and Platonizing conception of the sensual

appetites, and still more in his great disciple Origen, who voluntarily

disabled himself in his youth, and could not think of the act of

generation as anything but polluting. Hieracas, or Hierax, of

Leontopolis in Egypt, who lived during the Diocletian persecution, and

probably also belonged to the Alexandrian school, is said to have

carried his asceticism to a heretical extreme, and to have declared

virginity a condition of salvation under the gospel dispensation.

Epiphanius describes him as a man of extraordinary biblical and medical

learning, who knew the Bible by heart, wrote commentaries in the Greek

and Egyptian languages, but denied the resurrection of the material

body and the salvation of children, because there can be no reward

without conflict, and no conflict without knowledge (1 Tim. 2:11). He

abstained from wine and animal food, and gathered around him a society

of ascetics, who were called Hieracitae. [724] 24 Methodius was an

opponent of the spiritualistic, but not of the ascetic Origen, and

wrote an enthusiastic plea for virginity, founded on the idea of the

church as the pure, unspotted, ever young, and ever beautiful bride of

God. Yet, quite remarkably, in his "Feast of the Ten Virgins," the

virgins express themselves respecting the sexual relations with a

minuteness which, to our modern taste, is extremely indelicate and

offensive.

As to the Latin fathers: The views of Tertullian for or and against

marriage, particularly against second marriage, we have already

noticed. [725] 25 His disciple Cyprian differs from him in his ascetic

principles only by greater moderation in expression, and, in his

treatise De Habitu Virginum, commends the unmarried life on the ground

of Matt. 19:12; 1 Cor. 7, and Rev. 14:4.

Celibacy was most common with pious virgins, who married themselves

only to God or to Christ, [726] 26 and in the spiritual delights of

this heavenly union found abundant compensation for the pleasures of

earthly matrimony. But cases were not rare where sensuality, thus

violently suppressed, asserted itself under other forms; as, for

example, in indolence and ease at the expense of the church, which

Tertullian finds it necessary to censure; or in the vanity and love of

dress, which Cyprian rebukes; and, worst of all, in a desperate venture

of asceticism, which probably often enough resulted in failure, or at

least filled the imagination with impure thoughts. Many of these

heavenly brides [727] 27 lived with male ascetics, and especially with

unmarried clergyman, under pretext of a purely spiritual fellowship, in

so intimate intercourse as to put their continence to the most perilous

test, and wantonly challenge temptation, from which we should rather

pray to be kept. This unnatural and shameless practice was probably

introduced by the Gnostics; Irenaeus at least charges it upon them. The

first trace of it in the church appears early enough, though under a

rather innocent allegorical form, in the Pastor Hermae, which

originated in the Roman church. [728] 28 It is next mentioned in the

Pseudo-Clementine Epistles Ad Virgines. In the third century it

prevailed widely in the East and West. The worldly-minded bishop Paulus

of Antioch favored it by his own example. Cyprian of Carthage came out

earnestly, [729] 29 and with all reason, against the vicious practice,

in spite of the solemn protestation of innocence by these "sisters,"

and their appeal to investigations through midwives. Several councils

at Elvira, Ancyra, Nicaea, &c., felt called upon to forbid this

pseudo-ascetic scandal. Yet the intercourse of clergy with "mulieres

subintroductae" rather increased than diminished with the increasing

stringency of the celibate laws and has at all times more or less

disgraced the Roman priesthood.

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[721] Thus, for example, in the rather worthless apocryphal Acta Pauli

et Theclae, which are first mentioned by, Tertullian (De Baptismo, c.

17, as the production of a certain Asiatic presbyter), and must

therefore have existed in the second century. There Paul is made to

say: Makarioi hoi enkrateis, hoti autois lalesei ho theos makarioi hoi

echontes gunaikas hos me hechontes, hoti autoi kleronomesousi ton theon

makaria ta somata ton parthenon, hoti auta euarestesousin to Theo kai

ouk apolesousin ton misthon tes hagneias auton . See Tischendorf: Acia

Apostolorum Apocrypha. Lips. 1851, p. 42 sq.

[722] En akauchesia meneto.

[723] Ean gnosthe plen tou episkopou, according to the larger Greek

recension, c. 5, with which the Syriac (c. 2) and Armenian versions

agree. But the shorter Greek recension reads pleon for plen which would

give the sense: "If he think himself (on that account) above the

(married) bishop; si majorem se episcopo censeat."

[724] Epiphan. Haer. 67; August. Haer. 47. Comp. Neander, Walch, and

the articles of Harnack in Herzog (VI. 100), and Salmon in Smith & Wace

(III. 24). Epiphanius, the heresy hunter, probably exaggerated the

doctrines of Hieracas, although he treats his asceticism with respect.

It is hardly credible that he should have excluded married Christians

and all children from heaven unless he understood by it only the

highest degree of blessedness, as Neander suggests.

[725] See � 99, p. 367.

[726] Nuptae Deo, Christo.

[727] Adelphai, sorores (1 Cor. 9:5); afterwards cleverly called

gunaikes suneisaktoi, mulieres subintroductae, extraneae.

[728] Simil. IX. c. 11 (ed. Gebhardt & Harnack, p. 218). The Virgines,

who doubtless symbolically represent the Christian graces (fides,

abstinentia, potestas, patientia, simplicita, innocentia, castitas,

hilaritas, veritas, intelligentia, concordia, and caritas, Comp. C.

15), there say to Hermas, when he praises an evening walk Ou dunasai

aph' hemon anachoresai Meth' hemon koimethese hos adelphos , kai ouch'

hos aner hemeteros gar adelphos ei; Kai tou loipou mellomen meta sou

katoikein, lian gar se agapomen. Then the first of these virgins,

fides, comes to the blushing Hermas, and begins to kiss him. The others

do the same; they lead him to the tower (symbol of the church), and

sport with him. When night comes on, they retire together to rest, with

singing and prayer; kai emeina, he continues, met' auton ten nukta kai

ekoimethen para ton purgon. Estrosan de ai parthenoi tous linous

chitonas eauton chamai, kai eme aneklinan eis to meson auton, kai ouden

holos epoioun ei me proseuchonto; Kago met auton adialeiptos

proseuchomen . It cannot be conceived that the apostolic Hermas wrote

such silly stuff. It sounds much more like a later Hermas towards the

middle of the second century.

[729] Ep. I, Xll., also V. and VI.

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� 108. Celibacy of the Clergy.

G. Calixtus (Luth.): De conjug. clericorum. Helmst. 1631; ed. emend. H.

Ph. Kr. Henke, 1784, 2 Parts.

Lud. Thomassin (Rom. Cath., d. 1696): Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae

Disciplina. Lucae, 1728, 3 vols. fol.; Mayence, 1787, also in French.

P. I. L. II. c. 60-67.

Fr. Zaccaria (R.C.): Storia polemica del celibato sacro. Rom. 1774; and

Nuova giustificazione del celibato sacro. Fuligno, 1785.

F. W. Carov�, (Prot.): Vollst�ndige Sammlung der C�libatsgesetze.

Francf. 1823.

J. Ant. & Aug. Theiner (R.C.):Die Einf�hrung der erzwungenen

Ehelosigkeit bei den Geistlichen u. ihre Folgen. Altenb. 1828; 2 vols.;

second ed. Augsburg, 1845. In favor of the abolition of enforced

celibacy.

Th. Fr. Klitsche (R.C.): Geschichte des C�libats (from the time of the

Apostles to Gregory VII.) Augsb. 1830.

A. M�hler: Beleuchtung der (badischen)Denkschrift zur Aufhebunq des

C�libats. In his "Gesammelte Schriften." Regensb. 1839, vol. I. 177

sqq.

C. J. Hefele (R.C.): Beitr�ge zur Kirchengesch. Vol. I. 122-139.

A. de Roskovany (R.C.): C�stibatus et Breviarium ... a monumentis

omnium saeculorum demonstrata. Pest, 1861. 4 vols. A collection of

material and official decisions. Schulte calls it "ein g�nzlich

unkritischer Abdruck von Quellen."

Henry C. Lea (Prot.): An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in

the Christian Church. Philadelphia, 1867 2d ed. enlarged, Boston, 1884

(682 pp.); the only impartial and complete history down to 1880.

PROBST (R.C.): Kirchliche Disciplin, 1870.

J. Fried. von. Schulte (Prof. of jurisprudence in Bonn, and one of the

leaders among the Old Catholics): Der C�libatszwang und, lessen

Aufhebung. Bonn 1876 (96 pages). Against celibacy.

All the above works, except that of Lea, are more or less

controversial. Comp. also, on the Roman Cath. side, art. Celibacy,

Martigny, and in Kraus, "Real-Encykl. der christl. Alterth�mer" (1881)

I. 304-307 by Funk, and in the new ed. of Wetzer & Welte's

"Kirchenlexicon;" on the Prot. side, Bingham, Book IV. ch. V.;

Herzog^2, III. 299-303; and Smith & Cheetham, I. 323-327.

As the clergy were supposed to embody the moral ideal of Christianity,

and to be in the full sense of the term the heritage of God, they were

required to practise especially rigid sexual temperance after receiving

their ordination. The virginity of the church of Christ, who was

himself born of a virgin, seemed, in the ascetic spirit of the age, to

recommend a virgin priesthood as coming nearest his example, and best

calculated to promote the spiritual interests of the church.

There were antecedents in heathenism to sacerdotal celibacy. Buddhism

rigorously enjoined it under a penalty, of expulsion. The Egyptian

priests were allowed one, but forbidden a second, marriage, while the

people practiced unrestrained polygamy. The priestesses of the Delphic

Apollo, the Achaian Juno, the Scythian Diana, and the Roman Vesta were

virgins.

In the ante-Nicene period sacerdotal celibacy did not as yet become a

matter of law, but was left optional, like the vow of chastity among

the laity. In the Pastoral Epistles of Paul marriage, if not expressly

enjoined, is at least allowed to all ministers of the gospel (bishops

and deacons), and is presumed to exist as the rule. [730] 30 It is an

undoubted fact that Peter and several apostles, as well as the Lord's

brothers, were married, [731] 31 and that Philip the deacon and

evangelist had four daughters. [732] 32 It is also self-evident that,

if marriage did not detract from the authority and dignity of an

apostle, it cannot be inconsistent with the dignity and purity of any

minister of Christ. The marriage relation implies duties and

privileges, and it is a strange perversion of truth if some writers

under the influence of dogmatic prejudice have turned the apostolic

marriages, and that between Joseph and Mary into empty forms. Paul

would have expressed himself very differently if he had meant to deny

to the clergy the conjugal intercourse after ordination, as was done by

the fathers and councils in the fourth century. He expressly classes

the prohibition of marriage (including its consequences) among the

doctrines of demons or evil spirits that control the heathen religions,

and among the signs of the apostacy of the latter days. [733] 33 The

Bible represents marriage as the first institution of God dating from

the state of man's innocency, and puts the highest dignity upon it in

the Old and New Covenants. Any reflection on the honor and purity of

the married state and the marriage bed reflects on the patriarchs,

Moses, the prophets, and the apostles, yea, on the wisdom and goodness

of the Creator. [734] 34

There was all early departure from these Scripture views in the church

under the irresistible influence of the ascetic enthusiasm for virgin

purity. The undue elevation of virginity necessarily implied a

corresponding depreciation of marriage.

The scanty documents of the post-apostolic age give us only incidental

glimpses into clerical households, yet sufficient to prove the unbroken

continuance of clerical marriages, especially in the Eastern churches,

and at the same time the superior estimate put upon an unmarried

clergy, which gradually limited or lowered the former.

Polycarp expresses his grief for Valens, a presbyter in Philippi, "and

his wife," on account of his covetousness. [735] 35 Irenaeus mentions a

married deacon in Asia Minor who was ill-rewarded for his hospitality

to a Gnostic heretic, who seduced his wife. [736] 36 Rather unfortunate

examples. Clement of Alexandria, one of the most enlightened among the

ante-Nicene father, describes the true ideal of a Christian Gnostic as

one who marries and has children, and so attains to a higher

excellence, because he conquers more temptations than that of the

single state. [737] 37 Tertullian, though preferring celibacy, was a

married priest, and exhorted his wife to refrain after his death from a

second marriage in order to attain to that ascetic purity which was

impossible during their married life. [738] 38 He also draws a

beautiful picture of the holy beauty of a Christian family. An African

priest, Novatus--another unfortunate example--was arraigned for

murdering his unborn child. [739] 39 There are also examples of married

bishops. Socrates reports that not even bishops were bound in his age

by any law of celibacy, and that many bishops during their episcopate

begat children. [740] 40 Athanasius says: [741] 41 "Many bishops have

not contracted matrimony; while, on the other hand, monks have become

fathers. Again, we see bishops who have children, and monks who take no

thought of having posterity." The father of Gregory of Nazianzum (d.

390) was a married bishop. and his mother, Nonna, a woman of exemplary

piety, prayed earnestly for male issue, saw her future son in a

prophetic vision, and dedicated him, before his birth, to the service

of God, and he became the leading theologian of his age. Gregory of

Nyssa (d. about 394) was likewise a married bishop, though he gave the

preference to celibacy. Synesius, the philosophic disciple of Hypasia

of Alexandria, when pressed to accept the bishopic, of Ptolemais (a.d.

410), declined at first, because he was unwilling to separate from his

wife, and desired numerous offspring; but he finally accepted the

office without a separation. This proves that his case was already

exceptional. The sixth of the Apostolical Canons directs: "Let not a

bishop, a priest, or a deacon cast off his own wife under pretence of

piety; but if he does cast her off, let him be suspended. If he go on

in it, let him be deprived." The Apostolical Constitutions nowhere

prescribe clerical celibacy, but assume the single marriage of bishop,

priest, and deacon as perfectly legitimate. [742] 42

The inscriptions on the catacombs bear likewise testimony to clerical

marriages down to the fifth century. [743] 43

At the same time the tendency towards clerical celibacy set in very

early, and made steady and irresistible progress, especially in the

West. This is manifest in the qualifications of the facts and

directions just mentioned. For they leave the impression that there

were not many happy clerical marriages and model pastors' wives in the

early centuries; nor could there be so long as the public opinion of

the church, contrary to the Bible, elevated virginity above marriage.

1. The first step in the direction of clerical celibacy was the

prohibition of second marriage to the clergy, on the ground that Paul's

direction concerning "the husband of one wife" is a restriction rather

than a command. In the Western church, in the early part of the third

century, there were many clergymen who had been married a second or

even a third time, and this practice was defended on the ground that

Paul allowed remarriage, after the death of one party, as lawful

without any restriction or censure. This fact appears from the protest

of the Montanistic Tertullian, who makes it a serious objection to the

Catholics, that they allow bigamists to preside, to baptize, and to

celebrate the communion. [744] 44 Hippolytus, who had equally

rigoristic views on discipline, reproaches about the same time the

Roman bishop Callistus with admitting to sacerdotal and episcopal

office those who were married a second and even a third time, and

permitting the clergy to marry after having been ordained. [745] 45 But

the rigorous practice prevailed, and was legalized in the Eastern

church. The Apostolical Constitutions expressly forbid bishops,

priests, and deacons to marry a second time. They also forbid clergymen

to marry a concubine, or a slave, or a widow, or a divorced woman, and

extend the prohibition of second marriage even to cantors, readers, and

porters. As to the deaconess, she must be "a pure virgin, or a widow

who has been but once married, faithful and well esteemed." [746] 46

The Apostolical Canons give similar regulations, and declare that the

husband of a second wife, of a widow, a courtesan, an actress, or a

slave was ineligible to the priesthood. [747] 47

2. The second step was the prohibition of marriage and conjugal

intercourse after ordination. This implies the incompatibility of the

priesthood with the duties and privileges of marriage. Before the

Council of Elvira in Spain (306) no distinction was made in the Latin

church between marriages before and after ordination. [748] 48 But that

rigoristic council forbade nuptial intercourse to priests of all ranks

upon pain of excommunication. [749] 49 The Council of Arles (314)

passed a similar canon. [750] 50 And so did the Council of Ancyra

(314), which, however, allows deacons to marry as deacons, in case they

stipulated for it before taking orders. [751] 51 This exception was

subsequently removed by the 27th Apostolic Canon, which allows only the

lectors and cantors (belonging to the minor orders) to contract

marriage. [752] 52

At the Oecumenical Council of Nicaea (325) an attempt was made,

probably under the lead of Hosius, bishop of Cordova--the connecting

link between Elvira and Nicaea--to elevate the Spanish rule to the

dignity and authority of an oecumenical ordinance, that is, to make the

prohibition of marriage after ordination and the strict abstinence of

married priests from conjugal intercourse, the universal law of the

Church; but the attempt was frustrated by the loud protest of

Paphnutius, a venerable bishop and confessor of a city in the Upper

Thebaid of Egypt, who had lost one eye in the Diocletian persecution,

and who had himself never touched a woman. He warned the fathers of the

council not to impose too heavy a burden on the clergy, and to remember

that marriage and conjugal intercourse were venerable and pure. He

feared more harm than good from excessive rigor. It was sufficient, if

unmarried clergymen remain single according to the ancient tradition of

the church; but it was wrong to separate the married priest from his

legitimate wife, whom he married while yet a layman. This remonstrance

of a strict ascetic induced the council to table the subject and to

leave the continuance or discontinuance of the married relation to the

free choice of every clergyman. It was a prophetic voice of warning.

[753] 53

The Council of Nicaea passed no law in favor of celibacy; but it

strictly prohibited in its third canon the dangerous and scandalous

practice of unmarried clergymen to live with an unmarried woman, [754]

54 unless she be "a mother or sister or aunt or a person above

suspicion." [755] 55 This prohibition must not be confounded with

prohibition of nuptial intercourse any more than those spiritual

concubines are to be identified with regular wives. It proves, however,

that nominal clerical celibacy must have extensively prevailed at the

time.

The Greek Church substantially retained the position of the fourth

century, and gradually adopted the principle and practice of limiting

the law of celibacy to bishops (who are usually taken from

monasteries), and making a single marriage the rule for the lower

clergy; the marriage to take place before ordination, and not to be

repeated. Justinian excluded married men from the episcopate, and the

Trullan Synod (a.d. 692) legalized the existing practice. In Russia

(probably since 1274), the single marriage of the lower clergy was made

obligatory. This is an error in the opposite direction. Marriage, as

well as celibacy, should be left free to each man's conscience.

3. The Latin Church took the third and last step, the absolute

prohibition of clerical marriage, including even the lower orders. This

belongs to the next period; but we will here briefly anticipate the

result. Sacerdotal marriage was first prohibited by Pope Siricius (a.d.

385), then by Innocent I. (402), Leo I. (440), Gregory I. (590), and by

provincial Synods of Carthage (390 and 401), Toledo (400), Orleans

(538), Orange (441), Arles (443 or 452), Agde (506), Gerunda (517). The

great teachers of the Nicene and post-Nicene age, Jerome, Augustin, and

Chrysostom, by their extravagant laudations of the superior sanctity of

virginity, gave this legislation the weight of their authority. St.

Jerome, the author of the Latin standard version of the Bible, took the

lead in this ascetic crusade against marriage, and held up to the

clergy as the ideal aim of the saint, to "cut down the wood of marriage

by the axe of virginity." He was willing to praise marriage, but only

as the nursery of virgins. [756] 56

Thus celibacy was gradually enforced in the West under the combined

influence of the sacerdotal and hierarchical interests to the advantage

of the hierarchy, but to the injury of morality. [757] 57

For while voluntary abstinence, or such as springs from a special gift

of grace, is honorable and may be a great blessing to the church, the

forced celibacy of the clergy, or celibacy as a universal condition of

entering the priesthood, does violence to nature and Scripture, and,

all sacramental ideas of marriage to the contrary notwithstanding,

degrades this divine ordinance, which descends from the primeval state

of innocence, and symbolizes the holiest of all relations, the union of

Christ with his church. But what is in conflict with nature and

nature's God is also in conflict with the highest interests of

morality. Much, therefore, as Catholicism has done to raise woman and

the family life from heathen degradation, we still find, in general,

that in Evangelical Protestant countries, woman occupies a far higher

grade of intellectual and moral culture than in exclusively Roman

Catholic countries. Clerical marriages are probably the most happy as a

rule, and have given birth to a larger number of useful and

distinguished men and women than those of any other class of society.

[758] 58

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[730] The passages 1 Tim. 3:2, 12; Tit. 1:5, where St. Paul directs

that presbyter-bishops and deacons must be husbands of "one wife" (mias

gunaikos andris),are differently interpreted. The Greek church takes

the words both as commanding (dei) one marriage of the clergy (to the

exclusion, however, of bishops who must be unmarried), and as

prohibiting a second marriage. The Roman circle understands Paul as

conceding one marriage to the weakness of the flesh, but as intimating

the better way of total abstinence (Comp. 1 Cor. 7:7, 32, 33).

Protestant commentators are likewise divided; some refer the two

passages to simultaneous, others to successive polygamy. The former

view was held even by some Greek writers, Theodore of Mopstueste and

Theodoret; but the parallel expression henos andros gune, 1 Tim. 5:9,

seems to favor the latter view, since it is very unlikely that

polyandry existed in apostolic churches. And yet Paul expressly allows

without a censure second marriage after the death of the former husband

or wife, Rom. 7:2, 3; 1 Cor. 7:39; 1 Tim. 5:14. For this reason some

commentators Matthies, Hofmann, Huther in Meyer's Com. understand the

apostle as prohibiting concubinage or all illegitimate connubial

intercourse.

[731] 1 Cor. 9:5: "Have we no right (hexousian)to lead about a wife

that is a believer (adelphen gunaika ),even as the rest of the apostles

(hoi loipoi ap.) and the brothers of the Lord (hoi adelphoi t. Kuriou),

and Cephas.?" The definite article seems to indicate that the majority,

if not all, the apostles and brothers of the Lord were married. The

only certain exception is John, and probably also Paul, though he may

have been a widower. Tertullian in his blind zeal argued that gunaika

is to be rendered mulierem, not uxorem (De Monog. c. 8), but his

contemporary, Clement of Alex., does not question the true

interpretation, speaks of Peter, Paul, and Philip, as married, and of

Philip as giving his daughters in marriage. Tradition ascribes to Peter

a daughter , St. Petronilla.

[732] Acts 21:8, 9.

[733] 1 Tim. 4:1-3.

[734] Comp. Heb. 13:4: "Let marriage be had in honor among all, and let

the bed be undefiled" (Timios ho gamos en pasi, kai koite amiantos).

[735] Ep. ad Phil. c. 11. Some think that incontinence or adultery is

referred to; but the proper readings philarguria, avaritia, not

pleonexia.

[736] Adv. Haer. I. 13, 5 (ed. Stieren I. 155

[737] Strom. VII. 12, 1). 741.

[738] Ad Uxor. 1. 7: 1, Ut quod in matrimonionon valuimus, in viduitate

sectemur. This clearly implies the continuance of sexual intercourse.

Tertullian lays down the principle: "Defuncto viro matrimonium

defungitur."

[739] Cyprian, Epist. 52, cap. 2, Oxf. ed. and ed. Hartel (al. 48). He

paints his schismatical opponent in the darkest colors, and charges him

with kicking his wife in the state of pregnancy, and thus producing a

miscarriage, but he does not censure, him for his marriage.

[740] Hist. Eccl. V. 22: "in the East all clergymen, and even the

bishops themselves to abstain from their wives: but this they do of

their own accord, there being no law in force to make it necessary; for

there have been among them many bishops who have had children by their

lawful wives during their episcopate."

[741] In a letter to the Egyptian in monk Dracontius, who had scruples

about accepting a call to the episcopate.

[742] This is substantially also the position of Eusebius, Epiphanius,

and Chrysostom, as far as we may infer from allusions, and their

expositions of 1 Tim. 3:2, although all preferred celibacy as a higher

state. See Funk, l.c. p. 305. The Synod of Gangra, after the middle of

the fourth century, anathematized (Can. 4) those who maintained that it

was wrong to attend the eucharistic services of priests living in

marriage. See Hefele I. 782, who remarks against Baronius, that the

canon means such priests as not only, had wives, but lived with them in

conjugal intercourse (mit denselben ehelich leben). TheCodex Ecclesiae

Rom ed. by Quesnel omits this canon.

[743] Lundy (Monumental Christianity, N. Y. 1876, p. 343 sqq.) quotes

the following inscriptions of this kind from Gruter, Bosio, Arringhi,

Burgon, and other sources: "The place of the Presbyter Basil and his

Felicitas. They made it for themselves."

"Susanna, once the happy daughter of the Presbyter Gabinus, Here lies

in peace joined with her father."

"Gaudentius, the Presbyter, for himself and his wife Severa, a virtuous

woman, who lived 42 years, 3 months, 10 days. Buried on the 4th after

the nones of April, Timasius and Promus; being consuls."

"Petronia, the wife of a Levite, type of modesty. In this place I lay

my bones; spare your tears, dear husband and daughters, and believe

that it is forbidden to weep for one who lives in God. Buried in peace,

on the third before the nones of October." The names of three children

appear on the, same tablet, and are no doubt those referred to by

Petronis; hers, with the consular dates of their burial. Her own

interment was a.d. 472. Gruter and Le Blant both publish a very long

and elaborate inscription at Narbonne, a.d. 427, to the effect that

Rusticus the Bishop, son of Bonosius a Bishop, nephew of Aratoris

another Bishop, etc., in connection with the presbyter Ursus and the

deacon Hermetus began to build the church; and that Montanus the

sub-deacon finished the apse, etc.

[744] He asks the Catholics with indignation: "Quot enim et digami

praesident apud vos, insultantes utique apostolo, certe non

erubescentes, cum haec sub illis leguntur? .... Digamus tinguis?

digamus offers?"De Monog. c. 12.

[745] Philosoph. IX. 12.

[746] Const. Ap. VI. 17.

[747] Can. 17, 18, 19, 27. The Jewish high-priests were likewise

required to marry a virgin of their own people. Lev. 21:16.

[748] Admitted by Prof. Funk (R. Cath.), who quotes Innocent, Ep. ad

Episc. Maced. c. 2; Leo I. Ep. XII.c. 5. He also admits that Paul's

direction excludes such a distinction. See Kraus, Real-Enc. I. 304 sq.

[749] Can. 33 Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris, et

diaconibus, vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio, abstinere se a

conjugibus suis, et non generare filios; quicunque vero fecerit, ab

honore clericatus exterminetur." Hefele says (I. 168): " This

celebrated canon contains the first law of celibacy. "It is strange

that the canon in its awkward latinity seems to prohibit the clergy to

abstain from their wives, when in fact it means to prohibit the

intercourse. On account of the words positis in ministerio, some would

see here only a prohibition of sexual commerce at the time of the

performance of clerical functions, as in the Jewish law; but this was

self-understood, and would not come up to the disciplinary standard of

that age. How little, however, even in Spain, that first law on

celibacy was obeyed, may be inferred from the letter of Pope Siricius

to Bishop Himerius of Tarragona, that there were, at the close of the

fourth century, plurimi sacerdotes Christi et levitu living in wedlock.

[750] Can. 6 (29, see Hefele I. 217) Praeterea, quod dignum, pudicum et

honestum est, suademus fratribus, ut sacerdotes et levitae cum uxoribus

satis non cogant, quia ministerio quotidiano occupantur. Quicunque

contra hanc constitutionem fecerit, a cleritatus honore deponatur."

[751] Can. 10 (Hefele, Conciliengesch. I. p. 230, 2te Aufl). The canon

is adopted in the Corpus juris can. c. 8. Dist. 28. The Synod of

Neo-Caesarea, between 314-325, can. 1, forbids the priests to marry on

pain of deposition. This does not conflict with the other canon, and

likewise passed into the Canon Law, c. 9, Dist. 28. See Hefele, I. 244.

[752] "Of those who come into the clergy unmarried, we permit only the

readers and singers if they are so minded, to marry afterward."

[753] This important incident of Paphnutius rests on the unanimous

testimony of the well informed historians Socrates (Hist. Eccl. I. 11),

Sozoinen (H. E. I. 23), and Gelasius Cyzic. (Hist. Conc. Nic. II. 32);

see Mansi, Harduin, and Hefele (I. 431-435). It agrees moreover with

the directions of the Apost. Const. and Canons, and with the present

practice of the Eastern churches on this subject. The objections of

Baronius, Bellarmine, Valesius. and other Romanists are unfounded and

refuted by Natalis Alexander, and Hefele (l.c.). Funk (R.C.)says: "Die

Einwendungen, die qeqen den Bericht, vorgebracht wurden, sind v�llig

nichtig" (utterly futile).

[754] Euphoniously called suneisaktos, subiatroducta (introduced as a

companion), agapete, soror. See Hefele, T. 380. Comp. on this canon W.

Bright, Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils. Oxford,

1882, pp. 8, 9. A Council of Antioch had deposed Paul of Samosata,

bishop of Antioch, for this nasty practice, and for heresy. Euseb. H.

E. VII. 30.

[755] Notwithstanding this canonical prohibition the disreputable

practice continued. Chrysostom wrote a discourse "against persons

echontas parthenous suneisaktous"and another urging the dedicated

virgins not to live with them. Jerome complains of the "pestis

agapetarum"(Ep. XXII. 14).

[756] Ep. XXII. "Laudo nuptias, laudo conjugium, sed quia mihi virgines

generant." Comp. Ep. CXXIII.

[757] And the Roman Church seems to care more for the power, than for

the purity of the clergy. Gregory VII., who used all his unflinching

energy to enforce celibacy, said openly: "Non liberari potest ecclesia

a servitude laicorum, nisi liberentur clerici ab uxoribus." As clerical

celibacy is a matter of discipline, not of doctrine, the Pope might at

any time abolish it, and Aeneas Sylvius, before he ascended the chair

of Peter as Pius II. (1458 to 1464), remarked that marriage had been

denied to priests for good and sufficient reasons, but that still

stronger ones now required its restoration. The United Greeks and

Maronites are allowed to retain their wives. Joseph II. proposed to

extend the permission. During the French Revolution, and before the

conclusion of the Concordat (1801), many priests and nuns were married.

But the hierarchical interest always defeated in the end such

movements, and preferred to keep the clergy aloof from the laity in

order to exercise a greater power over it. "The Latin church," says Lea

in his History of Celibacy, "is the most wonderful structure in

history, and ere its leaders can consent to such a reform they must

confess that its career, so full of proud recollections, has been an

error."

[758] Comp. this History, Vol. VI., � 79, p. 473 sqq.

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CHAPTER X:

MONTANISM.

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� 109. Literature.

Sources:

The prophetic utterances of Montanus, Prisca (or Priscilla) and

Maximilla, scattered through Tertullian and other writers, collected by

F. M�nter. (Effata et Oracula Montanistarum, Hafniae, 1829), and by

Bonwetsch, in his Gesch. des Mont. p. 197-200.

Tertullian's writings after a.d. 201, are the chief source, especially

De Corona Militis; De Fuga in Persec.; De Cult. Feminarum; De Virg.

Velandis; De Exhort. Castitatis; De Monogamia; De Paradiso; De

Jejuniis; De Pudicitia; De Spectaculis; De Spe Fidelium. His seven

books On Ecstasy, mentioned by Jerome, are lost. In his later

anti-heretical writings (Adv. Marcionem; Adv. Valentin.; Adv. Praxean;

De Anima; De Resurr. Carnis), Tertullian occasionally refers to the new

dispensation of the Spirit. On the chronology of his writings see

Uhlhorn: Fundamenta chronologiae Tertullianeae, (G�tt. 1852),

Bonwetsch: Die Schriften Tertullians nach der Zeit ihrer Abfassung

(Bonn, 1878), and Harnack, in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r K. gesch." No.

11.

Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. III. 11, 9; IV. 33, 6 and 7. (The references to

Montanism are somewhat doubtful). Eusebius: H. E. V. 3. Epipan.: Haer.

48 and 49.

The anti-Montanist writings of Apolinarius (Apollinaris) of Hierapolis,

Melito of Sardes, Miltiades (peri tou me dein propheten en ekstasei

lalein), Apollonius, Serapion, Gaius, and an anonymous author quoted by

Eusebius are lost. Comp. on the sources Soyres, l.c. p. 3-24, and

Bonwetsch, l c. p. 16-55.

Works:

Theoph. Wernsdorf: Commentatio de Montanistis Saeculi II. vulgo

creditis haereticis. Dantzig, 1781. A vindication of Montanism as being

essentially agreed with the doctrines of the primitive church and

unjustly condemned. Mosheim differs, but speaks favorably of it. So

also Soyres. Arnold had espoused the cause of M. before, in his

Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie.

Mosheim: De Rebus Christ. ante Const. M. p. 410-425 (Murdock's transl

I. 501-512).

Walch: Ketzerhistorie, I. 611-666.

Kirchner: De Montanistis. Jenae, 1832.

Neander: Antignosticus oder Geist aus Tertullian's Schriften. Berlin,

1825 (2d ed. 1847), and the second ed. of his Kirchengesch. 1843, Bd.

II. 877-908 (Torrey's transl. Boston ed. vol. I. 506-526). Neander was

the first to give a calm and impartial philosophical view of Montanism

as the realistic antipode of idealistic Gnosticism.

A. Schwegler: Der Montanismus und die christl. Kirche des 2^tenJahrh.

T�b. 1841. Comp. his Nach-Apost. Zeitalter (T�b. 1846). A very

ingenious philosophical a-priori construction of history in the spirit

of the T�bingen School. Schwegler denies the historical existence of

Montanus, wrongly derives the system from Ebionism, and puts its

essence in the doctrine of the Paraclete and the new supernatural epoch

of revelation introduced by him. Against him wrote GEORGII in the

"Deutsche Jahrb�cher f�r Wissenschaft und Kunst," 1842.

Hilgenfeld: Die Glossolalie in der alten Kirche. Leipz. 1850.

Baur: Das Wesen des Montanismus nach den neusten Forschungen, in the

"Theol. Jahrb�cher." T�b. 1851, p. 538 sqq.; and his Gesch. der

Christl. Kirche, I. 235-245, 288-295 (3d ed. of 1863). Baur, like

Schwegler, lays the chief stress on the doctrinal element, but refutes

his view on the Ebionitic origin of Mont., and reviews it in its

conflict with Gnosticism and episcopacy.

Niedner: K. Gesch. 253 sqq., 259 sqq.

Albrecht Ritschl: Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche, second ed. 1857, p.

402-550. R. justly emphasizes the practical and ethical features of the

sect.

P. Gottwald: De Montanismo Tertulliani. Vratisl. 1862.

A. Reville: Tertullien et le Montanisme, in the "Revue des deux

mondes," Nov. 1864. Also his essay in the "Nouvelle Revue de Theologic"

for 1858.

R. A. Lipsius: Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios. Wien, 1865; and Die

Quellen der �ltesten Ketzergeschichte. Leipz. 1875.

Emile Str�hlin: Essai sur le Montanisme. Strasbourg, 1870.

John De Soyres: Montanism and the Primitive Church (Hulsean prize

essay). Cambridge, 1878 (163 pa-es). With a useful chronological table.

G. Nathanael Bonwetsch (of Dorpat): Die Geschichte des Montanismus.

Erlangen, 1881 (201 pages). The best book on the subject.

Renan: Marc-Aur�le (1882), ch. XIII. p. 207-225. Also his essay Le

Montanisme, in the "Revue des deux mondes," Feb. 1881.

W. Belck: Geschichte des Montanismus. Leipzig, 1883.

Hilgenfeld: D. Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums. Leipzig, 1884. (pp.

560-600.)

The subject is well treated by Dr. M�ller in Herzog (revis. ed. Bd. X.

255-262); Bp. Hefele in Wetzer & Welter, Bd. VII. 252-268, and in his

Conciliengesch. revised ed. Bd. I. 83 sqq.; and by Dr. Salmond in Smith

& Wace, III. 935-945.

Comp. also the Lit. on Tertullian, � 196 (p. 818).

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� 110. External History of Montanism.

All the ascetic, rigoristic, and chiliastic elements of the ancient

church combined in Montanism. They there asserted a claim to universal

validity, which the catholic church was compelled, for her own

interest, to reject; since she left the effort after extraordinary

holiness to the comparatively small circle of ascetics and priests, and

sought rather to lighten Christianity than add to its weight, for the

great mass of its professors. Here is the place, therefore, to speak of

this remarkable phenomenon, and not under the head of doctrine, or

heresy, where it is commonly placed. For Montanism was not, originally,

a departure from the faith, but a morbid overstraining of the practical

morality and discipline of the early church. It was an excessive

supernaturalism and puritanism against Gnostic rationalism and Catholic

laxity. It is the first example of an earnest and well-meaning, but

gloomy and fanatical hyper-Christianity, which, like all

hyper-spiritualism, is apt to end in the flesh.

Montanism originated in Asia Minor, the theatre of many movements of

the church in this period; yet not in Ephesus or any large city, but in

some insignificant villages of the province of Phrygia, once the home

of a sensuously mystic and dreamy nature-religion, where Paul and his

pupils had planted congregations at Colossae, Laodicea, and Hierapolis.

[759] 59 The movement was started about the middle of the second

century during the reign of Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius, by a

certain Montanus. [760] 60 He was, according to hostile accounts,

before his conversion, a mutilated priest of Cybele, with no special

talents nor culture, but burning with fanatical zeal. He fell into

somnambulistic ecstasies, and considered himself the inspired organ of

the promised Paraclete or Advocate, the Helper and Comforter in these

last times of distress. His adversaries wrongly inferred from the use

of the first person for the Holy Spirit in his oracles, that he made

himself directly the Paraclete, or, according to Epiphanius, even God

the Father. Connected with him were two prophetesses, Priscilla and

Maximilla, who left their husbands. During the bloody persecutions

under the Antonines, which raged in Asia Minor, and caused the death of

Polycarp (155), all three went forth as prophets and reformers of the

Christian life, and proclaimed the near approach of the age of the Holy

Spirit and of the millennial reign in Pepuza, a small village of

Phrygia, upon which the new Jerusalem was to come down. Scenes took

place similar to those under the preaching of the first Quakers, and

the glossolalia and prophesying in the Irvingite congregations. The

frantic movement soon far exceeded the intention of its authors, spread

to Rome and North Africa, and threw the whole church into commotion. It

gave rise to the first Synods which are mentioned after the apostolic

age.

The followers of Montanus were called Montanists, also Phrygians,

Cataphrygians (from the province of their origin), Pepuziani,

Priscillianists (from Priscilla, not to be confounded with the

Priscillianists of the fourth century). They called themselves

spiritual Christians (peumatikoi), in distinction from the psychic or

carnal Christians (psuchikoi).

The bishops and synods of Asia Minor, though not with one voice,

declared the new prophecy the work of demons, applied exorcism, and cut

off the Montanists from the fellowship of the church. All agreed that

it was supernatural (a natural interpretation of such psychological

phenomena being then unknown), and the only alternative was to ascribe

it either to God or to his great Adversary. Prejudice and malice

invented against Montanus and the two female prophets slanderous

charges of immorality, madness and suicide, which were readily

believed. Epiphanius and John of Damascus tell the absurd story, that

the sacrifice of an infant was a part of the mystic worship of the

Montanists, and that they made bread with the blood of murdered

infants. [761] 61

Among their literary opponents in the East are mentioned Claudius

Apolinarius of Hierapolis, Miltiades, Appollonius, Serapion of Antioch,

and Clement of Alexandria.

The Roman church, during the episcopate of Eleutherus (177-190), or of

Victor (190-202), after some vacillation, set itself likewise against

the new prophets at the instigation of the presbyter Caius and the

confessor Praxeas from Asia, who, as Tertullian sarcastically says, did

a two-fold service to the devil at Rome by driving away prophecy and

bringing in heresy (patripassianism), or by putting to flight the Holy

Spirit and crucifying God the Father. Yet the opposition of Hippolytus

to Zephyrinus and Callistus, as well as the later Novatian schism, show

that the disciplinary rigorism of Montanism found energetic advocates

in Rome till after the middle of the third century.

The Gallic Christians, then severely tried by persecution, took a

conciliatory posture, and sympathized at least with the moral

earnestness, the enthusiasm for martyrdom, and the chiliastic hopes of

the Montanists. They sent their presbyter (afterwards bishop) Irenaeus

to Eleutherus in Rome to intercede in their behalf. This mission seems

to have induced him or his successor to issue letters of peace, but

they were soon afterwards recalled. This sealed the fate of the party.

[762] 62

In North Africa the Montanists met with extensive sympathy, as the

Punic national character leaned naturally towards gloomy and rigorous

acerbity. [763] 63 Two of the most distinguished female martyrs,

Perpetua and Felicitas, were addicted to them, and died a heroic death

at Carthage in the persecution of Septimius Severus (203).

Their greatest conquest was the gifted and fiery, but eccentric and

rigoristic Tertullian. He became in the year 201 or 202, from ascetic

sympathies, a most energetic and influential advocate of Montanism, and

helped its dark feeling towards a twilight of philosophy, without,

however, formally seceding from the Catholic Church, whose doctrines he

continued to defend against the heretics. At all events, he was not

excommunicated, and his orthodox writings were always highly esteemed.

He is the only theologian of this schismatic movement, which started in

purely practical questions, and we derive the best of our knowledge of

it from his works. Through him, too, its principles reacted in many

respects on the Catholic Church; and that not only in North Africa, but

also in Spain, as we may see from the harsh decrees of the Council of

Elvira in 306. It is singular that Cyprian, who, with all his

high-church tendencies and abhorrence of schism, was a daily reader of

Tertullian, makes no allusion to Montanism. Augustin relates that

Tertullian left the Montanists, and founded a new sect, which was

called after him, but was, through his (Augustin's) agency, reconciled

to the Catholic congregation of Carthage. [764] 64

As a separate sect, the Montanists or Tertullianists, as they were also

called in Africa, run down into the sixth century. At the time of

Epiphanius the sect had many adherents in Phrygia, Galatia, Cappadocia,

Cilicia, and in Constantinople. The successors of Constantine, down to

Justinian (530), repeatedly enacted laws against them. Synodical

legislation about the validity of Montanist baptism is inconsistent.

[765] 65

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[759] Neander first pointed to the close connection of Montanism with

the Phrygian nationality, and it is true as far as it goes, but does

not explain the spread of the system in North Africa. Schwegler and

Baur protested against Neander's view, but Renan justly reasserts it:

"La Phrygie �tait un des pays de l'antiquit� les plus port�s aux

r�veries religieuses. Les Phrygiens passaient, en g�n�ral pour niais et

simple. Le christianisme eut chez eux, d�s l'origine un charact�re

essentiellement mystique et asc�tique. D�j�, dans l'�pitre aux

Colossiens,, Paul combat des erreurs o� les signes pr�citrseurs du,

gnosticisme et les exc�s d'un as�tisme mal entendu semblent se m�ler.

Presque partout ailleurs, le christianisme fut une religion de grander

villes; ici, comme dans la Syrie au del� du Jourdain, ce fut une

religion de ourgades et de campagnards."

[760] The chronology is uncertain, and varies between 126-180. See the

note of Renan in Marc-Aur. p. 209, Hefele (I. 85), Soyres (p. 25-29 and

157), and Bonwetsch (140-145). Eusebius assigns the rise of Montanism

to the year 172, which is certainly too late; Epiphanius is confused,

but leans to 157. Soyres dates it back as far as 130, Hefele to 140,

Neander, Bonwetsch, and M�ller (in Herzog, new ed. X. 255) to 156,

Renan to 167. The recent change of the date of Polycarp's martyrdom

from 167 to 155, establishes the fact of persecutions in Asia Minor

under Antoninus Pius. Hefele thinks that the Pastor Hermae, which was

written before 151 under Pius I., already combats Montanist opinions.

Bonwetsch puts the death of Montanus and Maximilla between 180 and 200.

The name Montanus occurs on Phrygian inscriptions.

[761] Renan says of these slanders (p. 214): "Ce sont l� les calomnies

ordinaires, qui ne manquent jamais sous la plume des �crivains

orthodoxes, quand il s'agit de noircir les dissidents."

[762] Tertullian, who mentions these "littteras pacis jam emissas " in

favor of the Montanists in Asia (Adv. Prax. 1) leaves us in the dark as

to the name of the "episcopus Romanus" from whom they proceeded and of

the other by whom they were recalled, and as to the cause of this

temporary favor. Victor condemned the Quartodecimanians with whom the

Montanists were affiliated. Irenaeus protested against it. See

Bonwetsch, p. 173 sq.

[763] This disposition, an hethos pikron, skuthroton, and skleron, even

Plutarch notices in the Carthaginians (in his Politika parangelmata, c.

3), and contrasts with the excitable and cheerful character of the

Athenians.

[764] De Haeresibus, � 6.

[765] See Hefele, Conciliengesch., I. 754. He explains the

inconsistency by the fact that the Montanists were regarded by, some

orthodox, by others heretical, in the doctrine of the Trinity.

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� 111. Character and Tenets of Montanism.

I. In doctrine, Montanism agreed in all essential points with the

Catholic Church, and held very firmly to the traditional rule of faith.

[766] 66 Tertullian was thoroughly orthodox according to the standard

of his age. He opposed infant baptism on the assumption that mortal

sins could not be forgiven after baptism; but infant baptism was not

yet a catholic dogma, and was left to the discretion of parents. He

contributed to the development of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity,

by asserting against Patripassianism a personal distinction in God, and

the import of the Holy Spirit. Montanism was rooted neither, like

Ebionism, in Judaism, nor, like Gnosticism, in heathenism, but in

Christianity; and its errors consist in a morbid exaggeration of

Christian ideas and demands. Tertullian says, that the administration

of the Paraclete consists only in the reform of discipline, in deeper

understanding of the Scriptures, and in effort after higher perfection;

that it has the same faith, the same God, the same Christ, and the same

sacraments with the Catholics. The sect combated the Gnostic heresy

with all decision, and forms the exact counterpart of that system,

placing Christianity chiefly in practical life instead of theoretical

speculation, and looking for the consummation of the kingdom of God on

this earth, though not till the millennium, instead of transferring it

into an abstract ideal world. Yet between these two systems, as always

between opposite extremes, there were also points of contact; a common

antagonism, for example, to the present order of the world, and the

distinction of a pneumatic and a psychical church.

Tertullian conceived religion as a process of development, which he

illustrates by the analogy of organic growth in nature. He

distinguishes in this process four stages:--(1.) Natural religion, or

the innate idea of God; (2.) The legal religion of the Old Testament;

(3.) The gospel during the earthly life of Christ; and (4.) the

revelation of the Paraclete; that is, the spiritual religion of the

Montanists, who accordingly called themselves the pneumatics, or the

spiritual church, in distinction from the psychical (or carnal)

Catholic church. This is the first instance of a theory of development

which assumes an advance beyond the New Testament and the Christianity

of the apostles; misapplying the parables of the mustard seed and the

leaven, and Paul's doctrine of the growth of the church in Christ (but

not beyond Christ). Tertullian, however, was by no means rationalistic

in his view. On the contrary, he demanded for all new revelations the

closest agreement with the traditional faith of the church, the regula

fidei, which, in a genuine Montanistic work, he terms "immobilis et

irreformabilis." Nevertheless he gave the revelations of the Phrygian

prophets on matters of practice an importance which interfered with the

sufficiency of the Scriptures.

II. In the field of practical life and discipline, the Montanistic

movement and its expectation of the near approach of the end of the

world came into conflict with the reigning Catholicism; and this

conflict, consistently carried out, must of course show itself to some

extent in the province of doctrine. Every schismatic tendency is apt to

become in its progress more or less heretical.

1. Montanism, in the first place, sought a forced continuance of the

miraculous gifts of the apostolic church, which gradually disappeared

as Christianity became settled in humanity, and its supernatural

principle was naturalized on earth. [767] 67 It asserted, above all,

the continuance of prophecy, and hence it went generally under the name

of the nova prophetia. It appealed to Scriptural examples, John,

Agabus, Judas, and Silas, and for their female prophets, to Miriam and

Deborah, and especially to the four daughters of Philip, who were

buried in Hierapolis, the capital of Phrygia. Ecstatic oracular

utterances were mistaken for divine inspirations. Tertullian calls the

mental status of those prophets an "amentia," an "excidere sensu," and

describes it in a way which irresistibly reminds one of the phenomena

of magnetic clairvoyance. Montanus compares a man in the ecstasy with a

musical instrument, on which the Holy Spirit plays his melodies.

"Behold," says he in one of his oracles, in the name of the Paraclete,

"the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as a plectrum. The man

sleeps; I wake. Behold, it is the Lord who puts the hearts of men out

of themselves, and who gives hearts to men." [768] 68 As to its matter,

the Montanistic prophecy related to the approaching heavy judgments of

God, the persecutions, the millennium, fasting, and other ascetic

exercises, which were to be enforced as laws of the church.

The Catholic church did not deny, in theory, the continuance of

prophecy and the other miraculous gifts, but was disposed to derive the

Montanistic revelations from satanic inspirations, [769] 69 and

mistrusted them all the more for their proceeding not from the regular

clergy, but in great part from unauthorized laymen and fanatical women.

2. This brings us to another feature of the Montanistic movement, the

assertion of the universal priesthood of Christians, even of females,

against the special priesthood in the Catholic church. Under this view

it may be called a democratic reaction against the clerical

aristocracy, which from the time of Ignatius had more and more

monopolized all ministerial privileges and functions. The Montanists

found the true qualification and appointment for the office of teacher

in direct endowment by the Spirit of God, in distinction from outward

ordination and episcopal succession. They everywhere proposed the

supernatural element and the free motion of the Spirit against the

mechanism of a fixed ecclesiastical order.

Here was the point where they necessarily assumed a schismatic

character, and arrayed against themselves the episcopal hierarchy. But

they only brought another kind of aristocracy into the place of the

condemned distinction of clergy and laity. They claimed for their

prophets what they denied to the Catholic bishops. They put a great

gulf between the true spiritual Christians and the merely psychical;

and this induced spiritual pride and false pietism. Their affinity with

the Protestant idea of the universal priesthood is more apparent than

real; they go on altogether different principles.

3. Another of the essential and prominent traits of Montanism was a

visionary millennarianism, founded indeed on the Apocalypse and on the

apostolic expectation of the speedy return of Christ, but giving it

extravagant weight and a materialistic coloring. The Montanists were

the warmest millennarians in the ancient church, and held fast to the

speedy return of Christ in glory, all the more as this hope began to

give way to the feeling of a long settlement of the church on earth,

and to a corresponding zeal for a compact, solid episcopal

organization. In praying, "Thy kingdom come," they prayed for the end

of the world. They lived under a vivid impression of the great final

catastrophe, and looked therefore with contempt upon the present order

of things, and directed all their desires to the second advent of

Christ. Maximilla says: "After me there is no more prophecy, but only

the end of the world." [770] 70

The failure of these predictions weakened, of course, all the other

pretensions of the system. But, on the other hand, the abatement of

faith in the near approach of the Lord was certainly accompanied with

an increase of worldliness in the Catholic church. The millennarianism

of the Montanists has reappeared again and again in widely differing

forms.

4. Finally, the Montanistic sect was characterized by fanatical

severity in asceticism and church discipline. It raised a zealous

protest against the growing looseness of the Catholic penitential

discipline, which in Rome particularly, under Zephyrinus and Callistus,

to the great grief of earnest minds, established a scheme of indulgence

for the grossest sins, and began, long before Constantine, to obscure

the line between the church and the world. Tertullian makes the

restoration of a rigorous discipline the chief office of the new

prophecy. [771] 71

But Montanism certainly went to the opposite extreme, and fell from

evangelical freedom into Jewish legalism; while the Catholic church in

rejecting the new laws and burdens defended the cause of freedom.

Montanism turned with horror from all the enjoyments of life, and held

even art to be incompatible with Christian soberness and humility. It

forbade women all ornamental clothing, and required virgins to be

veiled. It courted the blood-baptism of martyrdom, and condemned

concealment or flight in persecution as a denial of Christ. It

multiplied fasts and other ascetic exercises, and carried them to

extreme severity, as the best preparation for the millennium. It

prohibited second marriage as adultery, for laity as well as clergy,

and inclined even to regard a single marriage as a mere concession on

the part of God to the sensuous infirmity of man. It taught the

impossibility of a second repentance, and refused to restore the lapsed

to the fellowship of the church. Tertullian held all mortal sins (of

which he numbers seven), committed after baptism, to be unpardonable,

[772] 72 at least in this world, and a church, which showed such lenity

towards gross offenders, as the Roman church at that time did,

according to the corroborating testimony of Hippolytus, he called worse

than a den of thieves," even a "spelunca maechorum et fornicatorum."

[773] 73

The Catholic church, indeed, as we have already seen, opened the door

likewise to excessive ascetic rigor, but only as an exception to her

rule; while the Montanists pressed their rigoristic demands as binding

upon all. Such universal asceticism was simply impracticable in a world

like the present, and the sect itself necessarily dwindled away. But

the religious earnestness which animated it, its prophecies and

visions, its millennarianism, and the fanatical extremes into which it

ran, have since reappeared, under various names and forms, and in new

combinations, in Novatianism, Donatism, the spiritualism of the

Franciscans, Anabaptism, the Camisard enthusiasm, Puritanism,

Quakerism, Quietism, Pietism, Second Adventism, Irvingism, and so on,

by way of protest and wholesome reaction against various evils in the

church. [774] 74

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[766] This was acknowledged by its opponents. Epipbanius, Haer. XLVIII.

1, says, the Cataphrygians receive the entire Scripture of the Old and

New Testament, and agree with the Catholic church in their views on the

Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

[767] In this point, as in others, Montanism bears a striking affinity

to Irvingism, but differs from it by its democratic, anti-hierarchical

constitution. Irvingism asserts not only the continuance of the

apostolic gifts, but also of all the apostolic offices, especially the

twelvefold apostolate, and is highly ritualistic.

[768] Epiph. Haer. xlviii. 4: idou, ho anthropos hosei lura, kago

ephiptamai hosei plektron, ho anthropos koimatai, kago gregoro, idou,

kurios estin ho existanon kardias anthropon kai didous kardian

anthropois .

[769] Tert. De Jun. 11:"Spiritus diaboli est, dicis, o psychice."

Tertullian himself, however, always occupied an honorable rank among

the church written, though not numbered among the church fathers in the

technical sense

[770] Bonwetsch, p. 149: "Das Wesen des Montanismus ist eine Reaktion

angesichts der nahen Parusie gegen Verweltlichung der Kirche." Baur,

too, emphasizes this point and puts the chief difference between

Montanism and Gnosticism in this that the latter looked at the

beginning, the former at the end of all things."Wie die Gnosis

denAnfangspunkt ins Auge fasst, von welchem alles ausgeht, die

absoluten Principien, durch welche der Selbstoffenbarungsprocess Gottes

und der Gang der Weltentwicklung bedingt ist, so ist im Montanismus der

Hauptpunkt um welchen sich alles bewegt, das Ende der Dinge, die

Katastrophe, welcher der Weltertlauf entgegengeht." (K. Gesch. I. 235).

[771] De Monog. c. 2, he calls the Paraclete "novae disciplinae

institutor, " but in c. 4 he says, correcting himself: "Paraclete

restitutor potius quam instilator disiplinae."

[772] Comp. De Pud. c. 2. and 19.

[773] De Pudic. c 1: "Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem

peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum

(so he calls, ironically, the Roman bishop; in all probability he

refers to Zephyrinus or Callistus), edicit: Ego et moechiae et

fornicationis delicta poenitentia functis dimitto ... Absit, absit a

sponsa Christi tale praeconium! IIla, quae vera est. quae pudica, quae

sancta, carebit etiam aurium macula. Non habet quibus hoc repromittit,

et si habuerit, non repromittat, quoniam et terrenum Dei templum citius

spelunca latronum (Matt. 21:13) appellari potuit a Domino quam

moechorum et fornicatorum.

[774] Comp. on these analogous phenomena Soyres, p. 118 sqq. and 142

sqq. He also mentions Mormonism as an analogous movement, and so does

Renan (Marc-Aur�le, p. 209), but this is unjust to Montanism, which in

its severe ascetic morality differs widely from the polygamous

pseudo-theocracy in Utah. Montanism much more nearly resembles

Irvingism, whose leaders are eminently pure and devout men (as Irving,

Thierscb, W. W. Andrews).

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CHAPTER XI:

THE HERESIES OF THE ANTE-NICENE AGE.

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� 112. Judaism and Heathenism within the Church.

Having described in previous chapters the moral and intellectual

victory of the church over avowed and consistent Judaism and

heathenism, we must now look at her deep and mighty struggle with those

enemies in a hidden and more dangerous form: with Judaism and

heathenism concealed in the garb of Christianity and threatening to

Judaize and paganize the church. The patristic theology and literature

can never be thoroughly understood without a knowledge of the heresies

of the patristic age, which play as important a part in the theological

movements of the ancient Greek and Latin churches as Rationalism with

its various types in the modern theology of the Protestant churches of

Europe and America.

Judaism, with its religion and its sacred writings, and Graeco-Roman

heathenism, with its secular culture, its science, and its art, were

designed to pass into Christianity to be transformed and sanctified.

But even in the apostolic age many Jews and Gentiles were baptized only

with water, not with the Holy Spirit and fire of the gospel, and

smuggled their old religious notions and practices into the church.

Hence the heretical tendencies, which are combated in the New

Testament, especially in the Pauline and Catholic Epistles. [775] 75

The same heresies meet us at the beginning of the second century, and

thenceforth in more mature form and in greater extent in almost all

parts of Christendom. They evince, on the one hand, the universal

import of the Christian religion in history, and its irresistible power

over all the more profound and earnest minds of the age. Christianity

threw all their religious ideas into confusion and agitation. They were

so struck with the truth, beauty, and vigor of the new religion, that

they could no longer rest either in Judaism or in heathenism; and yet

many were unable or unwilling to forsake inwardly their old religion

and philosophy. Hence strange medleys of Christian and unchristian

elements in chaotic ferment. The old religions did not die without a

last desperate effort to save themselves by appropriating Christian

ideas. And this, on the other hand, exposed the specific truth of

Christianity to the greatest danger, and obliged the church to defend

herself against misrepresentation, and to secure herself against

relapse to the Jewish or the heathen level.

As Christianity was met at its entrance into the world by two other

religions, the one relatively true, and the other essentially false,

heresy appeared likewise in the two leading forms of ebionism and

gnosticism, the germs of which, as already observed, attracted the

notice of the apostles. The remark of Hegesippus, that the church

preserved a virginal purity of doctrine to the time of Hadrian, must be

understood as made only in view of the open advance of Gnosticism in

the second century, and therefore as only relatively true. The very

same writer expressly observes, that heresy had been already secretly

working from the days of Simon Magus. Ebionism is a Judaizing,

pseudo-Petrine Christianity, or, as it may equally well be called, a

Christianizing Judaism; Gnosticism is a paganizing or pseudo-Pauline

Christianity, or a pseudo-Christian heathenism.

These two great types of heresy are properly opposite poles. Ebionism

is a particularistic contraction of the Christian religion; Gnosticism,

a vague expansion of it. The one is a gross realism and literalism; the

other, a fantastic idealism and spiritualism. In the former the spirit

is bound in outward forms; in the latter it revels in licentious

freedom. Ebionism makes salvation depend on observance of the law;

Gnosticism, on speculative knowledge. Under the influence of Judaistic

legalism, Christianity must stiffen and petrify; under the influence of

Gnostic speculation, it must dissolve into empty notions and fancies.

Ebionism denies the divinity of Christ, and sees in the gospel only a

new law; Gnosticism denies the true humanity of the Redeemer, and makes

his person and his work a mere phantom, a docetistic illusion.

The two extremes, however, meet; both tendencies from opposite

directions reach the same result--the denial of the incarnation, of the

true and abiding union of the divine and the human in Christ and his

kingdom; and thus they fall together under St. John's criterion of the

antichristian spirit of error. In both Christ ceases to be mediator and

reconciler and his religion makes no specific advance upon the Jewish

and the heathen, which place God and man in abstract dualism, or allow

them none but a transient and illusory union.

Hence, there were also some forms of error, in which Ebionistic and

Gnostic elements were combined. We have a Gnostic or theosophic

Ebionism the pseudo-Clementine), and a Judaizing Gnosticism (in

Cerinthus and others). These mixed forms also we find combated in the

apostolic age. Indeed, similar forms of religious syncretism we meet

with even before the time and beyond the field of Christianity, in the

Essenes, the Therapeutae, and the Platonizing Jewish philosopher,

Philo.

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[775] Comp. vol. 1. 564 sqq., and my History of the Apost. Church, �

165-169.

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� 113. Nazarenes and Ebionites (Elkesaites, Mandoeans).

I. Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. I. 26. Hippolytus: Refut. omnium Haer., or

Philosophumena, 1. IX. 13-17. Epiphanius: Haer. 29, 30, 53. Scattered

notices in Justin M., Tertullian, Origen, Hegesippus, Eusebius, and

Jerome. Several of the Apocryphal Gospels, especially that of the

Hebrews. The sources are obscure and conflicting. Comp. the collection

of fragments from Elxai, the Gospel of the Hebrews, etc. in

Hilgenfeld's Novum Test. extra Canonem receptum. Lips. 1866,

II. Gieseler: Nazar�er u. Ebioniten (in the fourth vol. of St�udlin's

and Tzschirner's "Archiv." Leipz. 1820).

Credner: Ueber Essaeer und Ebioniten und einen theitweisen Zusammenhang

derselben (in Winer's "Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol." Sulzbach,

1829).

Baur: De Ebionitarum Origine et Doctrina ab Essaeis repetenda. T�b.

1831.

Schliemann: Die Clementinen u. der Ebionitismus, Hamb. 1844, p.

362-552.

Ritschl: Ueber die Secte der Elkesaiten (in Niedner's "Zeitschr. Hist.

Theol." 1853, No. 4).

D. Chwolsohn: Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus. St. Petersburg, 1856,�

vols.

Uhlhorn: Ebioniten and Elkesaiten, in Herzog, new ed., vol. IV. (1879),

13 sqq. and 184 sqq.

G. Salmon: Elkesai, Elkesaites, in Smith & Wace, vol. II. (1880) p. 95

98.

M. N. Siouffi: �tudes sur la religion des Soubbas on Sab�ens, leurs

dogmes, leurs m�urs. Paris, 1880.

K. Kessler: Mandaeer, in Herzog, revised ed., IX. (1881), p. 205-222.

AD. Hilgenfeld: Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums, Leip., 1884 (421

sqq.).

The Jewish Christianity, represented in the apostolic church by Peter

and James, combined with the Gentile Christianity of Paul, to form a

Christian church, in which "neither circumcision availeth anything, nor

uncircumcision, but a new creature in Christ."

I. A portion of the Jewish Christians, however, adhered even after the

destruction of Jerusalem, to the national customs of their fathers, and

propagated themselves in some churches of Syria down to the end of the

fourth century, under the name of Nazarenes; a name perhaps originally

given in contempt by the Jews to all Christians as followers of Jesus

of Nazareth. [776] 76 They united the observance of the Mosaic ritual

law with their belief in the Messiahship and divinity of Jesus, used

the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew, deeply mourned the unbelief of their

brethren, and hoped for their future conversion in a body and for a

millennial reign of Christ on the earth. But they indulged no antipathy

to the apostle Paul, and never denounced the Gentile Christians and

heretics for not observing the law. They were, therefore, not heretics,

but stunted separatist Christians; they stopped at the obsolete

position of a narrow and anxious Jewish Christianity, and shrank to an

insignificant sect. Jerome says of them, that, wishing to be Jews and

Christians alike, they were neither one nor the other.

II. From these Nazarenes we must carefully distinguish the heretical

Jewish Christians, or the ebionites, who were more numerous. Their name

comes not, as Tertullian first intimated, [777] 77 from a supposed

founder of the sect, Ebion, of whom we know nothing, but from the

Hebrew word, 'vyrn, poor. It may have been originally, like "Nazarene"

and "Galilean," a contemptuous designation of all Christians, the

majority of whom lived in needy circumstances; [778] 78 but it was

afterwards confined to this sect; whether in reproach, to denote the

poverty of their doctrine of Christ and of the law, as Origen more

ingeniously than correctly explains it; or, more probably, in honor,

since the Ebionites regarded themselves as the genuine followers of the

poor Christ and his poor disciples, and applied to themselves alone the

benediction on the poor in spirit. According to Epiphanius, Ebion

spread his error first in the company of Christians which fled to Pella

after the destruction of Jerusalem; according to Hegesippus in

Eusebius, one Thebutis, after the death of the bishop Symeon of

Jerusalem, about 107, made schism among the Jewish Christians, and led

many of them to apostatize, because he himself was not elected to the

bishopric.

We find the sect of the Ebionites in Palestine and the surrounding

regions, on the island of Cyprus, in Asia Minor, and even in Rome.

Though it consisted mostly of Jews, Gentile Christians also sometimes

attached themselves to it. It continued into the fourth century, but at

the time of Theodoret was entirely extinct. It used a Hebrew Gospel,

now lost, which was probably a corruption of the Gospel of Matthew.

The characteristic marks of Ebionism in all its forms are: degradation

of Christianity to the level of Judaism; the principle of the universal

and perpetual validity of the Mosaic law; and enmity to the apostle

Paul. But, as there were different sects in Judaism itself, we have

also to distinguish at least two branches of Ebionism, related to each

other as Pharisaism and Essenism, or, to use a modern illustration, as

the older deistic and the speculative pantheistic rationalism in

Germany, or the practical and the speculative schools in Unitarianism.

1. The common Ebionites, who were by far the more numerous, embodied

the Pharisaic legalism, and were the proper successors of the Judaizers

opposed in the Epistle to the Galatians. Their doctrine may be reduced

to the following propositions:

(a) Jesus is, indeed, the promised Messiah, the son of David, and the

supreme lawgiver, yet a mere man, like Moses and David, sprung by

natural generation from Joseph and Mary. The sense of his Messianic

calling first arose in him at his baptism by John, when a higher spirit

joined itself to him. Hence, Origen compared this sect to the blind man

in the Gospel, who called to the Lord, without seeing him: "Thou son of

David, have mercy on me."

(b) Circumcision and the observance of the whole ritual law of Moses

are necessary to salvation for all men.

(c) Paul is an apostate and heretic, and all his epistles are to be

discarded. The sect considered him a native heathen, who came over to

Judaism in later life from impure motives.

(d) Christ is soon to come again, to introduce the glorious millennial

reign of the Messiah, with the earthly Jerusalem for its seat.

2. The second class of Ebionites, starting with Essenic notions, gave

their Judaism a speculative or theosophic stamp, like the errorists of

the Epistle to the Colossians. They form the stepping-stone to

Gnosticism. Among these belong the Elkesaites. [779] 79 They arose,

according to Epiphanius, in the reign of Trajan, in the regions around

the Dead Sea, where the Essenes lived. Their name is derived from their

supposed founder, Elxai or Elkasai, and is interpreted: "hidden power,"

which (according to Gieseler's suggestion) signifies the Holy Spirit.

[780] 80 This seems to have been originally the title of a book, which

pretended, like the book of Mormon, to be revealed by an angel, and was

held in the highest esteem by the sect. This secret writing, according

to the fragments in Origen, and in the "Philosophumena" of Hippolytus,

contains the groundwork of the remarkable pseudo-Clementine system.

[781] 81 (See next section.) It is evidently of Jewish origin,

represents Jerusalem as the centre of the religious world, Christ as a

creature and the Lord of angels and all other creatures, the Holy

Spirit as a female, enjoins circumcision as well as baptism, rejects

St. Paul, and justifies the denial of faith in time of persecution. It

claims to date from the third year of Trajan (101). This and the

requirement of circumcision would make it considerably older than the

Clementine Homilies. A copy of that book was brought to Rome from Syria

by a certain Alcibiades about a.d. 222, and excited attention by

announcing a new method of forgiveness of sins.

3. A similar sect are the Mandaeans, from Manda, knowledge (gnosis)also

Sabians, i.e. Baptists (froms�bi, to baptize, to wash), and

Mughtasilah, which has the same meaning. On account of their great

reverence for John the Baptist, they were called "Christians of John."

[782] 82 Their origin is uncertain. A remnant of them still exists, in

Persia on the eastern banks of the Tigris. Their sacred language is an

Aramaic dialect of some importance for comparative philology. [783] 83

At present they speak Arabic and Persian. Their system is very

complicated with the prevalence of the heathen element, and comes

nearest to Manichaeism. [784] 84

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[776] The heathen enemies of Christianity, as Julian the Apostate,

called them sometimes "Galileans." So also Epictetus in the only

passage, in which he alludes to the Christians.

[777] Praescr. Haeret. c. 13.

[778] Minut. Felix, Octav. 36: "Ceterum quod plerique PAUPERES dicimur

non est infamia nostra, sed gloria; animus enim ut luxu solvitur, ita

frugalitate firmatur."

[779] Elkessaioi (Epiphanius); Elchassai (Hippolytus); Helkesaitai

(Origen). Also Sampsaioi, fromshmsh, sun.

[780] Dunamis kekallumene,ysk lych. Comp. the dunamis asarkosin the

Clem. Homilies, XVII. 16. Other derivations: from Elkesi, a village in

Galilee (Delitzsch); fromydsh l'; from syshchkl' =apostatae.

[781] See the fragments collected in Hilgenfeld's Nov. Test. extra

Canonem receptum, III. 153-167.

[782] Johanneschristen, Chr�tiens de Saint Jean.

[783] Mand�ische Grammatik, by Th. N�ldeke. Halle, 1875.

[784] For further particulars see the article of Kessler in Herzog,

above quoted.

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� 114. The Pseudo-Clementine Ebionism.

I. Sources:

1. Ta Klementia, or more accurately Klementos ton Petrou epidemion

kerugmaton epitome first published (without the twentieth and part of

the nineteenth homily) by Cotelier in "Patres Apost." Par. 1672;

Clericus in his editions of Cotelier, 1698, 1700, and 1724; again by

Schwegler, Stuttg. 1847 (the text of Clericus); then first entire, with

the missing portion, from a new codex in the Ottobonian Library in the

Vatican, by Alb. R. M. Dressel (with the Latin trans. of Cotelier and

notes), under the title: Clementis Romani quae feruntur Homiliae

Viginti nunc primum integrae. Gott. 1853; and by Paul de Lagarde:

Clementina Graece. Leipz. 1865.

2. Clementis Rom. Recognitiones ( Anagnorismoi or Hanagnoseis), in ten

books, extant only in the Latin translation of Rufinus (d. 410); first

published in Basel, 1526; then better by Cotelier, Gallandi, and by

Gersdorf in his "Bibl. Patr. Lat." Lips. 1838. Vol. I. In Syriac, ed.

by P. de Lagarde (Clementis Romani Recognitiones Syriace). Lips. 1861.

An English translation of the Recognitions of Clement by Dr. Thomas

Smith, in the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library," Edinburgh, vol. III.

(1868), pp. 137-471. The work in the MSS. bears different titles, the

most common is Itinerarium St. Clementis.

3. Clementine Epitome de Gestis Petri (Klem. episk. Rhomes peri ton

praxeon epidemion te kai kerugmaton Petrou epitome), first at Paris,

1555; then critically edited by Cotelier, l.c.; and more completely

with a second epitome by A. R. M. Dressel: Clementinorum Epitomae duae,

with valuable critical annotations by Fr. Wieseler. Lips. 1859. The two

Epitomes are only a summary of the Homilies.

II. Works.

Neander and Baur, in their works on Gnosticism (vid. the following

section), and in their Church Histories.

Schliemann: Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften, u. der

Ebionitismus. Hamb. 1844.

Ad. Hilgenfeld: Die Clementinischen Recognitionem n. Homilien nach

ihrem Urspr�ng n. Inhalt. Jena, 1848. Art. by the same in the "Theol.

Jahrb�cher" for 1854 (483 sqq.), and 1868 (357 sqq.); and Die Apost.

V�ter. Halle 1853, p. 287-302.

G. Uhlhorn: Die Homilien n. Recognitionem des Clemens Romanus. G�tt.

1854. Comp. the same author's article "Clementinen," in Herzog, second

ed., vol. III. (1878), p. 277-286.

Ritschl: Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche 1857 (second ed. p.

206-270).

J. Lehmann: Die Clementinischen Schriften mit besonderer R�cksicht auf

ihr liter. Verh�ltniss. Gotha 1869. He mediates between Hilgenfeld and

Uhlhorn. (See a review by Lipsius in the "Protest. Kirchenztg," 1869,

477-482, and by Lagarde in his "Symmicta," I. 1877, pp. 2-4 and

108-112, where Lehmann is charged with plagiarism).

R. A. Lipsius: Die Quellen der r�mischen Petrus-Sage kritish

untersucht. Kiel 1872. Lipsius finds the basis of the whole Clementine

literature in the strongly anti-Pauline Acta Petri.

A. B. Lutterbeck: Die Clementinen und ihr Verh. z. Unfehlbarkeitsdogma.

Giessen, 1872.

The system of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies exhibits Ebionism at once

in its theosophic perfection, and in its internal dissolution. It

represents rather an individual opinion, than a sect, but holds

probably some connection, not definitely ascertained, with the

Elkesaites, who, as appears from the "Philosophumena," branched out

even to Rome. It is genuinely Ebionitic or Judaistic in its

monotheistic basis, its concealed antagonism to Paul, and its assertion

of the essential identity of Christianity and Judaism, while it

expressly rejects the Gnostic fundamental doctrine of the demiurge. It

cannot, therefore, properly be classed, as it is by Baur, among the

Gnostic schools.

The twenty Clementine Homilies bear the celebrated name of the Roman

bishop Clement, mentioned in Phil. 4:3, as a helper of Paul, but

evidently confounded in the pseudo-Clementine literature with Flavius

Clement, kinsman of the Emperor Domitian. They really come from an

unknown, philosophically educated author, probably a Jewish Christian,

of the second half of the second century. They are a

philosophico-religious romance, based on some historical traditions,

which it is now impossible to separate from apocryphal accretions. The

conception of Simon as a magician was furnished by the account in the

eighth chapter of Acts, and his labors in Rome were mentioned by Justin

Martyr. The book is prefaced by a letter of Peter to James, bishop of

Jerusalem, in which he sends him his sermons, and begs him to keep them

strictly secret; and by a letter of the pseudo-Clement to the same

James in which he relates how Peter, shortly before his death,

appointed him (Clement) his successor in Rome, and enjoined upon him to

send to James a work composed at the instance of Peter, entitled

"Clementis Epitome praedicationum Petri in peregrinationibus." [785] 85

By these epistles it was evidently designed to impart to the pretended

extract from the itinerant sermons and disputations of Peter, the

highest apostolical authority, and at the same time to explain the long

concealment of them. [786] 86

The substance of the Homilies themselves is briefly this: Clement, an

educated Roman, of the imperial family, not satisfied with heathenism,

and thirsting for truth, goes to Judaea, having heard, under the reign

of Tiberius, that Jesus had appeared there. In Caesarea he meets the

apostle Peter, and being instructed and converted by him, accompanies

him on his missionary journeys in Palestine, to Tyre, Tripolis,

Laodicea, and Antioch. He attends upon the sermons of Peter and his

long, repeated disputations with Simon Magus, and, at the request of

the apostle, commits the substance of them to writing. Simon Peter is

thus the proper hero of the romance, and appears throughout as the

representative of pure, primitive Christianity, in opposition to Simon

Magus, who is portrayed as a "man full of enmity," and a "deceiver,"

the author of all anti-Jewish heresies, especially of the Marcionite

Gnosticism. The author was acquainted with the four canonical Gospels,

and used them, Matthew most, John least; and with them another work of

the same sort, probably of the Ebionitic stamp, but now unknown. [787]

87

It has been ingeniously conjectured by Baur (first in 1831), and

adopted by his pupils, that the pseudo-Clementine Peter combats, under

the mask of the Magician, the apostle Paul (nowhere named in the

Homilies), as the first and chief corrupter of Christianity. [788] 88

This conjecture, which falls in easily with Baur's view of the

wide-spread and irreconcilable antagonism of Petrinism and Paulinism in

the primitive church, derives some support from several malicious

allusions to Paul, especially the collision in Antioch. Simon Magus is

charged with claiming that Christ appeared to him in a vision, and

called him to be an apostle, and yet teaching a doctrine contrary to

Christ, hating his apostles, and denouncing Peter, the firm rock and

foundation of the church, as "self-condemned." [789] 89 But this

allusion is probably only an incidental sneer at Paul. The whole design

of the Homilies, and the account given of the origin, history and

doctrine of Simon, are inconsistent with such an identification of the

heathen magician with the Christian apostle. Simon Magus is described

in the Homilies [790] 90 as a Samaritan, who studied Greek in

Alexandria, and denied the supremacy of God and the resurrection of the

dead, substituted Mount Gerizim for Jerusalem, and declared himself the

true Christ. He carried with him a companion or mistress, Helena, who

descended from the highest heavens, and was the primitive essence and

wisdom. If Paul had been intended, the writer would have effectually

concealed and defeated his design by such and other traits, which find

not the remotest parallel in the history and doctrine of Paul, but are

directly opposed to the statements in his Epistles and in the Acts of

the Apostles.

In the Recognitions the anti-Pauline tendency is moderated, yet Paul's

labors are ignored, and Peter is made the apostle of the Gentiles.

The doctrine which pseudo-Clement puts into the mouth of Peter, and

very skillfully interweaves with his narrative, is a confused mixture

of Ebionitic and Gnostic, ethical and metaphysical ideas and fancies.

He sees in Christianity only the restoration of the pure primordial

religion, [791] 91 which God revealed in the creation, but which, on

account of the obscuring power of sin and the seductive influence of

demons, must be from time to time renewed. The representatives of this

religion are the pillars of the world: Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham,

Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Christ. These are in reality only seven

different incarnations of the same Adam or primal man, the true prophet

of God, who was omniscient and infallible. What is recorded unfavorable

to these holy men, the drunkenness of Noah, the polygamy of the

patriarchs, the homicide of Moses, and especially the blasphemous

history of the fall of Adam, as well as all unworthy anthropopathical

passages concerning God, were foisted into the Old Testament by the

devil and his demons. Thus, where Philo and Origen resorted to

allegorical interpretation, to remove what seems offensive in

Scripture, pseudo-Clement adopts the still more arbitrary hypothesis of

diabolical interpolations. Among the true prophets of God, again, he

gives Adam, Moses, and Christ peculiar eminence, and places Christ

above all, though without raising him essentially above a prophet and

lawgiver. The history of religion, therefore, is not one of progress,

but only of return to the primitive revelation. Christianity and

Mosaism are identical, and both coincide with the religion of Adam.

Whether a man believe in Moses or in Christ, it is all the same,

provided he blaspheme neither. But to know both, and find in both the

same doctrine, is to be rich in God, to recognize the new as old, and

the old as become new. Christianity is an advance only in its extension

of the gospel to the Gentiles, and its consequent universal character.

As the fundamental principle of this pure religion, our author lays

down the doctrine of one God, the creator of the world. This is

thoroughly Ebionitic, and directly opposed to the dualism of the

demiurgic doctrine of the Gnostics. But then he makes the whole stream

of created life flow forth from God in a long succession of sexual and

ethical antitheses and syzygies, and return into him as its absolute

rest; here plainly touching the pantheistic emanation-theory of

Gnosticism. God himself one from the beginning, has divided everything

into counterparts, into right and left, heaven and earth, day and

night, light and darkness, life and death. The monad thus becomes the

dyad. The better came first, the worse followed; but from man onward

the order was reversed. Adam, created in the image of God, is the true

prophet; his wife, Eve, represents false prophecy. They were followed,

first, by wicked Cain, and then by righteous Abel. So Peter appeared

after Simon Magus, as light after darkness, health after sickness. So,

at the last, will antichrist precede the advent of Christ. And finally,

the whole present order of things loses itself in the future; the pious

pass into eternal life; the ungodly, since the soul becomes mortal by

the corruption of the divine image, are annihilated after suffering a

punishment, which is described as a purifying fire. [792] 92 When the

author speaks of eternal punishment, he merely accommodates himself to

the popular notion. The fulfilling of the law, in the Ebionitic sense,

and knowledge, on a half-Gnostic principle, are the two parts of the

way of salvation. The former includes frequent fasts, ablutions,

abstinence from animal food, and voluntary poverty; while early

marriage is enjoined, to prevent licentiousness. In declaring baptism

to be absolutely necessary to the forgiveness of sin, the author

approaches the catholic system. He likewise adopts the catholic

principle involved, that salvation is to be found only in the external

church.

As regards ecclesiastical organization, he fully embraces the

monarchical episcopal view. The bishop holds the place of Christ in the

congregation, and has power to bind and loose. Under him stand the

presbyters and deacons. But singularly, and again in true Ebionitic

style, James, the brother of the Lord, bishop of Jerusalem, which is

the centre of Christendom, is made the general vicar of Christ, the

visible head of the whole church, the bishop of bishops. Hence even

Peter must give him an account of his labors; and hence, too, according

to the introductory epistles, the sermons of Peter and Clement's

abstract of them were sent to James for safe-keeping, with the

statement, that Clement had been named by Peter as his successor at

Rome.

It is easy to see that this appeal to a pseudo-Petrine primitive

Christianity was made by the author of the Homilies with a view to

reconcile all the existing differences and divisions in Christendom. In

this effort he, of course, did not succeed, but rather made way for the

dissolution of the Ebionitic element still existing in the orthodox

catholic church.

Besides these Homilies, of which the Epitome is only a poor

abridgement, there are several other works, some printed, some still

unpublished, which are likewise forged upon Clement of Rome, and based

upon the same historical material, with unimportant deviations, but are

in great measure free, as to doctrine, from Judaistic and Gnostic

ingredients, and come considerably nearer the line of orthodoxy.

The most important of these are the Recognitions of Clement, in ten

books, mentioned by Origen, but now extant only in a Latin translation

by Rufinus. They take their name from the narrative, in the last books,

of the reunion of the scattered members of the Clementine family, who

all at last find themselves together in Christianity, and are baptized

by Peter.

On the question of priority between these two works, critics are

divided, some making the Recognitions an orthodox, or at least more

nearly orthodox, version of the Homilies; [793] 93 others regarding the

Homilies as a heretical corruption of the Recognitions. [794] 94 But in

all probability both works are based upon older and simpler

Jewish-Christian documents, under the assumed names of Peter and

Clement. [795] 95

As to their birth-place, the Homilies probably originated in East

Syria, the Recognitions in Rome. They are assigned to the second half

of the second century.

In a literary point of view, these productions are remarkable, as the

first specimens of Christian romance, next to the "Pastor Hermae." They

far surpass, in matter, and especially in moral earnestness and tender

feeling, the heathen romances of a Chariton and an Achilles Tatios, of

the fourth or fifth centuries. The style, though somewhat tedious, is

fascinating in its way, and betrays a real artist in its combination of

the didactic and historical, the philosophic and the poetic elements.

Notes.

Lagarde (in the Preface to his edition of the Clementina, p. 22) and G.

E. Stietz (in the lengthy review of Lagarde in the "Studien und

Kritiken" for 1867, No. III p. 556 sqq), draw a parallel between the

pseudo-Clementine fiction of Simon and the German story of Faust, the

magician, and derive the latter from the former through the medium of

the Recognitions, which were better known in the church than the

homilies. George Sabellicus , about a.d. 1507, called himself Faustus

junior, magus secundus. Clement's father is called Faustus, and his two

brothers, Fatistinus and Faustinianus (in the Recognitions Faustus, and

Faustinus), were brought up with Simon the magician, and at first

associated with him. The characters of Helena and Homunculus appear in

both stories, though very differently. I doubt whether these

resemblances are sufficient to establish a connection between the two

otherwise widely divergent popular fictions.

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[785] Klementos ton Petrou epidemion kerugmaton epitome.

[786] The T�bingen School, under the lead of Dr. Baur, has greatly

exaggerated the importance of these heretical fictions which the

unknown author never intended to present as solid facts. Thus

Hilgenfeld says (l. c. p. 1) There is scarcely a single writing which

is of so great importance for the history of Christianity in its first

age, and which has already given such brilliant disclosures [?] at the

hands of the most renowned critics in regard to the earliest history of

the Christian Church, as the writing ascribed to the Roman Clement, the

Recognitions and Homilies."Their importance is confined to the history

of heresy, which with the T�bingen school is the most interesting

portion of ancient church history.

[787] The T�bingen school first denied the use of the fourth Gospel,

but the discovery of the missing portion by Dressel in 1853 has settled

this point, for it contains (Hom. XIX. 22) a clear quotation from John

9:1-3.

[788] The hypothesis has been most fully carried out by Lipsius in his

article on Simon Magus in Schenkel's "Bibellexicon, " vol. V. 301-321.

[789] Comp. Hom. XVII. 19 (p. 351 sq. ed. Dressel) with Gal. 2:11,

where Paul uses the game word kategnomenos of Peter.

[790] Hom. II. 22 sqq. (p. 57 sqq.).

[791] The prote te anthropoteri paradotheisa soterios threskeia.

[792] Pur katharsion, ignis purgatorius.

[793] Clericus, M�hler, Schliemann, Uhlhorn, Schwegler, partly also

Lehmann. Uhlhorn has since modified his view (1876).

[794] Particularly Hilgenfeld and Ritschl, find among older writers,

Cave and Whiston. Salmon also assigns the priority of composition to

the Recognitions.

[795] The Periodoi Petrou dia Klementos,and the still older Kerugmata

Petrou (about a.d. 140-145), the contents of which are mentioned in

Recogn. III. 75, and the oldest Acta Petri, parts of which are

preserved in the apocryphal Acta Petri et Pauli. See Lipsius, Quellen

der r�m. Petrus-Sage, 1872, pp. 14 sqq. Uhlhorn assents in his last

art. in the new ed. of Herzog, III. 285. Dr. Salmon (in Smith and Wace,

1. 571) likewise assumes that both are drawn from a common original,

but that the author of Homilies borrowed the biographical portions from

Recognitions.

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� 115. Gnosticism. The Literature.

Sources:

1. Gnostic (of the Valentinian school in the wider sense): Pistis

Sopitia; Opus gnosticum e codice Coptico descriptum lat. vertit M. G

Schwartze, ed. J. H. Petermann. Berl. 1851. Of the middle of the third

century. An account of the fall and repentance of Sophia and the

mystery of redemption. Comp. the article of K�stlin in the "T�b. Theol.

Jahrb�cher," 1854.--The Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses are

to a large extent of Gnostic origin, e.g. the Acts of St. Thomas (a

favorite apostle of the Gnostics), John, Peter, Paul, Philip, Matthew,

Andrew, Paul and Thecla. Some of them have been worked over by Catholic

authors, and furnished much material to the legendary lore of the

church. They and the stories of monks were the religious novels of the

early church. See the collections of the apocryphal literature of the

N. T. by Fabricius, Thilo, Tischendorf, Max Bonnet, D. William Wright,

G. Phillips, S. C. Malan, Zahn, and especially Lipsius: Die Apokryphen

Apostelgeschichten und Apostelligenden (Braunschweig, 1883, 2 vols.)

Comp. the Lit. quoted in vol. I. 90 sq.; 188 sq., and in Lipsius, I. 34

sqq.

II. Patristic(with many extracts from lost Gnostic writings): Irenaeus:

Adv. Hareses. The principal source, especially for the Valentinian

Gnosticism. Hippolytus: Refutat. Omnium Haeresium (Philosophumena), ed.

Duncker and Schneidewin. Gott. 1859. Based partly on Irenaeus, partly

on independent reading of Gnostic works. Tertullian: De

praeescriptionibus Haereticorum; Adv. Valentin; Scorpiace; Adv.

Marcionem. The last is the chief authority for Marcionism. Clemens

Alex.: Stromata. Scattered notices of great value. Origenes: Com. in

Evang. Joh. Furnishes much important information and extracts from

Heracleon. Epiphanius: Panarion. Full of information, but uncritical

and fanatically orthodox. Eusebius: Hist. Eccl. Theodoret: Fabulae

Haer.

See Fr. Oehler's Corpus Haereseologicum (a collection of the ancient

anti-heretical works of Epiphanius, Philastrus, Augustin, etc.). Berol.

1856-1861, 5 vols.

III. Neo-Platonist: Plotinus: Pros tous gnostikous (or Ennead. II. 9).

IV. Critical: R. A. Lipsius: Zur Quellen-Kritik des Epiphanios. Wien

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� 116. Meaning, Origin and Character of Gnosticism.

The Judaistic form of heresy was substantially conquered in the

apostolic age. More important and more widely spread in the second

period was the paganizing heresy, known by the name of Gnosticism. It

was the Rationalism of the ancient church; it pervaded the intellectual

atmosphere, and stimulated the development of catholic theology by

opposition.

The Greek word gnosis may denote all schools of philosophical or

religious knowledge, in distinction from superficial opinion or blind

belief. The New Testament makes a plain distinction between true and

false gnosis. The true consists in a deep insight into the essence and

structure of the Christian truth, springs from faith, is accompanied by

the cardinal virtues of love and humility, serves to edify the church,

and belongs among the gifts of grace wrought by the Holy Spirit. [796]

96 In this sense, Clement of Alexandria and Origen aimed at gnosis, and

all speculative theologians who endeavor to reconcile reason and

revelation, may be called Christian Gnostics. The false gnosis [797] 97

on the contrary, against which Paul warns Timothy, and which he

censures in the Corinthians and Colossians is a morbid pride of wisdom,

an arrogant, self-conceited, ambitious knowledge, which puffs up,

instead of edifying, [798] 98 runs into idle subtleties and disputes,

and verifies in its course the apostle's word: "Professing themselves

to be wise, they became fools." [799] 99

In this bad sense, the word applies to the error of which we now speak,

and which began to show itself at least as early as the days of Paul

and John. It is a one-sided intellectualism on a dualistic heathen

basis. It rests on an over-valuation of knowledge or gnosis, and a

depreciation of faith or pistis. The Gnostics contrasted themselves by

this name with the Pistics, or the mass of believing Christians. They

regarded Christianity as consisting essentially in a higher knowledge;

fancied themselves the sole possessors of an esoteric, philosophical

religion, which made them genuine, spiritual men, and looked down with

contempt upon the mere men of the soul and of the body. They

constituted the intellectual aristocracy, a higher caste in the church.

They, moreover, adulterated Christianity with sundry elements entirely

foreign, and thus quite obscured the true essence of the gospel. [800]

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We may parallelize the true and false, the believing and unbelieving

forms of Gnosticism with the two forms of modern Rationalism and modern

Agnosticism. There is a Christian Rationalism which represents the

doctrines of revelation as being in harmony with reason, though

transcending reason in its present capacity; and there is an

anti-Christian Rationalism which makes natural reason (ratio) the judge

of revelation, rejects the specific doctrines of Christianity, and

denies the supernatural and miraculous. And there is an Agnosticism

which springs from the sense of the limitations of thought, and

recognizes faith as the necessary organ of the supernatural and

absolute; [801] 01 while the unbelieving Agnosticism declares the

infinite and absolute to be unknown and unknowable and tends to

indifferentism and atheism. [802] 02

We now proceed to trace the origin of Gnosticism.

As to its substance, Gnosticism is chiefly of heathen descent. It is a

peculiar translation or transfusion of heathen philosophy and religion

into Christianity. This was perceived by the church-fathers in their

day. Hippolytus particularly, in his "Philosophumena" endeavors to

trace the Gnostic heresies to the various systems of Greek philosophy,

making Simon Magus, for example, dependent on Heraclitus, Valentine on

Pythagoras and Plato, Basilides on Aristotle, Marcion on Empedocles;

and hence he first exhibits the doctrines of the Greek philosophy from

Thales down. Of all these systems Platonism had the greatest influence,

especially on the Alexandrian Gnostics; though not so much in its

original Hellenic form, as in its later orientalized eclectic and

mystic cast, of which Neo-Platonism was another fruit. The Platonic

speculation yielded the germs of the Gnostic doctrine of aeons, the

conceptions of matter, of the antithesis of an ideal and a real world,

of all ante-mundane fall of souls from the ideal world, of the origin

of sin from matter, and of the needed redemption of the soul from the

fetters of the body. We find also in the Gnostics traces of the

Pythagorean symbolical use of numbers, the Stoic physics and ethics,

and some Aristotelian elements.

But this reference to Hellenic philosophy, with which Massuet was

content, is not enough. Since Beausobre and Mosheim the East has been

rightly joined with Greece, as the native home of this heresy. This may

be inferred from the mystic, fantastic, enigmatic form of the Gnostic

speculation, and from the fact, that most of its representatives sprang

from Egypt and Syria. The conquests of Alexander, the spread of the

Greek language and literature, and the truths of Christianity, produced

a mighty agitation in the eastern mind, which reacted on the West.

Gnosticism has accordingly been regarded as more or less parallel with

the heretical forms of Judaism, with Essenism, Therapeutism, Philo's

philosophico-religious system, and with the Cabbala, the origin of

which probably dates as far back as the first century. The affinity of

Gnosticism also with the Zoroastrian dualism of a kingdom of light and

a kingdom of darkness is unmistakable, especially in the Syrian

Gnostics. Its alliance with the pantheistic, docetic, and ascetic

elements of Buddhism, which had advanced at the time of Christ to

western Asia, is equally plain. Parsic and Indian influence is most

evident in Manichaeism, while the Hellenic element there amounts to

very little.

Gnosticism, with its syncretistic tendency, is no isolated fact. It

struck its roots deep in the mighty revolution of ideas induced by the

fall of the old religions and the triumph of the new. Philo, of

Alexandria, who was a contemporary of Christ, but wholly ignorant of

him, endeavored to combine the Jewish religion, by allegorical

exposition, or rather imposition, with Platonic philosophy; and this

system, according as it might be prosecuted under the Christian or the

heathen influence, would prepare the way either for the speculative

theology of the Alexandrian church fathers, or for the heretical

Gnosis. Still more nearly akin to Gnosticism is Neo-Platonism, which

arose a little later than Philo's system, but ignored Judaism, and

derived its ideas exclusively from eastern and western heathenism. The

Gnostic syncretism, however, differs materially from both the Philonic

and the Neo-Platonic by taking up Christianity, which the

Neo-Platonists directly or indirectly opposed. This the Gnostics

regarded as the highest stage of the development of religion, though

they so corrupted it by the admixture of foreign matter, as to destroy

its identity.

Gnosticism is, therefore, the grandest and most comprehensive form of

speculative religious syncretism known to history. It consists of

Oriental mysticism, Greek philosophy, Alexandrian, Philonic, and

Cabbalistic Judaism, and Christian ideas of salvation, not merely

mechanically compiled, but, as it were, chemically combined. At least,

in its fairly developed form in the Valentinian system, it is, in its

way, a wonderful structure of speculative or rather imaginative

thought, and at the same time all artistic work of the creative fancy,

a Christian mythological epic. The old world here rallied all its

energies, to make out of its diverse elements some new thing, and to

oppose to the real, substantial universalism of the catholic church an

ideal, shadowy universalism of speculation. But this fusion of all

systems served in the end only to hasten the dissolution of eastern and

western heathenism, while the Christian element came forth purified and

strengthened from the crucible.

The Gnostic speculation, like most speculative religions, failed to

establish a safe basis for practical morals. On the one side, a

spiritual pride obscured the sense of sin, and engendered a frivolous

antinomianism, which often ended in sensuality and debaucheries. On the

other side, an over-strained sense of sin often led the Gnostics, in

gIaring contrast with the pagan deification of nature, to ascribe

nature to the devil, to abhor the body as the seat of evil, and to

practice extreme austerities upon themselves.

This ascetic feature is made prominent by M�hler, the Roman Catholic

divine. But he goes quite too far, when he derives the whole phenomenon

of Gnosticism (which he wrongly views as a forerunner of Protestantism)

directly and immediately from Christianity. He represents it as a

hyper-Christianity, an exaggerated contempt for the world, [803] 03

which, when seeking for itself a speculative basis, gathered from older

philosophemes, theosophies, and mythologies, all that it could use for

its purpose.

The number of the Gnostics it is impossible to ascertain. We find them

in almost all portions of the ancient church; chiefly where

Christianity came into close contact with Judaism and heathenism, as in

Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor; then in Rome, the rendezvous of all forms

of truth and falsehood; in Gaul, where they were opposed by Irenaeus;

and in Africa, where they were attacked by Tertullian, and afterwards

by Augustin, who was himself a Manichaean for several years. They found

most favor with the educated, and threatened to lead astray the

teachers of the church. But they could gain no foothold among the

people; indeed, as esoterics, they stood aloof from the masses; and

their philosophical societies were, no doubt, rarely as large as the

catholic congregations.

The flourishing period of the Gnostic schools was the second century.

In the sixth century, only faint traces of them remained; yet some

Gnostic and especially Manichaean ideas continue to appear in several

heretical sects of the middle ages, such as the Priscillianists, the

Paulicians, the Bogomiles, and the Catharists; and even the history of

modern theological and philosophical speculation shows kindred

tendencies.

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[796] Logos gnoseos , logos sophias , 1 Cor. 12:8; Comp. 13:2, 12; Jno.

17:3.

[797] Pseudonumos gnosis 1 Tim. 6:20.

[798] 1 Cor. 8:1.

[799] Rom. 1:22.

[800] Baur takes too comprehensive a view of Gnosticism, and includes

in it all systems of Christian philosophy of religion down to Schelling

and Hegel.

[801] Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansel.

[802] Hume, Spencer, Comte. As to Kant, he started from Hume, but

checked the scepticism of the theoretical reason by the categorical

imperative of the practical reason. See Calderwood's article

"Agnosticism" in Schaffs "Rel. Encycl." vol. I.

[803] He calls Gnosticism a "Verteufelung der Natur."

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� 117. The System of Gnosticism. Its Theology.

Gnosticism is a heretical philosophy of religion, or, more exactly a

mythological theosophy, which reflects intellectually the peculiar,

fermenting state of that remarkable age of transition from the heathen

to the Christian order of things. If it were merely an unintelligible

congeries of puerile absurdities and impious blasphemies, as it is

grotesquely portrayed by older historians, [804] 04 it would not have

fascinated so many vigorous intellects and produced such a

long-continued agitation in the ancient church. It is an attempt to

solve some of the deepest metaphysical and theological problems. It

deals with the great antitheses of God and world, spirit and matter,

idea and phenomenon; and endeavors to unlock the mystery of the

creation; the question of the rise, development, and end of the world;

and of the origin of evil. [805] 05 It endeavors to harmonize the

creation of the material world and the existence of evil with the idea

of an absolute God, who is immaterial and perfectly good. This problem

can only be solved by the Christian doctrine of redemption; but

Gnosticism started from a false basis of dualism, which prevents a

solution.

In form and method it is, as already observed, more Oriental than

Grecian. The Gnostics, in their daring attempt to unfold the mysteries

of an upper world, disdained the trammels of reason, and resorted to

direct spiritual intuition. Hence they speculate not so much in logical

and dialectic mode, as in an imaginative, semi-poetic way, and they

clothe their ideas not in the simple, clear, and sober language of

reflection, but in the many-colored, fantastic, mythological dress of

type, symbol, and allegory. Thus monstrous nonsense and the most absurd

conceits are chaotically mingIed up with profound thoughts and poetic

intuitions.

This spurious supernaturalism which substitutes the irrational for the

supernatural, and the prodigy for the miracle, pervades the

pseudo-historical romances of the Gnostic Gospels and Acts. These

surpass the Catholic traditions in luxuriant fancy and incredible

marvels. "Demoniacal possessions," says one who has mastered this

literature, [806] 06 "and resurrections from the dead, miracles of

healing and punishment are accumulated without end; the constant

repetition of similar events gives the long stories a certain monotony,

which is occasionally interrupted by colloquies, hymns and prayers of

genuine poetic value. A rich apparatus of visions, angelic appearances,

heavenly voices, speaking animals, defeated and humbled demons is

unfolded, a superterrestrial splendor of light gleams up, mysterious

signs from heaven, earthquakes, thunder and lightning frighten the

impious; fire, earth, wind and water obey the pious; serpents, lions,

leopards, tigers, and bears are tamed by a word of the apostles and

turn upon their persecutors; the dying martyrs are surrounded by

coronets, roses, lilies, incense, while the abyss opens to swallow up

their enemies."

The highest source of knowledge, with these heretics was a secret

tradition, in contrast with the open, popular tradition of the Catholic

church. In this respect, they differ from Protestant sects, which

generally discard tradition altogether and appeal to the Bible only, as

understood by themselves. They appealed also to apocryphal documents,

which arose in the second century in great numbers, under eminent names

of apostolic or pre-Christian times. Epiphanius, in his 26^th Heresy,

counts the apocrypha of the Gnostics by thousands, and Irenaeus found

among the Valentinians alone a countless multitude of such writings.

[807] 07 And finally, when it suited their purpose, the Gnostics

employed single portions of the Bible, without being able to agree

either as to the extent or the interpretation of the same. The Old

Testament they generally rejected, either entirely, as in the case of

the Marcionites and the Manichaeans, or at least in great part; and in

the New Testament they preferred certain books or portions, such as the

Gospel of John, with its profound spiritual intuitions, and either

rejected the other books, or wrested them to suit their ideas. Marcion,

for example, thus mutilated the Gospel of Luke, and received in

addition to it only ten of Paul's Epistles, thus substituting an

arbitrary canon of eleven books for the catholic Testament of

twenty-seven. In interpretation they adopted, even with far less

moderation than Philo, the most arbitrary and extravagant allegorical

principles; despising the letter as sensuous, and the laws of language

and exegesis as fetters of the mind. The number 30 in the New

Testament, for instance, particularly in the life of Jesus, is made to

denote the number of the Valentinian aeons; and the lost sheep in the

parable is Achamoth. Even to heathen authors, to the poems of Homer,

Aratus, Anacreon, they applied this method, and discovered in these

works the deepest Gnostic mysteries. [808] 08 They gathered from the

whole field of ancient mythology, astronomy, physics, and magic,

everything which could, serve in any way to support their fancies.

The common characteristics of nearly all the Gnostic systems are (1)

Dualism; the assumption of an eternal antagonism between God and

matter. (2) The demiurgic notion; the separation of the creator of the

world or the demiurgos from the proper God. (3) Docetism; the

resolution of the human element in the person of the Redeemer into mere

deceptive appearance. [809] 09

We will endeavor now to present a clear and connected view of the

theoretical and practical system of Gnosticism in as it comes before us

in its more fully developed forms, especially the Valentinian school.

1. The Gnostic Theology. The system starts from absoIute primal being.

God is the unfathomable abyss, [810] 10 locked up within himself,

without beginning, unnamable, and incomprehensible; on the one hand,

infinitely exalted above every existence; yet, on the other hand, the

original aeon, the sum of all ideas and spiritual powers. Basilides

would not ascribe even existence to him, and thus, like Hegel, starts

from absolute nonentity, which, however, is identical with absolute

being. [811] 11 He began where modern Agnosticism ends.

2. Kosmology. The abyss opens; God enters upon a process of

development, and sends forth from his bosom the several aeons; that is,

the attributes and unfolded powers of his nature, the ideas of the

eternal spirit-world, such as mind, reason, wisdom, power, truth, life.

[812] 12 These emanate from the absolute in a certain order, according

to Valentine in pairs with sexual polarity. The further they go from

the great source, the poorer and weaker they become. Besides the notion

of emanation, [813] 13 the Gnostics employed also, to illustrate the

self-revelation of the absolute, the figure of the evolution of numbers

from an original unit, or of utterance in tones gradually diminishing

to the faint echo. [814] 14 The cause of the procession of the aeons

is, with some, as with Valentine, the self-limiting love of God; with

others, metaphysical necessity. The whole body of aeons forms the ideal

world, or light-world, or spiritual foulness, the Pleroma, as opposed

to the Kenoma, or the material world of emptiness. The one is the

totality of the divine powers and attributes, the other the region of

shadow and darkness. Christ belongs to the Pleroma, as the chief of the

aeons; the Demiurge or Creator belongs to the Kenoma. In opposition to

the incipient form of this heresy, St. Paul taught that Jesus Christ is

the whole pleroma of the Godhead (Col. 1:19; 2:9), and the church the

reflected pleroma of Christ (Eph. 1:22).

The material visible world is the abode of the principle of evil. This

cannot proceed from God; else he were himself the author of evil. It

must come from an opposite principle. This is Matter (hule), which

stands in eternal opposition to God and the ideal world. The Syrian

Gnostics, and still more the Manichaeans, agreed with Parsism in

conceiving Matter as an intrinsically evil substance, the raging

kingdom of Satan, at irreconcilable warfare with the kingdom of light.

The Alexandrian Gnostics followed more the Platonic idea of the hule

and conceived this as kenoma, emptiness, in contrast with pleroma, the

divine, vital fulness, or as the me on, related to the divine being as

shadow to light, and forming the dark limit beyond which the mind

cannot pass. This Matter is in itself dead, but becomes animated by a

union with the Pleroma, which again is variously described. In the

Manichaean system there are powers of darkness, which seize by force

some parts of the kingdom of light. But usually the union is made to

proceed from above. The last link in the chain of divine aeons, either

too weak to keep its hold on the ideal world, or seized with a sinful

passion for the embrace of the infinite abyss, falls as a spark of

light into the dark chaos of matter, and imparts to it a germ of divine

life, but in this bondage feels a painful longing after redemption,

with which the whole world of aeons sympathizes. This weakest aeon is

called by Valentine the lower Wisdom, or Achamoth, [815] 15 and marks

the extreme point, where spirit must surrender itself to matter, where

the infinite must enter into the finite, and thus form a basis for the

real world. The myth of Achamoth is grounded in the thought, that the

finite is incompatible with the absolute, yet in some sense demands it

to account for itself.

Here now comes in the third principle of the Gnostic speculation,

namely, the world-maker, commonly called the Demiurge, [816] 16 termed

by Basilides "Archon" or world-ruler, by the Ophites. "Jaldabaoth," or

son of chaos. He is a creature of the fallen aeon, formed of physical

material, and thus standing between God and Matter. He makes out of

Matter the visible sensible world, and rules over it. He has his throne

in the planetary heavens, and presides over time and over the sidereal

spirits. Astrological influences were generally ascribed to him. He is

the God of Judaism, the Jehovah, who imagines himself to be the supreme

and only God. But in the further development of this idea the systems

differ; the anti-Jewish Gnostics, Marcion and the Ophites, represent

the Demiurge as an insolent being, resisting the purposes of God; while

the Judaizing Gnostics, Basilides and Valentine, make him a restricted,

unconscious instrument of God to prepare the way for redemption.

3. Christology and Soteriology. Redemption itself is the liberation of

the light-spirit from the chains of dark Matter, and is effected by

Christ, the most perfect aeon, who is the mediator of return from the

sensible phenomenal world to the supersensuous ideal world, just as the

Demiurge is the mediator of apostacy from the Pleroma to the Kenoma.

This redeeming aeon, called by Valentine soter or Iesous descends

through the sphere of heaven, and assumes the ethereal appearance of a

body; according to another view, unites himself with the man Jesus, or

with the Jewish Messiah, at the baptism, and forsakes him again at the

passion. At all events, the redeemer, however conceived in other

respects, is allowed no actual contact with sinful matter. His human

birth, his sufferings and death, are explained by Gnosticism after the

manner of the Indian mythology, as a deceptive appearance, a transient

vision, a spectral form, which he assumed only to reveal himself to the

sensuous nature of man. Reduced to a clear philosophical definition,

the Gnostic Christ is really nothing more than the ideal spirit of

himself, as in the mythical gospel-theory of Strauss. The Holy Ghost is

commonly conceived as a subordinate aeon. The central fact in the work

of Christ is the communication of the Gnosis to a small circle of the

initiated, prompting and enabling them to strive with clear

consciousness after the ideal world and the original unity. According

to Valentine, the heavenly Soter brings Achamoth after innumerable

sufferings into the Pleroma, and unites himself with her--the most

glorious aeon with the Iowest--in an eternal spirit-marriage. With

this, all disturbance in the heaven of aeons is allayed, and a blessed

harmony and inexpressible delight are restored, in which all spiritual

(pneumatic) men, or genuine Gnostics, share. Matter is at last entirely

consumed by a fire breaking out from its dark bosom.

4. The Anthropology of the Gnostics corresponds with their theology.

Man is a microcosm consisting of spirit, body, and soul reflecting the

three principles, God, Matter, and Demiurge, though in very different

degrees. There are three classes of men: the spiritual, [817] 17 in

whom the divine element, a spark of light from the ideal world,

predominates; the material, [818] 18 bodily, carnal, physical, in whom

matter, the gross sensuous principle, rules; and the psychical, [819]

19 in whom the demiurgic, quasi-divine rules; principle, the mean

between the two preceding, prevails.

These three classes are frequently identified with the adherents of the

three religions respectively; the spiritual with the Christians, the

carnal with the heathens, the psychical with the Jews. But they also

made the same distinction among the professors of any one religion,

particularly among the Christians; and they regarded themselves as the

genuine spiritual men in the full sense of the word; while they looked

upon the great mass of Christians [820] 20 as only psychical, not able

to rise from blind faith to true knowledge, too weak for the good, and

too tender for the evil, longing for the divine, yet unable to attain

it, and thus hovering between the Pleroma of the ideal world and the

Kenoma of the sensual.

Ingenious as this thought is, it is just the basis of that unchristian

distinction of esoteric and exoteric religion, and that pride of

knowledge, in which Gnosticism runs directly counter to the Christian

virtues of humility and love.

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[804] Even some of the more recent writers, as Bishop Kaye (Eccl.

History of the Second arid Third Centuries), and the translators of

Irenaeus in the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library" (Edinb. 1868, vol. 1st,

Introductory Notice) have the same idea of the Gnostic system as an

impenetrable wilderness, of absurdities. But Mansel, Lightfoot, and

Salmon show a clear knowledge of the subject, and agree; substantially

with Neander's account.

[805] Pothen to kakon, or he kakia: unde malum? (See Tertullian, De

Praescript. 7; Adv. Marc. I. 2; Euseb. H. E, V. 27; Baur, Gnosis, p.

19.

[806] Dr. Lipsius, Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und

Apostellegenden (1883), vol. 1. P. 7.

[807] Adv. Haer.l.c. 20. �1: Amutheton plethos apokruphon kai nothon

graphon, ha`s autoi eplasan, pareispherousin eis kataplexin ton anoeton

kai ta tes aletheias me epistamenon grammata.

[808] Hippol. Philos. IV. 46, V. 8, 13, 20.

[809] Doketis, phantasma.

[810] Buthos.

[811] So in the old Hindu philosophy, absolute Being is regarded as the

ground of all existence. It is itself devoid of qualities, incapable of

definition, inconceivable, neither one thing nor another thing, yet

containing in itself the possibilities; of all things; and out from its

dark depths the universe was evolved through some mysterious impulse.

The Vedas describe it thus: "It is neither Brahma, nor Vishnoo, nor

Sivan, but something back of these, without passion, neither great nor

small, neither male nor female, but something far beyond."

[812] Nous, logos , sophia, dunamis, aletheia, zoe , etc.

[813] Probole (from proballo), a putting forward, a projection.

[814] Basilides and Saturninus use the former illustration; Marcos uses

the latter.

[815] He kato sophia, Achamoth (Iren. 1. 4; in Stieren, I. 44), hchkmrt

or 'kymvt the Chaldaic form of the Hebrew chkmh

[816] Demiourgos, a term used by Plato in a similar sense.

[817] Peumatikoi.

[818] Somatikoi, phusikoi, sarkikoi, hulikoi.

[819] Psuchikoi.

[820] Hoi polloi.

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� 118. Ethics of Gnosticism.

All the Gnostic heretics agree in disparaging the divinely created

body, and over-rating the intellect. Beyond this, we perceive among

them two opposite tendencies: a gloomy asceticism, and a frivolous

antinomianism; both grounded in the dualistic principle, which falsely

ascribes evil to matter, and traces nature to the devil. The two

extremes frequently met, and the Nicolaitan maxim in regard to the

abuse of the flesh [821] 21 was made to serve asceticism first, and

then libertinism.

The ascetic Gnostics, like Marcion, Saturninus, Tatian, and the

Manichaeans were pessimists. They felt uncomfortable in the sensuous

and perishing world, ruled by the Demiurge, and by Satan; they abhorred

the body as formed from Matter, and forbade the use of certain kinds of

food and all nuptial intercourse, as an adulteration of themselves with

sinful Matter; like the Essenes and the errorists noticed by Paul in

the Colossians and Pastoral Epistles. They thus confounded sin with

matter, and vainly imagined that, matter being dropped, sin, its

accident, would fall with it. Instead of hating sin only, which God has

not made, they hated the world, which he has made.

The licentious Gnostics, as the Nicolaitans, the Ophites, the

Carpocratians, and the Antitactes, in a proud conceit of the exaltation

of the spirit above matter, or even on the diabolical principle, that

sensuality must be overcome by indulging it, bade defiance to all moral

laws, and gave themselves up to the most shameless licentiousness. It

is no great thing, said they, according to Clement of Alexandria, to

restrain lust; but it is surely a great thing not to be conquered by

Iust, when one indulges in it. According to Epiphanius there were

Gnostic sects in Egypt, which, starting from a filthy, materialistic

pantheism and identifying Christ with the generative powers of nature,

practised debauchery as a mode of worship, and after having, as they

thought, offered and collected all their strength, blasphemously

exclaimed: "I am Christ." From these pools of sensuality and Satanic

pride arose the malaria of a vast literature, of which, however,

fortunately, nothing more than a few names has come down to us.

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[821] Dei katachresthai te sarki, the flesh must be abused to be

conquered.

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� 119. Cultus and Organization.

In cultus, the Gnostic docetism and hyper-spiritualism led consistently

to naked intellectual simplicity; sometimes to the rejection of all

sacraments and outward means of grace; if not even, as in the

Prodicians, to blasphemous self-exaltation above all that is called God

and worshiped. [822] 22

But with this came also the opposite extreme of a symbolic and mystic

pomp, especially in the sect of the Marcosians. These Marcosians held

to a two-fold baptism, that applied to the human Jesus, the Messiah of

the psychical, and that administered to the heavenly Christ, the

Messiah of the spiritual; they decorated the baptistery like a

banquet-hall; and they first introduced extreme unction. As early as

the second century the Basilideans celebrated the feast of Epiphany.

The Simonians and Carpocratians used images of Christ and of their

religious heroes in their worship. The Valentinians and Ophites sang in

hymns the deep longing of Achamoth for redemption from the bonds of

Matter. Bardesanes is known as the first Syrian hymn-writer. Many

Gnostics, following their patriarch, Simon, gave themselves to magic,

and introduced their arts into their worship; as the Marcosians did in

the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Of the outward organization of the Gnostics (with the exception of the

Manichaeans, who will be treated separately), we can say little. Their

aim was to resolve Christianity into a magnificent speculation; the

practical business of organization was foreign to their exclusively

intellectual bent. Tertullian charges them with an entire want of order

and discipline. [823] 23 They formed, not so much a sect or party, as a

multitude of philosophical schools, like the modern Rationalists. Many

were unwilling to separate at all from the Catholic church, but assumed

in it, as theosophists, the highest spiritual rank. Some were even

clothed with ecclesiastical office, as we must no doubt infer from the

Apostolic Canons (51 or 50), where it is said, with evident reference

to the gloomy, perverse asceticism of the Gnostics: "If a bishop, a

priest, or a deacon, or any ecclesiastic abstain from marriage, from

flesh, or from wine, not for practice in self-denial, but from disgust,

[824] 24 forgetting that God made everything very good, that he made

also the male and the female, in fact, even blaspheming the creation;

[825] 25 he shall either retract his error, or be deposed and cast out

of the church. A layman also shall be treated in like manner." Here we

perceive the polemical attitude which the Catholic church was compelled

to assume even towards the better Gnostics.

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[822] Comp. 2 Thess. 2:4

[823] De Praescr. Haeret., c. 41.

[824] bdeluria.

[825] blasphemon diaballei ten demiourgian .

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� 120. Schools of Gnosticism.

The arbitrary and unbalanced subjectivity of the Gnostic speculation

naturally produced a multitude of schools. These Gnostic schools have

been variously classified.

Geographically they may be reduced to two great families, the Egyptian

or Alexandrian, and the Syrian, which are also intrinsically different.

In the former (Basilides, Valentine, the Ophites), Platonism and the

emanation theory prevail, in the latter (Saturninus, Bardesanes,

Tatian), Parsism and dualism. Then, distinct in many respects from both

these is the more practical school of Marcion, who sprang neither from

Egypt nor from Syria, but from Asia Minor, where St. Paul had left the

strong imprint of his free gospel in opposition to Jewish legalism and

bondage.

Examined further, with reference to its doctrinal character, Gnosticism

appears in three forms, distinguished by the preponderance of the

heathen, the Jewish, and the Christian elements respectively in its

syncretism. The Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ophites, Carpocratians,

Prodicians, Antitactes, and Manichaeans belong to a paganizing class;

Cerinthus, Basilides, Valentine, and Justin (as also the

Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, though these are more properly Ebionitic),

to a Judaizing; Saturninus, Marcion, Tatian, and the Encratites, to a

Christianizing division. But it must be remembered here that this

distinction is only relative; all the Gnostic systems being, in fact,

predominantly heathen in their character, and essentially opposed alike

to the pure Judaism of the Old Testament and to the Christianity of the

New. The Judaism of the so-called Judaizing Gnostics is only of an

apocryphal sort, whether of the Alexandrian or the Cabalistic tinge.

[826] 26

The ethical point of view, from which the division might as well be

made, would give likewise three main branches: the speculative or

theosophic Gnostics (Basilides, Valentine), the practical and ascetic

(Marcion, Saturninus, Tatian), and the antinomian and libertine

(Simonians, Nicolaitans, Ophites, Carpocratians, Antitactes).

Having thus presented the general character of Gnosticism, and pointed

out its main branches, we shall follow chiefly the chronological order

in describing the several schools, beginning with those which date from

the age of the apostles.

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[826] Gibbon, who devotes four pages (Ch. XV.) to the Gnostics, dwells

exclusively on the anti-Jewish feature, and makes them express his own

aversion to the Old Testament. He calls them (from very superficial

knowledge, but with his masterly skill of insinuation) "the most

polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name,"

and says that, being mostly averse to the pleasures of sense, "they

morosely arraigned the polygamy of the patriarchs, the gallantries of

David, and the seraglio of Solomon," and were at a loss to reconcile

"the conquest of Canaan, and the extirpation of the unsuspecting

natives with the common notions of humanity and justice."

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� 121. Simon Magus and the Simonians.

I. Commentaries on Acts 8:9-24. Justin Martyr: Apol. I. 26 and 56. The

pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. Irenaeus, I. 23.

Hippolytus, VI. 2-15, etc.

II. Simson: Leben und Lehre Simon des Magiers, in the "Zeitschrift f�r

hist. Theologie" for 1841.

Hilgenfeld: Der Magier Simon, in the "Zeischrift f�r wissenschaftl.

Theologie" for 1868.

Lipsius: Simon d. Mag. in Schenkel's "Bibel-Lexikon," vol. V. (1875),

p. 301-321. Comp. the literature quoted there, p. 320.

Simon Magus is a historical character known to us from the eighth

chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. [827] 27 He was probably a native

of Gitthon, in Samaria, as Justin Martyr, himself a Samaritan, reports;

[828] 28 but he may nevertheless be identical with the contemporaneous

Jewish magician of the same name, whom Josephus mentions as a native of

Cyprus and as a friend of Procurator Felix, who employed him to

alienate Drusilla, the beautiful wife of king Azizus of Emesa, in

Syria, from her husband, that he might marry her. [829] 29

Simon represented himself as a sort of emanation of the deity ("the

Great Power of God"), [830] 30 made a great noise among the half-pagan,

half-Jewish Samaritans by his sorceries, was baptized by Philip about

the year 40, but terribly rebuked by Peter for hypocrisy and abuse of

holy things to sordid ends. [831] 31 He thus affords the first instance

in church history of a confused syncretism in union with magical arts;

and so far as this goes, the church fathers are right in styling him

the patriarch, or, in the words of Irenaeus, the "magister "and

"progenitor" of all heretics, and of the Gnostics in particular.

Besides him, two other contemporaneous Samaritans, Dositheus and

Menander, bore the reputation of heresiarchs. Samaria was a fertile

soil of religious syncretism even before Christ, and the natural

birth-place of that syncretistic heresy which goes by the name of

Gnosticism.

The wandering life and teaching of Simon were fabulously garnished in

the second and third centuries by Catho-lics and heretics, but

especially by the latter in the interest of Ebionism and with bitter

hostility to Paul. In the pseudo-Clementine romances he represents all

anti-Jewish heresies. Simon the Magician is contrasted, as the apostle

of falsehood, with Simon Peter, the apostle of truth; he follows him,

as darkness follows the light, from city to city, in company with

Helena (who had previously been a prostitute at Tyre, but was now

elevated to the dignity of divine intelligence); he is refuted by Peter

in public disputations at Caesarea, Antioch, and Rome; at last he is

ignominiously defeated by him after a mock-resurrection and

mock-ascension before the Emperor Nero; he ends with suicide, while

Peter gains the crown of martyrdom. [832] 32 There is a bare

possibility that, like other heretics and founders of sects, he may

have repaired to Rome (before Peter); but Justin Martyr's account of

the statue of Simon is certainly a mistake. [833] 33

The Gnosticism which Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and other fathers ascribe to

this Simon and his followers is crude, and belongs to the earlier phase

of this heresy. It was embodied in a work entitled "The Great

Announcement" or "Proclamation" [834] 34 of which Hippolytus gives an

analysis. [835] 35 The chief ideas are the "great power," "the great

idea," the male and female principle. He declared himself an

incarnation of the creative world-spirit, and his female companion,

Helena, the incarnation of the receptive world-soul. Here we have the

Gnostic conception of the syzygy.

The sect of the Simonians, which continued into the third century, took

its name, if not its rise, from Simon Magus, worshipped him as a

redeeming genius, chose, like the Cainites, the most infamous

characters of the Old Testament for its heroes, and was immoral in its

principles and practices. The name, however, is used in a very

indefinite sense, for various sorts of Gnostics.

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[827] The T�bingen school, which denies the historical character of the

Acts, resolves also the story of Simon into a Jewish Christian fiction,

aimed at the apostle Paul as the real heretic and magician. So Baur,

Zeller, and Volkmar. Lipsius ingeniously carries out this Simon-Paul

hypothesis, and declares (I. c. p. 303): "Der Kern der Sage ist niches

als ein vollst�ndig ausgef�hrtes Zerrbild des Heidenapostels, dessen

Z�ge bis in's einzelne hinein die Person, die Lehre, und die

Lebenschicksale des Paulus persifliren sollen." But the book of Acts

gives the earliest record of Simon and is the production, if not of

Luke, as we believe with the unanimous testimony of antiquity, at all

events of a writer friendly to Paul, and therefore utterly unlikely to

insert an anti-Pauline fiction which would stultify the greater part of

his own book. Comp. the remarks above, �114, p. 438.

[828] Apol. I, 26 (Simona men tina Samarea, ton apo komes legomenes

Gitton); comp. Clem. Hom. I. 15; II. 22 (apo Gitthon); Hippol. Philos.

VI. 7 (ho Gittenos).There was such a place as Gittai, not far from

Flavia Neapolis (Nablus), Justin's birthplace. It is now called Kuryet

J�t (Dschit). See Robinson's Pal. II. 308, and Otto's note on the

passage in Justin (Opera I. 78).

[829] According to Josephus, Ant. XX. 7, 2. The identity is assumed by

Neander, De Wette, Hilgenfeld. There was on the island of Cyprus a city

named Kition (Thucyd. I. 112, 1), which Justin M. may possibly have

confounded with Gitthon, in Samaria, as he confounded Simo and Semo on

the statue in Rome. But it is much more likely that Josephus was

mistaken on a question of Samaria than Justin, a native of Flavia

Neapolis (the ancient Shechem).

[830] he Dunamis tou theou he Megale, Acts 8:10. According to the

Clementine Homilies (II. 22) and Recognitions (II.7), Simon called

himself " the Supreme Power of God"(anotate dunamis ,Virtus Suprema).

[831] The memory of this incident is perpetuated in the name of simony

for profane traffic in ecclesiastical offices.

[832] The legendary accounts, both catholic and heretical, vary

considerably. Justin M. reports Simon's visit to Rome, but assigns it

to the reign of Claudius (41-54), and says nothing of an encounter with

Peter. Other reports put the journey in the reign of Nero (54-68).

According to Hippolytus, Simon was buried alive at his own request,

being confident of rising again on the third day, as a pseudo-Christ.

According to the Apostolical Constitutions, he attempted to fly, but

fell and broke his thigh and ankle-bone in answer to the prayers of

Peter, and died in consequence of this injury. According to Arnobius,

he attempted to ascend in a fiery chariot, like Elijah, but broke his

leg, and in the confusion of shame committed suicide by throwing

himself from a high mountain. See Lipsius, l.c. p. 310.

[833] He reports (Apol. I26 and 56) that Simon Magus made such an

impression by his magical arts upon the Roman Senate and people that

they paid him divine homage, and erected a statue to him on the island

of the Tiber. But he mistook Semo Sancus orSangus, a Sabine-Roman

divinity unknown to him, for Simo Sanctus. For in 1574 a statue was

found in the place described, with the inscription: Semoni Sanco Deo

Fidio sacrum, etc. The mistake is repeated by Irenaeus Adv. Hoer. I.

23, 1, Tertullian Apol. 13, and Eusebius, but Hippolytus who resided at

Rome does not mention it. See Otto's note on Just. I. 26, Opera I. 79

sq. (ed. III).

[834] Apophasis megale.

[835] Philos. VI. 6 sqq.

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� 122. The Nicolaitans.

Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. I. 26, 3; Clement Of Alex.: Strom. III. 4 (and in

Euseb. H. E. III. 29); Hippolytus: Philos. VII. 24; Epiphanius: Haer.

I. 2, 25.

The Nicolaitans are mentioned as a licentious sect in the Apocalypse

2:6, 15. They claimed as their founder Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch

and one of the seven deacons of the congregation of Jerusalem (Acts

6:5). He is supposed to have apostatized from the true faith, and

taught the dangerous principle that the flesh must be abused, [836] 36

that is, at least as understood by his disciples, one must make the

whole round of sensuality, to become its perfect master.

But the views of the fathers are conflicting. Irenaeus (who is followed

substantially by Hippolytus) gives a very unfavorable account.

"The Nicolaitanes," he says, "are the followers of that Nicolas who was

one of the seven first ordained to the diaconate by the apostles. They

lead lives of unrestrained indulgence. The character of these men is

very plainly pointed out in the Apocalypse of John, where they are

represented as teaching that it is a matter of indifference to practice

adultery, and to eat things sacrificed to idols. Wherefore the Word has

also spoken of them thus: 'But this thou hast, that thou hatest the

deeds of the Nicolaitanes, which I also hate.' "

Clement of Alexandria says that Nicolas was a faithful husband, and

brought up his children in purity, but that his disciples misunderstood

his saying (which he attributes also to the Apostle Matthias), "that we

must fight against the flesh and abuse it." [837] 37

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[836] Dei katachresthai te sarki.

[837] He adds the curious statement (Strom. III.c. 4) that on a certain

occasion Nicolas was sharply reproved by the Apostles as a jealous

husband, and repelled the charge by offering to allow his beautiful

wife to become the wife of any other person. Extremely improbable.

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� 123. Cerinthus.

Iren. I. (25) 26, � 1; III. 3,� 4; III. 11, � 1; Hippol. VII. 21;

Euseb. III. 28; IV. 14. Comp. Dorner: Lehre v. der Person Christi, I.

314 sq. Art. Cerinth in "Smith and Wace," I. 447.

Cerinthus [838] 38 appeared towards the close of the first century in

Asia Minor, and came in conflict with the aged Apostle John, who is

supposed by Irenaeus to have opposed his Gnostic ideas in the Gospel

and Epistles. The story that John left a public bath when he saw

Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, fearing that the bath might fall in,

and the similar story of Polycarp meeting Marcion and calling him "the

first born of Satan," reveal the intense abhorrence with which the

orthodox churchmen of those days looked upon heresy. [839] 39

Cerinthus was (according to the uncertain traditions collected by

Epiphanius) an Egyptian and a Jew either by birth or conversion,

studied in the school of Philo in Alexandria, was one of the false

apostles who opposed Paul and demanded circumcision (Gal. 2:4; 2 Cor.

11:13), claimed to have received angelic revelations, travelled through

Palestine and Galatia, and once came to Ephesus. The time of his death

is unknown.

His views, as far as they can be ascertained from confused accounts,

assign him a position between Judaism and Gnosticism proper. He

rejected all the Gospels except a mutilated Matthew, taught the

validity of the Mosaic law and the millennial kingdom. He was so far

strongly Judaistic, and may be counted among the Ebionites; but in true

Gnostic style he distinguished the world-maker from God, and

represented the former as a subordinate power, as an intermediate,

though not exactly hostile, being. In his Christology he separates the

earthly man Jesus, who was a son of Joseph and Mary, from the heavenly

Christ, [840] 40 who descended upon the man Jesus in the form of a dove

at the baptism in the Jordan, imparted to him the genuine knowledge of

God and the power of miracles, but forsook him in the passion, to

rejoin him only at the coming of the Messianic kingdom of glory. The

school of Valentine made more clearly the same distinction between the

Jesus of the Jesus and the divine Saviour, or the lower and the higher

Christ--a crude anticipation of the modern distinction (of Strauss)

between the Christ of history and the Christ of faith. The millennium

has its centre in Jerusalem, and will be followed by the restoration of

all things. [841] 41

The Alogi, an obscure anti-trinitarian and anti-chiliastic sect of the

second century, regarded Cerinthus as the author of the Apocalypse of

John on account of the chiliasm taught in it. They ascribed to him also

the fourth Gospel, although it is the best possible refutation of all

false Gnosticism from the highest experimental Gnosis of faith.

Simon Magus, the Nicolaitans and Cerinthus belong to the second half of

the first century. We now proceed to the more developed systems of

Gnosticism, which belong to the first half of the second century, and

continued to flourish till the middle of the third.

The most important and influential of these systems bear the names of

Basilides, Valentinus, and Marcion. They deserve, therefore, a fuller

consideration. They were nearly contemporaneous, and matured during the

reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Basilides flourished in

Alexandria a.d. 125; Valentine came to Rome in 140; Marcion taught in

Rome between 140 and 150.

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[838] Kerinthos.

[839] Both recorded by, Irenaeus III.c. 3, � 4 as illustrating Tit.

3:10. But the same story of John in the bath is also told of Ebion,

whose very existence is doubtful.

[840] ho a'no Christos. He also calls the Holy Spirit he ano dunamis ,

the power from on high which came down upon Jesus. Valentine called the

Jewish Messiah (ho kato Christos). The best account of Cerinth's

Christology is given by Dorner.

[841] The chiliastic eschatology of Cerinthus is omitted by Irenaeus,

who was himself a chiliast, though of a higher spiritual order, but it

is described by Caius, Dionysius (in Eusebius), Theodoret, and

Augustin.

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� 124. Basilides.

Besides the sources in Irenaeus, Hippolytus (L. VII. 20-27), Clemens

Alex. (Strom. VII.), Eusebius (IV. 7), and Epiphanius, comp. the

following monographs:

Jacobi: Basilidis philosophi Gnostici Sentent. ex Hippolyti lib. nuper

reperto illustr. Berlin, 1852. Comp. his article Gnosis in Herzog, vol.

V. 219-223, and in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch." for

1876-77 (I. 481-544).

Uhlhorn: Das Basilidianische System. G�ttingen, 1855. The best

analysis.

Baur in the T�binger "Theol. Jahrb�cher" for 1856, pp. 121-162.

Hofstede de Groot: Basilides as witness for the Gospel of John, in

Dutch, and in an enlarged form in German. Leipz. 1868. Apologetic for

the genuineness of the fourth Gospel.

Dr. Hort in Smith and Wace, "Dictionary of Christian Biography (Lond.

1877). I. 268-281 (comp." Abrasax," p. 9-10). Very able.

Hilgenfeld, in his "Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol." 1878, XXI.

228-250, and the Lit. there given.

Basilides (Basileides) produced the first well-developed system of

Gnosis; but it was too metaphysical and intricate to be popular. He

claimed to be a disciple of the apostle Matthias and of an interpreter

(hermeneus) of St. Peter, named Glaucias. He taught in Alexandria

during the reign of Hadrian (A. D. 117-138). His early youth fell in

the second generation of Christians, and this gives his quotations from

the writings of the New Testament considerable apologetic value. He

wrote (according to his opponent, Agrippa Castor) "twenty-four books

(biblia) on the Gospel." This work was probably a commentary on the

canonical Gospels, for Clement of Alexandria quotes from "the

thirty-third book" of a work of Basilides which he calls Exegetica."

[842] 42

His doctrine is very peculiar, especially according to the extended and

original exhibition of it in the "Philosophumena." Hippolytus deviates

in many respects from the statements of Irenaeus and Epiphanius, but

derived his information probably from the works of Basilides himself,

and he therefore must be chiefly followed. [843] 43 The system is based

on the Egyptian astronomy and the Pythagorean numerical symbolism. It

betrays also the influence of Aristotle; but Platonism, the

emanation-theory, and dualism do not appear.

Basilides is monotheistic rather than dualistic in his primary idea,

and so far differs from the other Gnostics, though later accounts make

him a dualist. He starts from the most abstract notion of the absolute,

to which he denies even existence, thinking of it as infinitely above

all that can be imagined and conceived. [844] 44 This ineffable and

unnamable God, [845] 45 not only super-existent, but non-existent,

[846] 46 first forms by his creative word (not by emanation) the

world-seed or world-embryo, [847] 47 that is, chaos, from which the

world develops itself according to arithmetical relations, in an

unbroken order, like the branches and leaves of the tree from the

mustard seed, or like the many-colored peacock from the egg. Everything

created tends upwards towards God, who, himself unmoved, moves all,

[848] 48 and by the charm of surpassing beauty attracts all to himself.

In the world-seed Basilides distinguishes three kinds of sonship, [849]

49 of the same essence with the non-existent God, but growing weaker in

the more remote gradations; or three races of children of God, a

pneumatic, a psychic, and a hylic. The first sonship liberates itself

immediately from the world-seed, rises with the lightning-speed of

thought to God, and remains there as the blessed spirit-world, the

Pleroma. It embraces the seven highest genii, [850] 50 which, in union

with the great Father, form the first ogdoad, the type of all the lower

circles of creation. The second sonship, with the help of the Holy

Spirit, whom it produces, and who bears it up, as the wing bears the

bird, strives to follow the first, [851] 51 but can only attain the

impenetrable firmament, [852] 52 that is the limit of the Pleroma, and

could endure the higher region no more than the fish the mountain air.

The third sonship, finally, remains fixed in the world-seed, and in

need of purification and redemption.

Next Basilides makes two archons or world-rulers (demiurges) issue from

the world-seed. The first or great archon, whose greatness and beauty

and power cannot be uttered, creates the ethereal world or the upper

heaven, the ogdoad, as it is called; the second is the maker and ruler

of the lower planetary heaven below the moon, the hebdomad. Basilides

supposed in all three hundred and sixty-five heavens or circles of

creation, [853] 53 corresponding to the days of the year, and

designated them by the mystic name Abrasax, or Abraxas, [854] 54 which,

according to the numerical value of the Greek letters, is equal to 365.

[855] 55 This name also denotes the great archon or ruler of the 365

heavens. It afterwards came to be used as a magical formula, with all

sorts of strange figures, the "Abraxas gems," of which many are still

extant.

Each of the two archons, however, according to a higher ordinance,

begets a son, who towers far above his father, communicates to him the

knowledge received from the Holy Spirit, concerning the upper

spirit-world and the plan of redemption, and leads him to repentance.

With this begins the process of the redemption or return of the sighing

children of God, that is, the pneumatics, to the supra-mundane God.

This is effected by Christianity, and ends with the consummation, or

apokatastasis of all things. Like Valentine, Basilides also properly

held a threefold Christ--the son of the first archon, the son of the

second archon, and the son of Mary. But all these are at bottom the

same principle, which reclaims the spiritual natures from the

world-seed to the original unity. The passion of Christ was necessary

to remove the corporeal and psychical elements, which he brought with

him from the primitive medley and confusion (sunchusis archike). His

body returned, after death, into shapelessness (amorphia); his soul

rose from the grave, and stopped in the hebdomad, or planetary heaven,

where it belongs; but his spirit soared, perfectly purified, above all

the spheres of creation, to the blessed first sonship (huiotes) and the

fellowship of the non-existent or hyper-existent God.

In the same way with Jesus, the first-fruits, all other pneumatic

persons must rise purified to the place where they by nature belong,

and abide there. For all that continues in its place is imperishable;

but all that transgresses its natural limits is perishable. Basilides

quotes the passage of Paul concerning the groaning and travailing of

the creation expecting the revelation of the sons of God (Rom. 8:19).

In the process of redemption he conceded to faith (pistis) more

importance than most of the Gnostics, and his definition of faith was

vaguely derived from Hebrews 11:1.

In his moral teaching Basilides inculcated a moderate asceticism, from

which, however, his school soon departed. He used some of Paul's

Epistles and the canonical Gospels; quoting for example, John 1:9 ("The

true light, which enlightens every man, was coming into the world"), to

identify his idea of the world seed with John's doctrine of the Logos

is the light of the world. [856] 56 The fourth Gospel was much used and

commented upon also by the Ophites, Perates, and Valentinians before

the middle of the second century. The Gnostics were alternately

attracted by the mystic Gnosis of that Gospel (especially the

Prologue), and repelled by its historic realism, and tried to make the

best use of it. They acknowledged it, because they could not help it.

The other authorities of Basilides were chiefly the secret tradition of

the apostle Matthias, and of a pretended interpreter of Peter, by the

name of Glaucias.

His son Isidore was the chief, we may say the only important one, of

his disciples. He composed a system of ethics and other books, from

which Clement of Alexandria has preserved a few extracts. The

Basilidians, especially in the West, seem to have been dualistic and

docetic in theory, and loose, even dissolute in practice. They

corrupted and vulgarized the high-pitched and artificial system of the

founder. The whole life of Christ was to them a mere sham. It was Simon

of Cyrene who was crucified; Jesus exchanged forms with him on the way,

and, standing unseen opposite in Simon's form, mocked those who

crucified him, and then ascended to heaven. They held it prudent to

repudiate Christianity in times of persecution, regarding the noble

confession of martyrs as costing dearly before swine, and practiced

various sorts of magic, in which the Abraxas gems did them service. The

spurious Basilidian sect maintained itself in Egypt till the end of the

fourth century, but does not seem to have spread beyond, except that

Marcus, a native of Memphis, is reported by Sulpicius Severus to have

brought some of its doctrines to Spain.

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[842] Comp. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. IV. 7 and Clem. Alex. Strom. IV. 12. p.

599 sq. Origen (Hom. in Luc. I: 1) says that Basilides "had the

audacity (etolmesen) to write a Gospel according to Basilides;" but he

probably mistook the commentary for an apocryphal Gospel. Hippolytus

expressly asserts that Basilides, in his account of all things

concerning the Saviour after "the birth of Jesus" agreed with "the

Gospels."

[843] The prevailing opinion is that Hippolytus gives the system of

Basilides himself, Irenaeus that of his school. So Jacobi, Uhlhorn,

Baur, Schaff (first ed.), M�ller, Mansel, Hort. The opposite view is

defended by Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, Volkmar and Scholten. The reasoning of

Hort in favor of the former view, l.c. p. 269 sq., is based on the

extracts of Clement of Alex. from the exegetika of Basilides. He

assumes the priority of the Valentinian system, from which Basilides

proceeded to construct his own by contrast. But history puts Valentinus

about a decade later.

[844] Herein, as already remarked, be resembles Hegel, who likewise

begins with the idea of absolute non-entity, and reconstructs the

universe ex nihilo. In both systems "nothing" must be understood in a

non-natural sense, as opposed to all definite, concrete being or form

of existence. It is in fact identical with the most abstract conception

of pure being. Nichts ist sein, and Sein ist Nichts, but, set in motion

by a dialectic process, they produce the Werden, and the werden results

in Dasein. And here again the latest German philosophy meets with the

oldest Hindu mythology. See the note on p. 453.

[845] arretos, akatonomastos .

[846] ho ouk hon theos.

[847] panspermia-a Stoic idea.

[848] akinetos kinetes

[849] huiotes trimeres.

[850] nous, logos , phronesis, sophia, dunamis , dikaiosune, and

eirene.

[851] Hence it is called mimetike.

[852] stereoma

[853] ktiseis, archai, dunameis , exousiai.

[854] Abrasax or Abraxas. Abraxas is a euphonic inversion, which seems

to date from the Latin translator of Irenaeus.

[855] Thrice a =3; b =2; r =100; s =200; x =60. Epiphanius mentions

that the Basilidians referred the word to the 365 parts (mele) of the

human body as well as to the days of the year. But modern writers are

inclined to think that the engravers of the Abrasax gems and the

Basilidians received the mystic name from an older common source. Dr.

Hort suggests the derivation from Ab-razach, Ab-zarach, i.e. "the

father of effugence," a name appropriate to a solar deity. According to

Movers, Serach was a Phoenician name for Adonist, whose worship was

connected with the seasons of the year. Comp. Bellermann, Ueber die

Gemmen der Alten mit dem Abraxasbilde (Berlin, 1817, '19) King, The

Gnostics and their Remains (London, 1864), Hort, l.c., Matter,

Abraxas,"etc. in Herzog, I. 103-107, and Kraus, in his " Real-Encykl.

der christl. Alterth�mer,"I. 6-10 (with illustrations).

[856] Philosoph., VII. 22. He also quoted John 2:4, "My hour is not yet

come" , and Luke 1:35, "A Holy Spirit shall come upon thee, and a power

of the Most High shall overshadow thee." It is true that Hippolytus

sometimes mixes up the opinions of the matter with those of his

followers. But there is no ambiguity here where Basilides is introduced

with phesi, "he says," while when quoting from the school he uses the

formula "according to them (kat' autous). The joint testimony of these

early heretics (to when) we must add the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and

the heathen Celsus) is overwhelming against the T�bingen hypothesis of

the the origin of the fourth Gospel. See vol. I. p. 707, and Abbott,

Authorship of the Fourth Gospel. p. 85 sqq.

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� 125. Valentinus.

I. The sources are: 1) Fragments Of Valentinus; Ptolomey's Epistola ad

Floram; and exegetical fragments of Heracleon. 2) The patristic

accounts and refutations of Irenaeus (I. 1-21 and throughout his whole

work); Hippolytus (VI. 29-37); Tertullian (Adv. Valentinianos);

Epiphanius, (Haer. XXXI; in Oehler's ed. I. 305-386). The last two

depend chiefly upon Irenaeus. See on the sources Lipsius and Heinrici

(p. 5-148).

II. Ren. Massuet: Dissert. de Haereticis, Art. I. De Valentino, in his

ed. of Irenaeus, and in Stieren's ed. Tom. II. p. 54-134. Very learned

and thorough.

George Heinrici: Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift.

Berlin, 1871 (192 pages).

Comp. Neander (whose account is very good, but lacks the additional

information furnished by Hippolytus); Rossel, Theol. Schriften (Berlin,

(1847), p. 280 sqq.; Baur, K. Gesch. I. 195-204; and Jacobi, in

Herzog2, vol. V. 225-229.

Valentinus or Valentine [857] 57 is the author of the most profound and

luxuriant, as well as the most influential and best known of the

Gnostic systems. Irenaeus directed his work chiefly against it, and we

have made it the basis of our general description of Gnosticism. [858]

58 He founded a large school, and spread his doctrines in the West. He

claimed to have derived them from Theodas or Theudas, a pupil of St.

Paul. [859] 59 He also pretended to have received revelations from the

Logos in a vision. Hippolytus calls him a Platonist and Pythagorean

rather than a Christian. He was probably of Egyptian Jewish descent and

Alexandrian education. [860] 60 Tertullian reports, perhaps from his

own conjecture, that he broke with the orthodox church from

disappointed ambition, not being made a bishop. [861] 61 Valentine came

to Rome as a public teacher during the pontificate of Hyginus

(137-142), and remained there till the pontificate of Anicetus (154).

[862] 62 He was then already celebrated; for Justin Martyr, in his lost

"Syntagma against all Heresies," which he mentions in his "First

Apology" (140), combated the Valentinians among other heretics before

a.d. 140. At that time Rome had become the centre of the church and the

gathering place of all sects. Every teacher who wished to exercise a

general influence on Christendom naturally looked to the metropolis.

Valentine was one of the first Gnostics who taught in Rome, about the

same time with Cerdo and Marcion; but though he made a considerable

impression by his genius and eloquence, the orthodoxy of the church and

the episcopal authority were too firmly settled to allow of any great

success for his vagaries. He was excommunicated, and went to Cyprus,

where he died about a.d. 160.

His system is an ingenious theogonic and cosmogonic epos. It describes

in three acts the creation, the fall, and the redemption; first in

heaven, then on earth. Great events repeat themselves in different

stages of being. He derived his material from his own fertile

imagination, from Oriental and Greek speculations, and from Christian

ideas. He made much use of the Prologue of John's Gospel and the

Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians; but by a wild exegesis he put

his own pantheistic and mythological fancies into the apostolic words,

such as Logos, Only Begotten, Truth, Life, Pleroma, Ecclesia.

Valentine starts from the eternal primal Being, which he significantly

calls Bythos or Abyss. [863] 63 It is the fathomless depth in which the

thinking mind is lost, the ultimate boundary beyond which it cannot

pass. The Bythos is unbegotten, infinite, invisible, incomprehensible,

nameless, the absolute agnoston; yet capable of evolution and

development, the universal Father of all beings. He continues for

immeasurable ages in silent contemplation of his own boundless

grandeur, glory, and beauty. This "Silence" or "Solitude" (he sige) is

his Spouse or suzugos. It is the silent self-contemplation, the

slumbering consciousness of the Infinite. He also calls it "Thought"

(ennoia), and "Grace" (charis). [864] 64 The pre-mundane Bythos

includes, therefore, at least according to some members of the school,

the female as well as the male principle; for from the male principle

alone nothing could spring. According to Hippolytus, Valentine derived

this sexual duality from the essential nature of love, and said: "God

is all love; but love is not love except there is some object of

affection." [865] 65 He grappled here with a pre-mundane mystery, which

the Orthodox theology endeavors to solve by the doctrine of the

immanent eternal trinity in the divine essence: God is love, therefore

God is triune: a loving subject, a beloved object, and a union of the

two. "Ubi amor, ibi trinitas."

After this eternal silence, God enters upon a process of evolution or

emanation, i.e. a succession of generations of antithetic and yet

supplementary ideas or principles. From the Abyss emanate thirty aeons

in fifteen pairs, [866] 66 according to the law of sexual polarity, in

three generations, the first called the ogdoad, the second the decad,

the third the dodecad. The Aeons are the unfolded powers and attributes

of the divinity. They correspond to the dynameis in the system of

Basilides. God begets first the masculine, productive Mind or Reason

(ho nous), [867] 67 with the feminine, receptive Truth (he aletheia);

these two produce the Word (ho logos) and the Life (he zoe), and these

again the (ideal) Man (ho anthropos) and the (ideal) Church (he

ekklesia). The influence of the fourth Gospel is unmistakable here,

though of course the terminology of John is used in a sense different

from that of its author. The first two syzygies constitute the sacred

Tetraktys, the root of all things. [868] 68 The Nous and the Aletheia

produce ten aeons (five pairs); the Logos and the Zo�, twelve aeons

(six pairs). At last the Nous or Monogenes and the Aletheia bring forth

the heavenly Christ (ho ano Christos) and the (female) Holy Spirit (to

pneuma hagion), and therewith complete the number thirty. These aeons

constitute together the Pleroma, the plenitude of divine powers, an

expression which St. Paul applied to the historical Christ (Col. 2:9).

They all partake in substance of the life of the Abyss; but their form

is conditioned by the Horos (horos), the limiting power of God. This

genius of limitation stands between the Pleroma and the Hysterema

outside, and is the organizing power of the universe, and secures

harmony. [869] 69 If any being dares to transcend its fixed boundaries

and to penetrate beyond revelation into the hidden being of God, it is

in danger of sinking into nothing. Two actions are ascribed to the

Horos, a negative by which he limits every being and sunders from it

foreign elements, and the positive by which he forms and establishes

it. [870] 70 The former action is emphatically called Horos, the latter

is called Stauros (cross, post), because he stands firm and immovable,

the guardian of the Aeons, so that nothing can come from the Hysterema

into the neighborhood of the aeons in the Pleroma.

The process of the fall and redemption takes place first in the ideal

world of the Pleroma, and is then repeated in the lower world. In this

process the lower Wisdom or Sophia, also called Achamoth or Chakmuth

plays an important part. [871] 71 She is the mundane soul, a female

aeon, the weakest and most remote member of the series of aeons (in

number the twenty-eighth), and forms, so to speak, the bridge which

spans the abyss between God and the real world. Feeling her loneliness

and estrangement from the great Father, she wishes to unite herself

immediately, without regard to the intervening links, with him who is

the originating principle of the universe, and alone has the power of

self-generation. She jumps, as it were by a single bound, into the

depth of the eternal Father, and brings forth of herself alone an

abortion (ektroma),a formless and inchoate substance, [872] 72 of which

Moses speaks when he says: "The earth was without form and void." By

this sinful passion she introduces confusion and disturbance into the

Pleroma. [873] 73 She wanders about outside of it, and suffers with

fear, anxiety, and despair on account of her abortion. This is the

fall; an act both free and necessary.

But Sophia yearns after redemption; the aeons sympathize with her

sufferings and aspirations; the eternal Father himself commands the

projection of the last pair of aeons, Christ and the Holy Spirit, "for

the restoration of Form, the destruction of the abortion, and for the

consolation and cessation of the groans of Sophia." They comfort and

cheer the Sophia, and separate the abortion from the Pleroma. At last,

the thirty aeons together project in honor of the Father the aeon Soter

or Jesus, "the great High Priest," "the Joint Fruit of the Pleroma,"

and "send him forth beyond the Pleroma as a Spouse for Sophia, who was

outside, and as a rectifier of those sufferings which she underwent in

searching after Christ." After many sufferings, Sophia is purged of all

passions and brought back as the bride of Jesus, together with all

pneumatic natures, into the ideal world. The demiurge, the fiery and

jealous God of the Jews, as "the friend of the bridegroom," [874] 74

with the psychical Christians on the border of the Pleroma, remotely

shares the joy of the festival, while matter sinks back into nothing.

In Valentine's Christology, we must distinguish properly three

redeeming beings: (1) The ano Christos or heavenly Christ, who, after

the fall of Sophia, emanates from the aeon monogenes, and stands in

conjunction with the female principle, the pneuma hagion. He makes the

first announcement to the aeons of the plan of redemption, whereupon

they strike up anthems of praise and thanksgiving in responsive choirs.

(2) The soter or Iesous, produced by all the aeons together, the star

of the Pleroma. He forms with the redeemed Sophia the last and highest

syzygy. (3) The kato Christos, the psychical or Jewish Messiah, who is

sent by the Demiurge, passes through the body of Mary as water through

a pipe, and is at last crucified by the Jews, but, as he has merely an

apparent body, does not really suffer. With him Soter, the proper

redeemer, united himself in the baptism in the Jordan, to announce his

divine gnosis on earth for a year, and lead the pneumatic persons to

perfection.

Notes.

Dr. Baur, the great critical historian of ancient Gnosticism and the

master spirit of modern Gnosticism, ingeniously reproduces the

Valentinian system in Hegelian terminology. I quote the chief part, as

a fair specimen of his historic treatment, from his Kirchengeschichte,

vol. I. 201 sqq. (comp. his Gnosis, p. 124 sqq.):

"Der Geist, oder Gott als der Geist an sich, geht aus sich heraus, in

dieser Sebstoffenbarung Gottes entsteht die Welt, die in ihrem

Unterschied von Gott auch wieder an sich mit Gott eins ist. Wie man

aber auch dieses immanente Verh�ltniss von Gott und Welt betrachten

mag, als Selbstoffenbarung Gottes oder als Weltentwicklung, es ist an

sich ein rein geistiger, im Wesen des Geistes begr�ndeter Process. Der

Geist stellt in den Aeonen, die er aus sich hervorgehen l�sst, sein

eigenes Wesen aus sich heraus und sich gegen�ber; da aber das Wesen des

Geistes an sich das Denken und Wissen ist, so kann der Process seiner

Selbstoffenbarung nur darin bestehen, dass er sich dessen bewusst ist,

was er an sich ist. Die Aeonen des Pleroma sind die h�chsten Begriffe

des geistigen Seins und Lebens, die allgemeinen Denkformen, in welchen

der Geist das, was er an sich ist, in bestimmter concreter Weise f�r

das Bewusstsein ist. Mit dem Wissen des Geistes von sich, dem

Selbstbewusstsein des sich von sich unterscheidenden Geistes, ist aber

auch schon nicht blos ein Princip der Differenzirung, sondern, da Gott

und Welt an sich Eins sind, auch ein Princip der Materialisirung des

Geistes gesetzt. Je gr�sser der Abstand der das Bewusstsein des Geistes

vermittelnden Begriffe von dem absolutes Princip ist, um so mehr ver

dunkelt sich das geistige Bewusstsein, der Geiste, ent�ussert sich

seiner selbst, er ist sich selbst nicht mehr klar und durchsichtig, das

Pneumatische sinkt zum Prychischen herab, das Psychische verdichtet

sich zum Materiellen, und mit dem Materiellen verbindet sich in seinem

Extrem auch der Begriff des D�monischen und Diabolischen. Da aber auch

das psychische an sich pneumatischer Natur ist, und Keime des geistigen

Lebens �berall zur�ckgeblieben sind, so muss das Pneumatische die

materielle Verdunklung des geistigen Bewusstseins auf der Stufe des

psychischen Lebens wieder durchbrechen und die Decke abwerfen, die in

der Welt des Demurg auf dem Bewusstsein des Geistes liegt. Die ganze

Weltentwicklung ist die Continuit�t desselben geisigen Processes, es

muss daher auch einen Wendepunkt geben, in welchem der Geist aus seiner

Selbstent�userung zu sich selbst zur�ckkehrt und wieder zum klaren

Bewusstsein dessen, was er an sich ist, kommt. Dies ist der gnostische

Begriff der christlichen Offenbarung. Die Wissenden im Sinne der

Gnostiker, die Pneumatischen, die als solche auch das wahrhaft

christliche Bewusstsein in, sich haben, sind ein neues Moment des

allgemeinen geistigen Lebens, die h�chste Stufe der Selbstoffenbarung

Gottes und der Weltentwicklung. Diese Periode des Weltverlaufs beginnt

mit der Erscheinung Christi und endet zuletzt damit, dass durch

Christus und die Sophia alles Geistige in das Pleroma wieder

aufgenommen wird. Da Christus, wie auf jeder Stufe der Weltentwicklung,

so auch schon in den h�chsten Regionen der Aeonenwelt, in welcher alles

seinem Ausgangspunkt hat, and von Anfang an auf dieses Reultant des

Ganzen angelegt ist, als das wiederherstellende, in der Einheit mit dem

Absolutn erhaltende Princip th�tig ist, so hat er in der Waltanschauung

der Gnostiker durchaus die Bedeutung eines absolutn Weltprincips."

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[857] Oualentinos or Balentinos .

[858] "No other system," says Baur (I. 203), "affords us such a clear

insight into the peculiar character of the Gnosis, the inner connection

of its view of the world, and the deeper intellectual character of the

whole."

[859] Clemens Alex. Strom. I. VII. p. 898 (ed. Potter). Nothing certain

is known of Theudas.

[860] Epiph. Haer. XXXI. 2. The Jewish extraction may be inferred from

some of his terms, as "Achamoth."

[861] De Praesc. Haer. c. 30, and Adv. Valent. c. 4. Tertullian and the

orthodox polemics generally are apt to trace all heresies to impure

personal motives.

[862] Iren. III. 4, 3. Comp. Euseb. H. E. IV. 10, 11 (quoting from

Irenaeus). All authorities agree that he taught at Rome before the

middle of the second century.

[863] buthos, also propator, proarche, autopator.

[864] � Iren. I. 1, � 1; Tert. Adv. Val. c. 7.

[865] Philos. VI. 24. There seems, however, to have been a difference

of opinion among the Valentinians on the companionship of the Bythos,

for in ch. 25 we read: "The Father alone, without copulation, has

produced an offspring ... he alone possesses the power of

self-generation."

[866] suzugoi. The same number of aeons as in Hesiod's theogony.

[867] Also called ho pater (as immediately proceeding from the

propator), the Father, also ho monogenes, the Onlv Begotten (comp. John

1:18), and the arche as the Beginning of all things (Comp. en arche,

John 1:1).

[868] The hiera tetraktus of the Pythagoreans. Tert. (c. 7): " prima

quadriga Valentinianae factionis, matrix et origo cunctorum."

[869] "Es ist eine tiefe Idee des Vatentinianischen Systems," says

Neander (II. 722), dass, wie alles Dasein in der Selbstbeschr�nkung des

Bythos seinen Grund hat, so das Dasein alter geschaffenen Wesen auf

Beschr�nkung beruht."

[870] The energeia meristike kai dioristike and the energeia hedrastike

kai steristike.

[871] Usually identified with Chocmah, but by Lipsius and Jacobi with

Chakmuth, the world-mother, which has a place in the system of

Bardesanes. The idea of Sophia as the mediatrix of creation is no doubt

borrowed from the Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon.

[872] ousia amorphos kai akataskeuastos .Philos. VI. 28 (30 ed. Duncker

and Schneidewin, I. 274). The Thohuvabohu of Genesis.

[873] "Ignorance having arisen within the Pleroma in consequence of

Sophia, and shapelessness (amorphia) in consequence of the offspring of

Sophia, confusion arose in the pleroma (thorubus egeneto en

pleromati)."Philos. VI. 26 (31 in Duncker and Schneidewin).

[874] ho philos tou numphiou, John 3. 29.

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� 126. The School of Valentinus. Heracleon, Ptolemy, Marcos,

Bardesanes, Harmonius.

Of all the forms of Gnosticism, that of Valentinus was the most popular

and influential, more particularly in Rome. He had a large number of

followers, who variously modified his system. Tertullian says, his

heresy "fashioned itself into as many shapes as a courtesan who usually

changes and adjusts her dress every day."

The school of Valentinus divided chiefly into two branches, an

Oriental, [875] 75 and an Italian. The first, in which Hippolytus

reckons one Axionicos, not otherwise known, and Ardesianes (Ardesianes,

probably the, same with Bardesanes), held the body of Jesus to be

pneumatic and heavenly, because the Holy Spirit, i.e. Sophia and the

demiurgic power of the Highest, came upon Mary. The Italian

school--embracing Heracleon and Ptolemy --taught that the body of Jesus

was psychial, and that for this reason the Spirit descended upon him in

the baptism. Some Valentinians came nearer the orthodox view, than

their master.

Heracleon was personally instructed by Valentine, and probably

flourished between 170 and 180 somewhere in Italy. He has a special

interest as the earliest known commentator of the Gospel of John.

Origen, in commenting on the same book, has preserved us about fifty

fragments, usually contradicting them. They are chiefly taken from the

first two, the fourth, and the eighth chapters. [876] 76 Heracleon

fully acknowledges the canonical authority of the fourth Gospel, but

reads his own system into it. He used the same allegorical method, as

Origen, who even charges him with adhering too much to the letter, and

not going deep enough into the spiritual sense. He finds in John the

favorite Valentinian ideas of logos, life, light, love, conflict with

darkness, and mysteries in all the numbers, but deprives the facts of

historical realness. The woman of Samaria, in the fourth chapter,

represents the redemption of the Sophia; the water of Jacob's well is

Judaism; her husband is her spiritual bridegroom from the Pleroma; her

former husbands are the Hyle or kingdom of the devil. The nobleman in

Capernaum (John 4:47) is the Demiurge, who is not hostile, but

short-sighted and ignorant, yet ready to implore the Saviour's help for

his subjects; the nobleman's son represents the psychics, who will be

healed and redeemed when their ignorance is removed. The fact that

John's Gospel was held in equal reverence by the Valentinians and the

orthodox, strongly favors its early existence before their separation,

and its apostolic origin. [877] 77

Ptolemy is the author of the Epistle to Flora, a wealthy Christian

lady, whom he tried to convert to the Valentinian system. [878] 78 He

deals chiefly with the objection that the creation of the world and the

Old Testament could not proceed from the highest God. He appeals to an

apostolic tradition and to the words of Christ, who alone knows the

Father of all and first revealed him (John 1:18). God is the only good

(Matt. 19:17), and hence he cannot be the author of a world in which

there is so much evil. Irenaeus derived much of his information from

the contemporary followers of Ptolemy.

Another disciple of Valentine, Marcos, who taught likewise in the

second half of the second century, probably in Asia Minor, perhaps also

in Gaul, blended a Pythagorean and Cabbalistic numerical symbolism with

the ideas of his master, introduced a ritual abounding in ceremonies,

and sought to attract beautiful and wealthy women by magical arts. His

followers were called Marcosians. [879] 79

The name of Colarbasus, which is often connected with Marcos, must be

stricken from the list of the Gnostics; for it originated in

confounding the Hebrew Kol-Arba, "the Voice of Four," i.e. the divine

Tetrad at the head of the Pleroma, with a person. [880] 80

Finally, in the Valentinian school is counted also Bardesanes or

Bardaisan (son of Daisan, Bardesanes). [881] 81 He was a distinguished

Syrian scholar and poet, and lived at the court of the prince of Edessa

at the close of the second and in the early part of the third century.

[882] 82 But he can scarcely be numbered among the Gnostics, except in

a very wide sense. He was at first orthodox, according to Epiphanius,

but became corrupted by contact with Valentinians. Eusebius, on the

contrary, makes him begin a heretic and end in orthodoxy. He also

reports, that Bardesanes wrote against the heresy of Marcion in the

Syriac language. Probably he accepted the common Christian faith with

some modifications and exercised freedom on speculative doctrines,

which were not yet clearly developed in the Syrian church of that

period. [883] 83 His numerous works are lost, with the exception of a

"Dialogue on Fate," which has recently been published in full. [884] 84

It is, however, of uncertain date, and shows no trace of the Gnostic

mythology and dualism, ascribed to him. He or his son Harmonius (the

accounts vary) is the father of Syrian hymnology, and composed a book

of one hundred and fifty (after the Psalter), which were used on

festivals, till they were superseded by the Orthodox hymns of St.

Ephraem the Syrian, who retained the same metres and tunes. [885] 85 He

enjoyed great reputation, and his sect is said to have spread to the

Southern Euphrates, and even to China.

His son Harmonius, of Edessa, followed in his steps. He is said to have

studied philosophy at Athens. He shares with Bardesanes (as already

remarked) the honor of being the father of Syrian hymnology.

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[875] Didaskalia anatolike. Hippol. VI. 35 (p. 286).

[876] They are collected by Grabe, Spicil. II. 83-117, Stieren, in his

ed. of Iren. Tom. I. 938-971. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. IV. 9)

quotes also from a Commentary of Heracleon on Luke 12:8.

[877] Baur (I. 203) significantly ignores Heracleon's Commentary, which

is fatal to his hypothesis of the late origin of the fourth Gospel.

[878] The Epistola ad Floram is preserved by Epiphanius (Haer XXIII. �

3). Stieren, in a Latin inaugural address (1813), denied its

genuineness, but Rossel in an Appendix to Neanders Church History

(Germ. ed. II. 1249-1254, in Torrey's translation I. 725-728), and

Heinrici (l.c. p. 75 sqq.) defend it.

[879] Marcos and the Marcosians are known to us from Clement of Alex.

and Iren. (I. 13-21). Hippolytus (VI. 39 sqq., p. 296 sqq.) and

Epiphanius depend here almost entirely on Irenaeus, who speak of Marcos

as still living.

[880] It is to be derived from lvq , voice (not from lk, all), and

?br', four. The confusion was first discovered by Heumann (1743), and

more fully explained by Volkmar, Die Colarbasus-Gnosis, in Niedner's

"Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol." 1855, p. 603-616. Comp. Baur, I. 204,

note, and Hort in Smith and Wace, I. 594 sq.

[881] Comp. Aug. Hahn: Bardesanes, Gnosticus Syrorum primus hymnologus.

Lips. 1819. A. Merx: Bardes. v. Edessa. Halle, 1863. Lipsius: In the

"Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theol." 1863, p. 435 sqq. A.

Hilgenfeld. Bardesanes, der letzte Gnostiker. Leipz. 1864. K. Macke:

Syrische Lieder gnostischen Ursprungs, in the "T�b. Theol.

Quartalschrift" for 1874. Dr. Hort: Bardaisan, in Smith and Wace, I.

256-260 (very thorough).

[882] Eusebius (IV. 30) and Jerome (De Vir. illutstr. 33), misled by

the common confusion of the earlier and later Antonines, assign him to

the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180), but according to the Chronicle

of Edessa (Assemani, Bibl. Or. I. 389) He was born July 11, 155, and

according to Barhebraeus (Chron. Eccl. ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, 1872, p.

79) he died in 223, aged 68 years. Hilgenfeld, Jacobi and Hortl adopt

the latter date.

[883] Dr. Hort (p. 252) thinks that "there is no reason to suppose that

Bardaisan rejected the. ordinary faith of Christians, as founded on the

Gospels and the writings of the Apostles, except on isolated points."

The varying modern constructions of his system on a Gnostic basis are

all arbitrary.

[884] Peri heimarmenes.It was formerly known only from a Greek extract

in Eusebius's Proeparatio, Evang. (VI. 9, 10). The Syriac original was

discovered among the Nitrian MSS of the British Museum, and published

by Cureton, in Spicilegium Syriacum. London 1855, with an English

translation and notes. Merx gives a German translation with notes (p.

25-55). The treatise is either identical with the Book of the Laws of

Countries, or an extract from it. Dr. Hort doubts its genuineness.

[885] Ephraem the Syrian speaks of a book of 150 hymns, by which

Bardesanes list had beguiled the people, and makes no mention of

Harmonius; but Sozomen and Theodoret report that Harmonius was the

first to adapt the Syrian language to metrical formal, and music, and

that his hymns and times were used till the time of Ephraem. Dr. Hort

explains this contradiction, which has not received sufficient

attention, by supposing that the book of hymns was really written by

Harmonius, perhaps in his father's lifetime, and at his suggestion. But

it is equally possible that Bardesanes was the author and Harmonius the

editor, or that both were hymnists. The testimony Ephraem cannot be

easily set aside as a pure error. Fragments of hymns of Bardesanes have

been traced in the Acta Thomae by K. Macke in the article quoted above.

The Syriac hymns of Ephraem are translated into German by Zingerle

(1838), and into English by H. Burgess (1853).

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� 127. Marcion and his School.

I. Justin M.: Apol. I. c. 26 and 58. He wrote also a special work

against Marcion, which is lost Irenaeus: I. 28. IV. 33 sqq. and several

other passages. He likewise contemplated a special treatise against

Marcion (III. 12) Tertullian: Adv. Marcionem Libri V. Hippol. Philos.

VII. 29 (ed. Duncker and Schneidewin, pp. 382-394). Epiphanius: Haer.

XLII. Philaster.: Haer. XLV. The Armenian account of Esnig in his

"Destruction of Heretics" (5^th century), translated by Neumann, in the

"Zeitschrift f�r histor. Theologie," Leipzig, vol. IV. 1834. Esnig

gives Marcionism more of a mystic and speculative character than the

earlier fathers, but presents nothing which may not be harmonized with

them.

II Neander (whose account is too charitable), Baur (I. 213-217), M�ller

(Gesch. der Kosmologie, 374-407), Fessler. (in Wetzer and Welte, VI.

816-821), Jacobi (in Herzog, V. 231-236), Salmon (in Smith and Wace,

III. 816-824). Ad. Hilgenfeld: Cerdon und Marcion, in his "Zeitschrift

f�r wissenschaftl. Theol." Leipz. 1881, pp. 1-37.

III. On the critical question of Marcion's canon and the relation of

his mutilated Gospel of Luke to the genuine Gospel of Luke, see the

works on the Canon, the critical Introductions, and especially Volkmar:

Das Evangelium Marcions, Text und Kritik (Leipz. 1852), and Sanday: The

Gospels in the Second Century (London, 1876). The last two have

conclusively proved (against the earlier view of Baur, Ritschl, and the

author of "Supernat. Rel.") the priority of the canonical Luke. Comp.

vol. I. 668.

Marcion was the most earnest, the most practical, and the most

dangerous among the Gnostics, full of energy and zeal for reforming,

but restless rough and eccentric. He has a remote connection with

modern questions of biblical criticism and the canon. He anticipated

the rationalistic opposition to the Old Testament and to the Pastoral

Epistles, but in a very arbitrary and unscrupulous way. He could see

only superficial differences in the Bible, not the deeper harmony. He

rejected the heathen mythology of the other Gnostics, and adhered to

Christianity as the only true religion; he was less speculative, and

gave a higher place to faith. But he was utterly destitute of

historical sense, and put Christianity into a radical conflict with all

previous revelations of God; as if God had neglected the world for

thousands of years until he suddenly appeared in Christ. He represents

an extreme anti-Jewish and pseudo-Pauline tendency, and a magical

supranaturalism, which, in fanatical zeal for a pure primitive

Christianity, nullifies all history, and turns the gospel into an

abrupt, unnatural, phantomlike appearance.

Marcion was the son of a bishop of Sinope in Pontus, and gave in his

first fervor his property to the church, but was excommunicated by his

own father, probably on account of his heretical opinions and contempt

of authority. [886] 86 He betook himself, about the middle of the

second century, to Rome (140-155), which originated none of the Gnostic

systems, but attracted them all. There he joined the Syrian Gnostic,

Cerdo, who gave him some speculative foundation for his practical

dualism. He disseminated his doctrine by travels, and made many

disciples from different nations. He is said to have intended to apply

at last for restoration to the communion of the Catholic Church, when

his death intervened. [887] 87 The time and place of his death are

unknown. He wrote a recension of the Gospel of Luke and the Pauline

Epistles, and a work on the contradictions between the Old anad New

Testaments. Justin Martyr regarded him as the most formidable heretic

of his day. The abhorrence of the Catholics for him is expressed in the

report of Irenaeus, that Polycarp of Smyrna, meeting with Marcion in

Rome, and being asked by him: "Dost thou know me?" answered: "I know

the first-born of Satan." [888] 88

Marcion supposed two or three primal forces (archai): the good or

gracious God (theos agathos), whom Christ first made known; the evil

matter (hule) ruled by the devil, to which heathenism belongs; and the

righteous world-maker (demiourgos dikaios), who is the finite,

imperfect, angry Jehovah of the Jews. Some writers reduce his

principles to two; but he did not identify the demiurge with the hyle.

He did not go into any further speculative analysis of these

principles; he rejected the pagan emanation theory, the secret

tradition, and the allegorical interpretation of the Gnostics; in his

system he has no Pleroma, no Aeons, no Dynameis, no Syzygies, no

suffering Sophia; he excludes gradual development and growth;

everything is unprepared, sudden and abrupt.

His system was more critical and rationalistic than mystic and

philosophical. [889] 89 He was chiefly zealous for the consistent

practical enforcement of the irreconcilable dualism which he

established between the gospel and the law, Christianity and Judaism,

goodness and righteousness. [890] 90 He drew out this contrast at

large in a special work, entitled "Antitheses." The God of the Old

Testament is harsh, severe and unmerciful as his law; he commands,

"Love thy neighbor, but hate thine enemy," and returns "an eye for an

eye, and a tooth for a tooth;" but the God of the New Testament

commands, "Love thine enemy." The one is only just, the other is good.

Marcion rejected all the books of the Old Testament, and wrested

Christ's word in Matt. 5:17 into the very opposite declaration: "I am

come not to fulfil the law and the prophets, but to destroy them." In

his view, Christianity has no connection whatever with the past,

whether of the Jewish or the heathen world, but has fallen abruptly and

magically, as it were, from heaven. [891] 91 Christ, too, was not born

at all, but suddenly descended into the city of Capernaum in the

fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, and appeared as the revealer

of the good God, who sent him. He has no connection with the Messiah,

announced by the Demiurge in the Old Testament; though he called

himself the Messiah by way of accommodation. His body was a mere

appearance, and his death an illusion, though they had a real meaning.

[892] 92 He cast the Demiurge into Hades, secured the redemption of the

soul (not of the body), and called the apostle Paul to preach it. The

other apostles are Judaizing corrupters of pure Christianity, and their

writings are to be rejected, together with the catholic tradition. In

over-straining the difference between Paul and the other apostles, he

was a crude forerunner of the T�bingen school of critics.

Marcion formed a canon of his own, which consisted of only eleven

books, an abridged and mutilated Gospel of Luke, and ten of Paul's

epistles. He put Galatians first in order, and called Ephesians the

Epistle to the Laodicaeans. He rejected the pastoral epistles, in which

the forerunners of Gnosticism are condemned, the Epistle to the

Hebrews, Matthew, Mark, John, the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the

Apocalypse.

Notwithstanding his violent antinomianism, Marcion taught and practiced

the strictest ascetic self-discipline, which revolted not only from all

pagan festivities, but even from marriage, flesh, and wine. (He allowed

fish). He could find the true God in nature no more than in history. He

admitted married persons to baptism only on a vow of abstinence from

all sexual intercourse. [893] 93 He had a very gloomy, pessimistic view

of the world and the church, and addressed a disciple as "his partner

in tribulation, and fellow-sufferer from hatred."

In worship he excluded wine from the eucharist, but retained the

sacramental bread, water-baptism, anointing with oil, and the mixture

of milk and honey given to the newly baptized. [894] 94 Epiphanius

reports that he permitted females to baptize. The Marcionites practiced

sometimes vicarious baptism for the dead. [895] 95 Their baptism was

not recognized by the church.

The Marcionite sect spread in Italy, Egypt, North Africa, Cyprus, and

Syria; but it split into many branches. Its wide diffusion is proved by

the number of antagonists in the different countries.

The most noteworthy Marcionites are Prepo, Lucanus (an Assyrian), and

Apelles. They supplied the defects of the master's system by other

Gnostic speculations, and in some instances softened down its antipathy

to heathenism and Judaism. Apelles acknowledged only one first

principle. Ambrosius, a friend of Origen, was a Marcionite before his

conversion. These heretics were dangerous to the church because of

their severe morality and the number of their martyrs. They abstained

from marriage, flesh and wine, and did not escape from persecution,

like some other Gnostics.

Constantine forbade the Marcionites freedom of worship public and

private, and ordered their meeting-houses to be handed over to the

Catholic Church. [896] 96 The Theodosian code mentions them only once.

But they existed in the fifth century when Theodoret boasted to have

converted more than a thousand of these heretics, and the Trullan

Council of 692 thought it worth while to make provision for the

reconciliation of Marcionites. Remains of them are found as late as the

tenth century. [897] 97 Some of their principles revived among the

Paulicians, who took refuge in Bulgaria, and the Cathari in the West.

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[886] Epiphanius and others mention, as a reason, his seduction of a

consecrated virgin; but this does not agree well with his asceticism,

and Irenaeus and Tertullian bring no charge of youthful incontinence

against him.

[887] So Tertullian: but Irenaeus tells a similar story of Cerdo.

Tertullian also reports that Marcion was repeatedly (semel et iterim)

excommunicated.

[888] Adv. Haer. iil.c. 3, � 4: Epiginosko ton prototokon tou Satana.

[889] The Armenian bishop, Esnig, however, brings it nearer to the

other forms of Gnosticism. According to him Marcion assumed three

heavens; in the highest dwelt the good God, far away from the world, in

the second the God of the Law, in the lowest his angels; beneath, on

the earth, lay Hyle, or Matter, which he calls also the power (dunamis)

or essence (ousia) of the earth. The Hyle is a female principle, and by

her aid, as his spouse, the Jewish God of the Law made this world,

after which he retired to his heaven, and each ruled in his own domain,

he with his angels in heaven, and Hyle with her sons on earth. M�ller

(p. 378) is disposed to accept this account as trustworthy. Salmon

thinks; it such a system as Marcion may have learned from Cerdo, but he

must have made little account of the mystic element, else it would be

mentioned by the earlier writers.

[890] " Separatio legis et evangelii proprium et principale opus est

Marcionis." Tertullian, Adv. Marc I. 19.

[891] "Subito Christus, subito Joannes. Sic sunt omnia apud Marcionem,

que suum et plenum habent ordinem apud creatorem." Tert. IV. 11.

[892] Renan (L'englise chr�t., p. 358) says of the shadowy narrative of

Christ's which Marcion elaborated on the basis of his mutilated Luke:

"Si Jesus ne nous avait �t� connu que par des textes de ce genre, on

aurait pu douter s'il avaitvraiment exist�, ous'il n' �tait pas une

fiction, A PRIORI, d�gag�e de tout lien avec le r�alit�. Dans un pareil

syst�me, le Christ ne naissait pas (la naissance, pour Marcion, �tait

une souillure), ne souffrait pas, ne mourait pas."

[893] Tertullian, I. 29; IV. 10.

[894] Tert. I. 14.

[895] So they understood. 1 Cor. 15:29.

[896] Euseb. Vit. Const. III. 64.

[897] Fl�gel's; Mani, p. 160, 167 (quoted by Salmon). Prof. Jacobi (in

Herzog, V. 236) quotes a letter of Hasenkamp to Lavater of the year

1774, and later authorities, to prove the lingering existence of

similar opinions in Bosnia and Herzegowina.

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� 128. The Ophites. The Sethites. The Peratae. The Cainites

I. Hippolytus: Philosoph. bk. V. 1-23. He begins his account of the

Heresies with the Naasseni, or Ophites, and Peratae (the first four

books being devoted to the systems of heathen philosophy). Irenaeus:

Adv. Haer. I. 30 (ed. Stieren, I. 266 sqq.). Epiphan. Haer. 37 (in

Oehler's ed. I. 495 sqq.).

II. Mosheim: Geschichte der Schlangenbr�der. Helmst�dt, 1746, '48.

E. W. M�ller: Geschichte der Kosmologie. Halle, 1860. Die ophitische

Gnosis, p. 190 sqq.

Baxmann: Die Philosophumena und die Peraten, in Niedner's "Zeitschrift

f�r die Hist. Theol." for 1860. Lipsius: Ueber das ophitische System.

In "Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theologie" for 1863 and '64.

Jacobi in Herzog, new ed., vol. V. 240 sq.

George Salmon: "Cainites," in Smith and Wace, vol. I. 380-82. Articles

"Ophites" and "Peratae," will probably appear in vol. IV., not yet

published.

The origin of the Ophites, [898] 98 or, in Hebrew, Naasenes, [899] 99

i.e. Serpent-Brethren, or Serpent-Worshippers, is unknown, and is

placed by Mosheim and others before the time of Christ. In any case,

their system is of purely heathen stamp. Lipsius has shown their

connection with the Syro-Chaldaic mythology. The sect still existed as

late as the sixth century; for in 530 Justinian passed laws against it.

The accounts of their worship of the serpent rest, indeed, on uncertain

data; but their name itself comes from their ascribing special import

to the serpent as the type of gnosis, with reference to the history of

the fall (Gen. 3:1), the magic rod of Moses (Ex. 4:2, 3), and the

healing power of the brazen serpent in the wilderness (Num. 21:9; Comp.

John 3:14). They made use of the serpent on amulets.

That mysterious, awe-inspiring reptile, which looks like the embodiment

of a thunderbolt, or like a fallen angel tortuously creeping in the

dust, represents in the Bible the evil spirit, and its motto, Eritis

sicut Deus, is the first lie of the father of lies, which caused the

ruin of man; but in the false religions it is the symbol of divine

wisdom and an object of adoration; and the Eritis sicus dii appears as

a great truth, which opened the path of progress. The serpent, far from

being the seducer of the race, was its first schoolmaster and civilizer

by teaching it the difference between good and evil. So the Ophites

regarded the fall of Adam as the transition from the state of

unconscious bondage to the state of conscious judgment and freedom;

therefore the necessary entrance to the good, and a noble advance of

the human spirit. They identified the serpent with the Logos, or the

mediator between the Father and the Matter, bringing down the powers of

the upper world to the lower world, and leading the return from the

lower to the higher. The serpent represents the whole winding process

of development and salvation. [900] 00 The Manichaeans also regarded

the serpent as the direct image of Christ. [901] 01

With this view is connected their violent opposition to the Old

Testament. Jaldabaoth, [902] 02 as they termed the God of the Jews and

the Creator of the world, they represented as a malicious, misanthropic

being. In other respects, their doctrine strongly resembles the

Valentinian system, except that it is much more pantheistic,

unchristian, and immoral, and far less developed.

The Ophites again branch out in several sects, especially three.

The Sethites considered the third son of Adam the first pneumatic man

and the forerunner of Christ. They maintained three principles,

darkness below, light above, and spirit between.

The Peratae or Peratics [903] 03 (Transcendentalists) are described by

Hippolytus as allegorizing astrologers and as mystic tritheists, who

taught three Gods, three Logoi, three Minds, three Men. Christ had a

three-fold nature, a three-fold body, and a three-fold power. He

descended from above, that all things triply divided might be saved.

[904] 04

The Cainites boasted of the descent from Cain the fratricide, and made

him their leader. [905] 05 They regarded the God of the Jews and

Creator of the world as a positively evil being, whom to resist is

virtue. Hence they turned the history of salvation upside down, and

honored all the infamous characters of the Old and New Testaments from

Cain to Judas as spiritual men and martyrs to truth. Judas Iscariot

alone among the apostles had the secret of true knowledge, and betrayed

the psychic Messiah with good intent to destroy the empire of the evil

God of the Jews. Origen speaks of a branch of the Ophites, who were as

great enemies of Jesus as the heathen Celsus, and who admitted none

into their society who had not first cursed his name. But the majority

seem to have acknowledged the goodness of Jesus and the benefit of his

crucifixion brought about by the far-sighted wisdom of Judas. A book

entitled "the Gospel of Judas" was circulated among them.

No wonder that such blasphemous travesty of the Bible history, and such

predilection for the serpent and his seed was connected with the most

unbridled antinomianism, which changed vice into virtue. They thought

it a necessary part of "perfect knowledge" to have a complete

experience of all sins, including even unnamable vices.

Some have identified the Ophites with the false teachers denounced in

the Epistle of Jude as filthy dreamers, who "defile the flesh, and set

at naught dominion, and rail at dignities," who "went in the way of

Cain, and ran riotously in the error of Balaam for hire, and perished

in the gainsaying of Korah," as "wandering stars, for whom the

blackness of darkness has been reserved forever." The resemblance is

certainly very striking, and those heretics may have been the

forerunners of the Ophites of the second century.

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[898] Hophianoi, from ophis, serpent, Serpentini.

[899] From shchn.

[900] As Baur (K. Gesch. I. 195) expresses it: "Die Schlange ist mit

EinemWort der durch die Gegens�tze dialectisch sich hindurchwindende

Weltentwicklungsprocess relbst."

[901] Augustin, De Haer. c. 17 and 46.

[902] tvhb 'dly, product of chaos.

[903] From perao, to pass across, to go beyond (the boundary of the

material world). We know their system from the confused account of

Hippolytus, Philos. I. v. 7 sqq. He says, that their blasphemy against

Christ has for many years escaped notice. Irenaeus, Tertullian, and

Epiphanius are silent about the Peratae. Clement of Alex. mentions

them.

[904] The following specimen of Peratic transcendental nonsense is

reported by Hippolytus (v. 12): "According to them, the universe is the

Father, Son, [and] Matter; [but] each of these three has endless

capacities in itself. Intermediate, then, between the Matter and the

Father sits the Son, the Word, the Serpent, always being in motion

towards the unmoved Father, and [towards] matter itself in motion. And

at one time he is turned towards the Father, and receives the powers

into his own person; but at another time takes up these powers, and is

turned towards Matter. And Matter, [though] devoid of attribute, and

being unfashioned, moulds [into itself] forms from the Son which the

Son moulded from the Father. But the Son derives shape from the Father

after a mode ineffable, and unspeakable, and unchangeable ... No one

can be saved or return [into heaven] without the Son, and the Son is

the Serpent. For as he brought down from above the paternal marks, so

again he carries up from thence those marks, roused from a dormnant

condition, and rendered paternal characteristics, substantial ones from

the unsubstantial Being, transferring them hither from thence."

[905] Kainoi (Hippol. VIII. 20), Kaianistai (Clem. Alex. Strom, VII.

17), Kaianoi (Epiph. Haer. 38), Caiani, Cainaei.

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� 129. Saturninus (Satornilos).

Iren. I. 24, � 1, 2; ch. 28. Hippol. VII. 3, 28 (depending on Iren.).

Tert. Praesc. Haer. 46. Hegesippus in Euseb. IV. 22, 29. Epiph. Haer.

XXIII. Theod. Fab. Haer. I. 3. Comp. M�ller, l c., p. 367-373.

Contemporary with Basilides under Hadrian, was Saturninus or

Satornilos90 [906] in Antioch. He was, like him, a pupil of Menander.

His system is distinguished for its bold dualism between God and Satan,

the two antipodes of the universe, and for its ascetic severity. [907]

07 God is the unfathomable abyss, absolutely unknown (theos agnostos).

From him emanates by degrees the spirit-world of light, with angels,

archangels, powers, and dominions. On the lowest degree, are the seven

planetary spirits (angeloi kosmokratores) with the Demiurge or God of

the Jews at the head. Satan, as the ruler of the hyle, is eternally

opposed to the realm of light. The seven planetary spirits invade the

realm of Satan, and form out of a part of the hyle the material world

with man, who is filled by the highest God with a spark of light

(spinther). Satan creates in opposition a hylic race of men, and

incessantly pursues the spiritual race with his demons and false

prophets. The Jewish God, with his prophets, is unable to overcome him.

Finally the good God sends the aeon Nous in an unreal body, as Soter on

earth, who teaches the spiritual men by gnosis and strict abstinence

from marriage and carnal food to emancipate themselves from the

vexations of Satan, and also from the dominion of the Jewish God and

his star-spirits, and to rise to the realm of light.

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[906] This second form, says Renan (L'�gl. chr�t, p. 177), is common in

inscription.

[907] So Mosheim, Neander, Baur, Gieseler, Renan. But M�ller (p. 371)

disputes the dualism of Saturninus, and maintains that Satan and the

God of the Jew, ; are alike subordinate, though antagonistic beings.

But so is Ahriman in the Parsee dualism, and the Demiurge in all the

Gnostic systems.

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� 130. Carpocrates.

Iren. I. 25 (24). Hippol. VII. 32 (D. & Schn. p. 398 sqq.). Clem. Alex.

Strom. III. 511. Epihianius, Haer. XXV.

Carpocrates also lived under Hadrian, probably at Alexandria, and

founded a Gnostic sect, called by his own name, which put Christ on a

level with heathen philosophers, prided itself on its elevation above

all the popular religions, and sank into unbridled immorality. The

world is created by angels greatly inferior to the unbegotten Father.

Jesus was the son of Joseph, and just like other men, except that his

soul was steadfast and pure, and that he perfectly remembered those

things which he had witnessed within the sphere of the unbegotten God.

For this reason a power descended upon him from the Father, that by

means of it he might escape from the creators of the world. After

passing through them all, and remaining in all points free, he ascended

again to the Father. We may rise to an equality with Jesus by despising

in like manner the creators of the world.

The Carpocratians, say Irenaeus and Hippolytus, practiced also magical

arts, incantations, and love-potions, and had recourse to familiar

spirits, dream-sending demons, and other abominations, declaring that

they possess power to rule over the princes and framers of this world.

But they led a licentious life, and abused the name of Christ as a

means of hiding their wickedness. They were the first known sect that

used pictures of Christ, and they derived them from a pretended

original of Pontius Pilate. [908] 08

Epiphanes, a son of Carpocrates, who died at the age of seventeen, was

the founder of "monadic "Gnosticism, which in opposition to dualism

seems to have denied the independent existence of evil, and resolved it

into a fiction of human laws. He wrote a book on "Justice," and defined

it to be equality. He taught that God gave his benefits to all men

alike and in common, and thence derived the community of goods, and

even of women. He was worshipped by his adherents after his death as a

god, at Same in Cephalonia, by sacrifices, libations, banquets, and

singing of hymns. Here we have the worship of genius in league with the

emancipation of the flesh, which has been revived in modern times. But

it is not impossible that Clement of Alexandria, who relates this fact,

may have made a similar mistake as Justin Martyr in the case of Simon

Magus, and confounded a local heathen festival of the moon known as ta

Epiphaneia or ho Epiphanes with a festival in honor of Epiphanes. [909]

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[908] Hippol. Philos. VII. 32: eikonas kataskeuazousi tou Christou

legontes hupo Pilatou to kairo ekeino genesthai.

[909] This was the conjecture of Mosheim, which has been worked out and

modified by Volkmar in a monthly periodical of the Wissenschaftl.

Verein at Z�rich. He maintains that the deity worshipped at Same was

the new appearing moon, ho Epiphanes.

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� 131. Tatian and the Encratites.

I. Tatian: Logos pros Hellenas (Oratio adversus Graecos), ed. S. Worth,

Oxon. 1700 (an excellent ed.); in Otto's Corpus. Apol., vol. VI., Jenae

1851; and in Migne's Patrologia Graeca, Tom. VI. fol. 803-888. Eng.

transl. by Pratten & Dods in the "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. III.

(Edinb. 1867). A Commentary of St. Ephraem on Tatian's Diatessaron (To

dia tessaron), was found in an Armenian translation in the Armenian

Convent at Venice, translated into Latin in 1841 by Aucher, and edited

by M�singer (Prof. of Biblical Learning in Salzburg) under the title

"Evangelii Concordantis Expositio facta a Sancto Ephraemo Doctore

Syro." Venet. 1876. The Diatessaron itself was found in an Arabic

translation in 1886, and published by P. Aug. Ciasca: Tatiani

Evangeliorum Harmoniae, Arabice, Rom. 1888. A new and more critical

edition of the Oratio ad Gr., by Ed. Schwartz, Lips., 1888 (105 pp).

Orthodox Notices of Tatian: Iren. I. 28, 1; III. 23, 8 sqq. (in

Stieren, I. 259, 551 sq.). Hippol.: VIII. 16 (very brief). Clem. Alex.:

Strom. l. III. Euseb.: H. E. IV. 16, 28, 29; VI. 13. Epiphanius, Haer.

46 (Tatian) and 47 (Encratites). The recently discovered work of

Macarius Magnes (Paris 1876), written about 400, contains some

information about the Encratites which agrees with Epiphanius.

II. H. A. Daniel: Tatiander Apologet. Halle 1837.

James Donaldson: A Critical History of Christian Liter., etc. Lond.

vol. IIIrd. (1866), which is devoted to Tatian, etc., p. 3-62.

Theod. Zahn: Tatian's Diatessaron. Erlangen, 1881. (The first part of

Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutestamntl. Kanons).

Ad. Harnack: Tatian's Diatessaron, in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r

Kirchengesch." 1881, p. 471-505; Die Oratio des Tatiannebst einer

Einleitung �ber die Zeit dieses Apologeten, in "Texte und

Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur," vol. I. No. 2, p.

196-231. Leipz., 1883, and his art., "Tatian," in "Encycl. Brit."

xxiii. (1888).

Fr. Xav. Funk (R.C.): Zur Chronologie Tatian's, in the T�bing. "Theol.

Quartalschrift," 1883, p. 219-234.

Tatian, a rhetorician of Syria, was converted to Catholic Christianity

by Justin Martyr in Rome, but afterwards strayed into Gnosticism and

died a.d. 172. [910] 10 He resembles Marcion in his anti-Jewish turn

and dismal austerity. Falsely interpreting 1 Cor. 7:5, he declared

marriage to be a kind of licentiousness and a service of the devil.

Irenaeus says, that Tatian, after the martyrdom of Justin, apostatised

from the church, and elated with the conceit of a teacher, and vainly

puffed up as if he surpassed all others, invented certain invisible

aeons similar to those of Valentine, and asserted with Marcion and

Saturninus that marriage was only corruption and fornication. But his

extant apologetic treatise against the Gentiles, and his Gospel-Harmony

(recently recovered), which were written between 153 and 170, show no

clear traces of Gnosticism, unless it be the omission of the

genealogies of Jesus in the "Diatessaron." He was not so much

anti-catholic as hyper-catholic, and hyper-ascetic. We shall return to

him again in the last chapter.

His followers, who kept the system alive till the fifth century, were

called, from their ascetic life, Encratites, or Abstainers, and from

their use of water for wine in the Lord's Supper, Hydroparastatae or

Aquarians. [911] 11 They abstained from flesh, wine, and marriage, not

temporarily (as the ancient catholic ascetics) for purposes of

devotion, nor (as many modern total abstainers from intoxicating drink)

for the sake of expediency or setting a good example, but permanently

and from principle on account of the supposed intrinsic impurity of the

things renounced. The title "Encratites," however, was applied

indiscriminately to all ascetic sects of the Gnostics, especially the

followers of Saturninus, Marcion, and Severus (Severians, of uncertain

origin). The Manichaeans also sheltered themselves under this name.

Clement of Alexandria refers to the Indian ascetics as the forerunners

of the Encratites.

The practice of using mere water for wine in the eucharist was

condemned by Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, and Chrysostom, and

forbidden by Theodosius in an edict of 382. A certain class of modern

abstinence men in America, in their abhorrence of all intoxicating

drinks, have resorted to the same heretical practice, and substituted

water or milk for the express ordinance of our Lord.

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[910] The chronology, is not certain. Zahn and Harnack put his birth at

a.d. 110, his conversion at 150, his death at 172. Funk puts the birth

and conversion about 10 years later.

[911] Enkratitai, also Enkrateis, Enkratetai, Continentes, the

abstemious; or, Psdroparastatai, Aquarii.

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� 132. Justin the Gnostic.

Hippolytus: Philos. V. 23-27 (p. 214-233), and X. 15 (p. 516-519).

Hippolytus makes us acquainted with a Gnostic by the name of Justin, of

uncertain date and origin. [912] 12 He propagated his doctrine

secretly, and bound his disciples to silence by solemn oaths. He wrote

a number of books, one called Baruch, from which Hippolytus gives an

abstract. His gnosis is mostly based upon a mystical interpretation of

Genesis, and has a somewhat Judaizing cast. Hippolytus, indeed, classes

him with the Naassenes, but Justin took an opposite view of the serpent

as the cause of all evil in history. He made use also of the Greek

mythology, especially the tradition of the twelve labors of Hercules.

He assumes three original principles, two male and one female. The

first is the Good Being; the second Elohim, the Father of the creation;

the third is called Eden and Israel, and has a double form, a woman

above the middle and a snake below. Elohim falls in love with Eden, and

from their intercourse springs the spirit-world of twenty angels, ten

paternal and ten maternal, and these people the world. The chief of the

two series of angels are Baruch, who is the author of all good, and is

represented by the tree of life in Paradise, and Naas, the serpent, who

is the author of all evil, and is represented by the tree of knowledge.

The four rivers are symbols of the four divisions of angels. The Naas

committed adultery with Eve, and a worse crime with Adam; he

adulterated the laws of Moses and the oracles of the prophets; he

nailed Jesus to the cross. But by this crucifixion Jesus was

emancipated from his material body, rose to the good God to whom he

committed his spirit in death, and thus he came to be the deliverer.

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[912] Lipsius regards him as one of the earliest, Salmon (in "Smith &

Wace," III. 587), with greater probability, as one of the latest

Gnostics. The silence of Irenaeus favors the later date.

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� 133. Hermogenes.

Tertullian: Adv. Hermogenem. Written about a.d. 206. One of his two

tracts against H. is lost. Hippolytus: Philos. VIII. 17 (p. 432). Comp.

Neander: Antignosticus, p. 448; Kaye: Tertullian, p. 532; Hauck:

Tertullian, p. 240; Salmond: in "Smith & Wace," III. 1-3.

Hermogenes was a painter in Carthage at the end of the second and

beginning of the third century. Tertullian describes him as a

turbulent, loquacious, and impudent man, who "married more women than

he painted." [913] 13 He is but remotely connected with Gnosticism by

his Platonic dualism and denial of the creation out of nothing. He

derived the world, including the soul of man, from the formless,

eternal matter, [914] 14 and explained the ugly in the natural world,

as well as the evil in the spiritual, by the resistance of matter to

the formative influence of God. In this way only he thought he could

account for the origin of evil. For if God had made the world out of

nothing, it must be all good. He taught that Christ on his ascension

left his body in the sun, and then ascended to the Father. [915] 15

But otherwise he was orthodox and did not wish to separate from the

church.

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[913] This was enough to condemn him in the eyes of a Montanist.

[914] Hippol. l.c.: ephe ton theon ex hules sunchronou kai agennetou

panta pepoiekenai.

[915] This foolish notion be proved from Ps. 19: "He hath placed his

tabernacle in the sun."

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� 134. Other Gnostic Sects.

The ancient fathers, especially Hippolytus and Epiphanius, mention

several other Gnostic sects under various designations.

1. The Docetae or Docetists taught that the body of Christ was not real

flesh and blood, but merely a deceptive, transient phantom, and

consequently that he did not really suffer and die and rise again.

Hippolytus gives an account of the system of this sect. But the name

applied as well to most Gnostics, especially to Basilides, Saturninus,

Valentinus, Marcion, and the Manichaeans. Docetism was a characteristic

feature of the first antichristian errorists whom St. John had in view

(1 John 4:2; 2 John 7). [916] 16

2. The name Antitactae or Antitactes, denotes the licentious antinomian

Gnostics, rather than the followers of any single master, to whom the

term can be traced. [917] 17

3. The Prodicians, so named from their supposed founder, Prodicus,

considered themselves the royal family, [918] 18and, in crazy

self-conceit, thought themselves above the law, the sabbath, and every

form of worship, even above prayer itself, which was becoming only to

the ignorant mass. They resembled the Nicolaitans and Antitactae, and

were also called Adamites, Barbelitae, Borboriani, Coddiani,

Phibionitae, and by other unintelligible names. [919] 19

Almost every form of immorality and lawlessness seems to have been

practiced under the sanction of religion by the baser schools of

Gnosticism, and the worst errors and organized vices of modern times

were anticipated by them. Hence we need not be surprised at the

uncompromising opposition of the ancient fathers to this radical

corruption and perversion of Christianity.

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[916] For a fuller account see two good articles of Dr. Salmon on

Docetae and Docetism, in "Smith & Wace," I. 865-870.

[917] See Clement of Alex., Strom. III. 526. From antitassesthai, to

defy, rebel against, the law.

[918] Eugeneis.

[919] See Clem. Alex., Strom. I. f. 304; III. f. 438; VII. f. 722; and

Epiphan., Haer. 26 (Oehler's ed. I. 169 sqq.).

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� 135. Mani and the Manichaeans.

Sources.

I. Oriental Sources: The most important, though of comparatively late

date. (a) Mohammedan (Arabic): Kit�b al Fihrist. A history of Arabic

literature to 987, by an Arab of Bagdad, usually called Ibn Abi Jakub

An-Nad�m; brought to light by Fl�gel, and published after his death by

R�diger and M�ller, in 2 vols. Leipz. 1871-'72. Book IX. section first,

treats of Manichaeism. Fl�gel's transl. see below. Kessler calls

Fihrist a "Fundst�tte allerersten Ranges." Next to it comes the

relation of the Mohamedan philosopher Al-Shahrastan� (d. 1153), in his

History of Religious Parties and Philosophical Sects, ed. Cureton,

Lond. 1842, 2 vols. (I. 188-192); German translation by Haarbr�cker.

Halle, 1851. On other Mohammedan sources see Kessler in Herzog2, IX.

225 sq. (b) Persian sources, relating to the life of Mani; the

Sh�hn�meh (the Kings' Book) of Firdaus�, ed. by Jul. Mohl. Paris, 1866

(V. 472-475). See Kessler, ibid. 225. c) Christian Sources: In Arabic,

the Alexandrian Patriarch Eutychius (d. 916), Annales, ed. Pococke.

Oxon. 1628; Barhebraeus (d. 1286), in his Historia Dynastiarum, ed.

Pococke. In Syriac: Ephraem Syrus (d. 393), in various writings Esnig

or Esnik, an Armenian bishop of the 5th century, who wrote against

Marcion and Mani (German translation from the Armenian by C. Fr.

Neumann in Illgen's "Zeitschrift f�r die Hist. Theol." 1834, p. 77-78).

II. Greek Sources: Eusebius (H. E. VII. 31, a brief account).

Epiphanius (Haer. 66). Cyril Of Jerusal. (Catech. VI. 20 sqq.). Titus

of Bostra (pros Manichaious, ed. P. de Lafarde, 1859). Photius: Adv.

ManichOEos (Cod. 179 Biblioth.). John Of Damascus: De Haeres. and Dial.

III. Latin Sources: Archelaus (Bishop of Cascar in Mesopotamia, d.

about 278): Acta Disputationis cum Manete haeresiarcha; first written

in Syriac, and so far belonging to the Oriental Christian sources

(Comp. Jerome, De vir. ill. 72), but extant only in a Latin

translation, which seems to have been made from the Greek, edited by

Zacagni (Rom. 1698) and Routh (in Reliquiae Sacrae., vol. V. 3-206),

Engl. transl. in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library" (vol. XX. 272-419).

These Acts purport to contain the report of a disputation between

Archelaus and Mani before a large assembly, which was in fall sympathy

with the orthodox bishop, but (as Beausobre first proved) they are in

form a fiction from the first quarter of the fourth century (about 320)

by a Syrian ecclesiastic (probably of Edessa), yet based upon

Manichaean documents, and containing much information about Manichaean

doctrines. They consist of various pieces, and were the chief source of

information to the West. Mani is represented (ch. 12) as appearing in a

many-colored cloak and trousers, with a sturdy staff of ebony, a

Babylonian book under his left arm, and with a mien of an old Persian

master. In his defense he quotes freely from the N. T. At the end he

makes his escape to Persia (ch. 55). Comp. H. V. Zittwitz: Die Acta

Archelai et Manetis untersucht, in Kahnis' "Zeitschrift f�r Hist.

Theol." 1873, No. IV. Oblasinski: Acta Disput. Arch., etc. Lips. 1874

(inaugural dissert.). Ad. Harnack: Die Acta Archelai und das

Diatessaron Tatians, in "Texte und Untersuch. zur Gesch. der

altchristl. Lit." vol. I. Heft. 3 (1883), p. 137-153. Harnack tries to

prove that the Gospel quotations of Archelaus are taken from Tatian's

Diatessaron. Comp. also his Dogmengeschichte, I. (1886), 681-694.

St. Augustin (d. 430, the chief Latin authority next to the translation

of Archelaus): Contra Epistolam Manichaei; Contra Faustum Manich., and

other anti-Manichaean writings, in the 8th vol. of the Benedictine

edition of his Opera. English translation in Schaff's "Nicene and

Post-Nicene Library," Vol. IV., N. York, 1887.

Comp. also the Acts of Councils against the Manich. from the fourth

century onward, in Mansi and Hefele.

Modern Works:

\*Isaac De Beausobre ( b. 1659 in France, pastor of the French church in

Berlin, d. 1738): Histoire crit. de Manich�e et du Manich�isme. Amst.

1734 and 39. 2 vols. 4�. Part of the first vol. is historical, the

second doctrinal. Very full and scholarly. He intended to write a third

volume on the later Manichaeans.

\*F. Chr. Baur: Das Manichaeische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu

untersucht und entwickelt. T�b. 1831 (500 pages). A comprehensive

Philosophical and critical view. He calls the Manich. system a "gl�hend

pr�chtiges Natur- und Weltgedicht."

Trechsel: Ueber Kanon, Kritik, und Exegese der Manich�er. Bern, 1832.

D. Chwolson: Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus. Petersb. 1856, 2 vols.

\*Gust. Fl�gel (d. 1870): Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Aus dem

Fihrist des Ab� Jakub an-Nad�m (987). Leipz. 1862. Text, translation,

and Commentary, 440 pages.

Fr. Spiegel: Eranische Alterthumskunde, vol.II. 1873, p. 185-232.

Alex. Geyler: Das System des Manich�isimus und sein Verh. zum

Buddhismus. Jena, 1875.

\*K. Kessler: Untersuchungen zur Genesis des manich. Rel. systems.

Leipz. 1876. By the same: M�n� oder Beitr�ge zur Kenntniss der

Religionsmischung im Semitismus. Leipz. 1882. See also his thorough

art. M�ni und die Manich�er, in "Herzog," new ed., vol. IX. 223-259

(abridged in Schaff's "Encycl." II. 1396-1398).

G. T. Stokes: Manes, and Manichaeans in "Smith and Wace," III. 792-801.

Ad. Harnack: Manichaeism, in the 9th ed. of the "Encycl. Britannica,

vol. XV. (1883), 481-487.

The accounts of Mosheim, Lardner, Schr�ckh, Walch, Neander, Gieseler.

We come now to the latest, the best organized, the most consistent,

tenacious and dangerous form of Gnosticism, with which Christianity had

to wage a long conflict. Manichaeism was not only a school, like the

older forms of Gnosticism, but a rival religion and a rival church. In

this respect it resembled Islam which at a later period became a still

more formidable rival of Christianity; both claimed to be divine

revelations, both engrafted pseudo-Christian elements on a heathen

stock, but the starting point was radically different: Manichaeism

being anti-Jewish and dualistic, Mohammedanism, pseudo-Jewish and

severely and fanatically monotheistic.

First the external history.

The origin of Manichaeism is matter of obscure and confused tradition.

It is traced to Mani (Manes, Manichaeus), [920] 20 a Persian

philosopher, astronomer, and painter, [921] 21 of the third century

(215-277), who came over to Christianity, or rather introduced some

Christian elements into the Zoroastrian religion, and thus stirred up

an intellectual and moral revolution among his countrymen. According to

Arabic Mohammedan sources, he was the son of Fatak (Patekios), a

high-born Persian of Hamadan (Ecbatana), who emigrated to Ctesiphon in

Babylonia. Here he received a careful education. He belonged originally

to the Judaizing Gnostic sect of the Mandaeans or Elkesaites (the

Mogtasilah, i.e. Baptists); but in his nineteenth and again in his

twenty-fourth year (238) a new religion was divinely revealed to him.

In his thirtieth year he began to preach his syncretistic creed,

undertook long journeys and sent out disciples. He proclaimed himself

to be the last and highest prophet of God and the Paraclete promised by

Christ (as Mohammed did six hundred years later). He began his

"Epistola Fundamenti," in which he propounded his leading doctrines,

with the words: "Mani, the apostle of Jesus Christ, by the providence

of God the Father. These are the words of salvation from the eternal

and living source." He composed many books in the Persian and Syriac

languages and in an alphabet of his own invention but they are all

lost. [922] 22

At first Mani found favor at the court of the Persian king Shapur I.

(Sapor), but stirred up the hatred of the priestly cast of the Magians.

He fled to East India and China and became acquainted with Buddhism.

Indeed, the name of Buddha is interwoven with the legendary history of

the Manichaean system. His disputations with Archelaus in Mesopotamia

are a fiction, like the pseudo-Clementine disputations of Simon Magus

with Peter, but on a better historic foundation and with an orthodox

aim of the writer [923]

In the year 270 Mani returned to Persia, and won many followers by his

symbolic (pictorial) illustrations of the doctrines, which he pretended

had been revealed to him by God. But in a disputation with the Magians,

he was convicted of corrupting the old religion, and thereupon was

crucified, or flayed alive by order of king Behram I. (Veranes) about

277; his skin was stuffed and hung up for a terror at the gate of the

city Djondishapur (or Gundeshapur), since called "the gate of Mani."

[924] 24 His followers were cruelly persecuted by the king.

Soon after Mani's horrible death his sect spread in Turkistan,

Mesopotamia, North Africa, Sicily, Italy and Spain. As it moved

westward it assumed a more Christian character, especially in North

Africa. It was everywhere persecuted in the Roman empire, first by

Diocletian (A. D. 287), and afterwards by the Christian emperors.

Nevertheless it flourished till the sixth century and even later.

Persecution of heresy always helps heresy unless the heretics are

exterminated.

The mysteriousness of its doctrine, its compact organization, the

apparent solution of the terrible problem of evil, and the show of

ascetic holiness sometimes were the chief points of attraction. Even

such a profound and noble spirit as St. Augustin was nine years an

auditor of the sect before he was converted to the Catholic church. He

sought there a deeper philosophy of religion and became acquainted with

the gifted and eloquent Faustus of Numidia, but was disappointed and

found him a superficial charlatan. Another Manichaean, by the name of

Felix, he succeeded in converting to the Catholic faith in a public

disputation of two days at Hippo. His connection with Manichaeism

enabled him in his polemic writings to refute it and to develop the

doctrines of the relation of knowledge and faith, of reason and

revelation, the freedom of will, the origin of evil and its relation to

the divine government. Thus here, too, error was overruled for the

promotion of truth.

Pope Leo I. searched for these heretics in Rome, and with the aid of

the magistrate brought many to punishment. Valentinian III. punished

them by banishment, Justinian by death. The violent and persistent

persecutions at last destroyed their organization. But their system

extended its influence throughout the middle ages down to the

thirteenth century, reappearing, under different modifications, with a

larger infusion of Christian elements, in the Priscillianists,

Paulieians, Bogomiles, Albigenses, Catharists and other sects, which

were therefore called "New Manichaeans." Indeed some of the leading

features of Manichaeism--the dualistic separation of soul and body, the

ascription of nature to the devil, the pantheistic confusion of the

moral and physical, the hypocritical symbolism, concealing heathen

views under Christian phrases, the haughty air of mystery, and the

aristocratic distinction of esoteric and exoteric--still live in

various forms even in modern systems of philosophy and sects of

religion. [925] 25

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[920] Manes, Mantos Manichaios,Manes (Gen. Manetis), Manichaeans (the

last form always used by St. Augustin). The name is either of Persian

or Semitic origin, but has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Kessler identifies it with M�n�, Manda, i.e. knowledge, gnois,of the

Mandaeans. According to the Acta Archelai he was originally called

Cubricus, which Kessler regards as a corruption of the Arabic Shuraik.

[921] At least, according to Persian accounts; but the Arabs, who hate

painting, and the church fathers are silent about his skill as a

painter.

[922] Among these are mentioned the Book of Mysteries, the Book of

Giants, the Book of Precepts for Hearers (Capitula orEpistola

Fundamenti, from which Augustin gives large extracts), Sh�hp�rak�n

(i.e. belonging to King Sh�hp�r), the Book of Life, the Gospel or the

Living Gospel. See Kessler, l. c, p. 249 sqq.

[923] Beausobre (vol. I. Pref. p. viii): "Les Actes de cette Dispute

sont �videmment une fiction pareille � celle de cet imposteur, qui a

pris le nom de Cl�ment Romain, et qui a introduit S. Pierre disputant

contre Simon le Magicien."

[924] The cruel death of Mani and the maltreatment of his corpse are

well attested but his being skinned alive is perhaps a later Christian

tradition. The Disput. Archelai (c. 55) towards the close gives this

account: "He was apprehended and brought before the king, who, being

inflamed with the strongest indignation against him, and fired will the

desire of avenging two deaths upon him--namely, the death of his own

son, and the death of the keeper of the prison--gave orders that he

should be flayed alive and hung before the gate of the city and that

his skin should be dipped in certain medicaments and inflated: his

flesh, too, he commanded to be given as a prey to the birds." See the

different accounts in Beausobre, I. 205 sq.

[925] The Mormons or Latter-Day Saints of Utah present an interesting

parallel, especially in their hierarchical organization; while in their

polygamy they as strongly contrast with the ascetic Manichaeans, and

resemble the Mohammedans.

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� 136. The Manichaean System.

Manichaeism is a compound of dualistic, pantheistic, Gnostic, and

ascetic elements, combined with a fantastic philosophy of nature, which

gives the whole system a materialistic character, notwithstanding its

ascetic abhorrence of matter. The metaphysical foundation is a radical

dualism between good and evil, light and darkness, derived from the

Persian Zoroastrism (as restored by the school of the Magasaeans under

the reign of the second Sassanides towards the middle of the second

century). The prominent ethical feature is a rigid asceticism which

strongly resembles Buddhism. [926] 26 The Christian element is only a

superficial varnish (as in Mohammedanism). The Jewish religion is

excluded altogether (while in Mohammedanism it forms a very important

feature), and the Old Testament is rejected, as inspired by the devil

and his false prophets. The chief authorities were apocryphal Gospels

and the writings of Mani.

1. The Manichaean theology begins with an irreconcilable antagonism

between the kingdom of light and the kingdom of darkness. And this is

identified with the ethical dualism between good and bad. These two

kingdoms stood opposed to each other from eternity, remaining

unmingled. Then Satan who with his demons was born from darkness, began

to rage and made an assault upon the kingdom of light. From this

incursion resulted the present world, which exhibits a mixture of the

two elements detached portions of light imprisoned in darkness. Adam

was created in the image of Satan, but with a strong spark of light,

and was provided by Satan with Eve as his companion, who represents

seductive sensuousness, but also with a spark of light, though smaller

than that in Adam. Cain and Abel are sons of Satan and Eve, but Seth is

the offspring of Adam by Eve, and full of light. Thus mankind came into

existence with different shares of light, the men with more, the women

with less. Every individual man is at once a son of light and of

darkness, has a good soul, and a body substantially evil, with an evil

soul corresponding to it. The redemption of the light from the bonds of

the darkness is effected by Christ, who is identical with the sun

spirit, and by the Holy Ghost, who has his seat in the ether. These two

beings attract the lightforces out of the material world, while the

prince of darkness, and the spirits imprisoned in the stars, seek to

keep them back. The sun and moon are the two shining ships (lucidae

naves) for conducting the imprisoned light into the eternal kingdom of

light. The full moon represents the ship laden with light; the new

moon, the vessel emptied of its cargo; and the twelve signs of the

zodiac also serve as buckets in this pumping operation.

The Manichaean christology, like the Gnostic, is entirely docetic, and,

by its perverted view of body and matter, wholly excludes the idea of

an incarnation of God. The teachings of Christ were compiled and

falsified by the apostles in the Spirit of Judaism. Mani, the promised

Paraclete, has restored them. The goal of history is an entire

separation of the light from the darkness; a tremendous conflagration

consumes the world, and the kingdom of darkness sinks into impotence.

Thus Christianity is here resolved into a fantastic dualistic, and yet

pantheistic philosophy of nature; moral regeneration is identified with

a process of physical refinement; and the whole mystery of redemption

is found in light, which was always worshipped in the East as the

symbol of deity. Unquestionably there pervades the Manichaean system a

kind of groaning of the creature for redemption, and a deep sympathy

with nature, that hieroglyphic of spirit; but all is distorted and

confused. The suffering Jesus on the cross (Jesus patibilis) is here a

mere illusion, a symbol of the world-soul still enchained in matter,

and is seen in every plant which works upwards from the dark bosom of

the earth towards the light, towards bloom and fruit, yearning after

freedom. Hence the class of the "perfect" would not kill nor wound a

beast, pluck a flower, nor break a blade of grass. The system, instead

of being, as it pretends, a liberation of light from darkness, is

really a turning of light into darkness.

2. The morality of the Manichaeans was severely ascetic, based on the

fundamental error of the intrinsic evil of matter and the body; the

extreme opposite of the Pelagian view of the essential moral purity of

human nature. [927] 27 The great moral aim is, to become entirely

unworldly in the Buddhistic sense; to renounce and destroy corporeity;

to set the good soul free from the fetters of matter. This is

accomplished by the most rigid and gloomy abstinence from all those

elements which have their source in the sphere of darkness. It was,

however, only required of the elect, not of catechumens. A distinction

was made between a higher and lower morality similar to that in the

catholic church. The perfection of the elect consisted in a threefold

seal or preservative (signaculum). [928] 28

(a) The signaculum oris, that is, purity in words and in diet,

abstinence from all animal food and strong drink, even in the holy

supper, and restriction to vegetable diet, which was furnished to the

perfect by the "bearers," particularly olives, as their oil is the food

of light.

(b) The signaculum manuum: renunciation of earthly property, and of

material and industrial pursuits, even agriculture; with a sacred

reverence for the divine light-life diffused through all nature.

(c) The signaculum sinus, or celibacy, and abstinence from any

gratification of sensual desire. Marriage, or rather procreation, is a

contamination with corporeity, which is essentially evil.

This unnatural holiness of the elect at the same time atoned for the

unavoidable daily sins of the catechumens who paid them the greatest

reverence. It was accompanied, however, as in the Gnostics, with an

excessive pride of knowledge, and if we are to believe the catholic

opponents, its fair show not rarely concealed refined forms of vice.

3. Organization. Manichaeism differed from all the Gnostic schools in

having a fixed, and that a strictly hierarchical, organization. This

accounts in large measure for its tenacity and endurance. At the head

of the sect stood twelve apostles, or magistri, among whom Mani and his

successors, like Peter and the pope, held the chief place. Under them

were seventy-two bishops, answering to the seventy-two (strictly

seventy) disciples of Jesus; and under these came presbyters, deacons

and itinerant evangelists. [929] 29 In the congregation there were two

distinct classes, designed to correspond to the catechumens and the

faithful in the catholic church: the "hearers;" [930] 30 and the

"perfect," the esoteric, the priestly caste, [931] 31 which represents

the last stage in the process of liberation of the spirit and its

separation from the world, the transition from the kingdom of matter

into the kingdom of light, or in Buddhistic terms, from the world of

Sansara into Nirwana.

4. The worship of the Manichaeans was, on the whole, very simple. They

had no sacrifices, but four daily prayers, preceded by ablations, and

accompanied by prostrations, the worshipper turned towards the sun or

moon as the seat of light. They observed Sunday, in honor of the sun,

which was with them the same with the redeemer; but, contrary to the

custom of the catholic Christians, they made it a day of fasting. They

had weekly, monthly, and yearly fasts. They rejected the church

festivals, but instead celebrated in March with great pomp the day of

the martyrdom of their divinely appointed teacher, Mani. [932] 32 The

sacraments were mysteries of the elect, of which even Augustin could

learn very little. Hence it has been disputed whether they used baptism

or not, and whether they baptized by water, or oil. Probably they

practised water baptism and anointing, and regarded the latter as a

higher spiritual baptism, or distinguished both as baptism and

confirmation in the catholic church. [933] 33 They also celebrated a

kind of holy supper, sometimes even under disguise in catholic

churches, but without wine (because Christ had no blood), and regarding

it perhaps, according to their pantheistic symbolism, as the

commemoration of the light-soul crucified in all nature. Their sign of

recognition was the extension of the right hand as symbol of common

deliverance from the kingdom of darkness by the redeeming hand of the

spirit of the sun.

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[926] Kessler (followed by Harnack) derives Manichaeism exclusively

from Chaldaean sources, but must admit the strong affinity with

Zoroastric and Buddhist ideas and customs. The Fihrist says that Mani

derived his doctrine from Parsism and Christianity. On the Buddhistic

element, see Baur, p. 433-44,).

[927] Schleiermacher correctly represents Manichaeism and Pelagianism

as the two fundamental heresies in anthropology and soteriology the one

makes man essentially evil (in body), and thus denies the possibility

of redemption; the other makes man essentially good, and thus denies

the necessity of redemption.

[928] The meaning of signaculum is not criterion (as Baur explains, l.

c. p. 248), but seal (as is clear from the corresponding Arabic hat�m

in the Fihrist). See Kessler.

[929] The organization of the Mormons is similar.

[930] Auditores, catechumeni, in Arabic samma�n.

[931] Electi, perfecti, catharistae, eklechtoi, teleioi, in the Fihrist

sidd�k�n. Faustus terms them the sacerdotale genus.

[932] The feast of "the chair,"bema, cathedra. The Mormons likewise

celebrate the martyrdom of their founder, Joseph Smith who was killed

by the mob at Carthage, Illinois (June 27, 1844).

[933] Gieseler and Neander are disposed to deny the use of

water-baptism by the Manichaeans, Beausobre, Thilo, Baur, and Kessler

assert it. The passages in Augustin are obscure and conflicting. See

Baur, l.c. p. 273-281. The older Gnostic sects (the Marcionites and the

Valentinians), and the New Manichaeans practised a baptismal rite by

water. Some new light is thrown on this disputed question by the

complete Greek text of the Gnostic Acts of Thomas, recently published

by Max Bonnet of Montpellier (Acta Thomae, Lips. 1883). Here both

baptism and anointing are repeatedly mentioned, p. 19 (in a

thanksgiving to Christ: katharisas autous to so loutro kai aleipsas

autous to so eleio apo tes periechouses autous planes), 20, 35, 68,

(where, however, the pouring of oil is mentioned before water-baptism),

73, 32 (aleipsas ... kai ebaptisen autous ... anelthonton de auton ek

ton hudaton labon arton kai poterion eulogesen eipon...). Comp. The

discussion of Lipsius in Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und

Apostellegenden (Braunschweig, 1883), p. 331, where he asserts: "Die

Wassertaufe stand bei den Manichaeern ebenso wie bei den meisten

�lteren gnostichen Secten un Uebung."

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CHAPTER XII:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATHOLIC THEOLOGY IN CONFLICT WITH HERESY.

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� 137. Catholic Orthodoxy.

I. Sources: The doctrinal and polemical writings of the ante-Nicene

fathers, especially Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Tertullian,

Cyprian, Clement Of Alex., and Origen.

II. Literature: The relevant sections in the works on Doctrine History

by Petravius, M�nscher, Neander, Giesler, Baur, Hagenbach, Shedd,

Nitzsch, Harnack (first vol. 1886; 2d ed. 1888).

Jos. Schwane (R.C.): Dogmengeschichte der vornic�nischen Zeit. M�nster,

1862.

Edm. De Pressens�: Heresy and Christian Doctrine, transl. by Annie

Harwood. Lond. 1873.

The special literature see below. Comp. also the Lit. in Ch. XIII.

By the wide-spread errors described in the preceding chapter, the

church was challenged to a mighty intellectual combat, from which she

came forth victorious, according to the promise of her Lord, that the

Holy Spirit should guide her into the whole truth. To the subjective,

baseless, and ever-changing speculations, dreams, and fictions of the

heretics, she opposed the substantial, solid realities of the divine

revelation. Christian theology grew, indeed, as by inward necessity,

from the demand of faith for knowledge. But heresy, Gnosticism in

particular, gave it a powerful impulse from without, and came as a

fertilizing thunder-storm upon the field. The church possessed the

truth from the beginning, in the experience of faith, and in the Holy

Scriptures, which she handed down with scrupulous fidelity from

generation to generation. But now came the task of developing the

substance of the Christian truth in theoretical form [934] 34fortifying

it on all sides, and presenting it in clear light before the

understanding. Thus the Christian polemic and dogmatic theology, or the

church's logical apprehension of the doctrines of salvation, unfolded

itself in this conflict with heresy; as the apologetic literature and

martyrdom had arisen through Jewish and heathen persecution.

From this time forth the distinction between catholic and heretical,

orthodoxy and heterodoxy, the faith of the church and dissenting

private opinion, became steadily more prominent. Every doctrine which

agreed with the holy scriptures and the faith of the church, was

received as catholic; that is, universal, and exclusive. [935] 35

Whatever deviated materially from this standard, every arbitrary

notion, framed by this or that individual, every distortion or

corruption of the revealed doctrines of Christianity, every departure

from the public sentiment of the church, was considered heresy.. [936]

36

Almost all the church fathers came out against the contemporary

heresies, with arguments from scripture, with the tradition of the

church, and with rational demonstration, proving them inwardly

inconsistent and absurd.

But in doing this, while they are one in spirit and purpose, they

pursue two very different courses, determined by the differences

between the Greek and Roman nationality, and by peculiarities of mental

organization and the appointment of Providence. The Greek theology,

above all the Alexandrian, represented by Clement and Origen, is

predominantly idealistic and speculative, dealing with the objective

doctrines of God, the incarnation, the trinity, and christology;

endeavoring to supplant the false gnosis by a true knowledge, an

orthodox philosophy, resting on the Christian pistis. It was strongly

influenced by Platonic speculation in the Logos doctrine. The Latin

theology, particularly the North African, whose most distinguished

representatives are Tertullian and Cyprian, is more realistic and

practical, concerned with the doctrines of human nature and of

salvation, and more directly hostile to Gnosticism and philosophy. With

this is connected the fact, that the Greek fathers were first

philosophers; the Latin were mostly lawyers and statesmen; the former

reached the Christian faith in the way of speculation, the latter in

the spirit of practical morality. Characteristically, too, the Greek

church built mainly upon the apostle John, pre-eminently the

contemplative "divine;" the Latin upon Peter, the practical leader of

the church. While Clement of Alexandria and Origen often wander away

into cloudy, almost Gnostic speculation, and threaten to resolve the

real substance of the Christian ideas into thin spiritualism,

Tertullian sets himself implacably against Gnosticism and the heathen

philosophy upon which it rests. "What fellowship," he asks, "is there

between Athens and Jerusalem, the academy and the church, heretics and

Christians?" But this difference was only relative. With all their

spiritualism, the Alexandrians still committed themselves to a striking

literalism; while, in spite of his aversion to philosophy, Tertullian

labored with profound speculative ideas which came to their full birth

in Augustin.

Irenaeus, who sprang from the Eastern church, and used the Greek

language, but labored in the West, holds a kind of mediating position

between the two branches of the church, and may be taken as, on the

whole, the most moderate and sound representative of ecclesiastical

orthodoxy in the ante-Nicene period. He is as decided against

Gnosticism as Tertullian, without overlooking the speculative want

betrayed in that system. His refutation of the Gnosis, [937] 37written

between 177 and 192, is the leading polemic work of the second century.

In the first book of this work Irenaeus gives a full account of the

Valentinian system of Gnosis; in the second book be begins his

refutation in philosophical and logical style; in the third, he brings

against the system the catholic tradition and the holy, scriptures, and

vindicates the orthodox doctrine of the unity of God, the creation of

the world, the incarnation of the Logos, against the docetic denial of

the true humanity of Christ and the Ebionitic denial of his true

divinity; in the fourth book he further fortifies the same doctrines,

and, against the antinomianism of the school of Marcion, demonstrates

the unity of the Old and New Testaments; in the fifth and last book he

presents his views on eschatology, particularly on the resurrection of

the body--so offensive to the Gnostic spiritualism--and at the close

treats of Antichrist, the end of the world, the intermediate state, and

the millennium.

His disciple Hippolytus gives us, in the "Philosophumena," a still

fuller account, in many respects, of the early heresies, and traces

them up to, their sources in the heathen systems of philosophy, but

does not go so deep into the exposition of the catholic doctrines of

the church.

The leading effort in this polemic literature was, of course, to

develop and establish positively the Christian truth; which is, at the

same time, to refute most effectually the opposite error. The object

was, particularly, to settle the doctrines of the rule of faith, the

incarnation of God, and the true divinity and true humanity of Christ.

In this effort the mind of the church, under the constant guidance of

the divine word and the apostolic tradition, steered with unerring

instinct between the threatening cliffs. Yet no little indefiniteness

and obscurity still prevailed in the scientific apprehension and

statement of these points. In this stormy time, too, there were as yet

no general councils to, settle doctrinal controversy by the voice of

the whole church. The dogmas of the trinity and the person of Christ,

did not reach maturity and final symbolical definition until the

following period, or the Nicene age.

Notes on Heresy.

The term heresy is derived from hairesiswhich means originally either

capture (from haireo), or election, choice (from haireomai), and

assumed the additional idea of arbitrary opposition to public opinion

and authority. In the N. Test. it designates a chosen way of life, a

school or sect or party, not necessarily in a bad sense, and is applied

to the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and even the Christians as a Jewish

sect (Acts 5:17; 15:5; 24:5, 14; 26:5; 28:22); then it signifies

discord, arising from difference of opinion (Gal. 5:20; 1 Cor. 11:19);

and lastly error (2 Pet. 2:1, haireseis apoleiasdestructive heresies,

or sects of perdition). This passage comes nearest to the

ecclesiastical definition. The term heretic (hairetikos anthropos)

occurs only once, Tit 3:10, and means a factious man, a sectary, a

partisan, rather than an errorist.

Constantine the Great still speaks of the Christian church as a sect,

he hairesis he katholike, he hagiotate hairesis(in a letter to

Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, in Euseb, H. E. X. c. 5, � 21 and 22, in

Heinichen's ed. I, 491). But after him church and sect became

opposites, the former term being confined to the one ruling body, the

latter to dissenting minorities.

The fathers commonly use heresy of false teaching, in opposition to

Catholic doctrine, and schism of a breach of discipline, in opposition

to Catholic government. The ancient heresiologists--mostly uncritical,

credulous, and bigoted, though honest and pious, zealots for a narrow

orthodoxy--unreasonably multiplied the heresies by extending them

beyond the limits of Christianity, and counting all modifications and

variations separately. Philastrius or Philastrus, bishop. of Brescia or

Brixia (d. 387), in his Liber de Haeresibus, numbered 28 Jewish and 128

Christian heresies; Epiphanius of Cyprus (d. 403), in his Panarion. 80

heresies in all, 20 before and 60 after Christ; Augustin (d. 430), 88

Christian heresies, including Pelagianism; Proedestinatus, 90,

including Pelagianism and Nestorianism. (Pope Pius IX. condemned 80

modern heresies, in his Syllabus of Errors, 1864.) Augustin says that

it is "altogether impossible, or at any rate most difficult" to define

heresy, and wisely adds that the spirit in which error is held, rather

than error itself, constitutes heresy. There are innocent as well as

guilty errors. Moreover, a great many people are better than their

creed or no-creed, and a great many are worse than their creed, however

orthodox it may be. The severest words of our Lord were directed

against the hypocritical orthodoxy of the Pharisees. In the course of

time heresy was defined to be a religious error held in wilful and

persistent opposition to the truth after it has been defined and

declared by the church in an authoritative manner, or "pertinax

defensio dogmatis ecclesiae universalis judicio condemnati."

Speculations on open questions of theology are no heresies Origen was

no heretic in his age, but was condemned long after his death.

In the present divided state of Christendom there are different kinds

of orthodoxy and heresy. Orthodoxy is conformity to a recognized creed

or standard of public doctrine; heresy is a wilful departure from it.

The Greek church rejects the Roman dogmas of the papacy, of the double

procession of the Holy Ghost, the immaculate conception of the Virgin

Mary, and the infallibility of the Pope, as heretical, because contrary

to the teaching of the first seven oecumenical councils. The Roman

church anathematized, in the Council of Trent, all the distinctive

doctrines of the Protestant Reformation. Evangelical Protestants on the

other hand regard the unscriptural traditions of the Greek and Roman

churches as heretical. Among Protestant churches again there are minor

doctrinal differences, which are held with various degrees of

exclusiveness or liberality according to the degree of departure from

the Roman Catholic church. Luther, for instance, would not tolerate

Zwingli's view on the Lord's Supper, while Zwingli was willing to

fraternize with him notwithstanding this difference. The Lutheran

Formula of Concord, and the Calvinistic Synod of Dort rejected and

condemned doctrines which are now held with impunity in orthodox

evangelical churches. The danger of orthodoxy lies in the direction of

exclusive and uncharitable bigotry, which contracts the truth; the

danger of liberalism lies in the direction of laxity and

indifferentism, which obliterates the eternal distinction between truth

and error.

The apostles, guided by more than human wisdom, and endowed with more

than ecclesiastical authority, judged severely of every essential

departure from the revealed truth of salvation. Paul pronounced the

anathema on the Judaizing teachers, who made circumcision a term of

true church membership (Gal. 1:8), and calls them sarcastically "dogs"

of the "concision" (Phil. 3:2, blepete tous kunas ... tes katatomes).

He warned the elders of Ephesus against "grievous wolves" (lukoi

bareis) who would after his departure enter among them (Acts 20:29);

and he characterizes the speculations of the rising gnosis falsely so

called (pseudonumos gnosis) as "doctrines of demons" (didaskaliai

daimonion, 1 Tim. 4:1; Comp. 6:3-20; 2 Tim. 3:1 sqq.; 4:3 sqq.). John

warns with equal earnestness and severity against all false teachers

who deny the fact of the incarnation, and calls them antichrists (1

John 4:3; 2 John 7); and the second Epistle of Peter and the Epistle of

Jude describe the heretics in the darkest colors.

We need not wonder, then, that the ante-Nicene fathers held the gnostic

heretics of their days in the greatest abhorrence, and called them

servants of Satan, beasts in human shape, dealers in deadly poison,

robbers, and pirates. Polycarp (Ad Phil.c. 7), Ignatius (Ad Smyrn. c.

4), Justin M. (Apol. I. c. 26), Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. III. 3, 4),

Hippolytus, Tertullian, even Clement of Alexandria, and Origen occupy

essentially the same position of uncompromising hostility towards

heresy is the fathers of the Nicene and post-Nicene ages. They regard

it as the tares sown by the devil in the Lord's field (Matt. 13:3-6

sqq). Hence Tertullian infers, "That which was first delivered is of

the Lord and is true; whilst that is strange and false which was

afterwards introduced" (Praescr. c. 31: "Ex ipso ordine manifestatur,

id esse dominicum et verum quod sit prius traditum, id autem extraneum

et falsum quod sit posterius inmissum"). There is indeed a necessity

for heresies and sects (1 Cor. 11:19), but "woe to that man through

whom the offence cometh" (Matt. 18:7). "It was necessary," says

Tertullian (ib. 30), "that the Lord should be betrayed; but woe to the

traitor."

Another characteristic feature of patristic polemics is to trace

heresy, to mean motives, such as pride, disappointed ambition, sensual

lust, and avarice. No allowance is made for different mental

constitutions, educational influences, and other causes. There are,

however, a few noble exceptions. Origen and Augustin admit the honesty

and earnestness at least of some teachers of error.

We must notice two important points of difference between the

ante-Nicene and later heresies, and the mode of punishing heresy.

1. The chief ante-Nicene heresies were undoubtedly radical perversions

of Christian truth and admitted of no kind of compromise. Ebionism,

Gnosticism, and Manichaeism were essentially anti-Christian. The church

could not tolerate that medley of pagan sense and nonsense without

endangering its very existence. But Montanists, Novatians, Donatists,

Quartodecimanians, and other sects who differed on minor points of

doctrine or discipline, were judged more mildly, and their baptism was

acknowledged.

2. The punishment of heresy in the ante-Nicene church was purely

ecclesiastical, and consisted in reproof, deposition, and

excommunication. It had no effect on the civil status.

But as soon as church and state began to be united, temporal

punishments, such as confiscation of property, exile, and death, were

added by the civil magistrate with the approval of the church, in

imitation of the Mosaic code, but in violation of the spirit and

example of Christ and the apostles. Constantine opened the way in some

edicts against the Donatists, a.d. 316. Valentinian I. forbade the

public worship of Manichaeans (371). After the defeat of the Arians by

the second OEcumenical Council, Theodosius the Great enforced

uniformity of belief by legal penalties in fifteen edicts between 381

and 394. Honorius (408), Arcadius, the younger Theodosius, and

Justinian (529) followed in the same path. By these imperial enactments

heretics, i.e. open dissenters from the imperial state-religion, were

deprived of all public offices, of the right of public worship, of

receiving or bequeathing properly, of making binding contracts; they

were subjected to fines, banishment, corporeal punishment, and even

death. See the Theos. Code, Book XVI. tit. V. De Haereticis. The first

sentence of death by the sword for heresy was executed on Priscillian

and six of his followers who held Manichaean opinions (385). The better

feeling of Ambrose of Milan and Martin of Tours protested against this

act, but in vain. Even the great and good St. Augustin, although he had

himself been a heretic for nine years, defended the principle of

religious persecution, on a false exegesis of Cogite eos intrare, Luke

14:23 (Ep. 93 ad Vinc.; Ep. 185 ad Bonif., Retract. II. 5.). Had he

foreseen the crusade against the Albigenses and the horrors of the

Spanish Inquisition, he would have retracted his dangerous opinion. A

theocratic or Erastian state-church theory--whether Greek Catholic or

Roman Catholic or Protestant--makes all offences against the church

offences against the state, and requires their punishment with more or

less severity according to the prevailing degree of zeal for orthodoxy

and hatred of heresy. But in the overruling Providence of God which

brings good out of every evil, the bloody persecution of heretics--one

of the darkest chapters in church history--has produced the sweet fruit

of religious liberty. See vol. III. 138-146.

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[934] logikoteron, as Eusebius has it.

[935] The term catholic is first used in its ecclesiastical sense by

Ignatius, the zealous advocate of episcopacy. Ad Smyrn. c. 8: hopou an

e Christos Iesous , ekei he katholike ekklesiaubi est Christus Jesus,

illic Catholica Ecclesia. So also in the Letter of the Church of Smyrna

on the martyrdom of Polycarp (155), in Eusebius, H. E. IV. 15.

[936] From hairesis. See notes below.

[937] Elenchos kai anatrope tes pseudonumou gnoseos

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� 138. The Holy Scriptures and the Canon.

The works on the Canon by Reuss, Westcott, (6th ed., 1889), Zahn,

(1888). Holtzmann: Kanon u. Tradition, 1859. Schaff: Companion to the

Greek Testament and the English Version. N. York and London, 1883;

third ed. 1888. Gregory: Prolegomena to Tischendorf's 8th ed. of the

Greek Test. Lips., 1884. A. Harnack: Das N. Test. um das jahr 200.

Leipz., 1889.

The question of the source and rule of Christian knowledge lies at the

foundation of all theology. We therefore notice it here before passing

to the several doctrines of faith.

1. This source and this rule of knowledge are the holy scriptures of

the Old and New Covenants. [938] 38 Here at once arises the inquiry as

to the number and arrangement of the sacred writings, or the canon, in

distinction both from the productions of enlightened but not inspired

church teachers, and from the very numerous and in some cases still

extant apocryphal works (Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypses),

which were composed in the first four centuries, in the interest of

heresies or for the satisfaction of idle curiosity, and sent forth

under the name of an apostle or other eminent person. These apocrypha,

however, did not all originate with Ebionites and Gnostics; some were

merely designed either to fill chasms in the history of Jesus and the

apostles by fictitious stories, or to glorify Christianity by vaticinia

post eventum, in the way of pious fraud at that time freely allowed.

The canon of the Old Testament descended to the church from the Jews,

with the sanction of Christ and the apostles. The Jewish Apocrypha were

included in the Septuagint and passed from it into Christian versions.

The, New Testament canon was gradually formed, on the model of the Old,

in the course of the first four centuries, under the guidance of the

same Spirit, through whose suggestion the several apostolic books had

been prepared. The first trace of it appears in 2 Peter 3:15, where a

collection of Paul's epistles [939] 39 is presumed to exist, and is

placed by the side of "the other scriptures." [940] 40 The apostolic

fathers and the earlier apologists commonly appeal, indeed, for the

divinity of Christianity to the Old Testament, to the oral preaching of

the apostles, to the living faith of the Christian churches, the

triumphant death of the martyrs, and the continued miracles. Yet their

works contain quotations, generally without the name of the author,

from the most important writings of the apostles, or at least allusions

to those writings, enough to place their high antiquity and

ecclesiastical authority beyond all reasonable doubt. [941] 41 The

heretical canon of the Gnostic Marcion, of the middle of the second

century, consisting of a mutilated Gospel of Luke and ten of Paul's

epistles, certainly implies the existence of an orthodox canon at that

time, as heresy always presupposes truth, of which it is a caricature.

The principal books of the New Testament, the four Gospels, the Acts,

the thirteen Epistles of Paul, the first Epistle of Peter, and the

first of John, which are designated by Eusebius as "Homologumena," were

in general use in the church after the middle of the second century,

and acknowledged to be apostolic, inspired by the Spirit of Christ, and

therefore authoritative and canonical. This is established by the

testimonies of Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenaeus,

Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, of the Syriac Peshito

(which omits only Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and the Revelation), the

old Latin Versions (which include all books but 2 Peter, Hebrews, and

perhaps James and the Fragment of Muratori; [942] 42 also by the

heretics, and the heathen opponent Celsus--persons and documents which

represent in this matter the churches in Asia Minor, Italy, Gaul, North

Africa, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. We may therefore call these books

the original canon.

Concerning the other seven books, the "Antilegomena" of Eusebius, viz.

the Epistle to the Hebrews, [943] 43 the Apocalypse, [944] 44 the

second Epistle of Peter, the second and third Epistles of John, the

Epistle of James, and the Epistle of Jude,--the tradition of the church

in the time of Eusebius, the beginning of the fourth century, still

wavered between acceptance and rejection. But of the two oldest

manuscripts of the Greek Testament which date from the age of Eusebius

and Constantine, one--the Sinaitic--contains all the twenty-seven

books, and the other--the Vatican--was probably likewise complete,

although the last chapters of Hebrews (from Heb.11:14), the Pastoral

Epistles, Philemon, and Revelation are lost. There was a second class

of Antilegomena, called by Eusebius "spurious" (notha), consisting of

several post-apostolic writings, viz. the catholic Epistle of Barnabas,

the first Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, the Epistle of

Polycarp to the Philippians, the Shepherd of Hermas, the lost

Apocalypse of Peter, and the Gospel of the Hebrews; which were read at

least in some churches but were afterwards generally separated from the

canon. Some of them are even incorporated in the oldest manuscripts of

the Bible, as the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of

Hermas (both in the original Greek) in the Codex Sinaiticus, and the

first Epistle of Clement of Rome in the Codex Alexandrinus.

The first express definition of the New Testament canon, in the form in

which it has since been universally retained, comes from two African

synods, held in 393 at Hippo, and 397 at Carthage, in the presence of

Augustin, who exerted a commanding influence on all the theological

questions of his age. By that time, at least, the whole church must

have already become nearly unanimous as to the number of the canonical

books; so that there seemed to be no need even of the sanction of a

general council. The Eastern church, at all events, was entirely

independent of the North African in the matter. The Council of Laodicea

(363) gives a list of the books of our New Testament with the exception

of the Apocalypse. The last canon which contains this list, is probably

a later addition, yet the long-established ecclesiastical use of all

the books, with some doubts as to the Apocalypse, is confirmed by the

scattered testimonies of all the great Nicene and post Nicene fathers,

as Athanasius (d. 373), Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386), Gregory of

Nazianzum (d. 389), Epiphanius of Salamis (d. 403), Chrysostom (d.

407), etc. [945] 45 The name Novum Testamentum, [946] 46 also Novum

Instrumentum (a juridical term conveying the idea of legal validity),

occurs first in Tertullian, and came into general use instead of the

more correct term New Covenant. The books were currently divided into

two parts, "the Gospel" [947] 47 and "the Apostle," and the Epistles,

in the second part, into Catholic or General, and Pauline. The Catholic

canon thus settled remained untouched till the time of the Reformation

when the question of the Apocrypha and of the Antilegomena was reopened

and the science of biblical criticism was born. But the most thorough

investigations of modern times have not been able to unsettle the faith

of the church in the New Testament, nor ever will.

2. As to the origin and character of the apostolic writings, the church

fathers adopted for the New Testament the somewhat mechanical and

magical theory of inspiration applied by the Jews to the Old; regarding

the several books as composed with such extraordinary aid from the Holy

Spirit as secured their freedom from errors (according to Origen, even

from faults of memory). Yet this was not regarded as excluding the

writer's own activity and individuality. Irenaeus, for example, sees in

Paul a peculiar style, which he attributes to the mighty flow of

thought in his ardent mind. The Alexandrians, however, enlarged the

idea of inspiration to a doubtful breadth. Clement of Alexandria calls

the works of Plato inspired, because they contain truth; and he

considers all that is beautiful and good in history, a breath of the

infinite, a tone, which the divine Logos draws forth from the lyre of

the human soul.

As a production of the inspired organs, of divine revelation, the

sacred scriptures, without critical distinction between the Old and New

Covenants, were acknowledged and employed against heretics as an

infallible source of knowledge and an unerring rule of Christian faith

and practice. Irenaeus calls the Gospel a pillar and ground of the

truth. Tertullian demands scripture proof for every doctrine, and

declares, that heretics cannot stand on pure scriptural ground. In

Origen's view nothing deserves credit which cannot be confirmed by the

testimony of scripture.

3. The exposition of the Bible was at first purely practical, and

designed for direct edification. The controversy with the Gnostics

called for a more scientific method. Both the orthodox and heretics,

after the fashion of the rabbinical and Alexandrian Judaism, made large

use of allegorical and mystical interpretation, and not rarely lost

themselves amid the merest fancies and wildest vagaries. The fathers

generally, with a few exceptions, (Chrysostom and Jerome) had scarcely

an idea of grammatical and historical exegesis.

Origen was the first to lay down, in connection with the allegorical

method of the Jewish Platonist, Philo, a formal theory of

interpretation, which he carried out in a long series of exegetical

works remarkable for industry and ingenuity, but meagre in solid

results. He considered the Bible a living organism, consisting of three

elements which answer to the body, soul, and spirit of man, after the

Platonic psychology. Accordingly, he attributed to the scriptures a

threefold sense; (1) a somatic, literal, or historical sense, furnished

immediately by the meaning of the words, but only serving as a veil for

a higher idea; (2) a psychic or moral sense, animating the first, and

serving for general edification; (3) a pneumatic or mystic, and ideal

sense, for those who stand on the high ground of philosophical

knowledge. In the application of this theory he shows the same tendency

as Philo, to spiritualize away the letter of scripture, especially

where the plain historical sense seems unworthy, as in the history of

David's crimes; and instead of simply bringing out the sense of the

Bible, be puts into it all sorts of foreign ideas and irrelevant

fancies. But this allegorizing suited the taste of the age, and, with

his fertile mind and imposing learning, Origen was the exegetical

oracle of the early church, till his orthodoxy fell into disrepute. He

is the pioneer, also, in the criticism of the sacred text, and his

"Hexapla" was the first attempt at a Polyglot Bible.

In spite of the numberless exegetical vagaries and differences in

detail, which confute the Tridentine fiction of a "unanimis consensus

patrum," there is still a certain unanimity among the fathers in their

way of drawing the most important articles of faith from the

Scriptures. In their expositions they all follow one dogmatical

principle, a kind of analogia fidei. This brings us to tradition.

Notes on the Canon.

I. The Statements of Eusebius,

The accounts of Eusebius (d. 340) on the apostolic writings in several

passages of his Church History (especially III. 25; comp. II. 22, 23;

III. 3, 24; V. 8; VI. 14, 25) are somewhat vague and inconsistent, yet

upon the whole they give us the best idea of the state of the canon in

the first quarter of the fourth century just before the Council of

Nicaea (325).

He distinguishes four classes of sacred books of the Christians (H. E.

III. 25, in Heinichen's ed. vol. I. 130 sqq.; comp. his note in vol.

III. 87 sqq.).

1. Homologumena, i.e. such as were universally acknowledged

(homologoumena): 22 Books of the 27 of the N. T., viz.: 4 Gospels,

Acts, 14 Pauline Epistles (including Hebrews), 1 Peter, 1 John,

Revelation. He says: "Having arrived at this point, it is proper that

we should give a summary catalogue of the afore-mentioned (III. 24)

writings of the N. T. (Anakephalaiosasthai tas delotheisas tes kaines

diathekes graphas). First, then, we must place the sacred quaternion

(or quartette, tetraktun) of the Gospels, which are followed by the

book of the Acts of the Apostles (he ton praxeon ton apostolon graphe).

After this we must reckon the Epistles of Paul, and next to them we

must maintain as genuine (kuroteon, the verb. adj. from kuroo, to

ratify), the Epistle circulated as the former of John (ten pheromenen

Ioannou proteran), and in like manner that of Peter (kai homoios ten

Petrou epistolen). In addition to these books, if it seem proper (eige

phaneie), we must place the Revelation of John (ten apokalupsin

Ioannou), concerning which we shall set forth the different opinions in

due course. And these are reckoned among those which are generally

received (en homologoumenois)."

In bk. III. ch. 3, Eusebius speaks of "fourteen Epp." of Paul (tou de

Paulou prodeloi kai sapheis hai dekatessares,) as commonly received,

but adds that "some have rejected the Ep. to the Hebrews, saying that

it was disputed as not being one of Paul's epistles."

On the Apocalypse, Eusebius vacillates according as he gives the public

belief of the church or his private opinion. He first counts it among

the Homologumena, and then, in the same passage (III. 25), among the

spurious books, but in each case with a qualifying statement (ei

phaneie), leaving the matter to the judgment of the reader. He rarely

quotes the book, and usually as the "Apocalypse of John," but in one

place (III. 39) he intimates that it was probably written by "the

second John," which must mean the "Presbyter John," so called, as

distinct from the Apostle--an opinion which has found much favor in the

Schleiermacher school of critics. Owing to its mysterious character,

the Apocalypse is, even to this day, the most popular book of the N. T.

with a few, and the most unpopular with the many. It is as well

attested as any other book, and the most radical modern critics (Baur,

Renan) admit its apostolic authorship and composition before the

destruction of Jerusalem.

2. Antilegomena, or controverted books, yet "familiar to most people of

the church" (antilegomena, gnorima d' homos tois pollois, III. 25).

These are five (or seven), viz., one Epistle of James, one of Jude, 2

Peter, 2 and 3 John ("whether they really belong to the Evangelist or

to another John").

To these we may add (although Eusebius does not do it expressly) the

Hebrews and the Apocalypse, the former as not being generally

acknowledged as Pauline, the latter on account of its supposed

chiliasm, which was offensive to Eusebius and the Alexandrian school.

3. Spurious Books (notha), such as the Acts of Paul, the Revelation of

Peter, the Shepherd (Hermas), the Ep. of Barnabas, the so-called

"Doctrines of the Apostles, " and the Gospel according to the Hebrews."

in which those Hebrews who have accepted Christ take special delight."

To these he adds inconsistently, as already remarked, the Apocalypse of

John." which some, as I said, reject (hen tines athetousin), while

others reckon it among the books generally received (tois

homologoumenois)." He ought to have numbered it with the Antilegomena.

These notha, we may say, correspond to the Apocrypha of the O. T.,

pious and useful, but not canonical.

4. Heretical Books. These, Eusebius says, are worse than spurious

books, and must be "set aside as altogether worthless and impious."

Among these be mentions the Gospels of Peter, and Thomas, and Matthias,

the Acts of Andrew, and John, and of the other Apostles.

II. Ecclesiastical Definitions of the Canon.

Soon after the middle of the fourth century, when the church became

firmly settled in the Empire, all doubts as to the Apocrypha of the Old

Testament and the Antilegomena of the New ceased, and the acceptance of

the Canon in its Catholic shape, which includes both, became an article

of faith. The first OEcumenical Council of Nicaea did not settle the

canon, as one might expect, but the scriptures were regarded without

controversy as the sure and immovable foundation of the orthodox faith.

In the last (20th or 21st) Canon of the Synod of Gangra, in Asia Minor

(about the middle of the fourth century), it is said: "To speak

briefly, we desire that what has been handed down to us by the divine

scriptures and the Apostolic traditions should be observed in the

church." Comp. Hefele, Conciliengesch. I. 789.

The first Council which expressly legislated on the number of canonical

books is that of Laodicea in Phrygia, in Asia Minor (held between a.d.

343 and 381, probably about 363). In its last canon (60 or 59), it

enumerates the canonical books of the Old Testament, and then all of

the New, with the exception of the Apocalypse, in the following order:

"And these are the Books of the New Testament: Four Gospels, according

to Matthew, according to Mark, according to Luke, according to John;

Acts of the Apostles; Seven Catholic Epistles, One of James, Two of

Peter, Three of John, One of Jude; Fourteen Epistles of Paul, One to

the Romans, Two to the Corinthians, One to the Galatians, One to the

Ephesians, One to the Philippians, One to the Colossians, Two to the

Thessalonians, One to the Hebrews, Two to Timothy, One to Titus, and

One to Philemon."

This catalogue is omitted in several manuscripts and versions, and

probably is a later insertion from the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem.

Spittler, Herbst, and Westcott deny, Schr�kh and Hefele defend, the

Laodicean origin of this catalogue. It resembles that of the 85th of

the Apostolical Canons which likewise omits the Apocalypse, but inserts

two Epistles of Clement and the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions.

On the Laodicean Council and its uncertain date see Hefele,

Conciliengeschichte, revised ed. vol. I. p. 746 sqq., and Westcott, on

the Canon of the N. T., second ed., p. 382 sqq.

In the Western church, the third provincial Council of Carthage (held

a.d. 397) gave a full list of the canonical books of both Testaments,

which should be read as divine Scriptures to the exclusion of all

others in the churches. The N. T. books are enumerated in the following

order: "Four Books of the Gospels, One Book of the Acts of the

Apostles, Thirteen Epp. of the Apostle Paul, One Ep. of the same

[Apostle] to the Hebrews, Two Epistles of the Apostle Peter, Three of

John, One of James, One of Jude, One Book of the Apocalypse of John."

This canon bad been previously adopted by the African Synod of Hippo

regius, a.d. 393, at which Augustin, then presbyter, delivered his

discourse De Fide et Symbolo. The acts of that Council are lost, but

they were readopted by the third council of Carthage, which consisted

only of forty-three African bishops, and can claim no general

authority. (See Westcott, p. 391, Charteris, p. 20, and Hefele, II. 53

and 68, revised ed.)

Augustin, (who was present at both Councils), and Jerome (who

translated the Latin Bible at the request of Pope Damasus of Rome)

exerted a decisive influence in settling the Canon for the Latin

church.

The Council of Trent (1546) confirmed the traditional view with an

anathema on those who dissent. "This fatal decree," says Dr. Westcott

(p. 426 sq.), "was ratified by fifty-three prelates, among whom was not

one German, not one scholar distinguished for historical learning, not

one who was fitted by special study for the examination of a subject in

which the truth could only be determined by the voice of antiquity."

For the Greek and Roman churches the question of the Canon is closed,

although no strictly oecumenical council representing the entire church

has pronounced on it. But Protestantism claims the liberty of the

ante-Nicene age and the right of renewed investigation into the origin

and history of every book of the Bible. Without this liberty there can

be no real progress in exegetical theology.

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[938] Called simply he graphe, hai graphai scriptura, scripturae.

[939] en pasais tais epistolais.

[940] tas loipas (not tas allas) graphas

[941] Comp. Clement of Rome, Ad Cor. c. 47; Polycarp, Ad Phil. 3;

Ignatius, Ad Eph. 12; Ad Philad. 5; Barnabas, Ep. c. 1; Papias,

testimonies on Matthew and Mark, preserved in Euseb. III. 39; Justin

Martyr, Apol. I. 61 Dial.c. Tryph. 63, 81, 103, 106, and his frequent

quotations from the so called "Memoir, by the Apostles;" Tatian,

Diatessaron, etc. To these must be added the testimonies of the early

heretics as Basilides (125), Valentine (140), Heracleon, etc. See on

this subject the works on the Canon, and the critical Introductions to

the N.T. The Didache quotes often from Matthew, and shows acquaintance

with other books; Chs. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16. See Schaff,

Did., p. 81 sqq.

[942] The Muratorian Canon (so called from its discoverer and first

publisher, Muratori, 1740) is a fragment of Roman origin, though

translated from the Greek, between a.d. 170 and 180, begins with Mark,

passes to Luke as the third Gospel, then to John, Acts, thirteen

Epistles of Paul, mentions two Epp. of John, one of Jude, and the

Apocalypses of John and Peter; thus omitting James, Hebrews, third

John, first and second Peter, and mentioning instead an apocryphal

Apocalypse of Peter, but adding that "some of our body will not have it

read in the church." The interesting fragment has been much discussed

by Credner, Kirchhofer, Reuss, Tregelles, Hilgenfeld, Westcott, Hesse,

Harnack, Overbeck, Salmon, and Zahn.

[943] Which was regarded as canonical indeed, but not as genuine or

Pauline in the West.

[944] Which has the strongest external testimony, that of Justin,

Irenaeus etc., in its favor, and came into question only in the third

century through some antichiliasts on dogmatical grounds.

[945] See lists of patristic canons in Charteris, Canonicity, p. 12

sqq.

[946] diatheke, covenant, comp. Matt. 26:28, where the Vulgate

translates "testamentum," instead of faedus

[947] ta euangelika kai ta apostolika, or to euangelion kai ho

apostolos? instrumentum evangelicum, apostolicum, or evangelium,

apostolus. Hence the Scripture lessons in the liturgical churches are

divided into " Gospels" and " Epistles."

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� 139. Catholic Tradition.

Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. Lib. I. c. 9, � 5; I. 10, 1; III. 3, 1, 2; III. 4,

2; IV. 33, 7. Tertull.: De Praescriptionibus Haereticorum; especially

c. 13, 14, 17-19, 21, 35, 36, 40, 41; De Virgin. veland. c. 1; Adv.

Prax. c. 2; on the other hand, Adv. Hermog. c. 22; De Carne Christi, c.

7; De Resurr. Carnis, c. 3. Novatian: De Trinitate 3; De Regula

Fidei.Cyprian: De Unitate Eccl.; and on the other hand, Epist. 74.

Origen: De Princip. lib. I. Praef. � 4-6. Cyril of Jerus.: Katecheseis

(written 348).

J. A. Daniel: Theol. Controversen (the doctrine of the Scriptures as

the source of knowledge). Halle, 1843.

J. J. Jacobi:Die Kirchl. Lehre von d. Tradition u. heil. Schrift in

ihrer Entwicketung dargestellt. Berl. I. 1847.

Ph. Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, vol. I. p. 12 sqq.; II. 11-44. Comp.

Lit. in the next section.

Besides appealing to the Scriptures, the fathers, particularly Irenaeus

and Tertullian, refer with equal confidence to the "rule of faith;"

[948] 48 that is, the common faith of the church, as orally handed down

in the unbroken succession of bishops from Christ and his apostles to

their day, and above all as still living in the original apostolic

churches, like those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, and Rome.

Tradition is thus intimately connected with the primitive episcopate.

The latter was the vehicle of the former, and both were looked upon as

bulwarks against heresy.

Irenaeus confronts the secret tradition of the Gnostics with the open

and unadulterated tradition of the catholic church, and points to all

churches, but particularly to Rome, as the visible centre of the unity

of doctrine. All who would know the truth, says he, can see in the

whole church the tradition of the apostles; and we can count the

bishops ordained by the apostles, and their successors down to our

time, who neither taught nor knew any such heresies. Then, by way of

example, he cites the first twelve bishops of the Roman church from

Linus to Eleutherus, as witnesses of the pure apostolic doctrine. He

might conceive of a Christianity without scripture, but he could not

imagine a Christianity without living tradition; and for this opinion

he refers to barbarian tribes, who have the gospel, "sine charta et

atramento," written in their hearts.

Tertullian finds a universal antidote for all heresy in his celebrated

prescription argument, which cuts off heretics, at the outset, from

every right of appeal to the holy scriptures, on the ground, that the

holy scriptures arose in the church of Christ, were given to her, and

only in her and by her can be rightly understood. He calls attention

also here to the tangible succession, which distinguishes the catholic

church from the arbitrary and ever-changing sects of heretics, and

which in all the principal congregations, especially in the original

sects of the apostles, reaches back without a break from bishop to

bishop, to the apostles themselves, from the apostles to Christ, and

from Christ to God. "Come, now," says he, in his tract on Prescription,

"if you would practise inquiry to more advantage in the matter of your

salvation, go through the apostolic churches, in which the very chairs

of the apostles still preside, in which their own authentic letters are

publicly read, uttering the voice and representing the face of every

one. If Achaia is nearest, you have Corinth. If you are not far from

Macedonia, you have Philippi, you have Thessalonica. If you can go to

Asia, you have Ephesus. But if you live near Italy, you have Rome,

whence also we [of the African church] derive our origin. How happy is

the church, to which the apostles poured out their whole doctrine with

their blood," etc.

To estimate the weight of this argument, we must remember that these

fathers still stood comparatively very near the apostolic age, and that

the succession of bishops in the oldest churches could be demonstrated

by the living memory of two or three generations. Irenaeus in fact, had

been acquainted in his youth with Polycarp, a disciple of St. John. But

for this very reason we must guard against overrating this testimony,

and employing it in behalf of traditions of later origin, not grounded

in the scriptures.

Nor can we suppose that those fathers ever thought of a blind and

slavish subjection of private judgment to ecclesiastical authority, and

to the decision of the bishops of the apostolic mother churches. The

same Irenaeus frankly opposed the Roman bishop Victor. Tertullian,

though he continued essentially orthodox, contested various points with

the catholic church from his later Montanistic position, and laid down,

though at first only in respect to a conventional custom--the veiling

of virgins--the genuine Protestant principle, that the thing to be

regarded, especially in matters of religion, is not custom but truth.

[949] 49 His pupil, Cyprian, with whom biblical and catholic were

almost interchangeable terms, protested earnestly against the Roman

theory of the validity of heretical baptism, and in this controversy

declared, in exact accordance with Tertullian, that custom without

truth was only time-honored error. [950] 50 The Alexandrians freely

fostered all sorts of peculiar views, which were afterwards rejected as

heretical; and though the paradosis apostolike plays a prominent part

with them, yet this and similar expressions have in their language a

different sense, sometimes meaning simply the holy scriptures. So, for

example, in the well-known passage of Clement: "As if one should be

changed from a man to a beast after the manner of one charmed by Circe;

so a man ceases to be God's and to continue faithful to the Lord, when

he sets himself up against the church tradition, and flies off to

positions of human caprice."

In the substance of its doctrine this apostolic tradition agrees with

the holy scriptures, and though derived, as to its form, from the oral

preaching of the apostles, is really, as to its contents, one and the

same with there apostolic writings. In this view the apparent

contradictions of the earlier fathers, in ascribing the highest

authority to both scripture and tradition in matters of faith, resolve

themselves. It is one and the same gospel which the apostles preached

with their lips, and then laid down in their writings, and which the

church faithfully hands down by word and writing from one generation to

another.. [951] 51

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[948] kanon tes pisteos,or tes aletheias , paradosis ton apostolon, or

par. apostolike, kanon ekklesiastikos , to archaion tes ekklesias ,

sustema, regula fidei, regula veritatis, traditio apostolica, lex

fidei, fides catholica. Sometimes these terms are used in a wider

sense, and embrace the whole course of catechetical instruction.

[949] "Christus veritatem se, non consuetudinem cognominavit ....

Haereses non tam novitas quam veritas revincit. Quodcunque adversus

veritatem sapit hoc erit haeresis, etiam vetus consuetudo."De Virg.

vel. c. 1.

[950] "Cosuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est."Ep. 74 (contra

Stephanum), c. 9.

[951] So Paul uses the word paradosis, 2 Thess. 2:15: " hold the

tradition, which ye were taught, whether by word (dia logou), or by

epistle of ours (di' epistoles hemon) Comp. 3: 6 (kata ten paradosin

hen parelabete par' hemon); 1 Cor. 11:2. In all other passages,

however, where the word paradosis, traditio, occurs, it is used in an

unfavorable sense of extra-scriptural teaching, especially that of the

Pharisees. Comp. Matt. 15:2, 6; Mark 7:3, 5, 9, 13; Gal. 1:14; Col.

2:8. The Reformers attached the same censure to the mediaeval tradition

of the Roman church, which obscured and virtually set aside the written

word of God.

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� 140. The Rule of Faith and the Apostles' Creed.

Rufinus (d. 410): Expos. in Symbolum Apostolorum. In the Append. to

Fell's ed. of Cyprian, 1682; and in Rufini Opera, Migne's "Patrologia,"

Tom. XXI. fol. 335-386.

James Ussher (Prot. archbishop of Armagh, d. 1655): De Romanae

Ecclesiae Symbolo Apostolico vetere, aliisque fidei formulis. London,

1647. In his Works, Dublin 1847, vol. VII. p. 297 sqq. Ussher broke the

path for a critical history of the creed on the basis of the oldest

MSS. which he discovered.

John Pearson (Bp. of Chester, d. 1686): Exposition of the Creed, 1659,

in many editions (revised ed. by Dr. E. Burton, Oxf. 1847; New York

1851). A standard work of Anglican theology.

Peter King (Lord Chancellor of England, d. 1733): History of the

Apostles' Creed. Lond. 1702.

Herm. Witsius (Calvinist, d. at Leyden, 1708): Exercitationes sacrae in

Symbolum quod Apostolorum dicitur. Amstel. 1700. Basil. 1739. 4�.

English translation by Fraser. Edinb. 1823, in 2 vols.

Ed. K�llner (Luth.): Symbolik aller christl. Confessionen. Part I.

Hamb. 1837, p. 6-28.

\*Aug. Hahn: Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der

apostolischkatholischen [in the new ed. der alten] Kirche. Breslau,

1842 (pp. 222). Second ed. revised and enlarged by his son, G. Ludwig

Hahn. Breslau, 1877 (pp. 300).

J. W. Nevin: The Apostles' Creed, in the "Mercersburg Review," 1849.

Purely doctrinal.

Pet. Meyers (R.C.): De Symboli Apostolici Titulo, Origine ei

antiquissimis ecclesiae temporibus Auctoritate. Treviris 1849 (pp.

210). A learned defense of the Apostolic origin of the Creed.

W. W. Harvey: The History and Theology of the three Creeds (the

Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian). Lond. 1854. 2 vols.

\*Charles A. Heurtley: Harmonia Symbolica. Oxford, 1858.

Michel Nicolas: Le Symbole des ap�tres. Essai historie. Paris, 1867.

(Sceptical).

\*J. Rawson Lumby: The History of the Creeds (ante-Nicene, Nicene and

Athanasian). London, 1873, 2d ed. 1880.

\*C. A. Swainson: The Nicene and the Apostles' Creed. London, 1875.

\*C. P. Caspari: (Prof. in Christiania): Quellen zur Gesch. des Tauf,

symbols und der Glaubensregel. Christiania, 1866-1879. 4 vols, Contains

new researches and discoveries of MSS.

\*F. J. A. Hort: Two Dissertations on monogenes theosand on the

"Constantinopolitan Creed and other Eastern Creeds of the Fourth

Century. Cambr. and Lond. 1876. Of great critical value.

F. B. Westcott: The Historic Faith. London, 1883.

Ph. Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, vol. I. 3-42, and II. 10-73. (4th

ed. 1884.

In the narrower sense, by apostolic tradition or the rule of faith

(kanon tes pisteos, regula fidei) was understood a doctrinal summary of

Christianity, or a compend of the faith of the church. Such a summary

grew out of the necessity of catechetical instruction and a public

confession of candidates for baptism. It became equivalent to a

symbolum, that is, a sign of recognition among catholic Christians in

distinction from unbelievers and heretics. The confession of Peter

(Matt. 16:16 gave the key-note, and the baptismal formula (Matt. 28:19)

furnished the trinitarian frame-work of the earliest creeds or

baptismal confessions of Christendom.

There was at first no prescribed formula of faith binding upon all

believers. Each of the leading churches framed its creed (in a sort of

independent congregational way), according to its wants, though on the

same basis of the baptismal formula, and possibly after the model of a

brief archetype which may have come down from apostolic days. Hence we

have a variety of such rules of faith, or rather fragmentary accounts

of them, longer or shorter, declarative or interrogative, in the

ante-Nicene writers, as Irenaeus of Lyons (180), Tertullian of Carthage

(200), Cyprian of Carthage (250), Novatian of Rome (250), Origen of

Alexandria (250), Gregory Thaumaturgus (270), Lucian of Antioch (300),

Eusebius of Caesarea (325), Marcellus of Ancyra (340), Cyril of

Jerusalem (350), Epiphanius of Cyprus (374), Rufinus of Aquileja (390),

and in the Apostolic Constitutions). [952] 52 Yet with all the

differences in form and extent there is a substantial agreement, so

that Tertullian could say that the regula fidei was "una omnino, sola

immobilis et irreformabilis." They are variations of the same theme. We

may refer for illustration of the variety and unity to the numerous

orthodox and congregational creeds of the Puritan churches in New

England, which are based upon the Westminster standards.

The Oriental forms are generally longer, more variable and

metaphysical, than the Western, and include a number of dogmatic terms

against heretical doctrines which abounded in the East. They were all

replaced at last by the Nicene Creed (325, 381, and 451), which was

clothed with the authority of oecumenical councils and remains to this

day the fundamental Creed of the Greek Church. Strictly speaking it is

the only oecumenical Creed of Christendom, having been adopted also in

the West, though with a clause (Filioque) which has become a wall of

division. We shall return to it in the next volume.

The Western forms--North African, Gallican, Italian--are shorter and

simpler, have less variety, and show a more uniform type. They were all

merged into the Roman Symbol, which became and remains to this day the

fundamental creed of the Latin Church and her daughters.

This Roman symbol is known more particularly under the honored name of

the Apostles' Creed. For a long time it was believed (and is still

believed by many in the Roman church) to be the product of the Apostles

who prepared it as a summary of their teaching before parting from

Jerusalem (each contributing one of the twelve articles by higher

inspiration). [953] 53 This tradition which took its rise in the fourth

century, [954] 54is set aside by the variations of the ante-Nicene

creeds and of the Apostles' Creed itself. Had the Apostles composed

such a document, it would have been scrupulously handed down without

alteration. The creed which bears this name is undoubtedly a gradual

growth. We have it in two forms.

The earlier form as found in old manuscripts, [955] 55is much shorter

and may possibly go back to the third or even the second century. It

was probably imported from the East, or grew in Rome, and is

substantially identical with the Greek creed of Marcellus of Ancyra

(about 340), inserted in his letter to Pope Julius I. to prove his

orthodoxy, [956] 56and with that contained in the Psalter of King

Aethelstan.. [957] 57 Greek was the ruling language of the Roman Church

and literature down to the third century.. [958] 58

The longer form of the Roman symbol, or the present received text, does

not appear before the sixth or seventh century. It has several

important clauses which were wanting in the former, as "he descended

into hades," [959] 59 the predicate "catholic" after ecclesiam, [960]

60 "the communion of saints," [961] 61 and "the life everlasting."

[962] 62 These additions were gathered from the provincial versions

(Gallican and North African) and incorporated into the older form.

The Apostles' Creed then, in its present shape, is post-apostolic; but,

in its contents and spirit, truly apostolic. It embodies the faith of

the ante-Nicene church, and is the product of a secondary inspiration,

like the Gloria in Excelsis and the Te deum, which embody the devotions

of the same age, and which likewise cannot be traced to an individual

author or authors. It follows the historical order of revelation of the

triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, beginning with the creation

and ending with the resurrection and life eternal. It clusters around

Christ as the central article of our faith. It sets forth living facts,

not abstract dogmas and speaks in the language of the people, not of

the theological school. It confines itself to the fundamental truths,

is simple, brief, and yet comprehensive, and admirably adapted for

catechetical and liturgical use. It still forms a living bond of union

between the different ages and branches of orthodox Christendom,

however widely they differ from each other, and can never be superseded

by longer and fuller creeds, however necessary these are in their

place. It has the authority of antiquity and the dew of perennial

youth, beyond any other document of post-apostolic times. It is the

only strictly OEcumenical Creed of the West, as the Nicene Creed is the

only OEcumenical Creed of the East. [963] 63 It is the Creed of creeds,

as the Lord's Prayer is the Prayer of prayers.

Note.

The legendary formulas of the Apostles' Creed which appear after the

sixth century, distribute the articles to the several apostles

arbitrarily and with some variations. The following is from one of the

pseudo-Augustinian sermons (see Hahn, p. 47 sq.):

"Decimo die post ascensionem discipulis prae timore Judaeorum

congregatis Dominus promissum Paracletum misit: quo veniente ut candens

ferrum inflammati omniumque linguarum peritia repleti Symbolum

composuerunt.

Petrus dixit: Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem--creatorem coeli et

terrae.

Andreas dixit: Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus--unicum Dominum

nostrum.

Jacobus dixit: Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto--natus ex Maria

Virgine.

Joannes dixit: Passus sub Pontio Pilato--crucifixus, mortuus et

sepultus.

Thomas dixit: Descendit ad inferna--tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.

Jacobus dixit: Adscendit ad coelos--sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris

omnipotentis.

Philippus dixit: Inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

Bartholomaeus dixit: Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.

Matthaeus dixit: Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam--Sanctorum communionem.

Simon dixit: Remissionem peccatorum.

Thaddeus dixit: Carnis resurrectionem.

Matthias dixit: Vitam aeternam."

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[952] See a collection of these ante-Nicene rules of faith in Hahn,

Denzinger, Heurtley, Caspari, and Schaff (II.11-41).

[953] This obsolete opinion, first mentioned by Ambrose and Rufinus is

still defended by Pet. Meyers, l.c. and by Abb� Martigny in his French

Dictionary of Christ. Antiquities (sub Symbole des ap�tres. Longfellow,

in his Divine Tragedy (1871) makes poetic use of it, and arranges the

Creed in twelve articles, with the names of the supposed apostolic

authors. The apostolic origin was first called in question by

Laurentius Valla, Erasmus, and Calvin. See particulars in Schaff's

Creeds I. 22-23.

[954] Rufinus speaks of it as an ancestral tradition (tradunt majores

nostri) and supports it by a false explanation of symbolum, as

"collatio, hoc est quod plures in unum conferunt." See Migne, XXI. fol.

337.

[955] In the Graeco-Latin Codex Laudianus (Cod. E of the Acts) in the

Bodleian Library at Oxford, from the sixth century, and known to the

Venerable Bede (731). The Creed is attached at the end, is written in

uncial letters, and was first made known by Archbishop Ussher. Heurtley

(p. 61 sq.) gives a facsimile. It is reprinted in Caspari, Hahn (second

ed. p. 16), and Schaff (II. 47). Another copy is found in a MS. of the

eighth century in the British Museum, published by Swainson, The Nic.

and Ap. Creeds, p. 161, and by Hahn in a Nachtrag to the Preface, p.

xvi. This document, however, inserts catholicam after ecclesiam. Comp.

also the form in the Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos, by Ambrose in

Caspari, II. 48 and 128, and Schaff, II. 50. The Creed of Aquileja, as

given by Rufinus, has a few additions, but marks them as such so that

we can infer from it the words of the Roman Creed. With these Latin

documents agree the Greek in the Psalterium of King Aethelstan, and of

Marcellus (see next note).

[956] In Epiphanius, Haer. LXXII. it is assigned to a.d. 341, by others

to 337. It is printed in Schaff (II. 47), Hahn, and in the first table

below. It contains, according to Caspari, the original form of the

Roman creed as current at the time in the Greek portion of the Roman

congregation. It differs from the oldest Latin form only by the

omission of patera, and the addition of zoen aionion

[957] The Psalterium Aethelstani, in the Cotton Library of the British

Museum, written in Anglo-Saxon letters, first published by Ussher, then

by Heurtley, Caspari, and Hahn (p. 15). It differs from the text of

Marcellus by the insertion of patera and the omission of zoen aionion,

in both points agreeing with the Latin text.

[958] On the Greek original of the Roman symbol Caspari's researches

(III. 267-466) are conclusive. Harnack (in Herzog 2, vol. I. 567)

agrees: "Der griechische Text ist als das Original zu betrachten;

griechisch wurde das Symbol zu Rom eine lange Zeit hindurch

ausschliesslich tradirt. Dann trat der lateinisch �bersetzte Text als

Parallelform hinzu." Both are disposed to trace the symbol to Johannean

circles in Asia Minor on account of the term "only begotten,

(monogenes), which is used of Christ only by John.

[959] Descendit ad inferna, first found in Arian Creeds (eis hadou or

eis haden) about a.d. 360; then in the Creed of Aquileja, about a.d.

390; then in the Creed of Venantius Fortunatus, 590, in the

Sacramentarium Gallicanum, 650, and in the ultimate text of the

Apostles' Creed in Pirminius, 750. See the table in Schaff's Creeds,

II. 54, and critical note on p. 46. Rufinus says expressly that this

clause was not contained in the Roman creed and explains it wrongly as

being identical with "buried." Com. c. 18 (in Migne, f. 356): "Sciendum

sane est, quod in Ecclesiae Romanae Symbolo non habetur additum,

'descendit ad inferna:' sed neque in Orientis Ecclesiis habetur hic

sermo: via tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo, quod 'sepultis

dicitur.'" The article of the descent is based upon Peter's teaching,

Acts 2: 31 ("he was not left in Hades," eis hadou, consequently he was

there); 1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6; and the promise of Christ to the, dying

robber, Luke 23:34 (" to day thou shalt be with Me in paradise," en to

paradeiso), and undoubtedly means a self exhibition of Christ to the

spirits of the departed. The translation " descended into hell" is

unfortunate and misleading. We do not know whether Christ was in hell;

but we do know from his own lips that he was in paradise between his

death and resurrection. The term Hades is much more comprehensive than

Hell (Gehenna), which is confined to the state and place of the lost.

[960] It is found first in the Sacramentarium Gallicanum, 650. The

older creeds of Cyprian, Rufinus, Augustin, read simply sanctam

ecclesiam, Marcellus agian ekklesian

[961] Sanctorum communionem. After 650.

[962] Contained in Marcellus and Augustin, but wanting in Rufinus and

in the Psalter of Aethelstan. See on all these additions and their

probable date the tables in my Creeds of Christendom, II. 54 and 55.

[963] We usually speak of three OEcumenical creeds; but the Greek

church has never adopted the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian Creed,

although she holds the doctrines therein contained. The Nicene Creed

was adopted in the West, and so far is universal, but the insertion of

the formula Filioque created and perpetuates the split between the

Greek and Latin churches.

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� 141. Variations of the Apostles' Creed.

We present two tables which show the gradual growth of the Apostles'

Creed, and its relation to the Ante-Nicene rules of faith and the

Nicene Creed in its final form. [964] 64

II. COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE APOSTLES' CREED,

Showing The Different Stages Of Its Growth To Its Present Form. The

Additions Are Shown In Brackets.

Formula Marcelli Ancryani

About a.d. 340

Formula Roma

From the 3rd or 4th Century

Formula Aquileiensis

From Rufinus (400)

Formula Recepta

Since the 6th or 7th Century

(Later additions in brackets)

The Received Text

Pisteuo eis theon pantakratora

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem.Credo in Deo Patre omnipotente,

[invisibili et impassibili],

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem,

[Creatorem coeli et terrae],

I believe in God the Father Almighty,

[Maker of heaven and earth].

Kai eis Christon Iesoun, ton huion autou ton monogene, ton kurion

hemon,

Et in Christum Jesum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum;Et in Christo

Jesu, unico filio ejus, Domino nostro;

Et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum;

And in Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, our Lord;

ton gennethenta ek Pneumatos hagiou kai Marias te s parthenou,

qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine;qui natus est de

Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine;

qui [conceptus] est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine;

who was [conceived] by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;

ton epi Pontiou Pilatou staurothenta kai taphenta

cruicifixus est sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus; cruicifixus sub Pontio

Pilato, et sepultus;[passus] sub Pontio Pilato, cruicifixus, [mortuus],

et seupultus;[suffered] under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, [dead],

and buried.

[descendit ad inferna];

[descendit ad inferna];

[He descended into Hades];

kai te trite hemera anastanta ek ton nekron,

tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;tertia

die resurrexit a mortuis;

the third day He rose from the dead;

anabanta eis tous ouranous

ascendit in cOElus;ascendit in cOElus;ascendit in coelos;

He ascended into heaven;

kai kathemenon en dexia tou patros,

sedet ad dexteran Patris;sedet ad dexteram Patris;

sedet ad dexteram Patris [omnipotentis];

and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father [Almighty];

hothen er'chetai krinein zontas kai nekrous

inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.

from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Kai eis Hagion Pneuma

Et in Spiritum Sanctum;

Et in Spiritu Sancto.

[Credo] in Spiritum Sanctum;

[I believe] in the Holy Ghost;

hagian ekklesian

Sanctam Ecclesiam;

Sanctam Ecclesiam;

Sanctam Ecclesiam [catholicam], [Sanctorum communionem];

the holy [catholic] church, [the communion of saints];

aphesin hamartion

remissionem peccatorum;

remissionem peccatorum;

remissionem peccatorum;

the forgiveness of sins;

sarkos anastasin 'zoen aionion`

carnis resurrectionem.

[hujus] carnis resurrectionem.

carnis resurrectionem; [vitam aeternam. Amen].

the resurrection of the body; [and the life everlasting Amen].

Comparative Table of the Ante-Nicent Rules of Faith,

as related to the apostles' creed and the nicene creed.

The Apostles' Creed. (Rome.) About a.d. 340.

Later additions are in italics.

Irenaeus (Gaul.) a.d. 170.

Tertullian (North Africa.) a.d. 200.

Cyprian (Carthage) a.d. 250.

Novatian (Rome.) a.d. 250.

Origen (Alexandria.) a.d. 230.

I believe

We believe

We believe

I believe

We believe

[We believe in]

1. In God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth;

1. ... in one God the Father Almighty, who made heaven and earth, and

the sea, and all that in them is;

1 ... in one God, the Creator of the world, who produced all out of

nothing ...

1. in God the Father;

1. in God the Father and Almighty Lord;

1. One God, who created and framed every thing...

Who in the last days sent

2. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord;

2. And in one Christ Jesus, the Son of God [our Lord];

2. And in the Word, his Son, Jesus Christ;

2. in his Son Christ;

2. in the son of God, Christ Jesus, our Lord God;

2. Our Lord, Jesus Christ...born of the Father before all creation...

3. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost born of the Virgin Mary;

3. Who became flesh [of the Virgin] for our salvation;

3. Who through the Spirit and power of God the Father descended into

the Virgin Mary, was made flesh in her womb, and born of her;

3. born of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost...

4. suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;

4. and his suffering [under Pontius Pilate];

4. Was fixed on the cross [under Pontius Pilate], was dead and buried;

4. suffered in truth, died;

5. He, descended into Hades; the third day he rose from the dead;

5. and his rising from the dead;

5. rose again the third day;

5. rose from the dead;

6. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the

Father Almighty;

6. and his bodily assumption into heaven;

6. was taken into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God the

Father;

6. was taken up...

7. from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

7. and his coming from heaven in the glory of the Father to comprehend

all things under one head, ... and to execute righteous judgment over

all.

7. He will come to judge the quick and the dead.

8. And I believe in the Holy Ghost;

8. And in the Holy Ghost ...

8. And in the Holy Ghost the Paraclete, the Sanctifier, sent by Christ

from the Father.

8. in the Holy Ghost;

8. in the Holy Ghost (promised of old to the Church, and granted in the

appointed and fitting time).

8. the Holy Ghost, united in honor and dignity with the Father and the

Son.

9. the holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints;

10. the forgiveness of sins;

10. I believe in the forgiveness of sins,

11. the resurrection of the body;

11. And that Christ shall come from heaven to raise all flesh ... and

to adjudge the impious and unjust ... to eternal fire,

11. And that Christ will, after the restoration of the flesh, receive

his saints

12. and the life everlasting. [965] 65

12. and to give to the just and holy immortality and eternal glory.

12. into the enjoyment of eternal life and the promises of heaven, and

judge the wicked with eternal fire.

12. and eternal life through the holy Church

The Apostles' Creed.

Gregory (Neo-Caesarean.) a.d. 270.

Lucian (Antioch.) a.d. 300.

Eusebius (Caesarea, Pal.) a.d. 325.

Cyril (Jerusalem.) a.d. 350.

Nic�no-Constantinoplitan Creed. a.d. 325 and 381.

I believe

[We believe in]

[We believe in]

We believe

We believe

We [I] believe

1. in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth;

1. One God the Father;

1. one God the Father Almighty;

1. in one God the Father Almighty;

1. in one God the Father Almighty;

in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all

things visible and invisible;

2. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord;

2. One Lord...God of God, the image and likeness of the Godhead,...the

Wisdom and Power which produces all creation, the true Son of the true

Father...

2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ his Son, begotten of the Father before

all ages, God of God, Wisdom, Life, Light ...

2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ his Son, begotten of the Father before

all ages, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the only-begotten

Son, the first-born of every creature, begotten of God the Father

before all ages; by whom all things were made;

2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten

of the Father before all ages, veru God, by whom all things were made;

2. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten

of the Father before all worlds; [God of God], Light of Light, very God

of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father

(homoousion to Patri), by whom all things were made;

3. who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;

3. who was born of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, and became

man...

3. who for our salvation was made flesh and lived among men;

3. who was made flesh and became man;

3. who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and

was incarnate by the Holy Ghost and [of, ex] the Virgin Mary, and was

made man;

4. suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried;

4. who suffered for us;

4. who suffered;

4. was crucified and was buried;

4. He was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered, and was

buried;

5. He descended into Hades; the third day be rose from the dead;

5. and rose for us on the third day;

5. and rose on the third day

5. rose on the third day;

5. and on the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures;

6. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the

Father, Almighty;

6. And ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God the

Father;

6. and ascended to the Father;

6. and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the

Father

6. and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the

Father;

7. from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

7. and again is coming with glory and power , to judge the quick and

the dead;

7. and will come again with glory, to judge the quick and the dead.

7. and will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose

kingdom shall have no end;

7. and he shall come again, with glory, to judge the quick and the

dead; whose kingdom shall have no end;

8. And I believe in the Holy Ghost.

8. One Holy Ghost,...the minister of sancitifcation, in whom is

revealed God the Father, who is over all things and through all things,

and God the Son who is through all things -- a perfect Trinity, not

divided nor differing in glory, eternity, and sovereignty...

8. And in the Holy Ghost, given for consolation and sanctification and

perfection to those who believe ...

8. We believe also in the Holy Ghost

8. and in one Holy Ghost, the Advocate, who spake in the Prophets.

8. And [I believe] in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, Who

proceedeth from the Father [and the Son, Filioque], who with the Father

and the Son together is worshiped and glorified, who spake by the

Prophets

9. the holy Catholic Church; the communion of saints;

9. and in one baptism of repentance for the remission on sins;

9. And [I believe] in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church;

10. the forgiveness of sins;

10. and in one holy Catholic Church;

10. we [I] acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins;

11. the resurrection of the body;

11. and in the resurrection of the flesh;

11. and we [I] look for the resurrection of the dead;

12. and the life everlasting.

12. and in life everlasting (zoen aionion).

12. and the life of the world to come (zoen tou mellontos aionos).

The words in italics in the last column are additions of the second

OEcumenical Council (381); words in brackets are Western changes.

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[964] The second table is transferred from the author's Creeds of

Christendom, vol. II. 40 and 41 (by permission of the publishers,

Messrs. Harpers). In the same work will be found other comparative

illustrative and chronological tables of the oldest symbols. See vol.

I. 21 and 28 sq.; and vol. II. 54, 55.

[965] The Roman Creed, according to Rufinus (390), ends with carnis

resurrctionem; but the Greek version of the Roman Creed by Marcellus

(341) with zoen aionion

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� 142. God and the Creation.

E. Wilh. M�ller: Geschichte der Kosmologie in der griechischen Kirche

bis auf Origenes. Halle, 1860. p. 112-188; 474-560. The greater part of

this learned work is devoted to the cosmological theories of the

Gnostics.

In exhibiting the several doctrines of the church, we must ever bear in

mind that Christianity entered the world, not as a logical system but

as a divine-hurnan fact; and that the New Testament is not only a

theological text-book for scholars but first and last a book of life

for all believers. The doctrines of salvation, of course, lie in these

facts of salvation, but in a concrete, living, ever fresh, and popular

form. The logical, scientific development of those doctrines from the

word of God and Christian experience is left to the theologians. Hence

we must not be surprised to find in the period before us, even in the

most eminent teachers, a very indefinite and defective knowledge, as

yet, of important articles of faith, whose practical force those

teachers felt in their own hearts and impressed on others, as earnestly

as their most orthodox successors. The centre of Christianity is the

divine-human person and the divine-human work of Christ. From that

centre a change passed through the whole circle of existing religious

ideas, in its first principles and its last results, confirming what

was true in the earlier religion, and rejecting the false.

Almost all the creeds of the first centuries, especially the Apostles'

and the Nicene, begin with confession of faith in God, the Father

Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of the visible and the invisible.

With the defence of this fundamental doctrine laid down in the very

first chapter of the Bible, Irenaeus opens his refutation of the

Gnostic heresies. He would not have believed the Lord himself, if he

had announced any other God than the Creator. He repudiates everything

like an a priori construction of the idea of God, and bases his

knowledge wholly on revelation and Christian experience.

We begin with the general idea of God, which lies at the bottom of all

religion. This is refined, spiritualized, and invigorated by the

manifestation in Christ. We perceive the advance particularly in

Tertullian's view of the irresistible leaning of the human soul towards

God, and towards the only true God. "God will never be hidden", says

he, "God will never fail mankind; he will always be recognized, always

perceived, and seen, when man wishes. God has made all that we are, and

all in which we are, a witness of himself. Thus he proves himself God,

and the one God, by his being known to all; since another must first be

proved. The sense of God is the original dowry of the soul; the same,

and no other, in Egypt, in Syria, and in Pontus; for the God of the

Jews all souls call their God." But nature also testifies of God. It is

the work of his hand, and in itself good; not as the Gnostics taught, a

product of matter, or of the devil, and intrinsically bad. Except as he

reveals himself, God is, according to Irenaeus, absolutely hidden and

incomprehensible. But in creation and redemption he has communicated

himself, and can, therefore, not remain entirely concealed from any

man.

Of the various arguments for the existence of God, we find in this

period the beginnings of the cosmological and physico-theological

methods. In the mode of conceiving the divine nature we observe this

difference; while the Alexandrians try to avoid all anthropomorphic and

anthropopathic notions, and insist on the immateriality and

spirituality of God almost to abstraction, Tertullian ascribes to him

even corporeality; though probably, as he considers the non-existent

alone absolutely incorporeal, he intends by corporeality only to denote

the substantiality and concrete personality of the Supreme Being..

[966] 66

The doctrine of the unity of God, as the eternal, almighty,

omnipresent, just, and holy creator and upholder of all things, the

Christian church inherited from Judaism, and vindicated against the

absurd polytheism of the pagans, and particularly against the dualism

of tile Gnostics, which supposed matter co-eternal with God, and

attributed the creation of the world to the intermediate Demiurge. This

dualism was only another form of polytheism, which excludes

absoluteness, and with it all proper idea of God.

As to creation: Irenaeus and Tertullian most firmly rejected the

hylozoic and demiurgic views of paganism and Gnosticism, and taught,

according to the book of Genesis, that God made the world, including

matter, not, of course, out of any material, but out of nothing or, to

express it positively, out of his free, almighty will, by his word.

[967] 67 This free will of God, a will of love, is the supreme,

absolutely unconditioned, and all-conditioning cause and final reason

of all existence, precluding every idea of physical force or of

emanation. Every creature, since it proceeds from the good and holy

God, is in itself, as to its essence, good.. [968] 68 Evil, therefore,

is not an original and substantial. entity, but a corruption of nature,

and hence can be destroyed by the power of redemption. Without a

correct doctrine of creation there can be no true doctrine of

redemption, as all the Gnostic systems show.

Origen's view of an eternal creation is peculiar. His thought is not so

much that of all endless succession of new worlds, as that of ever new

metamorphoses of the original world, revealing from the beginning the

almighty power, wisdom and goodness of God. With this is connected his

Platonic view of the pre-existence of the soul. He starts from the idea

of an intimate relationship between God and the world and represents

the latter as a necessary revelation of the former. It would be impious

and absurd to maintain that there was a time when God did not show

forth his essential attributes which make up his very being. He was

never idle or quiescent. God's being is identical with his goodness and

love, and his will is identical with his nature. He must create

according to his nature, and he will create. Hence what is a necessity

is at the same time a free act. Each world has a beginning, and an end

which are comprehended in the divine Providence. But what was before

the first world? Origen connects the idea of time with that of the

world, but cannot get beyond the idea of an endless succession of time.

God's eternity is above time, and yet fills all time. Origen mediates

the transition from God to the world by the eternal generation of the

Logos who is the express image of the Father and through whom God

creates first the spiritual and then the material world. And his

generation is itself a continued process; God always (aei) begets his

Son, and never was without his Son as little as the Son is without the

Father. [969] 69

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[966] "Omne quod est corpus est sui generis. Nihil est incorporale,

nisi quod non est. Habente igitur anima invisible corpus, " etc. (De

Carne Christi, c. 11)."Quis enim negabit, Deum corpus esse, etsi Deus

spiritus est? Spiritus enim corpus sui generis in sua effigie." (Adv.

Prax. c. 7).

[967] Comp. Gen. c. 1 and 2; Psalm 33:9; 148:5; John 1:3; Col. 1:15;

Heb. 1:2; 11:3; Rev. 4:11.

[968] Gen. 1:31; Comp. Ps. 104:24; 1 Tim. 4:4.

[969] For a full exposition of Origen's cosmology see M�ller, l. c. p.

536-560. He justly calls it a "kirchlich-wissenschaftliches Gegenbild

der gnostischen Weltanschauung." Comp. also Huetius (Origeniana),

Neander, Dorner, Redepenning.

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� 143. Man and the Fall.

It was the universal faith of the church that man was made in the image

of God, pure and holy, and fell by his own guilt and the temptation of

Satan who himself fell from his original state. But the extent of sin

and the consequences of the fall were not fully discussed before the

Pelagian controversy in the fifth century. The same is true of the

metaphysical problem concerning the origin of the human soul. Yet three

theories appear already in germ.

Tertullian is the author of traducianism, [970] 70 which derives soul

and body from the parents through the process of generation.. [971] 71

It assumes that God's creation de nihilo was finished on the sixth day,

and that Adam's soul was endowed with the power of reproducing itself

in individual souls, just as the first created seed in the vegetable

world has the power of reproduction in its own kind. Most Western

divines followed Tertullian in this theory because it most easily

explains the propagation of original sin by generation, [972] 72 but it

materializes sin which originates in the mind. Adam had fallen inwardly

by doubt and disobedience before he ate of the forbidden fruit.

The Aristotelian theory of creationism traces the origin of each

individual soul to a direct agency of God and assumes a subsequent

corruption of the soul by its contact with the body, but destroys the

organic unity of soul and body, and derives sin from the material part.

It was advocated by Eastern divines, and by Jerome in the West.

Augustin wavered between the two theories, and the church has never

decided the question.

The third theory, that of pre-existence, was taught by Origen, as

before by Plato and Philo. It assumes the pre-historic existence and

fall of every human being, and thus accounts for original sin and

individual guilt; but as it has no support in scripture or human

consciousness--except in an ideal sense--it was condemned under

Justinian, as one of the Origenistic heresies. Nevertheless it has been

revived from time to time as an isolated speculative opinion. [973] 73

The cause of the Christian faith demanded the assertion both of man's

need of redemption, against Epicurean levity and Stoical

self-sufficiency, and man's capacity for redemption, against the

Gnostic and Manichaean idea of the intrinsic evil of nature, and

against every form of fatalism.

The Greek fathers, especially the Alexandrian, are very strenuous for

the freedom of the will, as the ground of the accountability and the

whole moral nature of man, and as indispensable to the distinction of

virtue and vice. It was impaired and weakened by the fall, but not

destroyed. In the case of Origen freedom of choice is the main pillar

of his theological system. Irenaeus and Hippolytus cannot conceive of

man without the two inseparable predicates of intelligence and freedom.

And Tertullian asserts expressly, against Marcion and Hermogenes, free

will as one of the innate properties of the soul, [974] 74 like its

derivation from God, immortality, instinct of dominion, and power of

divination. [975] 75 On the other side, however, Irenaeus, by his

Pauline doctrine of the casual connection of the original sin of Adam

with the sinfulness of the whole race, and especially Tertullian, by

his view of hereditary sin and its propagation by generation, looked

towards the Augustinian system which the greatest of the Latin fathers

developed in his controversy with the Pelagian heresy, and which

exerted such a powerful influence upon the Reformers, but had no effect

whatever on the Oriental church and was practically disowned in part by

the church of Rome. [976] 76

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[970] From tradux, a branch for preparation, frequently used by

Tertullian, Adv. Valent. c. 25, etc.

[971] Tertullian, De Anima, c. 27: "Ex uno homine toti haec animarum

redundantia." Cap. 36: "Anima in utero seminata pariter cum carne

pariter cum ipsa sortitur et sexum, " i.e."the soul, being sown in the

womb at the same time with the body, receives likewise along with it

its sex;" and this takes place so simultaneously "that neither of the

two substances can be alone regarded as the cause of the sex (ita

pariter, ut in causa sexus neutra substantia teneatur)." In Tertullian

this theory was connected with a somewhat materialistic or strongly

realistic tendency of thought.

[972] "Tradux aninae tradux peccati."

[973] Notably in our century by one of the profoundest and soundest

evangelical divines, Dr. Julius Mailer, in his masterly work on The

Christian Doctrine of Sin. (Urwick's translation, Edinb. 1868, vol. II.

pp. 357 sqq, , Comp. pp. 73, 147, 397). He assumes that man in a

transcendental, pre-temporal or extratemporal existence, by an act of

free self-decision, fixed his moral character and fate for his present

life. This conclusion, he thinks, reconciles the fact of the

universalness of sin with that of individual guilt, and accords with

the unfathomable depth of our consciousness of guilt and the mystery of

that inextinguishable melancholy and sadness which is most profound in

the noblest natures. But M�ller found no response, and was opposed by

Rothe, Dorner, and others. In America, the theory of pre-existence was

independently advocated by Dr. Edward Beecher in his book: The Conflict

of Ages. Boston, 1853.

[974] Inesse nobis to autexousionnaturaliter, jam et Marcioni

ostendimus et Hermogeni"De Anima, c. 21. Comp. Adv. Marc. II. 5 sqq.

[975] Definimus animam Dei flatu natam, immortalem, corporalem,

effigiatam, sub stantia simplicem, de suo sapientem, varie procedentem,

liberam arbitrii, accidentiis obnoxiam, per ingenia mutabilem,

rationalem, dominatricem, divinatricem, ex una redundantem."De Anima,

c. 22.

[976] See vol. III. p. 783 sqq.

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�144. Christ and the Incarnation.

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Comp. the relevant sections in the doctrine-histories of Hagenback,

Thomasius, Harnack, etc.

The Messiahship and Divine Sonship of Jesus of Nazareth, first

confessed by Peter in the name of all the apostles and the

eye-witnesses of the divine glory of his person and his work, as the

most sacred and precious fact of their experience, and after the

resurrection adoringly acknowledged by the sceptical Thomas in that

exclamation, "My Lord and my God!"--is the foundation stone of the

Christian church; [977] 77 and the denial of the mystery of the

incarnation is the mark of antichristian heresy. [978] 78

The whole theological energy of the ante-Nicene period concentrated

itself, therefore, upon the doctrine of Christ as the God-man and

Redeemer of the world. This doctrine was the kernel of all the

baptismal creeds, and was stamped upon the entire life, constitution

and worship of the early church. It was not only expressly asserted by

the fathers against heretics, but also professed in the daily and

weekly worship, in the celebration of baptism, the eucharist and the

annual festivals, especially Easter. It was embodied in prayers,

doxologies and hymns of praise. From the earliest record Christ was the

object not of admiration which is given to finite persons and things,

and presupposes equality, but of prayer, praise and adoration which is

due only to an infinite, uncreated, divine being. This is evident from

several passages of the New Testament, [979] 79 from the favorite

symbol of the early Christians, the Ichthys, [980] 80 from the

Tersanctus, the Gloria in Excelsis, the hymn of Clement of Alexandria

in praise of the Logos, [981] 81 from the testimony of Origen, who

says: "We sing hymns to the Most High alone, and His Only Begotten, who

is the Word and God; and we praise God and His Only Begotten;" [982] 82

and from the heathen testimony of the younger Pliny who reports to the

Emperor Trajan that the Christians in Asia were in the habit of singing

"hymns to Christ as their God." [983] 83 Eusebius, quoting from an

earlier writer (probably Hippolytus) against the heresy of Artemon,

refers to the testimonies of Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and

"many others" for the divinity of Christ, and asks: "Who knows not the

works of Irenaeus and Melito, and the rest, in which Christ is

announced as God and man? Whatever psalms and hymns of the brethren

were written by the faithful from the beginning, celebrate Christ as

the Word of God, by asserting his divinity." [984] 84 The same faith

was sealed by the sufferings and death of "the noble army" of

confessors and martyrs, who confessed Christ to be God, and died for

Christ as God. [985] 85

Life and worship anticipated theology, and Christian experience

contained more than divines could in clear words express. So a child

may worship the Saviour and pray to Him long before he can give a

rational account of his faith. The instinct of the Christian people was

always in the right direction, and it is unfair to make them

responsible for the speculative crudities, the experimental and

tentative statements of some of the ante-Nicene teachers. The divinity

of Christ then, and with this the divinity of the Holy Spirit, were

from the first immovably fixed in the mind and heart of the Christian

Church as a central article of faith.

But the logical definition of this divinity, and of its relation to the

Old Testament fundamental doctrine of the unity of the divine essence

in a word, the church dogma of the trinity was the work of three

centuries, and was fairly accomplished only in the Nicene age. In the

first efforts of reason to grapple with these unfathomable mysteries,

we must expect mistakes, crudities, and inaccuracies of every kind.

In the Apostolic Fathers we find for the most part only the simple

biblical statements of the deity and humanity of Christ, in the

practical form needed for general edification. Of those fathers

Ignatius is most deeply imbued with the conviction, that the crucified

Jesus is God incarnate, and indeed frequently calls him, without

qualification, God. [986] 86

The scientific development of Christology begins with Justin and

culminates in Origen. From Origen then proceed two opposite modes of

conception, the Athanasian and the Arian; the former at last triumphs

in the council of Nicaea a.d. 325, and confirms its victory in the

council of Constantinople, 381. In the Arian controversy the

ante-Nicene conflicts on this vital doctrine came to a head and final

settlement.

The doctrine of the Incarnation involves three elements: the divine

nature of Christ; his human nature; and the relation of the two to his

undivided personality.

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[977] Matt. 16:16-19 sqq

[978] . 1 John 4:1-3.

[979] Comp. Matt. 2:11; 9:18; 17:14, 15; 28:9, 17; Luke 17:15, 16;

23:42; John 20:28; Acts 7:59, 60; 9:14, 21; 1 Cor. 1:2; Phil. 2:10;

Hebr. 1:6; 1 John 5:13-15; Rev. 5:6-13, etc.

[980] See p. 279.

[981] See p. 230.

[982] Contra Cels. 1. VIII.c. 67.

[983] "Carnem Christo quasi Deo dicere," Epp. X. 97. A heathen

mock-crucifix which was discovered in 1857 in Rome, represents a

Christian as worshipping a crucified ass as "his God." See above, p.

272.

[984] ton logon tou theou ton Christon humnousi theologountes. Hist.

Eccl. V. 28.

[985] Comp. Ruinart, Acta Mart.; Prudentius, Peristeph., Liddon, l.c.

pp. 400 sqq. "If there be one doctrine of our faith" (says Canon

Liddon, p. 406) "which the martyrs especially confessed at death, it is

the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity. The learned and the illiterate,

the young and the old, the noble and the lowly, the slave and his

master united in this confession. Sometimes it is wrung from the martyr

reluctantly by cross-examination, sometimes it is proclaimed as a truth

with which the Christian heart is full to bursting, and which, out of

the heart's abundance, the Christian mouth cannot but speak. Sometimes

Christ's Divinity is professed as belonging to the great Christian

contradiction of the polytheism of the heathen world around. Sometimes

it is explained as involving Christ's unity with the Father, against

the pagan imputation of ditheism; sometimes it is proclaimed as

justifying the worship which, as the heathens knew, Christians paid to

Christ." Many illustrations are given.

[986] Ad. Eph. c. 18: ho gar Theos hemon Iesous ho Christos

ekuophorethe hupo Marias (Deus noster Jesus Christus conceptus est ex

Maria); c.7: en sapki genomenos Theos. Ignatius calls the blood of

Jesus the "blood of God" (en haimati theou), Ad. Eph. 1.He desires to

imitate the sufferings of "his God,"mimetes ei'nai tou pathos tou Theou

mou, Ad Rom. 6. Polycarp calls Christ the eternal Son of God, to whom

all things in heaven and earth are subject (Ad Phil. c. 2,8 and his

last prayer in Martyr. Polyc. c. 14). The anonymous author of the

Epistle to Diognetus (c. 7,8) teaches that the Father sent to men, not

one of his servants, whether man or angel, but the very architect and

author of all things, by whom all has been ordered, and on whom all

depends; he sent him as God, and because he is God, his advent is a

revelation of God. On the Christology of the Apost. Fathers comp.,

besides Dorner, Schwane's Ante-Nicene Doctrine History, pp. 60ff., and

Liddon's Lectures on the Divinity of Christ, pp. 379 and 411 sqq.

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� 145. The Divinity of Christ.

The dogma of the Divinity of Christ is the centre of interest. It comes

into the foreground, not only against rationalistic Monarchianism and

Ebionism, which degrade Christ to a second Moses, but also against

Gnosticism, which, though it holds him to be superhuman, still puts him

on a level with other aeons of the ideal world, and thus, by endlessly

multiplying sons of God, after the manner of the heathen mythology,

pantheistically dilutes and destroys all idea of a specific sonship.

The development of this dogma started from the Old Testament idea of

the word and the wisdom of God; from the Jewish Platonism of

Alexandria; above all, from the Christology of Paul, and from the

Logos-doctrine of John. This view of John gave a mighty impulse to

Christian speculation, and furnished it ever fresh material. It was the

form under which all the Greek fathers conceived the divine nature and

divine dignity of Christ before his incarnation. The term Logos was

peculiarly serviceable here, from its well-known double meaning of

"reason" and "word," ratio and oratio; though in John it is evidently

used in the latter sense alone. [987] 87

Justin Martyr developed the first Christology, though not as a novelty,

but in the consciousness of its being generally held by Christians.

[988] 88 Following the suggestion of the double meaning of Logos and

the precedent of a similar distinction by Philo, be distinguishes in

the Logos, that is, the divine being of Christ, two elements: the

immanent, or that which determines the revelation of God to himself

within himself; [989] 89 and the transitive, in virtue of which God

reveals himself outwardly. [990] 90 The act of the procession of the

Logos from God [991] 91 he illustrates by the figure of generation,

[992] 92 without division or diminution of the divine substance; and in

this view the Logos is the only and absolute Son of God, the

only-begotten. The generation, however, is not with him an eternal act,

grounded in metaphysical necessity, as with Athanasius in the later

church doctrine. It took place before the creation of the world, and

proceeded from the free will of God. [993] 93 This begotten

ante-mundane (though it would seem not strictly eternal) Logos he

conceives as a hypostatical being, a person numerically distinct from

the Father; and to the agency of this person before his incarnation

[994] 94 Justin attributes the creation and support of the universe all

the theophanies (Christophanies) of the Old Testament, and all that is

true and rational in the world. Christ is the Reason of reasons, the

incarnation of the absolute and eternal reason. He is a true object of

worship. In his efforts to reconcile this view with monotheism, he at

one time asserts the moral unity of the two divine persons, and at

another decidedly subordinates the Son to the Father. Justin thus

combines hypostasianism, or the theory of the independent, personal

(hypostatical) divinity of Christ, with subordinationism; he is,

therefore, neither Arian nor Athanasian; but his whole theological

tendency, in opposition to the heresies, was evidently towards the

orthodox system, and had he lived later, he would have subscribed the

Nicene creed. [995] 95 The same may be said of Tertullian and of

Origen.

In this connection we must also mention Justin's remarkable doctrine of

the "Logos spermatikos," or the Divine Word disseminated among men. He

recognized in every rational soul something Christian, a germ (sperma)

of the Logos, or a spark of the absolute reason. He therefore traced

all the elements of truth and beauty which are scattered like seeds not

only among the Jews but also among the heathen to the influence of

Christ before his incarnation. He regarded the heathen sages, Socrates,

(whom he compares to Abraham), Plato, the Stoics, and some of the poets

and historians as unconscious disciples of the Logos, as Christians

before Christ. [996] 96

Justin derived this idea no doubt from the Gospel of John 1:4, 5, 9,

10, though he only quotes one passage from it (3:3-5). His pupil Tatian

used it in his Diatessaron. [997] 97

The further development of the doctrine of the Logos we find in the

other apologists, in Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, and

especially in the Alexandrian school.

Clement of Alexandria speaks in the very highest terms of the Logos,

but leaves his independent personality obscure. He makes the Logos the

ultimate principle of all existence, without beginning, and timeless;

the revealer of the Father, the sum of all intelligence and wisdom, the

personal truth, the speaking as well as the spoken word of creative

power, the proper author of the world, the source of light and life,

the great educator of the human race, at last becoming man, to draw us

into fellowship with him and make us partakers of his divine nature.

Origen felt the whole weight of the Christological and trinitarian

problem and manfully grappled with it, but obscured it by foreign

speculations. He wavered between the homo-ousian, or orthodox, and the

homoi-ousian or subordinatian theories, which afterwards came into

sharp conflict with each other in the Arian controversy. [998] 98 On

the one hand he brings the Son as near as possible to the essence of

the Father; not only making him the absolute personal wisdom, truth,

righteousness, reason, [999] 99 but also expressly predicating eternity

of him, and propounding the church dogma of the eternal generation of

the Son. This generation he usually represents as proceeding from the

will of the Father; but he also conceives it as proceeding from his

essence and hence, at least in one passage, he already applies the term

homo-ousios to the Son, thus declaring him co�qual in essence or nature

with the Father. [1000] 000 This idea of eternal generation, however,

has a peculiar form with him, from its close connection with his

doctrine of an eternal creation. He can no more think of the Father

without the Son, than of an almighty God without creation, or of light

without radiance. [1001] 001 Hence he describes this generation not as

a single, instantaneous act, but, like creation, ever going on. [1002]

002 But on the other hand he distinguishes the essence of the Son from

that of the Father; speaks of a difference of substance; [1003] 003 and

makes the Son decidedly inferior to the Father, calling him, with

reference to John 1:1, merely theos without the article, that is, God

in a relative or secondary sense (Deus de Deo) also deuteros theos-i,

-ibut the Father God in the absolute sense, ho theos (Deus per se), or

autotheos , also the fountain and root of the divinity. [1004] 004

Hence, he also taught, that the Son should not be directly addressed in

prayer, but the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit. [1005] 005

This must be limited, no doubt, to absolute worship, for he elsewhere

recognizes prayer to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. [1006] 006 Yet

this subordination of the Son formed a stepping-stone to Arianism, and

some disciples of Origen, particularly Dionysius of Alexandria,

decidedly approached that heresy. Against this, however, the deeper

Christian sentiment, even before the Arian controversy, put forth firm

protest, especially in the person of the Roman Dionysius, to whom his

Alexandrian namesake and colleague magnanimously yielded.

In a simpler way the western fathers, including here Irenaeus and

Hippolytus, who labored in the West, though they were of Greek

training, reached the position, that Christ must be one with the

Father, yet personally distinct from him. It is commonly supposed that

they came nearer the homo-ousion than the Greeks. This can be said of

Irenaeus, but not of Tertullian. And as to Cyprian, whose sphere was

exclusively that of church government and discipline, he had nothing

peculiar in his speculative doctrines.

Irenaeus after Polycarp, the most faithful representative of the

Johannean school, keeps more within the limits of the simple biblical

statements, and ventures no such bold speculations as the Alexandrians,

but is more sound and much nearer the Nicene standard. He likewise uses

the terms "Logos"and "Son of God" interchangeably, and concedes the

distinction, made also by the Valentinians, between the inward and the

uttered word, [1007] 007 in reference to man, but contests the

application of it to God, who is above all antitheses, absolutely

simple and unchangeable, and in whom before and after, thinking and

speaking, coincide. He repudiates also every speculative or a priori

attempt to explain the derivation of the Son from the Father; this be

holds to be an incomprehensible mystery. [1008] 008 He is content to

define the actual distinction between Father and Son, by saying that

the former is God revealing himself, the latter, God revealed; the one

is the ground of revelation, the other is the actual, appearing

revelation itself. Hence he calls the Father the invisible of the Son,

and the Son the visible of the Father. He discriminates most rigidly

the conceptions of generation and of creation. The Son, though begotten

of the Father, is still like him, distinguished from the created world,

as increate, without beginning, and eternal. All this plainly shows

that Irenaeus is much nearer the Nicene dogma of the substantial

identity of the Son with the Father, than Justin and the Alexandrians.

If, as he does in several passages, he still subordinates the Son to

the Father, be is certainly inconsistent; and that for want of an

accurate distinction between the eternal Logos and the actual Christ.

[1009] 009 Expressions like "my Father is greater than I," which apply

only to the Christ of history, he refers also, like Justin and Origen,

to the eternal Word. On the other hand, he has been charged with

leaning in the opposite direction towards the Sabellian and

Patripassian views, but unjustly. [1010] 010 Apart from his frequent

want of precision in expression, he steers in general, with sure

biblical and churchly tact, equally clear of both extremes, and asserts

alike the essential unity and the eternal personal distinction of the

Father and the Son.

The incarnation of the Logos Irenaeus represents both as a restoration

and redemption from sin and death, and as the completion of the

revelation of God and of the creation of man. In the latter view, as

finisher, Christ is the perfect Son of Man, in whom the likeness of man

to God, the similitudo Dei, regarded as moral duty, in distinction from

the imago Dei, as an essential property, becomes for the first time

fully real. According to this the incarnation would be grounded in the

original plan of God for the education of mankind, and independent of

the fall; it would have taken place even without the fall, though in

some other form. Yet Irenaeus does not expressly say this; speculation

on abstract possibilities was foreign to his realistic cast of mind.

Tertullian cannot escape the charge of subordinationism. He bluntly

calls the Father the whole divine substance, and the Son a part of it;

[1011] 011 illustrating their relation by the figures of the fountain

and the stream, the sun and the beam. He would not have two suns, he

says, but he might call Christ God, as Paul does in Rom 9:5. The

sunbeam, too, in itself considered, may be called sun, but not the sun

a beam. Sun and beam are two distinct things (species) in one essence

(substantia), as God and the Word, as the Father and the Son. But we

should not take figurative language too strictly, and must remember

that Tertullian was specially interested to distinguish the Son from

the Father in opposition to the Patripassian Praxeas. In other respects

he did the church Christology material service. He propounds a

threefold hypostatical existence of the Son (filiatio): (1) The

pre-existent, eternal immanence of the Son in the Father; they being as

inseparable as reason and word in man, who was created in the image of

God, and hence in a measure reflects his being; [1012] 012 (2) the

coming forth of the Son with the Father for the purpose of the

creation; (3) the manifestation of the Son in the world by the

incarnation. [1013] 013

With equal energy Hippolytus combated Patripassianism, and insisted on

the recognition of different hypostases with equal claim to divine

worship. Yet he, too, is somewhat trammelled with the subordination

view. [1014] 014

On the other hand, according to his representation in the

Philosophumena, the Roman bishops Zephyrinus and especially Callistus

favored Patripassianism. The later popes, however, were firm defenders

of hypostasianism. One of them, Dionysius, a.d. 262, as we shall see

more fully when speaking of the trinity, maintained at once the

homo-ousion and eternal generation against Dionysius of Alexandria, and

the hypostatical distinction against Sabellianism, and sketched in bold

and clear outlines the Nicene standard view.

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[987] On the Logos doctrine of Philo, which probably was known to John

much has been written by Gfr�rer (1831), D�hne (1834), Grossmann (1829

and 1841), Dorner (1845), Langen, (1867), Heinze (1872), Sch�rer

(1874), Siegfried (1875), Soulier, Pahud, Klasen, and others.

[988] For thorough discussions of Justin's Logos doctrine see Semisch.

Justin der M�rtyrer, 11. 289 sqq.; Dorner, Entwicklungsgesch. etc. I.

415-435; Weizs�cker. Die Theologie des M�rt. Justinus, in Dorner's

"Jahrb�cher f�r deutsche Theol." Bd XII. 1867, p. 60 sqq.; and M. von

Engelbardt, Das Christenthum Justins des M�rt. (1878), p. 107-120, and

his art. in the revised ed. of Herzog, vol. VII. (1880), p. 326.

[989] Logos endiathetos.

[990] Logos prophorikos .

[991] proerchesthai.

[992] gennan, gennasthai-i.-i

[993] He calls Christ "the first begotten of God,"prototokos tou theou

and the proton gennema (but not ktisma or poiema tou theou). See Apol.

I. 21, 23, 33, 46, 63; and Engelhardt, l.c. p. 116-120: "Der Logos ist

vorweltlich, aber nicht ewig."

[994] Logos asarkos .

[995] See the proof in the monograph of Semisch.

[996] Comp. Apol. II. 8, 10, 13. He says that the moral teaching of the

Stoics and some of the Greek poets was admirable on account of the seed

of the Logos implanted in every race of men (dia to emphuton panti

genei anthropon sperma tou logou), and mentions as examples Heraclitus,

Musonius, and others, who for this reason were hated and put to death.

[997] On the relation of Justin to John's Gospel, see especially the

very careful examination of Ezra Abbot, The Authorship of the Fourth

Gospel (Boston, 1880), pp. 29-56. He says (p. 41) While Justin's

conceptions in regard to the Logos were undoubtedly greatly affected by

Philo and the Alexandrian philosophy, the doctrine of the incarnation

of the Logos was utterly foreign to that philosophy, and could only

have been derived, it would seem, from the Gospel of John. He

accordingly speaks very often in language similar to that of John

(1:14) of the Logos as ' made flesh,' or as 'having become man.'That in

the last phrase he should prefer the term 'man' to the Hebraistic

'flesh' can excite no surprise. With reference to the deity of the

Logos and his instrumental agency in creation, compare also especially

Apol. II. 6, 'through him God created all things' (di' autou panta

ektise) Dial. c. 56, and Apol. I. 63, with John 1:1-3. Since the

Fathers who immediately followed Justin, as Theophilus, Irenaeus

Clement, Tertullian, unquestionably founded their doctrine of the

incarnation of the Logos on the Gospel of John, the presumption is that

Justin did the same. He professes to hold his view, in which he owns

that some Christians do not agree with him 'because we have been

comminded by Christ himself not to follow the doctrines of men, but

those which were proclaimed by the blessed prophets and taught by

Him.'(Dial. c. 48). Now, as Canon Westcott observes, 'the Synoptists do

not anywhere declare Christ's pre-existence.' And where could Justin

suppose himself to have found this doctrine taught by Christ except in

the Fourth Gospel? Compare Apol. I. 46: 'That Christ is the first-born

of God, being the Logos [the divine Reason] of which every race of men

have been partakers [Comp. John 1:4, 5, 9], we have been taught and

have declared before. And those who have lived according to Reason are

Christians, even though they were deemed atheists; as for example,

Socrates and Heraclitus and those like them among the Greeks.''

[998] Comp. here Neander, Baur, Dorner (I. 635-695), the monographs on

Origen by Redepenning (II. 295-307), and Thomasius, H. Schultz, Die

Christologie des Origenes, in the "Jahrb. f. Protest. Theol." 1875, No.

II. and III, and the art. of M�ller in Herzog2 XI. 105 sqq.

[999] autosophia, autoaletheia, autodikaiosune, autodunamis, autologos,

etc. Contra Cels. III. 41; V. 39. Origen repeatedly uses the term "God

Jesus," theos Iesous, without the article, ibid. V. 51; VI. 66.

[1000] In a fragment on the Ep. to the Hebrews (IV. 697, de la Rue):

aporroia homoousios.

[1001] De Princip. IV. 28: "Sicut lux numquam sine splendore esse

potuit, ita nec Filius quidem sine Patre intelligi potest "

[1002] De Princ. I. 2, 4: "Est aeterna et sempiterna generatio, sicut

splendor generatur a luce."Horn. in Jerem. IX. 4. aei genna ho Pater

ton Huion

[1003] hetirotes tes ousias or tou hupokeimenou, which the advocates of

his orthodoxy, probably without reason, take is merely opposing the

Patripassian conception of the homoousia. Redepenning, II. 300-306,

gives the principal passages for the homo-ousia and the hetero-ousia.

[1004] pege, rhiza tes theotetos.

[1005] De Orat. c. 15.

[1006] For example, Ad Rom. I. p. 472: "Adorare alium quempiam praeter

Patrem et Filium et Spiritum sanctum, impietatis est crimen."Contra

Cels. VIII. 67. He closes his homilies with a doxology to Christ.

[1007] The logos endiathetos and logos prophorikos .

[1008] Adv. Haer. II. 28, 6 "Si quis nobis dixerit: quomodo ergo Filius

prolatus a Patre est? dicimus ei--nemo novit nisi solus, qui generavit

Pater et qui natus est Filius."

[1009] The logos asarkos and the logos ensarkos .

[1010] As Duncker in his monograph: Die Christologie des heil.

Irenaeus, p. 50 sqq., has unanswerably shown

[1011] Adv. Prax. c. 9 "Pater tota subsiantia est, Filius vero

derivatio totius et portio, sicut ipse profitetur Quia Pater major Me

est " (John 14:28).

[1012] Hence he says (Adv. Prax. c. 5), by way of illustration:

"Quodcunque cogitaveris, sermo est; quodcunque senseris ratio est.

Loquaris illud in animo necesse est, et dum loqueris, conlocutorem

pateris sermonem, in quo inest haec ipsa ratio qua cum eo cogitans

loquaris, per quem loquens cogitas."

[1013] In German terminology this progress in the filiation

(Hypostasirung) may, be expressed: die werdende Pers�nlichkeit, die

gewordene Pers�nlichkeit, die erscheinende Pers�nlichkeit.

[1014] See the exposition of D�llinger, Hippol. p. 195 sqq.

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� 146. The Humanity of Christ.

Passing now to the doctrine of the Saviour's Humanity, we find this

asserted by IGNATIUS as clearly and forcibly as his divinity. Of the

Gnostic Docetists of his day, who made Christ a spectre, he says, they

are bodiless spectres themselves, whom we should fear as wild beasts in

human shape, because they tear away the foundation of our hope. [1015]

015 He attaches great importance to the flesh, that is, the full

reality of the human nature of Christ, his true birth from the virgin,

and his crucifixion under Pontius Pilate; he calls him God incarnate;

[1016] 016 therefore is his death the fountain of life.

Irenaeus refutes Docetism at length. Christ, he contends against the

Gnostics, must be a man, like us, if he would redeem us from corruption

and make us perfect. As sin and death came into the world by a man, so

they could be blotted out legitimately and to our advantage only by a

man; though of course not by one who should be a mere descendant of

Adam, and thus himself in need of redemption, but by a second Adam,

supernaturally begotten, a new progenitor of our race, as divine as he

is human. A new birth unto life must take the place of the old birth

unto death. As the completer, also, Christ must enter into fellowship

with us, to be our teacher and pattern. He made himself equal with man,

that man, by his likeness to the Son, might become precious in the

Father's sight. Irenaeus conceived the humanity of Christ not as a mere

corporeality, though he often contends for this alone against the

Gnostics, but as true humanity, embracing body, soul, and spirit. He

places Christ in the same relation to the regenerate race, which Adam

bears to the natural, and regards him as the absolute, universal man,

the prototype and summing up [1017] 017 of the whole race. Connected

with this is his beautiful thought, found also in Hippolytus in the

tenth book of the Philosophumena, that Christ made the circuit of all

the stages of human life, to redeem and sanctify all. To apply this to

advanced age, he singularly extended the life of Jesus to fifty years,

and endeavored to prove this view from the Gospels, against the

Valentinians. [1018] 018 The full communion of Christ with men involved

his participation in all their evils and sufferings, his death, and his

descent into the abode of the dead.

Tertullian advocates the entire yet sinless humanity of Christ against

both the Docetistic Gnostics [1019] 019 and the Patripassians. [1020]

020 He accuses the former of making Christ who is all truth, a half

lie, and by the denial of his flesh resolving all his work in the

flesh, his sufferings and his death, into an empty show, and subverting

the whole scheme of redemption. Against the Patripassians be argues,

that God the Father is incapable of suffering, and is beyond the sphere

of finiteness and change. In the humanity, he expressly includes the

soul; and this, in his view, comprises the reason also; for he adopts

not the trichotomic, but the dychotomic division. The body of Christ,

before the exaltation, he conceived to have been even homely, on a

misapprehension of Isa. 53:2, where the suffering Messiah is

figuratively said to have "no form nor comeliness." This unnatural view

agreed with his aversion to art and earthly splendor, but was not

commonly held by the Christian people if we are to judge from the

oldest representations of Christ under the figure of a beautiful

Shepherd carrying the lamb in his arms or on his shoulders.

Clement of Alexandria likewise adopted the notion of the uncomely

personal appearance of Jesus, but compensated it with the thought of

the moral beauty of his soul. In his effort, however, to idealize the

body of the Lord, and raise it above all sensual desires and wants, he

almost reaches Gnostic Docetism.

The Christology of Origen is more fully developed in this part, as well

as in the article of the divine nature, and peculiarly modified by his

Platonizing view of the pre-existence and pre-Adamic fall of souls and

their confinement in the prison of corporeity; but he is likewise too

idealistic, and inclined to substitute the superhuman for the purely

human. He conceives the incarnation as a gradual process, and

distinguishes two stages in it--the assumption of the soul, and the

assumption of the body. The Logos, before the creation of the world,

nay, from the beginning, took to himself a human soul, which had no

part in the ante-mundane apostasy, but clave to the Logos in perfect

love, and was warmed through by him, as iron by fire. Then this fair

soul, married to the Logos, took from the Virgin Mary a true body, yet

without sin; not by way of punishment, like the fallen souls, but from

love to men, to effect their redemption. Again, Origen distinguishes

various forms of the manifestation of this human nature, in which the

Lord became all things to all men, to gain all. To the great mass he

appeared in the form of a servant; to his confidential disciples and

persons of culture, in a radiance of the highest beauty and glory, such

as, even before the resurrection, broke forth from his miracles and in

the transfiguration on the Mount. In connection with this comes

Origen's view of a gradual spiritualization and deification of the body

of Christ, even to the ubiquity which he ascribes to it in its exalted

state. [1021] 021

On this insufficient ground his opponents charged him with teaching a

double Christ (answering to the lower Jesus and the higher Soter of the

Gnostics), and a merely temporary validity in the corporeity of the

Redeemer.

Origen is the first to apply to Christ the term God-man, [1022] 022

which leads to the true view of the relation of the two natures.

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[1015] Ep. ad Smyrn. c. 2-5.

[1016] en sarki genomenos theos (ad Ephes. c. 7); also enosis sarkos

kai pneumatos. Comp. Rom. 1:3, 4; 9:5; 1 John 4:1-3

[1017] anakephalaiosis, recapitulatio, a term frequently used by

Irenaeus. Comp. Rom. 13:9; Eph. 1:10.

[1018] Adv. Haer. II. 22, � 4-6. He appeals to tradition and to the

loose conjecture of the Jews that Christ was near fifty years, John

8:57. The Valentinian Gnostics allowed only thirty years to Christ,

corresponding to the number of their aeons.

[1019] Adv. Marcionem, and De Carne Christi.

[1020] Adv. Praxean.

[1021] The view of the ubiquity of Christ's body was adopted by Gregory

of Nyssa, revived by Scotus Erigena, but in a pantheistic sense, and by

Luther, who made it a support to his doctrine of the Lord's Supper. See

Creeds of Christendom, vol. I. p. 286 sqq.

[1022] theanthropos.

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� 147. The Relation of the Divine and the Human in Christ.

The doctrine of the Mutual Relation of the divine and the human in

Christ did not come into special discussion nor reach a definite

settlement until the Christological (Nestorian and Eutychian)

controversies of the fifth century.

Yet Irenaeus, in several passages, throws out important hints. He

teaches unequivocally a true and indissoluble union of divinity and

humanity in Christ, and repels the Gnostic idea of a mere external and

transient connection of the divine Soter with the human Jesus. The

foundation for that union he perceives in the creation of the world by

the Logos, and in man's original likeness to God and destination for

permanent fellowship with Him. In the act of union, that is, in the

supernatural generation and birth, the divine is the active principle,

and the seat of personality; the human, the passive or receptive; as,

in general, man is absolutely dependent on God, and is the vessel to

receive the revelations of his wisdom and love. The medium and bond of

the union is the Holy Spirit, who took the place of the masculine agent

in the generation, and overshadowed the virgin womb of Mary with the

power of the highest. In this connection he calls Mary the counterpart

of Eve the "mother of all living" in a higher sense; who, by her

believing obedience, became the cause of salvation both to herself and

the whole human race, [1023] 023 as Eve by her disobedience induced the

apostasy and death of mankind;--a fruitful but questionable parallel,

suggested but not warranted by Paul's parallel between Adam and Christ,

afterwards frequently pushed too far, and turned, no doubt, contrary to

its original sense, to favor the idolatrous worship of the blessed

Virgin. Irenaeus seems [1024] 024 to conceive the incarnation as

progressive, the two factors reaching absolute communion (but neither

absorbing the other) in the ascension; though before this, at every

stage of life, Christ was a perfect man, presenting the model of every

age.

Origen, the author of the term "God-man," was also the first to employ

the figure, since become so classical, of an iron warmed through by

fire, to illustrate the pervasion of the human nature (primarily the

soul) by the divine in the presence of Christ.

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[1023] "Et sibi et universo generi humano causa facta est salutis."Adv.

Haer. III. 22, � 4.

[1024] At least according to Dorner, I. 495.

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� 148. The Holy Spirit.

Ed. Burton: Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of

the Holy Ghost. Oxf. 1831 (Works, vol. II).

K. F. A. Kahnis. Die Lehre vom heil. Geiste. Halle, 1847. (Pt. I. p.

149-356. Incomplete).

Neander: Dogmengeschichte, ed. by Jacobi, I. 181-186.

The doctrine of Justin Mart. is treated with exhaustive thoroughness by

Semisch in his monograph (Breslau, 1840), II. 305-332. Comp. also Al.

v. Engelhardt: Das Christenthum Justins (Erlangen, 1878), P. 143-147.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was far less developed, and until the

middle of the fourth century was never a subject of special

controversy. So in the Apostles; Creed, only one article [1025] 025 is

devoted to the third person of the holy Trinity, while the confession

of the Son of God, in six or seven articles, forms the body of the

symbol. Even the original Nicene Creed breaks off abruptly with the

words: "And in the Holy Spirit;" the other clauses being later

additions. Logical knowledge appears to be here still further removed

than in Christology from the living substance of faith. This period was

still in immediate contact with the fresh spiritual life of the

apostolic, still witnessed the lingering operations of the

extraordinary gifts, and experienced in full measure the regenerating,

sanctifying, and comforting influences of the divine Spirit in life,

suffering, and death; but, as to the theological definition of the

nature and work of the Spirit, it remained in many respects confused

and wavering down to the Nicene age.

Yet rationalistic historians go quite too far when, among other

accusations, they charge the early church with making the Holy Spirit

identical with the Logos. To confound the functions, as in attributing

the inspiration of the prophets, for example, now to the Holy Spirit,

now to the Logos, is by no means to confound the persons. On the

contrary, the thorough investigations of recent times show plainly that

the ante-Nicene fathers, with the exception of the Monarchians and

perhaps Lactantius, agreed in the two fundamental points, that the Holy

Spirit, the sole agent in the application of redemption, is a

supernatural divine being, and that he is an independent person; thus

closely allied to the Father and the Son yet hypostatically different

from them both. This was the practical conception, as demanded even by

the formula of baptism. But instead of making the Holy Spirit strictly

coordinate with the other divine persons, as the Nicene doctrine does,

it commonly left him subordinate to the Father and the Son.

So in Justin, the pioneer of scientific discovery in Pneumatology as

well as in Christology. He refutes the heathen charge of atheism with

the explanation, that the Christians worship the Creator of the

universe, in the second place the Son, [1026] 026 in the third rank

[1027] 027 the prophetic Spirit; placing the three divine hypostases in

a descending gradation as objects of worship. In another passage, quite

similar, he interposes the host of good angels between the Son and the

Spirit, and thus favors the inference that he regarded the Holy Ghost

himself as akin to the angels and therefore a created being. [1028] 028

But aside from the obscurity and ambiguity of the words relating to the

angelic host, the coordination of the Holy Ghost with the angels is

utterly precluded by many other expressions of Justin, in which he

exalts the Spirit far above the sphere of all created being, and

challenges for the members of the divine trinity a worship forbidden to

angels. The leading function of the Holy Spirit, with him, as with

other apologists, is the inspiration of the Old Testament prophets.

[1029] 029 In general the Spirit conducted the Jewish theocracy, and

qualified the theocratic officers. All his gifts concentrated

themselves finally in Christ; and thence they pass to the faithful in

the church. It is a striking fact, however, that Justin in only two

passages refers the new moral life of the Christian to the Spirit, he

commonly represents the Logos as its fountain. He lacks all insight

into the distinction of the Old Testament Spirit and the New, and urges

their identity in opposition to the Gnostics.

In Clement of Alexandria we find very little progress beyond this

point. Yet he calls the Holy Spirit the third member of the sacred

triad, and requires thanksgiving to be addressed to him as to the Son

and the Father. [1030] 030

Origen vacillates in his Pneumatology still more than in his

Christology between orthodox and heterodox views. He ascribes to the

Holy Spirit eternal existence, exalts him, as he does the Son, far

above all creatures and considers him the source of all charisms,

[1031] 031 especially as the principle of all the illumination and

holiness of believers under the Old Covenant and the New. But he places

the Spirit in essence, dignity, and efficiency below the Son, as far as

he places the Son below the Father; and though he grants in one passage

[1032] 032 that the Bible nowhere calls the Holy Spirit a creature,

yet, according to another somewhat obscure sentence, he himself

inclines towards the view, which, however he does not avow that the

Holy Spirit had a beginning (though, according to his system, not in

time but from eternity), and is the first and most excellent of all the

beings produced by the Logos. [1033] 033 In the same connection he

adduces three opinions concerning the Holy Spirit; one regarding him as

not having an origin; another, ascribing to him no separate

personality; and a third, making him a being originated by the Logos.

The first of these opinions he rejects because the Father alone is

without origin (agennetos); the second he rejects because in Matt.

12:32 the Spirit is plainly distinguished from the Father and the Son;

the third he takes for the true and scriptural view, because everything

was made by the Logos. [1034] 034 Indeed, according to Matt. 12:32, the

Holy Spirit would seem to stand above the Son; but the sin against the

Holy Ghost is more heinous than that against the Son of Man, only

because he who has received the Holy Spirit stands higher than he who

has merely the reason from the Logos.

Here again Irenaeus comes nearer than the Alexandrians to the dogma of

the perfect substantial identity of the Spirit with the Father and the

Son; though his repeated figurative (but for this reason not so

definite) designation of the Son and Spirit as the "hands" of the

Father, by which he made all things, implies a certain subordination.

He differs from most of the Fathers in referring the Wisdom of the book

of Proverbs not to the Logos but to the Spirit; and hence must regard

him as eternal. Yet he was far from conceiving the Spirit a mere power

or attribute; he considered him an independent personality, like the

Logos. "With God" says he, [1035] 035 "are ever the Word and the

Wisdom, the Son and the Spirit, through whom and in whom he freely made

all things, to whom he said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our

likeness.' " But he speaks more of the operations than of the nature of

the Holy Ghost. The Spirit predicted in the prophets the coming of

Christ; has been near to man in all divine ordinances; communicates the

knowledge of the Father and the Son; gives believers the consciousness

of sonship; is fellowship with Christ, the pledge of imperishable life,

and the ladder on which we ascend to God.

In the Montanistic system the Paraclete occupies a peculiarly important

place. He appears there as the principle of the highest stage of

revelation, or of the church of the consummation. Tertullian made the

Holy Spirit the proper essence of the church, but subordinated him to

the Son, as he did the Son to the Father, though elsewhere he asserts

the "unitas substantiae." In his view the Spirit proceeds "a Patre per

Filium," as the fruit from the root through the stem. The view of the

Trinity presented by Sabellius contributed to the suppression of these

subordinatian ideas.

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[1025] Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.

[1026] en deutera chora.

[1027] en trite taxei, Apol. I. 13.

[1028] Apol. I. 6: Ekeinon te(i.e. theon), kai ton par' autou Huion

elthonta kai didaxanta hemas tauta kai ton ton allon hepomenon kai

exomoioumenon agathon angelon straton, Pneuma te to prophetikon

sebometha kai proskunoumen. This passage has been variously explained.

The questions arise, whether angelos here is not to be taken in the

wider sense, in which Justin often uses it, and even applies it to

Christ; whether stratondepends on sebometha, and not rather on

didaxanta, so as to be co-ordinate with hemas, or with tauta, and not

with Pshion and Pneuma. Still others suspect that straton is a false

reading for strategon, which would characterize Christ as the leader of

the angelic host. It is impossible to co-ordinate the host of angels

with the Father, Son, and Spirit, as objects of worship, without

involving Justin in gross self-contradiction (Apol I. 17: theon monon

proskunoumen, etc.). We must either join straton with hemas , in the

sense that Christ is the teacher, not of men only, but also of the host

of angels; or with tauta in the sense that the Son of God taught us

(didaxanta hemas) about these things (tauta, i.e. evil spirits, compare

the preceding chapter I. 5), but also concerning the good angels--ton

angelon straton being in this case elliptically put for ta peri tou...

angelon stratou. The former is more natural, although a more careful

writer than Justin would in this case have said tauta hemas instead of

hemas tauta. For a summary of the different interpretations see Otto's

notes in the third ed. of Justin's Opera, I. 20-23.

[1029] Hence the frequent designation, to Pneuma prophetikon, together

with the other, Pneu?ma agion; and hence also even in the Symb. Nic.

Constantin. the definition: Pneuma ... to lalesan dia ton propheton,

"who spoke through the prophets."

[1030] Paed. III. p. 311: Eucharistountas ainein to mono Patri kai Huio

--sun kai to hagio Pneumati.

[1031] Not as hule ton charismaton, as Neander and others represent it,

but as ten hulen ton charism. parechon, as offering the substance and

fairness of the spiritual gifts; therefore as the arche and pege of

them. In Joh. II. � 6.

[1032] De Princip. I. 3, 3.

[1033] In Joh. tom. II. � 6: timioteron--this comparative, by the way,

should be noticed as possibly saying more than the superlative, and

perhaps designed to distinguish the Spirit from all creatures--panton

ton hupo tou Patros dia Christou gegennemenon.

[1034] According to John 1:3

[1035] Adv. Haer. IV. 20, �1.

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� 149. The Holy Trinity.

Comp. the works quoted in �144, especially Petravius, Bull, Baur, and

Dorner.

Here now we have the elements of the dogma of the Trinity, that is, the

doctrine of the living, only true God, Father, Son, and Spirit, of

whom, through whom, and to whom are all things. This dogma has a

peculiar, comprehensive, and definitive import in the Christian system,

as a brief summary of all the truths and blessings of revealed

religion. Hence the baptismal formula (Matt. 28:19), which forms the

basis of all the ancient creeds, is trinitarian; as is the apostolic

benediction also (2 Cor. 13:14). This doctrine meets us in the

Scriptures, however, not so much in direct statements and single

expressions, of which the two just mentioned are the clearest, as in

great living facts; in the history of a threefold revelation of the

living God in the creation and government, the reconciliation and

redemption, and the sanctification and consummation of the world--a

history continued in the experience of Christendom. In the article of

the Trinity the Christian conception of God completely defines itself,

in distinction alike from the abstract monotheism of the Jewish

religion, and from the polytheism and dualism of the heathen. It has

accordingly been looked upon in all ages as the sacred symbol and the

fundamental doctrine of the Christian church, with the denial of which

the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit, and the divine character of

the work of redemption and sanctification, fall to the ground.

On this scriptural basis and the Christian consciousness of a threefold

relation we sustain to God as our Maker, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, the

church dogma of the Trinity arose; and it directly or indirectly ruled

even the ante-Nicene theology though it did not attain its fixed

definition till in the Nicene age. It is primarily of a practical

religious nature, and speculative only in a secondary sense. It arose

not from the field of metaphysics, but from that of experience and

worship; and not as an abstract, isolated dogma, but in inseparable

connection with the study of Christ and of the Holy Spirit; especially

in connection with Christology, since all theology proceeds from "God

in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." Under the condition of

monotheism, this doctrine followed of necessity from the doctrine of

the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit. The unity of God was

already immovably fixed by the Old Testament as a fundamental article

of revealed religion in opposition to all forms of idolatry. But the

New Testament and the Christian consciousness as firmly demanded faith

in the divinity of the Son, who effected redemption, and of the Holy

Spirit, who founded the church and dwells in believers; and these

apparently contradictory interests could be reconciled only in the form

of the Trinity; [1036] 036 that is, by distinguishing in the one and

indivisible essence of God [1037] 037 three hypostases or persons;

[1038] 038 at the same time allowing for the insufficiency of all human

conceptions and words to describe such an unfathomable mystery.

The Socinian and rationalistic opinion, that the church doctrine of the

Trinity sprang from Platonism [1039] 039 and Neo-Platonism [1040] 040

is therefore radically false. The Indian Trimurti, altogether

pantheistic in spirit, is still further from the Christian Trinity.

Only thus much is true, that the Hellenic philosophy operated from

without, as a stimulating force, upon the form of the whole patristic

theology, the doctrines of the Logos and the Trinity among the rest;

and that the deeper minds of heathen antiquity showed a presentiment of

a threefold distinction in the divine essence: but only a remote and

vague presentiment which, like all the deeper instincts of the heathen

mind, serves to strengthen the Christian truth. Far clearer and more

fruitful suggestions presented themselves in the Old Testament,

particularly in the doctrines of the Messiah, of the Spirit, of the

Word, and of the Wisdom of God, and even in the system of symbolical

numbers, which rests on the sacredness of the numbers three (God), four

(the world), seven and twelve (the union of God and the world, hence

the covenant numbers. But the mystery of the Trinity could be fully

revealed only in the New Testament after the completion of the work of

redemption and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. The historical

manifestation of the Trinity is the condition of the knowledge of the

Trinity.

Again, it was primarily the OEconomic or transitive trinity, which the

church had in mind; that is, the trinity of the revelation of God in

the threefold work of creation, redemption, and sanctification; the

trinity presented in the apostolic writings as a living fact. But from

this, in agreement with both reason and Scripture, the immanent or

ontologic trinity was inferred; that is, an eternal distinction in the

essence of God itself, which reflects itself in his revelation, and can

be understood only so far as it manifests itself in his works and

words. The divine nature thus came to be conceived, not as an abstract,

blank unity, but as an infinite fulness of life; and the Christian idea

of God (as John of Damascus has remarked) in this respect combined

Jewish monotheism with the truth which lay at the bottom of even the

heathen polytheism, though distorted and defaced there beyond

recognition.

Then for the more definite illustration of this trinity of essence,

speculative church teachers of subsequent times appealed to all sorts

of analogies in nature, particularly in the sphere of the finite mind,

which was made after the image of the divine, and thus to a certain

extent authorizes such a parallel. They found a sort of triad in the

universal law of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis; in the elements of

the syllogism; in the three persons of grammar; in the combination of

body, soul, and spirit in man; in the three leading faculties of the

soul; in the nature of intelligence and knowledge as involving a union

of the thinking subject and the thought object; and in the nature of

love, as likewise a union between the loving and the loved. [1041] 041

These speculations began with Origen and Tertullian; they were pursued

by Athanasius and Augustin; by the scholastics and mystics of the

Middle Ages; by Melanchthon, and the speculative Protestant divines

down to Schleiermacher, Rothe and Dorner, as well as by philosophers

from B�hme to Hegel; and they are not yet exhausted, nor will be till

we reach the beatific vision. For the holy Trinity, though the most

evident, is yet the deepest of mysteries, and can be adequately

explained by no analogies from finite and earthly things.

As the doctrines of the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit were

but imperfectly developed in logical precision in the ante-Nicene

period, the doctrine of the Trinity, founded on them, cannot be

expected to be more clear. We find it first in the most simple biblical

and practical shape in all the creeds of the first three centuries:

which, like the Apostles' and the Nicene, are based on the baptismal

formula, and hence arranged in trinitarian order. Then it appears in

the trinitarian doxologies used in the church from the first; such as

occur even in the epistle of the church at Smyrna on the martyrdom of

Polycarp. [1042] 042 Clement of Rome calls "God, the Lord Jesus Christ,

and the Holy Spirit" the object of "the faith and hope of the elect."

[1043] 043 The sentiment, that we rise through the Holy Spirit to the

Son, through the Son to the Father, belongs likewise to the age of the

immediate disciples of the apostles. [1044] 044

Justin Martyr repeatedly places Father, Son, and Spirit together as

objects of divine worship among the Christians (though not as being

altogether equal in dignity), and imputes to Plato a presentiment of

the doctrine of the Trinity. Athenagoras confesses his faith in Father,

Son, and Spirit, who are one as to power (kata dunamin), but whom he

distinguishes as to order or dignity (taxis) in subordinatian style.

Theophilus of Antioch (180) is the first to denote the relation of the

three divine persons [1045] 045 by the term Triad.

Origen conceives the Trinity as three concentric circles, of which each

succeeding one circumscribes a smaller area. God the Father acts upon

all created being; the Logos only upon the rational creation; the Holy

Ghost only upon the saints in the church. But the sanctifying work of

the Spirit leads back to the Son, and the Son to the Father, who is

consequently the ground and end of all being, and stands highest in

dignity as the compass of his operation is the largest.

Irenaeus goes no further than the baptismal formula and the trinity of

revelation; proceeding on the hypothesis of three successive stages in

the development of the kingdom of God on earth, and of a progressive

communication of God to the world. He also represents the relation of

the persons according to Eph. 4:6; the Father as above all, and the

head of Christ; the Son as through all, and the head of the church; the

Spirit as in all, and the fountain of the water of life. [1046] 046 Of

a supramundane trinity of essence he betrays but faint indications.

Tertullian advances a step. He supposes a distinction in God himself;

and on the principle that the created image affords a key to the

uncreated original, he illustrates the distinction in the divine nature

by the analogy of human thought; the necessity of a self-projection, or

of making one's self objective in word, for which he borrows from the

Valentinians the term probole, or prolatio rei alterius ex altera,

[1047] 047 but without connecting with it the sensuous emanation theory

of the Gnostics. Otherwise he stands, as already observed, on

subordinatian ground, if his comparisons of the trinitarian relation to

that of root, stem, and fruit; or fountain, flow, and brook; or sun,

ray, and raypoint, be dogmatically pressed. [1048] 048 Yet he directly

asserts also the essential unity of the three persons.. [1049] 049

Tertullian was followed by the schismatic but orthodox Novatian, the

author of a special treatise De Trinitate, drawn from the Creed, and

fortified with Scripture proofs against the two classes of Monarchians.

The Roman bishop Dionysius (A. D. 262), a Greek by birth, [1050] 050

stood nearest the Nicene doctrine. He maintained distinctly, in the

controversy with Dionysius of Alexandria, at once the unity of essence

and the real personal distinction of the three members of the divine

triad, and avoided tritheism, Sabellianism, and subordinatianism with

the instinct of orthodoxy, and also with the art of anathematizing

already familiar to the popes. His view has come down to us in a

fragment in Athanasius, where it is said: "Then I must declare against

those who annihilate the most sacred doctrine of the church by dividing

and dissolving the unity of God into three powers, separate hypostases,

and three deities. This notion [some tritheistic view, not further

known to us] is just the opposite of the opinion of Sabellius. For

while the latter would introduce the impious doctrine, that the Son is

the same as the Father, and the converse, the former teach in some

sense three Gods, by dividing the sacred unity into three fully

separate hypostases. But the divine Logos must be inseparably united

with the God of all, and in God also the Holy Ghost must dwell so that

the divine triad must be comprehended in one, viz. the all-ruling God,

as in a head." [1051] 051 Then Dionysius condemns the doctrine, that

the Son is a creature, as "the height of blasphemy," and concludes:

"The divine adorable unity must not be thus cut up into three deities;

no more may the transcendant dignity and greatness of the Lord be

lowered by saying, the Son is created; but we must believe in God the

almighty Father, and in Jesus Christ his Son, and in the Holy Ghost,

and must consider the Logos inseparably united with the God of all; for

he says, 'I and my Father are one'; and 'I am in the Father and the

Father in me.' In this way are both the divine triad and the sacred

doctrine of the unity of the Godhead preserved inviolate."

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[1036] trias, first in Theophilus; trinitas, first in Tertullian; from

the fourth century more distinctly monotrias , monas en tradi,

triunitas.

[1037] ousia, phusis, substantia; sometimes also, inaccurately,

hupostasis .

[1038] treis hupostaseis , tria prosopa, personae.

[1039] Comp. Plato, Ep. 2 and 6, which, however, are spurious or

doubtful. Legg. IV. p. 185: Ho theos archen te kai teleuten kai mesa

ton onton hapanton echon.

[1040] Plotinus (in Enn. V. 1) and Porphyry (in Cyril. Alex. c. Jul.)

who, however, were already unconsciously affected by Christian ideas,

speak of treis hupostaseis but in a sense altogether different from

that of the church.

[1041] "Ubi amor, ibi trinitas," says St. Augustin.

[1042] C. 14, where Polycarp concludes his prayer at the stake with the

words, di hou(i.e. Christ) soi (i.e. the Father), sun auto (Christ) kai

Pneumati hagio doxa kai nun kai eis tous mellontas aionasComp. at the

end of c. 22: ho kurios Ies. Christos... ho he doxa, sun Patri kai

hagio Pneumati, eis tous aionas ton aionon.. "Dominus Jesus Christus,

cui sit gloria cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto in sOEcula sOEcutorum.

Amen."I quote the text from Funk, Patr. Apost. I. 298 and 308.

[1043] In the Const. MS. Ad Cor. 58: ze ho theos kai ze ho kurios

Iesous Christos kai to pneuma hagion, he te pistis kai he elpis ton

eklekton."As surely as God liveth ... so surely, " etc.

[1044] In Irenaeus: Adv. Haer. V. 36, 2.

[1045] theos, Logos and Sophia. By Sophia, like Irenaeus, he means the

Holy Spirit.

[1046] Adv. Haer. V. 18, 2.

[1047] Adv. Praxean, c. 8.

[1048] "Tertius"--says he, Adv. Prax. c. 8--"est Spiritus a Deo et

Filio, sicut tertius a radice fructus ex frutice, et tertius a fonte

rivus ex flumine, et tertius a sole apex ex radio. Nihil tamen a

matrice alienatur, a qua proprietates suas ducit. Ita trinitas [here

this word appears for the first time, comp. c. 2: oikonomiaquae

unitatem in trinitatem disponit] per consertos [al. consortes] et

connexos gradus a Patre decurrens et monarchioe nihil obstrepit et

oikonomiasstatum protegit."

[1049] C. 2: "Tres autem non statu, sed gradu, nec substantia, sed

forma, nec potestate, sed specie, unius autem substantiae, et unius

status, et unius potestatis, quia unus Deus, ex quo et gradus isti et

formae et species, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti

deputantur."

[1050] Nothing is known of him except his effective effort against the

Sabellian heresy. He was consecrated after the death of Xystus, July

22, 259, during the persecution of Valerian. He acted with Dionysius of

Alexandria in condemning and degrading Paul of Samosata, in 264. He

died Dec. 26, 269.

[1051] Ten theian triada eis hena hosper eis koruphen tina (ton theon

ton holon, ton pantokratora lego) sunkephalaiousthai te kai sunagesthai

pasa ananke. Athanasius, De Sent. Dionysii, c. 4 sqq. (Opera, I. 252);

De Decr. Syn. Nic. 26 (Routh, Reliqu. Sacrae, iii. p. 384, ed. alt.).

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� 150. Antitrinitarians. First Class: The Alogi, Theodotus, Artemon,

Paul of Samosata.

The works cited at � 144, p. 543.

Schleiermacher: Ueber den Gegensatz der sabellianischen u.

athanasianischen Vorstellung von der Trinitaet (Werke zur Theol. Vol.

II.). A rare specimen of constructive criticism (in the interest of

Sabellianism).

Lobeg. Lange: Geschichte u. Lehrbegriff der Unitarier vor der

nicaenischen Synode. Leipz. 1831.

Jos. Schwane (R.C.): Dogmengesch. der vornicaen. Zeit (M�nster, 1862),

pp. 142-156; 199-203. Comp. his art. Antitrinitarier in "Wetzer und

Welte, " new ed. I. 971-976.

Friedr. Nitzsch: Dogmengeschichte, Part I. (Berlin, 1870), 194-210.

Ad. Harnack: Monarchianismus. In Herzog^2, vol. X. (1882), 178-213. A

very elaborate article. Abridged in Schaff's Herzog, II. 1548 sqq.

Ad. Hilgenfeld: Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums (1884) p.

608-(628.

That this goal was at last happily reached, was in great part due again

to those controversies with the opponents of the church doctrine of the

Trinity, which filled the whole third century. These Antitrinitarians

are commonly called Monarchians from (monarchia) [1052] 052 or

Unitarians, on account of the stress they laid upon the numerical.

personal unity of the Godhead.

But we must carefully distinguish among them two opposite classes: the

rationalistic or dynamic Monarchians, who denied the divinity of

Christ, or explained it as a mere "power" (dunamis) and the

patripassian or modalistic Monarchians, who identified the Son with the

Father, and admitted at most only a modal trinity, that is a threefold

mode of revelation, but not a tripersonality.

The first form of this heresy, involved in the abstract Jewish

monotheism, deistically sundered the divine and the human, and rose

little above Ebionism. After being defeated in the church this heresy

arose outside of it on a grander scale, as a pretended revelation, and

with marvellous success, in Mohammedanism which may be called the

pseudo-Jewish and pseudo-Christian Unitarianism of the East.

The second form proceeded from the highest conception of the deity of

Christ, but in part also from pantheistic notions which approached the

ground of Gnostic docetism.

The one prejudiced the dignity of the Son, the other the dignity of the

Father; yet the latter was by far the more profound and Christian, and

accordingly met with the greater acceptance.

The Monarchians of the first class saw in Christ a mere man, filled

with divine power; but conceived this divine power as operative in him,

not from the baptism only, according to the Ebionite view, but from the

beginning; and admitted his supernatural generation by the Holy Spirit.

To this class belong:

1. The Alogians or Alogi, [1053] 053 a heretical sect in Asia Minor

about a.d. 170, of which very little is known. Epiphanius gave them

this name because they rejected the Logos doctrine and the Logos

Gospel, together with the Apocalypse. "What good," they said, "is the

Apocalypse to me, with its seven angels and seven seals? What have I to

do with the four angels at Euphrates, whom another angel must loose,

and the host of horsemen with breastplates of fire and brimstone?" They

seem to have been jejune rationalists opposed to chiliasm and all

mysterious doctrines. They absurdly attributed the writings of John to

the Gnostic, Cerinthus, whom the aged apostle opposed. [1054] 054 This

is the first specimen of negative biblical criticism, next to Marcion's

mutilation of the canon. [1055] 0552. The Theodotians; so called from

their founder, the tanner Theodotus. He sprang from Byzantium; denied

Christ in a persecution, with the apology that he denied only a man;

but still held him to be the supernaturally begotten Messiah. He gained

followers in Rome, but was excommunicated by the bishop Victor

(192-202). After his death his sect chose the confessor Natalis bishop,

who is said to have afterwards penitently returned into the bosom of

the Catholic church. A younger Theodotus, the "money-changer," put

Melchizedek as mediator between God and the angels, above Christ, the

mediator between God and men; and his followers were called

Melchizedekians. [1056] 056

3. The Artemonites, or adherents of Artemon or Artemos, who came out

somewhat later at Rome with a similar opinion, declared the doctrine of

the divinity of Christ an innovation and a relapse to heathen

polytheism; and was excommunicated by Zephyrinus (202-217) or

afterwards. The Artemonites were charged with placing Euclid and

Aristotle above Christ, and esteeming mathematics and dialectics higher

than the gospel. This indicates a critical intellectual turn, averse to

mystery, and shows that Aristotle was employed by some against the

divinity of Christ, as Plato was engaged for it.

Their assertion, that the true doctrine was obscured in the Roman

church only from the time of Zephyrinus, [1057] 057 is explained by the

fact brought to light recently through the Philosophumena of

Hippolytus, that Zephyrinus (and perhaps his predecessor Victor),

against the vehement opposition of a portion of the Roman church,

favored Patripassianism, and probably in behalf of this doctrine

condemned the Artemonites. [1058] 058

4. Paul Of Samosata, from 260 bishop of Antioch, and at the same time a

high civil officer, [1059] 059 is the most famous of these

rationalistic Unitarians, and contaminated one of the first apostolic

churches with his heresy. He denied the personality of the Logos and of

the Holy Spirit, and considered them merely powers of God, like reason

and mind in man; but granted that the Logos dwelt in Christ in larger

measure than in any former messenger of God, and taught, like the

Socinians in later times, a gradual elevation of Christ, determined by

his own moral development, to divine dignity. [1060] 060 He admitted

that Christ remained free from sin, conquered the sin of our

forefathers, and then became the Saviour of the race. To introduce his

Christology into the mind of the people, he undertook to alter the

church hymns, but was shrewd enough to accommodate himself to the

orthodox formulas, calling Christ, for example, "God from the Virgin,"

[1061] 061 and ascribing to him even homo-ousia with the Father, but of

course in his own sense. [1062] 062

The bishops under him in Syria accused him not only of heresy but also

of extreme vanity, arrogance, pompousness, avarice, and undue concern

with secular business; and at a third synod held in Antioch a.d. 269 or

268, they pronounced his deposition. The number of bishops present is

variously reported (70, 80, 180). Dominus was appointed successor. The

result was communicated to the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and to all

the churches. But as Paul was favored by the queen Zenobia of Palmyra,

the deposition could not be executed till after her subjection by the

emperor Aurelian in 272, and after consultation with the Italian

bishops. [1063] 063

His overthrow decided the fall of the Monarchians; though they still

appear at the end of the fourth century as condemned heretics, under

the name of Samosatians, Paulianists, and Sabellians.

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[1052] The designation Monarchiani as a sectarian name is first used by

Tertullian, Adv. Prox. c. 10 ("vanissimi isti Monarchiani"); but the

Monarchians themselves used monarchia in the good sense (Adv. Prax.

3."Monarchiam, inquiunt, tenemus"), in which it was employed by the

orthodox fathers in opposition to dualism and polytheism. Irenaeus

wrote (according to Jerome) a book "De Monarchia, sive quod Deus non

sit auctor malorum." In a somewhat different sense, the Greek fathers

in opposition to the Latin Filioque insist on the monarchiaof the

Father, i.e. the sovereign dignity of the first Person of the Trinity,

as the root and fountain of the Deity.

[1053] From a privative and logos, which may mean both irrational, and

opponents of the Logos doctrine. The designation occurs first in

Epiphanius, who invented the term (Haer. 51, c. 3) to characterize

sarcastically their unreasonable rejection of the Divine Reason

preached by John.

[1054] Hence Epiphanius asks (Haer. 51, 3): pos estai Kerinthou ta kata

Kerinthou legonta?

[1055] Comp. on the Alogi, Iren. Adv. Haer. III. 11. 9 (alii ... simul

evangelium [Joannis] et propheticum repellunt spiritum;"but the

application of this passage is doubtful); Epiphanius, Haer. 51 and 54.

M. Merkel, Historish-kritische Aufkl�rung der Streitigkeiten der Aloger

�ber die Apokalypsis, Frankf. and Leipz. 1782; by the same:

Umst�ndlicher Beweis dass die Apok. ein untergeschobenes Buch sei,

Leipz. 1785; F. A. Heinichen, De Alogis, Theodotianis atque

Artemonites, Leipzig, 1829; Neander, Kirchengesch. l. II. 906, 1003;

Dorner, l. c. Bd. II. 500-503; Schaff, Alogians in " Smith and Wace,"

I. 87; Lipsius, Quellen der �ltesten Ketzergeschichte, 93 and 214;

Schwane, l. c. 145-148; D�llinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, 273-288

(in Plummer's transl.); Zahn, in the " Zeitschrift f�r Hist.

Theol."1875, p. 72 sq.; Harnack, in Herzog2, 183-186. Harnack infers

from Irenaeus that the Alogi were churchly or catholic opponents of the

Montanistic prophecy as well as the millennarian Gnosticism of Cerinth

at a time before the canon was fixed; but it is doubtful whether

Irenaeus; refers to them at all, and in the year 170 the fourth Gospel

was undoubtedly recognized throughout the Catholic church.

[1056] On the older Theodotus see Hippol. Philos., VII. 35; X. 23 (in

D. and Schu. p. 406 and 526); Epiph., Haer. 54; Philastr., Haer. 50;

Pseudo Tert., Haer. 28; Euseb., H. E. V. 28, On the younger Theodotus,

see Hippol., VII. 36; Euseb., V. 28; Pseudo-Tert., 29; Epiph., Haer. 55

(Contra Melchisedecianos).

[1057] Euseb. V. 28. Eusebius derived his information from an anonymous

book which Nicephorus (IV. 21) calls mikron laburinthon, "the little

labyrinth," and which Photius (Bibl. c. 48) ascribes to Caius, but

which was probably written b v Hippolytus of Rome. See the note of

Heinichen in Tom. III. 243 sq., and D�llinger, Hippolytus, p. 3 (Engl.

transl.).

[1058] The sources of our fragmentary information about Artemon are

Epiphanius, Haer. 65, c. 1-4; Euseb., H. E. V. 28; VII. 30; Theodoret,

Haer. Fab. II. 8. Comp. Kapp, Historia Artemonis, 1737, Schleiermacher,

Dorner, and Harnack.

[1059] "Ducenarius procurator." He was viceroy of the queen of Palmyra,

to which Antioch belonged at that time.

[1060] Atheopoiesis ek prokopes or agegonenai theon ex anthropou. He

anticipated the doctrine of the Socinians who were at first frequently

called Samosaterians (e.g. in the Second Helvetic Confession). They

teach that Christ began as a man and ended as a God, being elevated

after the resurrection to a quasi-divinity, so as to become an object

of adoration and worship. But the logical tendency of Socinianism is

towards mere humanitarianism. The idea of divinity necessarily includes

aseity and eternity. A divinity communicated in time is only a finite

being.

[1061] theos ek tes parthenou.

[1062] Probably he meant the impersonal, pre-existent Logos. But the

Synod of Antioch declined the term homoousiosimpersonal (Sabellian)

sense.

[1063] Sources: The fragmentary acts of the Synod of Antioch in

Eusebius, VII. 27-30; Jerome, De Viris ill. 71; Epiphanius, Haer 65 (or

45 kata tou Paulou tou Samosateos, In Oehler's ed. II. 2, P. 380-397);

five fragments of sermons of Paul of doubtful genuineness, in Ang.

Mai's Vet. Script. Nova Coll. VII. 68 sq.; scattered notices in

Athanasius, Hilary, and other Nicene fathers; Theodoret Fab. Haer. II.

8. Comp. Dorner and Harnack.

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� 151. Second Class of Antitrinitarians: Praxeas, No�tus, Callistus,

Berryllus.

The second class of Monarchians, called by Tertullian "Patripassians"

(as afterwards a branch of the Monophysites was called

"Theopaschites"), [1064] 064 together with their unitarian zeal felt

the deeper Christian impulse to hold fast the divinity of Christ; but

they sacrificed to it his independent personality, which they merged in

the essence of the Father. They taught that the one supreme God by his

own free will, and by an act of self-limitation became man, so that the

Son is the Father veiled in the flesh. They knew no other God but the

one manifested in Christ, and charged their opponents with ditheism.

They were more dangerous than the rationalistic Unitarians, and for a

number of years had even the sympathy and support of the papal chair.

They had a succession of teachers in Rome, and were numerous there even

at the time of Epiphanius towards the close of the fourth century.

1. The first prominent advocate of the Patripassian heresy was Praxeas

of Asia Minor. He came to Rome under Marcus Aurelius with the renown of

a confessor; procured there the condemnation of Montanism; and

propounded his Patripassianism, to which he gained even the bishop

Victor. [1065] 065 But Tertullian met him in vindication at once of

Montanism and of hypostasianism with crushing logic, and sarcastically

charged him with having executed at Rome two commissions of the devil:

having driven away the Holy Ghost, and having crucified the Father.

Praxeas, constantly appealing to Is. 45:5; John. 10:30 ("I and my

Father are one"), and 14:9 ("He that hath seen me hath seen the Father

"), as if the whole Bible consisted of these three passages, taught

that the Father himself became man, hungered, thirsted, suffered, and

died in Christ. True, he would not be understood as speaking directly

of a suffering (pati) of the Father, but only of a sympathy (copati) of

the Father with the Son; but in any case he lost the independent

personality of the Son. He conceived the relation of the Father to the

Son as like that of the spirit to the flesh. The same subject, as

spirit, is the Father; as flesh, the Son. He thought the Catholic

doctrine tritheistic. [1066] 066

2. No�tus of Smyrna published the same view about a.d. 200, appealing

also to Rom. 9:5, where Christ is called "the one God over all." When

censured by a council he argued in vindication of himself, that his

doctrine enhanced the glory of Christ. [1067] 067 The author of the

Philosophumena places him in connection with the pantheistic philosophy

of Heraclitus, who, as we here for the first time learn, viewed nature

as the harmony of all antitheses, and called the universe at once

dissoluble and indissoluble, originated and unoriginated, mortal and

immortal; and thus No�tus supposed that the same divine subject must be

able to combine opposite attributes in itself. [1068] 068

Two of his disciples, Epigonus and Cleomenes, [1069] 069 propagated

this doctrine in Rome under favor of Pope Zephyrinus.

3. Callistus (pope Calixtus I.) adopted and advocated the doctrine of

No�tus. He declared the Son merely the manifestation of the Father in

human form; the Father animating the Son, as the spirit animates the

body, [1070] 070 and suffering with him on the cross. "The Father,"

said he, "who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it

with himself and made it one. Father and Son were therefore the name of

the one God, and this one person [1071] 071 cannot be two; thus the

Father suffered with the Son." He considered his opponents "ditheists,"

[1072] 072 and they in return called his followers "Callistians."

These and other disclosures respecting the church at Rome during the

first quarter of the third century, we owe, as already observed, to the

ninth book of the Philosophumena of Hippolytus, who was, however, it

must be remembered, the leading opponent and rival of Callistus, and in

his own doctrine of the Trinity inclined to the opposite subordinatian

extreme. He calls Callistus, evidently with passion, an "unreasonable

and treacherous man, who brought together blasphemies from above and

below only to speak against the truth, and was not ashamed to fall now

into the error of Sabellius, now into that of Theodotius" (of which

latter, however, he shows no trace, but the very opposite). [1073] 073

Callistus differed from the ditheistic separation of the Logos from

God, but also from the Sabellian confusion of the Father and the Son,

and insisted on the mutual indwelling (perichoresis) of the divine

Persons; in other words, he sought the way from modalistic unitarianism

to the Nicene trinitarianism; but he was not explicit and consistent in

his statements. He excommunicated both Sabellius and Hippolytus; the

Roman church sided with him, and made his name one of the most

prominent among the ancient popes. [1074] 074

After the death of Callistus, who occupied the papal chair between 218

and 223 or 224, Patripassianism disappeared from the Roman church.

4. Beryllus of Bostra (now Bosra and Bosseret), in Arabia Petraea. From

him we have only a somewhat obscure and very variously interpreted

passage preserved in Eusebius. [1075] 075 He denied the personal

pre-existence [1076] 076 and in general the independent divinity [1077]

077 of Christ, but at the same time asserted the indwelling of the

divinity of the Father [1078] 078 in him during his earthly life. He

forms, in some sense, the stepping-stone from simple Patripassianism to

Sabellian modalism. At an Arabian synod in 244, where the presbyter

Origen, then himself accused of heresy, was called into consultation,

Beryllus was convinced of his error by that great teacher, and was

persuaded particularly of the existence of a human soul in Christ, in

place of which he had probably put his patrike theotos, as Apollinaris

in a later period put the logos. He is said to have thanked Origen

afterwards for his instruction. Here we have one of the very few

theological disputations which have resulted in unity instead of

greater division. [1079] 079

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[1064] The Orientals usually call them "Sabellians" from their most

prominent representative.

[1065] Pseudo-Tert.: "Praxeas hoeresim introduxit quam Victorinus

[probably=Victor] corroborare curavit." It is certain from Hippolytus,

that Victor's successors, Zephyrinus and Callistus sympathized with

Patripassianism.

[1066] The chief source: Tertullian, Adv. Praxean (39 chs., written

about 210). Comp. Pseudo-Tertull. 20. Hippolytus strangely never

mentions Praxeas. Hence some have conjectured that he was identical

with No�tus, who came likewise from Asia Minor; others identify him

with Epigonus, or with Callistus, and regard Praxeas as a nickname. The

proper view is that Praxeas appeared in Rome before Epigonus, probably

under Eleutherus, and remained but a short time. On the other hand

Tertullian nowhere mentions the names of No�tus, Epigonus, Cleomenes,

and Callistus.

[1067] ti oun kakon poio, he asked, doxazon ton Christon.

[1068] On No�tus see Hippol., Philos. IX. 7-9 (p. 410-442), and his

tract against No�tus (Homilia eis ten hairesin Noetou tinos, perhaps

the last chapter of his lost work against the 32 heresies). Epiphanius,

Haer. 57, used both these books, but falsely put No�tus back from the

close of the second century to about 130.

[1069] Not his teachers, as was supposed by former historians,

including Neander. See Hippolytus, IX. 7.

[1070] John 14:11.

[1071] prosopon, Callistus, however, rectified this statement, which

seems to be merely an inference of Hippolytus.

[1072] ditheoi.

[1073] D�llinger here dissents from, Harnack agrees with, the charge of

Hippolytus.

[1074] On Callistus see Hippol. IX. 11, 12 (p. 450-462) and c. 27 (p.

528-530). Comp. D�llinger, Hippol. und Callistus, ch. IV. (Engl.

transl. p. 183 sqq., especially p. 215), and other works on Hippolytus;

also Langen, Gesch. der r�m. Kirche, p. 192-216. D�llinger charges

Hippolytus with misrepresenting the views of Callistus; while Bishop

Wordsworth (St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome, ch. XIV. p. 214

sqq.), charges Callistus with the Sabellian heresy, and defends the

orthodoxy of Hippolytus by such easy reasoning as this (p. 254):

"Callistus is asserted by Hippolytus to have been a heretic. No church

historian affirms Callistus to have been orthodox. All church history

that has spoken of Hippolytus,--and his name is one of the most

celebrated in its annals,--has concurred in bearing witness to the

soundness of his faith." Harnack (in Herzog X. 202) considers the

formula of Callistus as the bridge from the original monarchianism of

the Roman church to the hypostasis-christology (Die B�cke, auf welcher

di urspr�nglich monarchianisch gesinnten r�mischen Crhisten, dem Zuge

der Zeit und der kirchtichen,WIssenschaft folgend, zur Anerkennung der

Hypostasen- Christologie �bergegangen sind.")

[1075] H. E. VI. 33.

[1076] idia ousias perigraphei.e. a circumscribed, limited, separate

existence.

[1077] idia theotes.

[1078] he patrike theotes.

[1079] The Acts of the Synod of Bostra, known to Eusebius and Jerome,

are lost. Our scanty information on Beryllus is derived from Eusebius,

already quoted, from Jerome, De Vir. ill. c. 60, and from a fragment of

Origen in the Apology of Pamphilus, Orig. Opera, IV. 22 (ed. Bened.)

Comp. Ullmann, De Beryllo Bostr., Hamb. 1835. Fock, Dissert. de

Christologia Berylli, 1843; Kober, Beryll v. B. in the T�b."Theol.

Quartalschrift," for 1848. Also Baur, Dorner (I. 545 sqq.), Harnack,

and Hefele (Conc. Gesch. I. 109).

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� 152. Sabellianism.

Sources: Hippolytyus: Philos. IX. 11 (D. and Schn. p. 450, 456, 458).

Rather meagre, but important. Epiphan.: Haer: 62. The fragments of

letters of Dionysius of Alex. in Athanasius, De Sentent. Dion., and

later writers, collected in Routh, Reliqu. sacr. Novatian: De Trinit.

Euseb.: Contra Marcellum. The references in the writiings of Athanasius

(De Syn.; De Decr. Nic. Syn.; Contra Arian.). Basil M.: Ep. 207, 210,

214, 235. Gregory of Naz.: logos kata Areiou k. Sabelliou.

Comp. Schleiermacher, Neander, Baur, Dorner, Harnack, l. c., and Zahn,

Marcellus von. Ancyra (Gotha, 1867); Nitzsch, Dogmengesch. I. 206-209,

223-225.

5. Sabellius is by far the most original, profound, and ingenious of

the ante-Nicene Unitarians, and his system the most plausible rival of

orthodox trinitarianism. It revives from time to time in various

modifications. [1080] 080 We know very little of his life. He was

probably a Lybian from the Pentapolis. He spent some time in Rome in

the beginning of the third century, and was first gained by Callistus

to Patripassianism, but when the latter became bishop be was

excommunicated. [1081] 081 The former fact is doubtful. His doctrine

spread in Rome, and especially also in the Pentapolis in Egypt.

Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, excommunicated him in 260 or 261

[1082] 082 at a council in that city, and, in vehement opposition to

him declared in almost Arian terms for the hypostatical independence

and subordination of the Son in relation to the Father. This led the

Sabellians to complain of that bishop to Dionysius of Rome, who held a

council in 262, and in a special treatise controverted Sabellianism, as

well as subordinatianism and tritheism, with nice orthodox tact. [1083]

083 The bishop of Alexandria very cheerfully yielded, and retracted his

assertion of the creaturely inferiority of the Son in favor of the

orthodox homo-ousios. Thus the strife was for a while allayed, to be

renewed with still greater violence by Arius half a century later.

The system of Sabellius is known to us only from a few fragments, and

some of these not altogether consistent, in Athanasius and other

fathers.

While the other Monarchians confine their inquiry to the relation of

Father and Son, Sabellius embraces the Holy Spirit in his speculation,

and reaches a trinity, not a simultaneous trinity of essence, however,

but only a successive trinity of revelation. He starts from a

distinction of the monad and the triad in the divine nature. His

fundamental thought is, that the unity of God, without distinction in

itself, unfolds or extends itself [1084] 084 in the course of the

world's development in three different forms and periods of revelation

[1085] 085 and, after the completion of redemption, returns into unity.

The Father reveals himself in the giving of the law or the Old

Testament economy (not in the creation also, which in his view precedes

the trinitarian revelation); the Son, in the incarnation; the Holy

Ghost, in inspiration. The revelation of the Son ends with the

ascension; the revelation of the Spirit goes on in regeneration and

sanctification. He illustrates the trinitarian relation by comparing

the Father to the disc of the sun, the Son to its enlightening power,

the Spirit to its warming influence. He is said also to have likened

the Father to the body, the Son to the soul, the Holy Ghost to the

spirit of man; but this is unworthy of his evident speculative

discrimination. His view of the Logos, [1086] 086 too, is peculiar.

The, Logos is not identical with the Son, but is the monad itself in

its transition to triad; that is, God conceived as vital motion and

creating principle, the speaking God, [1087] 087 in distinction from

the silent God. [1088] 088 Each prosopon is another dialegesthai and

the three prosopa together are only successive evolutions of the Logos

or the worldward aspect of the divine nature. As the Logos proceeded

from God, so he returns at last into him, and the process of

trinitarian development [1089] 089 closes.

Athanasius traced the doctrine of Sabellius to the Stoic philosophy.

The common element is the pantheistic leading view of an expansion and

contraction [1090] 090 of the divine nature immanent in the world. In

the Pythagorean system also, in the Gospel of the Egyptians, and in the

pseudo-Clementine Homilies, there are kindred ideas. But the

originality of Sabellius cannot be brought into question by these. His

theory broke the way for the Nicene church doctrine, by its full

coordination of the three persons. He differs from the orthodox

standard mainly in denying the trinity of essence and the permanence of

the trinity of manifestation; making Father, Son, and Holy Ghost only

temporary phenomena, which fulfil their mission and return into the

abstract monad.

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[1080] We will only mention Marcellus of Ancyra., Schleiermacher, and

Bushnell. Schleiermacher's doctrine of the trinity is a very ingenious

improvement of Sabellianism.

[1081] This we learn from Hippolytus, who introduces him rather

incidentally (in his account of Callistus) as a man well known at his

time in the Roman church.

[1082] Sabellius must have been an old man at that time.

[1083] Comp. the close of � 149 (this vol.).

[1084] he monas platuntheisa gegone trias.

[1085] onomata, prosopa,--not in the orthodox sense of hypostasis,

however, but in the primary sense of mask, or part (in a play)--, also

morphai, schemata.

[1086] Which was for the first time duly brought out by Dr. Baur.

[1087] theos lalon.

[1088] theos siopon.

[1089] dialexis

[1090] hektasis, or platutmos and sustole.

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� 153. Redemption.

Cotta: Histor. doctrinae de redemptione sanguine J. Chr. facta, in

Gerhard: Loci theol., vol. IV. p. 105-134.

Ziegler: Hist. dogmatis de redemptione. Gott. 1791. Rationalistic.

K. Baehr.: Die Lehre der Kirche vom Tode Jesu in den drei ersten

Jahrh., Sulz b. 1832. Against the orthodox doctrine of the satisfactio

vicaria.

F. C. Baur: Die christl. Lehre von der Vers�hnung in ihrer geschichtl.

Entw. von der aeltesten Zeit bis auf die neueste. T�b. 1838. 764 pages,

(See pp. 23-67). Very learned, critical, and philosophical, but

resulting in Hegelian pantheism.

L. Duncker: Des heil. IrenaeusChristologie. G�tt. 1843 (p. 217 sqq.;

purely objective).

Baumgarten Crusius: Compendium der christl. Dogmengeschichte. Leipz. 2d

Part 1846, � 95 sqq. (p. 257 sqq.)

Albrecht Ritschl (Prof. in G�ttingen): Die christl. Lehre von der

Rechtfertigung und Vers�hnung, Bonn, 1870, second revised ed. 1882,

sqq., 3 vols. The first vol. (pages 656) contains the history the

doctrine, but devotes only a few introductory pages to our period (p.

4), being occupied chiefly with the Anselmic, the orthodox Lutheran and

Calvinistic, and the modern German theories of redemption. Ritschl

belonged originally to the T�bingen school, but pursues now an

independent path, and lays greater stress on the ethical forces in

history.

The work of the triune God, in his self-revelation, is the salvation,

or redemption and reconciliation of the world: negatively, the

emancipation of humanity from the guilt and power of sin and death;

positively, the communication of the righteousness and life of

fellowship with God. First, the discord between the Creator and the

creature must be adjusted; and then man can be carried onward to his

destined perfection. Reconciliation with God is the ultimate aim of

every religion. In heathenism it was only darkly guessed and felt

after, or anticipated in perverted, fleshly forms. In Judaism it was

divinely promised, typically foreshadowed, and historically prepared.

In Christianity it is revealed in objective reality, according to the

eternal counsel of the love and wisdom of God, through the life, death,

and resurrection of Christ, and is being continually applied

subjectively to individuals in the church by the Holy Spirit, through

the means of grace, on condition of repentance and faith. Christ is,

exclusively and absolutely, the Saviour of the world, and the Mediator

between God and man.

The apostolic scriptures, in the fulness of their inspiration,

everywhere bear witness of this salvation wrought through Christ, as a

living fact of experience. But it required time for the profound ideas

of a Paul and a John to come up clearly to the view of the church;

indeed, to this day they remain unfathomed. Here again experience

anticipated theology. The church lived from the first on the atoning

sacrifice of Christ. The cross ruled all Christian thought and conduct,

and fed the spirit of martyrdom. But the primitive church teachers

lived more in the thankful enjoyment of redemption than in logical

reflection upon it. We perceive in their exhibitions of this blessed

mystery the language rather of enthusiastic feeling than of careful

definition and acute analysis. Moreover, this doctrine was never, like

Christology and the doctrine of the Trinity, a subject of special

controversy within the ancient church. The oecumenical symbols touch it

only in general terms. The Apostles' Creed presents it in the article

on the forgiveness of sins on the ground of the divine-human life,

death, and resurrection of Christ. The Nicene Creed says, a little more

definitely, that Christ became man for our salvation, [1091] 091 and

died for us, and rose again.

Nevertheless, all the essential elements of the later church doctrine

of redemption may be found, either expressed or implied, before the

close of the second century. The negative part of the doctrine, the

subjection of the devil, the prince of the kingdom of sin and death,

was naturally most dwelt on in the patristic period, on account of the

existing conflict of Christianity with heathenism, which was regarded

as wholly ruled by Satan and demons. Even in the New Testament,

particularly in Col. 2:15, Heb. 2:14, and 1 John 3:8, the victory over

the devil is made an integral part of the work of Christ. But this view

was carried out in the early church in a very peculiar and, to some

extent, mythical way; and in this form continued current, until the

satisfaction theory of Anselm gave a new turn to the development of the

dogma. Satan is supposed to have acquired, by the disobedience of our

first parents, a legal claim (whether just or unjust) upon mankind, and

held them bound in the chains of sin and death (Comp. Hebr. 2:14, 15).

Christ came to our release. The victory over Satan was conceived now as

a legal ransom by the payment of a stipulated price, to wit, the death

of Christ; now as a cheat upon him, [1092] 092 either intentional and

deserved, or due to his own infatuation. [1093] 093

The theological development of the doctrine of the work of Christ began

with the struggle against Jewish and heathen influences, and at the

same time with the development of the doctrine of the person of Christ,

which is inseparable from that of his work, and indeed fundamental to

it. Ebionism, with its deistic and legal spirit, could not raise its

view above the prophetic office of Christ to the priestly and the

kingly, but saw in him only a new teacher and legislator. Gnosticism,

from the naturalistic and pantheistic position of heathendom, looked

upon redemption as a physical and intellectual process, liberating the

spirit from the bonds of matter, the supposed principle of evil;

reduced the human life and passion of Christ to a vain show; and could

ascribe at best only a symbolical virtue to his death. For this reason

even Ignatius, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, in their opposition to

docetism, insist most earnestly on the reality of the humanity and

death of Jesus, as the source of our reconciliation with God. [1094]

094

In Justin Martyr appear traces of the doctrine of satisfaction, though

in very indefinite terms. He often refers to the Messianic fifty-third

chapter of Isaiah.. [1095] 095

The anonymous author of the Epistle to an unknown heathen, Diognetus,

which has sometimes been ascribed to Justin, but is probably of much

earlier date, has a beautiful and forcible passage on the mystery of

redemption, which shows that the root of the matter was apprehended by

faith long before a logical analysis was attempted. "When our

wickedness" he says, [1096] 096 "had reached its height, and it had

been clearly shown that its reward--punishment and death--was impending

over us .... God himself took on Him the burden of our iniquities. He

gave His own Son as a ransom for us, the holy One for transgressors,

the blameless One for the wicked, the righteous One for the

unrighteous, the incorruptible One for the corruptible, the immortal

One for them that are mortal. For what other thing was capable of

covering our sins than His righteousness? By what other one was it

possible that we, the wicked and ungodly, could be justified, than by

the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable operation! O

benefits surpassing all expectation! that the wickedness of many should

be hid in a single righteous One, and that the righteousness of One

should justify many transgressors!"

Irenaeus is the first of all the church teachers to give a careful

analysis of the work of redemption, and his view is by far the deepest

and soundest we find in the first three centuries. Christ, he teaches,

as the second Adam, repeated in himself the entire life of man, from

childhood to manhood, from birth to death and hades, and as it were

summed up that life and brought it under one head, [1097] 097 with the

double purpose of restoring humanity from its fall and carrying it to

perfection. Redemption comprises the taking away of sin by the perfect

obedience of Christ; the destruction of death by victory over the

devil; and the communication of a new divine life to man. To accomplish

this work, the Redeemer must unite in himself the divine and human

natures; for only as God could he do what man could not, and only as

man could he do in a legitimate way, what man should. By the voluntary

disobedience of Adam the devil gained a power over man, but in an

unfair way, by fraud. [1098] 098 By the voluntary obedience of Christ

that power was wrested from him by lawful means. [1099] 099 This took

place first in the temptation, in which Christ renewed or recapitulated

the struggle of Adam with Satan, but defeated the seducer, and thereby

liberated man from his thraldom. But then the whole life of Christ was

a continuous victorious conflict with Satan, and a constant obedience

to God. This obedience completed itself in the suffering and death on

the tree of the cross, and thus blotted out the disobedience which the

first Adam had committed on the tree of knowledge. This, however, is

only the negative side. To this is added, as already remarked, the

communication of a new divine principle of life, and the perfecting of

the idea of humanity first effected by Christ.

Origen differs from Irenaeus in considering man, in consequence of sin,

the lawful property of Satan, and in representing the victory over

Satan as an outwitting of the enemy, who had no claim to the sinless

soul of Jesus, and therefore could not keep it in death. The ransom was

paid, not to God, but to Satan, who thereby lost his right to man. Here

Origen touches on mythical Gnosticism. He contemplates the death of

Christ, however, from other points of view also, as an atoning

sacrifice of love offered to God for the sins of the world; as the

highest proof of perfect obedience to God; and as an example of

patience. He singularly extends the virtue of this redemption to the

whole spirit world, to fallen angels as well as men, in connection with

his hypothesis of a final restoration. The only one of the fathers who

accompanies him in this is Gregory of Nyssa.

Athanasius, in his early youth, at the beginning of the next period,

wrote the first systematic treatise on redemption and answer to the

question "Cur Deus homo?" [1100] 100 But it was left for the Latin

church, after the epoch-making treatise of Anselm, to develop this

important doctrine in its various aspects.

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[1091] dia ten hemeteran soterian.

[1092] 1 Cor. 2:8, misapprehended.

[1093] This strange theory is variously held by Irenaeus, Origen,

Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Augustin, Leo the Great

and Gregory the Great. See Baur, ch. I. and II. p. 30-118.

[1094] Comp. � 146.

[1095] Apol. I. 50, etc. See von Engelhardt, p. 182.

[1096] Ep. ad Diognetum, c. 9.

[1097] This as already intimated in a former connection, is the sense

of his frequent expression: anakephalaioun, anakephalaiosis

recapitulare, recapitulatio.

[1098] Dissuasio.

[1099] By suadela, persuasion, announcement of truth, not overreaching

or deception.

[1100] logos peri tes enanthropeseos tou logou.. It was written before

the outbreak of the Arian controversy. The Athanasian authorship has

been contested without good reason; but another work with the similar

Peri tes sarkoseos tou theou logou, pseudo-Athanasian, and belongs to

the younger Apollinaris of Laodicea. See Ritschl, I. 8 sq.

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� 154. Other Doctrines.

The doctrine of the subjective appropriation of salvation, including

faith, justification, and sanctification, was as yet far less perfectly

formed than the objective dogmas; and in the nature of the case, must

follow the latter. If any one expects to find in this period, or in any

of the church fathers, Augustin himself not excepted, the Protestant

doctrine of justification by faith alone, as the "articulus stantis aut

cadentis ecclesiae" be will be greatly disappointed. The incarnation of

the Logos, his true divinity and true humanity, stand almost

unmistakably in the foreground, as the fundamental truths. Paul's

doctrine of justification, except perhaps in Clement of Rome, who joins

it with the doctrine of James, is left very much out of view, and

awaits the age of the Reformation to be more thoroughly established and

understood. The fathers lay chief stress on sanctification and good

works, and show the already existing germs of the Roman Catholic

doctrine of the meritoriousness and even the supererogatory

meritoriousness of Christian virtue. It was left to modern evangelical

theology to develop more fully the doctrines of soteriology and

subjective Christianity.

The doctrine of the church, as the communion of grace , we have already

considered in the chapter on the constitution of the church, [1101] 101

and the doctrine of the sacraments, as the objective means of

appropriating grace, in the chapter on worship. [1102] 102

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[1101] See especially � 53, (this vol.).

[1102] See �� 66 to 74, (this vol.).

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� 155. Eschatology. Immortality and Resurrection.

I. General Eschatology:

Chr. W Flugge: Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit,

Auferstchung, Gericht und Vergeltung. 3 Theile, Leipz. 1794-1800. Part

III. in 2 vols. gives a history of the Christian doctriNe. Not

completed.

William Rounseville Alger (Unitarian): A Critical History of the

Doctrine of a Future Life. With a Complete Literature on the Subject.

Philad. 1864, tenth ed. with six new chs. Boston, 1878. He treats of

the patristic doctrine in Part Fourth, ch. 1. p. 394-407. The

Bibliographical Index by Prof. Ezra Abbot, of Cambridge, contains a

classified list of over 5000 books on the subject, and is unequalled in

bibliographical literature for completeness and accuracy.

Edm. Spiess: Entwicklungsgeschichte der Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach

dem Tode. Jena, 1877. This book of 616 pages omits the Christian

eschatology.

II. Greek and Roman Eschatology:

C. Fr. N�gelsbach: Die homerische Theologie in ihrem Zusammenhang

dargestellt. N�rnberg, 1840.

The same: Die nachhomerische Theologie des griechischen Volksglaubens

bis auf Alexander. N�rnberg, 1857.

Aug Arndt: Die Ansichten der Alten �ber Leben, Tod und Unsterblichkeit.

Frankfurt a. M. 1874.

Lehrs: Vorstellungen der Griechen �ber das Fortleben nach dem Tode.

Second ed. 1875.

Ludwig Friedlaender: Sittengeschichte Roms, fifth ed. Leipz. 1881, vol.

III. p. 681-717 (Der Unsterblichkeitsglaube).

III. Jewish Eschatology;

A. Kahle: Biblische Eschatologie des Alten Testaments. Gotha, 1870.

A. Wahl: Unsterblichkeits-und Vergeltungslehre des alttestamentlichen

Hebraismus. Jena, 1871.

Dr. Ferdinand Weber (d. 1879): System der Altsynagogalen

Palaestinischen Theologie aus Targum, Midrasch und Talmud. Ed. by Franz

Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann. Leipzig, 1880. See chs. XXI. 322-332;

XXIV. 371-386.

Aug W�nsche: Die Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode nach

apokryphen, Talmud, und Kirchenv�tern In the "Jahrb�cher f�r Prot.

Theol." Leipz. 1880

Bissel: The Eschatology of the Apocrypha. In the " Bibliotheca Sacra,"

1879.

IV. Christian Eschatology:

See the relevant chapters in Fl�gge, and Alger, as above.

Dr. Edward Beecher: History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of

Retribution. New York, 1878 (334 pages).

The relevant sections in the Doctrine Histories of M�nscher, Neander,

Gieseler, Baur, Hagenbach (H. B. Smith's ed. vol. I. 213 sqq. and 368

sqq.), Shedd, Friedrich Nitzsch (I. 397 sqq.)

A large number of monographs on Death, Hades, Purgatory, Resurrection,

Future Punishment. See the next sections.

Christianity--and human life itself, with its countless problems and

mysteries--has no meaning without the certainty of a future world of

rewards and punishments, for which the present life serves as a

preparatory school. Christ represents himself as "the Resurrection and

the Life," and promises "eternal life" to all who believe in Him. On

his resurrection the church is built, and without it the church could

never have come into existence. The resurrection of the body and the

life everlasting are among the fundamental articles of the early

baptismal creeds. The doctrine of the future life, though last in the

logical order of systematic theology, was among the first in the

consciousness of the Christians, and an unfailing source of comfort and

strength in times of trial and persecution. It stood in close

connection with the expectation of the Lord's glorious reappearance. It

is the subject of Paul's first Epistles, those to the Thessalonians,

and is prominently discussed in the fifteenth chapter of First

Corinthians. He declares the Christians "the most pitiable," because

the most deluded and uselessly self-sacrificing, "of all men," if their

hope in Christ were confined to this life.

The ante-Nicene church was a stranger in the midst of a hostile world,

and longed for the unfading crown which awaited the faithful confessor

and martyr beyond the grave. Such a mighty revolution as the conversion

of the heathen emperor was not dreamed of even as a remote possibility,

except perhaps by the far-sighted Origen. Among the five causes to

which Gibbon traces the rapid progress of the Christian religion he

assigns the second place to the doctrine of the immortality of the

soul. We know nothing whatever of a future world which lies beyond the

boundaries of our observation and experience, except what God has

chosen to reveal to us. Left to the instincts and aspirations of

nature, which strongly crave after immortality and glory, we can reach

at best only probabilities; while the gospel gives us absolute

certainty, sealed by the resurrection of Christ.

1. The heathen notions of the future life were vague and confused. The

Hindoos, Babylonians, and Egyptians had a lively sense of immortality,

but mixed with the idea of endless migrations and transformations. The

Buddhists, starting from the idea that existence is want, and want is

suffering, make it the chief end of man to escape such migrations, and

by various mortifications to prepare for final absorption in Nirwana.

The popular belief among the ancient Greeks and Romans was that man

passes after death into the Underworld, the Greek Hades, the Roman

Orcus. According to Homer, Hades is a dark abode in the interior of the

earth, with an entrance at the Western extremity of the Ocean, where

the rays of the sun do not penetrate. Charon carries the dead over the

stream Acheron, and the three-headed dog Cerberus watches the entrance

and allows none to pass out. There the spirits exist in a disembodied

state and lead a shadowy dream-life. A vague distinction was made

between two regions in Hades, an Elysium (also "the Islands of the

Blessed") for the good, and Tartarus for the bad. "Poets and painters,"

says Gibbon, peopled the infernal regions with so many phantoms and

monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little

equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was

oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions.

The eleventh book of the Odyssey gives a very dreary and incoherent

account of the infernal shades. Pindar and Virgil have embellished the

picture; but even those poets, though more correct than their great

model, are guilty of very strange inconsistencies." [1103] 103

Socrates, Plato, Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch rose highest among the

ancient philosophers in their views of the future life, but they

reached only to belief in its probability--not in its certainty.

Socrates, after be was condemned to death, said to his judges: "Death

is either an eternal sleep, or the transition to a new life; but in

neither case is it an evil;" [1104] 104 and he drank with playful irony

the fatal hemlock. Plato, viewing the human soul as a portion of the

eternal, infinite, all-pervading deity, believed in its pre-existence

before this present life, and thus had a strong ground of hope for its

continuance after death. All the souls (according to his Phaedon and

Gorgias, pass into the spirit-world, the righteous into the abodes of

bliss, where they live forever in a disembodied state, the wicked into

Tartarus for punishment and purification (which notion prepared the way

for purgatory). Plutarch, the purest and noblest among the Platonists,

thought that immortality was inseparably connected with belief in an

all-ruling Providence, and looked with Plato to the life beyond as

promising a higher knowledge of, and closer conformity to God, but only

for those few who are here purified by virtue and piety. In such rare

cases, departure might be called an ascent to the stars, to heaven, to

the gods, rather than a descent to Hades. He also, at the death of his

daughter, expresses his faith in the blissful state of infants who die

in infancy. Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions and treatise De

Senectute, reflects in classical language "the ignorance, the errors,

and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers with regard to the

immortality of the soul." Though strongly leaning to a positive view,

he yet found it no superfluous task to quiet the fear of death in case

the soul should perish with the body. The Stoics believed only in a

limited immortality, or denied it altogether, and justified suicide

when life became unendurable. The great men of Greece and Rome were not

influenced by the idea of a future world as a motive of action. During

the debate on the punishment of Catiline and his fellow-conspirators,

Julius Caesar openly declared in the Roman Senate that death dissolves

all the ills of mortality, and is the boundary of existence beyond

which there is no more care nor joy, no more punishment for sin, nor

any reward for virtue. The younger Cato, the model Stoic, agreed with

Caesar; yet before he made an end to his life at Utica, he read Plato's

Phaedon. Seneca once dreamed of immortality, and almost approached the

Christian hope of the birth-day of eternity, if we are to trust his

rhetoric, but afterwards he awoke from the beautiful dream and

committed suicide. The elder Pliny, who found a tragic death under the

lava of Vesuvius, speaks of the future life as an invention of man's

vanity and selfishness, and thinks that body and soul have no more

sensation after death than before birth; death becomes doubly painful

if it is only the beginning of another indefinite existence. Tacitus

speaks but once of immortality, and then conditionally; and he believed

only in the immortality of fame. Marcus Aurelius, in sad resignation,

bids nature, "Give what thou wilt, and take back again what and when

thou wilt."

These were noble and earnest, Romans. What can be expected from the

crown of frivolous men of the world who moved within the limits of

matter and sense and made present pleasure and enjoyment the chief end

of life? The surviving wife of an Epicurean philosopher erected a

monument to him, with the inscription "to the eternal sleep." [1105]

105 Not a few heathen epitaphs openly profess the doctrine that death

ends all; while, in striking contrast with them, the humble Christian

inscriptions in the catacombs express the confident hope of future

bliss and glory in the uninterrupted communion of the believer with

Christ and God.

Yet the scepticism of the educated and half-educated could not

extinguish the popular belief in the imperial age. The number of

cheerless and hopeless materialistic epitaphs is, after all, very small

as compared with the many thousands which reveal no such doubt, or

express a belief in some kind of existence beyond the grave. [1106] 106

Of a resurrection of the body the Greeks and Romans had no conception,

except in the form of shades and spectral outlines, which were supposed

to surround the disembodied spirits, and to make them to some degree

recognizable. Heathen philosophers, like Celsus, ridiculed the

resurrection of the body as useless, absurd, and impossible.

2. The Jewish doctrine is far in advance of heathen notions and

conjectures, but presents different phases of development.

(a) The Mosaic writings are remarkably silent about the future life,

and emphasize the present rather than future consequences of the

observance or non-observance of the law (because it had a civil or

political as well as spiritual import); and hence the Sadducees

accepted them, although they denied the resurrection (perhaps also the

immortality of the soul). The Pentateuch contains, however, some remote

and significant hints of immortality, as in the tree of life with its

symbolic import; [1107] 107 in the mysterious translation of Enoch as a

reward for his piety; [1108] 108 in the prohibition of necromancy;

[1109] 109 in the patriarchal phrase for dying: "to be gathered to his

fathers," or "to his people;" [1110] 110 and last, though not least, in

the self-designation of Jehovah as "the God of Abraham, Isaac, and

Jacob," which implies their immortality, since "God is not the God of

the dead, but of the living." [1111] 111 What has an eternal meaning

for God must itself be eternal.

(b) In the later writings of the Old Testament, especially during and

after the exile, the doctrine of immortality and resurrection comes out

plainly. [1112] 112 Daniel's vision reaches out even to the final

resurrection of "many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth to

everlasting life," and of "some to shame and everlasting contempt," and

prophesies that "they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of

the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars

forever and ever." [1113] 113

But before Christ, who first revealed true life, the Hebrew Sheol, the

general receptacle of departing souls, remained, like the Greek Hades,

a dark and dreary abode, and is so described in the Old Testament.

[1114] 114 Cases like Enoch's translation and Elijah's ascent are

altogether unique and exceptional, and imply the meaning that death is

contrary to man's original destination, and may be overcome by the

power of holiness.

(c) The Jewish Apocrypha (the Book of Wisdom, and the Second Book of

Maccabees), and later Jewish writings (the Book of Enoch, the

Apocalypse of Ezra) show some progress: they distinguish between two

regions in Sheol--Paradise or Abraham's Bosom for the righteous, and

Gehinnom or Gehenna for the wicked; they emphasize the resurrection of

the body, and the future rewards and punishments.

(d) The Talmud adds various fanciful embellishments. It puts Paradise

and Gehenna in close proximity, measures their extent, and

distinguishes different departments in both corresponding to the

degrees of merit and guilt. Paradise is sixty times as large as the

world, and Hell sixty times as large as Paradise, for the bad

preponderate here and hereafter. According to other rabbinical

testimonies, both are well nigh boundless. The Talmudic descriptions of

Paradise (as those of the Koran) mix sensual and spiritual delights.

The righteous enjoy the vision of the Shechina and feast with the

patriarchs, and with Moses and David of the flesh of leviathan, and

drink wine from the cup of salvation. Each inhabitant has a house

according to his merit. Among the punishments of hell the chief place

is assigned to fire, which is renewed every week after the Sabbath. The

wicked are boiled like the flesh in the pot, but the bad Israelites are

not touched by fire, and are otherwise tormented. The severest

punishment is reserved for idolaters, hypocrites, traitors, and

apostates. As to the duration of future punishment the school of

Shammai held that it was everlasting; while the school of Hillel

inclined to the milder view of a possible redemption after repentance

and purification. Some Rabbis taught that hell will cease, and that the

sun will burn up and annihilate the wicked. [1115] 115

3. The Christian doctrine of the future life differs from the heathen,

and to a less extent also from the Jewish, in the following important

points:

(a) It gives to the belief in a future state the absolute certainty of

divine revelation, sealed by the fact of Christ's resurrection, and

thereby imparts to the present life an immeasurable importance,

involving endless issues.

(b) It connects the resurrection of the body with the immortality of

the soul, and thus gives concrete completion to the latter, and saves

the whole individuality of man from destruction.

(c) It views death as the punishment of sin, and therefore as something

terrible, from which nature shrinks. But its terror has been broken,

and its sting extracted by Christ.

(d) It qualifies the idea of a future state by the doctrine of sin and

redemption, and thus makes it to the believer a state of absolute

holiness and happiness, to the impenitent sinner a state of absolute

misery. Death and immortality are a blessing to the one, but a terror

to the other; the former can hail them with joy; the latter has reason

to tremble.

(e) It gives great prominence to the general judgment, after the

resurrection, which determines the ultimate fate of all men according

to their works done in this earthly life.

But we must distinguish, in this mysterious article, what is of faith,

and what is private opinion and speculation.

The return of Christ to judgment with its eternal rewards and

punishment is the centre of the eschatological faith of the church. The

judgment is preceded by the general resurrection, and followed by life

everlasting.

This faith is expressed in the oecumenical creeds.

The Apostles' Creed:

"He shall come to judge the quick and the dead," and "I believe in the

resurrection of the body and life everlasting."

The Nicene Creed:

"He shall come again, with glory, to judge the quick and the dead;

whose kingdom shall have no end." "And we look for the resurrection of

the dead, and the life of the world to come."

The Athanasian Creed, so called, adds to these simple statements a

damnatory clause at the beginning, middle, and end, and makes salvation

depend on belief in the orthodox catholic doctrine of the Trinity and

the Incarnation, as therein stated. But that document is of much later

origin, and cannot be traced beyond the sixth century.

The liturgies which claim apostolic or post-apostolic origin, give

devotional expression to the same essential points in the eucharistic

sacrifice.

The Clementine liturgy:

"Being mindful, therefore, of His passion and death, and resurrection

from the dead, and return into the heavens, and His future second

appearing, wherein He is to come with glory and power to judge the

quick and the dead, and to recompense to every one according to his

works."

The liturgy of James:

"His second glorious and awful appearing, when He shall come with glory

to judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to

his works."

The liturgy of Mark:

"His second terrible and dreadful coming, in which He will come to

judge righteously the quick and the dead, and to render to each man

according to his works."

All that is beyond these revealed and generally received articles must

be left free. The time of the Second Advent, the preceding revelation

of Antichrist, the millennium before or after the general judgment, the

nature of the disembodied state between death and resurrection, the

mode and degree of future punishment, the proportion of the saved and

lost, the fate of the heathen and all who die ignorant of Christianity,

the locality of heaven and hell, are open questions in eschatology

about which wise and good men in the church have always differed, and

will differ to the end. The Bible speaks indeed of ascending to heaven

and descending to hell, but this is simply the unavoidable popular

language, as when it speaks of the rising and setting sun. We do the

same, although we know that in the universe of God there is neither

above nor below, and that the sun does not move around the earth. The

supernatural world may be very far from us, beyond the stars and beyond

the boundaries of the visible created world (if it has any boundaries),

or very near and round about us. At all events there is an abundance of

room for all God's children. "In my Father's house are many mansions. I

go to prepare a place for you" (John 14:2). This suffices for faith.

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[1103] Decline and Fall of the R. Emp. ch. XV

[1104] Plato, Apol. 40.

[1105] See Friedlaender, l.c. 682 sq.

[1106] See Friedlaender, p. 685. So in our age, too, the number of

sceptics, materialists, and atheists, though by no means

inconsiderable, is a very small minority compared with the mass of

believers in a future life.

[1107] Gen. 2:9; 3:22, 24.

[1108] Gen. 5:24.

[1109] Deut. 18:11; comp. 1 Sam. 28:7.

[1110] Gen. 25:8; 35:29; 49:29, 33.

[1111] Ex. 3:6, 16; comp. Matt. 22:32.

[1112] Comp. the famous Go�l-passage, Job 19:25-27, which strongly

teaches the immortality of the soul and the future rectification of the

wrongs of this life; Eccles. 12:7 ("the spirit shall return to God who

gave it"), and 12:14 ("God shall bring every work into judgment, with

every secret thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil").

[1113] Dan. 12:2, 3; Comp. Isa. 65:17; 66:22-24.

[1114] See the passages sub Sheol in the Hebrew Concordance. The very

name Sheollv'sh expresses either the inexorable demand and

insatiability of death (if derived from l'sh, to ask pressingly, to

urge), or the subterranean character of the region, an abyss (if

derived from l?sh, to be hollow, comp. hell, hollow, H�hle), and is

essentially the same as the Greek Hades and the Roman Orcus. The

distinction of two regions in the spirit-world (Abraham's Bosom or

Paradise, and Gehenna, comp. Luke 16:22, 23) does not appear clearly in

the canonical books, and is of later origin. Oehler (Theol. des A.

Test., I. 264) says: "Von einem Unterschied des Looses der im

Todtenreich Befindlichen ist im Alten Test. nirgends deutlich geredet.

Wie vielmehr dort Alles gleich werde, schildert Hiob. 3:17-19. Nur in

Jes. 14:15; Ez. 32:23, wo den gest�rzten Eroberern die �usserste Tiefe

(rvv-tbdy) angewiesen wird, kann mann die Andeutung verschiedener

Abstufungen des Todtenreichs finden, etwa in dem Sinn, wie Josephus

(Bell. Jud. III. 8, 5) den Selbstm�rdern einen, hades skotioteros in

Aussicht stellt. Sonst ist nur von einer Sonderung nach V�lkern und

Geschlechtern die Rede, nicht von einer Sonderung der Gerechten und

Ungerechten."

[1115] See these and other curious particulars, with references in

W�nsche, l. c. p. 361 sqq., and 494 sqq. He confesses, however, that it

is exceedingly difficult to present a coherent system from the various

sayings of the Rabbis. The views of the Essenes differed from the

common Jewish notions; they believed only in the immortality of the

soul, and greeted death as a deliverance from the prison of the body.

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� 156. Between Death and Resurrection.

Dav. Blondel: Trait� de la cr�ance des P�res touchnt l'�tat des ames

apr�s cette vie. Charenton, 1651.

J. A. Baumgarten: Historia doctrinae de Statu Animarum separatarum.

Hal. 1754.

H�pfner: De Origine dogm. de Purgatorio. Hal. 1792.

J. A. Ernesti: De veterum Patrum opinione de Statu Animarum a corpore

sejunctar. LiPs. 1794.

Herbert Mortimer Luckock (Canon of Ely, high-Anglican): After Death. An

Examination of the Testimony of Primitive Times respecting the State of

the Faithful Dead, and their Relationship to the Living. London, third

ed. 1881. Defends prayers for the dead.

Among the darkest points in eschatology is the middle state, or the

condition of the soul between death and resurrection. It is difficult

to conceive of a disembodied state of happiness or woe without physical

organs for enjoyment and suffering. Justin Martyr held that the souls

retain their sensibility after death, otherwise the bad would have the

advantage over the good. Origen seems to have assumed some refined,

spiritual corporeity which accompanies the soul on its lonely journey,

and is the germ of the resurrection body; but the speculative opinions

of that profound thinker were looked upon with suspicion, and some of

them were ultimately condemned. The idea of the sleep of the soul

(psychopannychia) had some advocates, but was expressly rejected by

Tertullian. [1116] 116 Others held that the soul died with the body,

and was created anew at the resurrection. [1117] 117 The prevailing

view was that the soul continued in a conscious, though disembodied

state, by virtue either of inherent or of communicated immortality. The

nature of that state depends upon the moral character formed in this

life either for weal or woe, without the possibility of a change except

in the same direction.

The catholic doctrine of the status intermedius was chiefly derived

from the Jewish tradition of the Sheol, from the parable of Dives and

Lazarus (Luke 16:19 sqq.), and from the passages of Christ's descent

into Hades. [1118] 118 The utterances of the ante-Nicene fathers are

somewhat vague and confused, but receive light from the more mature

statements of the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers, and may be reduced to

the following points: [1119] 119

1. The pious who died before Christ from Abel or Adam down to John the

Baptist (with rare exceptions, as Enoch, Moses, and Elijah) were

detained in a part of Sheol, [1120] 120 waiting for the first Advent,

and were released by Christ after the crucifixion and transferred to

Paradise. This was the chief aim and result of the descensus ad

inferos, as understood in the church long before it became an article

of the Apostles' Creed, first in Aquileja (where, however, Rufinus

explained it wrongly, as being equivalent to burial), and then in Rome.

Hermas of Rome and Clement of Alexandria supposed that the patriarchs

and Old Testament saints, before their translation, were baptized by

Christ and the apostles. Irenaeus repeatedly refers to the descent of

Christ to the spirit-world as the only means by which the benefits of

the redemption could be made known and applied to the pious dead of

former ages. [1121] 121

2. Christian martyrs and confessors, to whom were afterwards added

other eminent saints, pass immediately after death into heaven to the

blessed vision of God. [1122] 122

3. The majority of Christian believers, being imperfect, enter for an

indefinite period into a preparatory state of rest and happiness,

usually called Paradise (comp. Luke 23:41) or Abraham's Bosom (Luke

16:23). There they are gradually purged of remaining infirmities until

they are ripe for heaven, into which nothing is admitted but absolute

purity. Origen assumed a constant progression to higher and higher

regions of knowledge and bliss. (After the fifth or sixth century,

certainly since Pope Gregory I., Purgatory was substituted for

Paradise).

4. The locality of Paradise is uncertain: some imagined it to be a

higher region of Hades beneath the earth, yet "afar off" from Gehenna,

and separated from it by "a great gulf" (comp. Luke 16:23, 26); [1123]

123 others transferred it to the lower regions of heaven above the

earth, yet clearly distinct from the final home of the blessed. [1124]

124

5. Impenitent Christians and unbelievers go down to the lower regions

of Hades (Gehenna, Tartarus, Hell) into a preparatory state of misery

and dreadful expectation of the final judgment. From the fourth century

Hades came to be identified with Hell, and this confusion passed into

many versions of the Bible, including that of King James.

6. The future fate of the heathen and of unbaptized children was left

in hopeless darkness, except by Justin and the Alexandrian fathers, who

extended the operations of divine grace beyond the limits of the

visible church. Justin Martyr must have believed, from his premises, in

the salvation of all those heathen who had in this life followed the

light of the Divine Logos and died in a state of unconscious

Christianity, or preparedness for Christianity. For, he says, "those

who lived with the Logos were Christians, although they were esteemed

atheists, as Socrates and Heraclitus, and others like them." [1125] 125

7. There are, in the other world, different degrees of happiness and

misery according to the degrees of merit and guilt. This is reasonable

in itself, and supported by scripture.

8. With the idea of the imperfection of the middle state and the

possibility of progressive amelioration, is connected the commemoration

of the departed, and prayer in their behalf. No trace of the custom is

found in the New Testament nor in the canonical books of the Old, but

an isolated example, which seems to imply habit, occurs in the age of

the Maccabees, when Judas Maccabaeus and his company offered prayer and

sacrifice for those slain in battle," that they might be delivered from

sin." [1126] 126 In old Jewish service-books there are prayers for the

blessedness of the dead. [1127] 127 The strong sense of the communion

of saints unbroken by death easily accounts for the rise of a similar

custom among the early Christians. Tertullian bears clear testimony to

its existence at his time. "We offer," he says "oblations for the dead

on the anniversary of their birth," i.e. their celestial birthday.

[1128] 128 He gives it as a mark of a Christian widow, that she prays

for the soul of her husband, and requests for him refreshment and

fellowship in the first resurrection; and that she offers sacrifice on

the anniversaries of his falling asleep. [1129] 129 Eusebius narrates

that at the tomb of Constantine a vast crowd of people, in company with

the priests of God, with tears and great lamentation offered their

prayers to God for the emperor's soul. [1130] 130 Augustin calls prayer

for the pious dead in the eucharistic sacrifice an observance of the

universal church, handed down from the fathers. [1131] 131 He himself

remembered in prayer his godly mother at her dying request.

This is confirmed by the ancient liturgies, which express in substance

the devotions of the ante-Nicene age, although they were not committed

to writing before the fourth century. The commemoration of the pious

dead is an important part in the eucharistic prayers. Take the

following from the Liturgy of St. James: "Remember, O Lord God, the

spirits of whom we have made mention, and of whom we have not made

mention, who are of the true faith, [1132] 132 from righteous Abel unto

this day; do Thou Thyself give them rest there in the land of the

living, in Thy kingdom, in the delight of Paradise, [1133] 133in the

Bosom of Abraham and of Isaac and of Jacob, our holy fathers; whence

pain and grief and lamentation have fled away: there the light of Thy

countenance looks upon them, and gives them light for evermore." The

Clementine Liturgy in the eighth book of the "Apostolical

Constitutions" has likewise a prayer "for those who rest in faith," in

these words: "We make an offering to Thee for all Thy saints who have

pleased Thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets,

just men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, elders, deacons,

subdeacons, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names Thou

Thyself knowest."

9. These views of the middle state in connection with prayers for the

dead show a strong tendency to the Roman Catholic doctrine of

Purgatory, which afterwards came to prevail in the West through the

great weight of St. Augustin and Pope Gregory I. But there is, after

all, a considerable difference. The ante-Nicene idea of the middle

state of the pious excludes, or at all events ignores, the idea of

penal suffering, which is an essential part of the Catholic conception

of purgatory. It represents the condition of the pious as one of

comparative happiness, inferior only to the perfect happiness after the

resurrection. Whatever and wherever Paradise may be, it belongs to the

heavenly world; while purgatory is supposed to be a middle region

between heaven and hell, and to border rather on the latter. The

sepulchral inscriptions in the catacombs have a prevailingly cheerful

tone, and represent the departed souls as being "in peace" and "living

in Christ," or "in God." [1134] 134 The same view is substantially

preserved in the Oriental church, which holds that the souls of the

departed believers may be aided by the prayers of the living, but are

nevertheless "in light and rest, with a foretaste of eternal

happiness." [1135] 135

Yet alongside with this prevailing belief, there are traces of the

purgatorial idea of suffering the temporal consequences of sin, and a

painful struggle after holiness. Origen, following in the path of

Plato, used the term "purgatorial fire," [1136] 136 by which the

remaining stains of the soul shall be burned away; but he understood it

figuratively, and connected it with the consuming fire at the final

judgment, while Augustin and Gregory I. transferred it to the middle

state. The common people and most of the fathers understood it of a

material fire; but this is not a matter of faith, and there are Roman

divines [1137] 137 who confine the purgatorial sufferings to the mind

and the conscience. A material fire would be very harmless without a

material body. A still nearer approach to the Roman purgatory was made

by Tertullian and Cyprian, who taught that a special satisfaction and

penance was required for sins committed after baptism, and that the

last farthing must be paid (Matt. 5:20) before the soul can be released

from prison and enter into heaven.

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[1116] De Anima, c. 58. The doctrine of the psychopannychia was renewed

by the Anabaptists, and refuted by Calvin in one of his earliest books.

(Paris, 1534.)

[1117] Eusebius, VI. 37, mentions this view as held by some in Arabia.

[1118] Luke 23:43; Acts 2:31; 1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6.

[1119] Comp. among other passages Justin M. Dial. c. 5, 72, 80, 99, 105

(Engelhardt, l.c. p 308); Irenaeus, IV. 27, 2; V. 31; Tertullian, De

Anima, c. 7, 31, 50, 55, 58; Adv. Marc. IV. 34; Cyprian, Ep. 52;

Clemens Alex., Strom. VI. 762 sq.; Origen, Contra Cels. V. 15; Hom. in

Luc. XIV. (Tom. III. 948) Hom. in Ez I. (III. 360); Ambrose, De Bono

Mortis and Ep. 20.

[1120] The mediaeval scholastics called that part of Sheol the Limbus

Patrum, and assumed that it was emptied by Christ at his descent, and

replaced by Purgatory, which in turn will be emptied it the second

Advent, so that after the judgment there will be only heaven and hell.

The evangelical confessions agree with the Roman Catholic in the

twofold state after the judgment, but deny the preceding state of

Purgatory between heaven and hell. They allow, however, different

degrees of holiness and happiness as well as guilt and punishment

before and after the judgment.

[1121] Adv. Haer. IV. 27, � 2: "It was for this reason that the Lord

descended into the regions beneath the earth, preaching His advent to

them also, and [declaring] the remission of sins to those who believe

in Him. Now all those believed in Him who had hope towards him, that

is, those who proclaimed His advent, and submitted to His

dispensations, the righteous men, the prophets, and the patriarchs, to

whom He remitted sins in the same way, as He did to us, which sins we

should not lay to their charge, if we would not despise the grace of

God." This passage exists only in the Latin version

[1122] The Gnostics taught that all souls return immediately to God,

but this was rejected as heretical. Justin, Dial. 80.

[1123] So apparently Tertullian, who calls Gehenna "a reservoir of

secret fire under the earth," and Paradise "the place of divine bliss

appointed to receive the spirits of the saints, separated from the

knowledge of this world by that fiery zone [i.e. the river

Pyriphlegeton as by a sort of enclosure." ] Apol. c. 47.

[1124] So Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. V. 5, � 1: "Wherefore also the elders

who were disciples of the apostles tell us that those who were

translated were transferred to that place (for paradise has been

prepared for righteous men, such as have the Spirit; in which place

also Paul the apostle, when he was caught up, heard words which are

unspeakable as regards us in our present condition), and that there

shall they who have been translated remain until the consummation [of

all things], as a prelude to immortality."

[1125] Apol. I. 46: hoi meta Logou biosantes Christianoi eisi, kan

atheoi enomisthesan, oion en Hellesi Sokrates kai Herakleitos kai hoi

homoioi autois. . Comp. Apol. I. 20, 44; Apol. II. 8, 13. He does not

say anywhere expressly that the nobler heathen are saved; but it

follows from his view of the Logos spermaticos (see p. 550). It was

renewed in the sixteenth century by Zwingli, and may be consistently

held by all who make salvation depend on eternal election rather than

on water-baptism. God is not bound by his own ordinances, and may save

whom and when and how he pleases.

[1126] 2 Macc. 12:39 sqq. Roman Catholic divines use this passage

(besides Matt. 5:26; 12:32 and 1 Cor. 1:13-15) as an argument for the

doctrine of purgatory. But it would prove too much for them; for the

sin here spoken of was not venial, but the deadly sin of idolatry,

which is excluded from purgatory and from the reach of efficacious;

intercession.

[1127] See specimens in Luckock, l. c. p. 58 sqq.

[1128] De Cor. Mil. c. 3: "Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis

annua dei facimus." Comp. the notes in Oehler's ed. Tom. I. 422.

[1129] De Monog. c. 10: "Pro anima ejus orat et refrigerium interim

adpostulat ei et in prima resurrectione consortium."

[1130] Vita Const. IV. 71: sun klauthmo pleioni tas euchas huper tes

basileos psuches apedidosan to theo.

[1131] Sermo 172. He also inferred from the passage on the unpardonable

sin (Matt. 12:32) that other sins may be forgiven in the future world.

De Civit. Dei, XXI. 24. In the Council of Chalcedon (452), Dioscurus

was charged with a breach of trust for not having executed the will of

a saintly woman who had left large sums of money to monasteries,

hospitals, and alms-houses, in the hope of being benefited by the

prayers of the faithful recipients.

[1132] ton pneumaton ... orthodoxon. The Greek church lays great stress

on orthodoxy; but it has here evidently a very wide meaning, as it

includes the faith of Abel and all Old Testament saints.

[1133] Not Purgatory. This shows the difference between the ante-Nicene

and post-Nicene faith. See below.

[1134] Sometimes, however, this is expressed in the form of a wish or

prayer: Mayest thou live in God" (Vivas in Deo, or in Christo); " May

God refresh thy spirit"(Deus refrigeret spiritum tuum); " Mayest thou

have eternal light in Christ," etc. Comp. � 86, (this vol.).

[1135] Longer Russian Catechism, in Schaff's Creeds, vol. II. p. 503.

[1136] pur katharsion. It is mentioned also before Origen in the

Clementine Homilies, IX. 13. The Scripture passage on which the term

ignis purgatorius was based, is 1 Cor. 3:13, 15, 'the fire shall prove

each man's work he himself shall be saved; yet so as through fire. (hos

dia puros).

[1137] As M�hler, Klee, and others.

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� 157. After Judgment. Future Punishment.

The doctrine of the Fathers on future punishment is discussed by Dr.

Edward Beecher, l.c., and in the controversial works called forth by

Canon Farrar's Eternal Hope (Five Sermons preached in Westminster

Abbey, Nov. 1877. Lond., 1879.) See especially

Dr. Pusey: "What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?" A Reply to

Dr. Farrar's Challenge. Oxf. and Lond., second ed. 1880 (284 pages).

Canon F. W. Farrar: Mercy and Judgment: A few last words on Christian

Eschatology with reference to Dr. Pusey's "What is of Faith?" London

and N. York, 1881 (485 pages). See chs. II., III., IX.-XII. Farrar

opposes with much fervor "the current opinions about Hell," and reduces

it to the smallest possible dimensions of time and space, but expressly

rejects Universalism. He accepts with Pusey the Romanizing view of

"future purification" (instead of "probation"), and thus increases the

number of the saved by withdrawing vast multitudes of imperfect

Christians from the awful doom.

After the general judgment we have nothing revealed but the boundless

prospect of aeonian life and aeonian death. This is the ultimate

boundary of our knowledge.

There never was in the Christian church any difference of opinion

concerning the righteous, who shall inherit eternal life and enjoy the

blessed communion of God forever and ever. But the final fate of the

impenitent who reject the offer of salvation admits of three answers to

the reasoning mind: everlasting punishment, annihilation, restoration

(after remedial punishment and repentance).

I. Everlasting Punishment of the wicked always was, and always will be

the orthodox theory. It was held by the Jews at the time of Christ,

with the exception of the Sadducces, who denied the resurrection.

[1138] 138 It is endorsed by the highest authority of the most merciful

Being, who sacrificed his own life for the salvation of sinners. [1139]

139

Consequently the majority of the fathers who speak plainly on this

terrible subject, favor this view.

Ignatius speaks of "the unquenchable fire;" [1140] 140 Hermas, of some

"who will not be saved," but "shall utterly perish," because they will

not repent. [1141] 141

Justin Martyr teaches that the wicked or hopelessly impenitent will be

raised at the judgment to receive eternal punishment. He speaks of it

in twelve passages. "Briefly," he says, "what we look for, and have

learned from Christ, and what we teach, is as follows. Plato said to

the same effect, that Rhadamanthus and Minos would punish the wicked

when they came to them; we say that the same thing will take place; but

that the judge will be Christ, and that their souls will be united to

the same bodies, and will undergo an eternal punishment (aionian

kolasin) and not, as Plato said, a period of only a thousand years

(chiliontaete periodon)" [1142] 142 In another place: "We believe that

all who live wickedly and do not repent, will be punished in eternal

fire" (en aionio puri). [1143] 143 Such language is inconsistent with

the annihilation theory for which Justin M. has been claimed. [1144]

144 He does, indeed, reject with several other ante-Nicene writers, the

Platonic idea that the soul is in itself and independently immortal

[1145] 145 and hints at the possibility of the final destruction of the

wicked, [1146] 146 but he puts that possibility countless ages beyond

the final judgment, certainly beyond the Platonic millennium of

punishment, so that it loses all practical significance and ceases to

give relief.

Irenaeus has been represented as holding inconsistently all three

theories, or at least as hesitating between the orthodox view and the

annihilation scheme. He denies, like Justin Martyr, the necessary and

intrinsic immortality of the soul, and makes it dependent on God for

the continuance in life as well as for life itself. [1147] 147 But in

paraphrasing the apostolic rule of faith he mentions eternal

punishment, and in another place he accepts as certain truth that

"eternal fire is prepared for sinners," because "the Lord openly

affirms, and the other Scriptures prove" it. [1148] 148 Hippolytus

approves the eschatology of the Pharisees as regards the resurrection,

the immortality of the soul, the judgment and conflagration,

everlasting life and "everlasting punishment;" and in another place be

speaks of "the rayless scenery of gloomy Tartarus, where never shines a

beam from the radiating voice of the Word." [1149] 149 According to

Tertullian the future punishment "will continue, not for a long time,

but forever." [1150] 150 It does credit to his feelings when he says

that no innocent man can rejoice in the punishment of the guilty,

however just, but will grieve rather. Cyprian thinks that the fear of

hell is the only ground of the fear of death to any one, and that we

should have before our eyes the fear of God and eternal punishment much

more than the fear of men and brief suffering. [1151] 151 The

generality of this belief among Christians is testified by Celsus, who

tells them that the heathen priests threaten the same "eternal

punishment" as they, and that the only question was which was right,

since both claimed the truth with equal confidence. [1152] 152

II. The final Annihilation of the wicked removes all discord from the

universe of God at the expense of the natural immortality of the soul,

and on the ground that sin will ultimately destroy the sinner, and thus

destroy itself.

This theory is attributed to Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and others, who

believed only in a conditional immortality which may be forfeited; but,

as we have just seen, their utterances in favor of eternal punishment

are too clear and strong to justify the inference which they might have

drawn from their psychology.

Arnobius, however, seems to have believed in actual annihilation; for

he speaks of certain souls that "are engulfed and burned up," or

"hurled down and having been reduced to nothing, vanish in the

frustration of a perpetual destruction." [1153] 153

III. The Apokatastasis or final restoration of all rational beings to

holiness and happiness. This seems to be the most satisfactory

speculative solution of the problem of sin, and secures perfect harmony

in the creation, but does violence to freedom with its power to

perpetuate resistance, and Ignores the hardening nature of sin and the

ever increasing difficulty of repentance. If conversion and salvation

are an ultimate necessity, they lose their moral character, and moral

aim.

Origen was the first Christian Universalist. He taught a final

restoration, but with modesty as a speculation rather than a dogma, in

his youthful work De Principiis (written before 231), which was made

known in the West by the loose version of Rufinus (398). [1154] 154 In

his later writings there are only faint traces of it; he seems at least

to have modified it, and exempted Satan from final repentance and

salvation, but this defeats the end of the theory. [1155] 155 He also

obscured it by his other theory of the necessary mutability of free

will, and the constant succession of fall and redemption. [1156] 156

Universal salvation (including Satan) was clearly taught by Gregory of

Nyssa, a profound thinker of the school of Origen (d. 395), and, from

an exegetical standpoint, by the eminent Antiochian divines Diodorus of

Tarsus (d. 394) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 429), and many Nestorian

bishops. [1157] 157 In the West also at the time of Augustin (d. 430)

there were, as he says, "multitudes who did not believe in eternal

punishment." But the view of Origen was rejected by Epiphanius, Jerome,

and Augustin, and at last condemned as one of the Origenistic errors

under the Emperor Justinian (543). [1158] 158

Since that time universalism was regarded as a heresy, but is tolerated

in Protestant churches as a private speculative opinion or charitable

hope. [1159] 159

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[1138] The point is disputed, but the 4th Maccabees, the 4th Esdras,

the Book of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Psalms of Solomon,

contain very strong passages, which Dr. Pusey has collected, l.c.

48-100, and are not invalidated by the reply of Farrar, ch. VIII.

180-221. Josephus (whose testimony Farrar arbitrarily sets aside as

worthless) attests the belief of the Pharisees and Essenes in eternal

punishment, Ant. XVIII. 1, 3; Bell. Jud. II. 8, 11, Rabbi Akiba (about

120) limited the punishment of Gehenna to twelve months; but only for

the Jews. The Talmud assigns certain classes to everlasting punishment,

especially apostates and those who despise the wisdom of the Rabbis.

The chief passage is Rosh Hoshanah, f. 16 and 17: "There will be three

divisions on the day of judgment, the perfectly righteous, the

perfectly wicked, and the intermediate class. The first will be at once

inscribed and sealed to life eternal; the second at once to Gehenna

(Dan. 12:2); the third will descend into Gehenna and keep rising and

sinking" (Zech. 12:10). This opinion was endorsed by the two great

schools of Shammai and Hillel, but Hillel inclined to a liberal and

charitable construction (see p. 596). Farrar maintains that Gehenna

does not necessarily and usually mean hell in our sense, but 1) for

Jews, or the majority of Jews, a short punishment, followed by

forgiveness and escape; 2) for worse offenders a long but still

terminable punishment; 3) for the worst offenders, especially

Gentiles--punishment followed by annihilation. He quotes several modern

Jewish authorities of the rationalistic type, eg. Dr. Deutsch, who

says: "There is not a word in the Talmud that lends any support to the

damnable dogma of endless torment." But Dr. Ferd. Weber who is as good

authority, says, that some passages in the Talmud teach total

annihilation of the wicked, others teach everlasting punishment, e.g.

Pesachim 54a: "The fire of Gehenna is never extinguished." Syst. der

altsynag. Pol�st. Theologie, p. 375. The Mohammedans share the Jewish

belief, but change the inhabitants: the Koran assigns Paradise to the

orthodox Moslems, and Hell to all unbelievers (Jews, Gentiles, and

Christians), and to apostates from Islam.

[1139] Matt. 12:32 (the unpardonable sin); 26:24 (Judas had better

never been born); 25:46 ("eternal punishment" contrasted with "eternal

life"); Mark 9:48 ("Gehenna, where their worm dieth not, and the fire

is not quenched"). In the light of these solemn declarations we must

interpret the passages of Paul (Rom. 5:12 sqq.; 14:9; 1 Cor. 15:22,

28), which look towards universal restoration. The exegetical

discussion lies outside of our scope, but is the meaning of aionioshas

been drawn into the patristic discussion, it is necessary to remark

that the argumentative force lies not in the etymological and

independent meaning of the word, which is limited to aeon, but in its

connection with future punishment as contrasted with future reward,

which no man doubts to be everlasting (Matt. 25:46). On the exegetical

question see M. Stuart, l.c., and especially the excursus of Taylor

Lewis on Olamic and Aeonian words in Scripture, in Lange's Com. on

Ecclesiastes (Am. ed. p. 44-51).

[1140] Ep. ad Eph. C. 16: ho toioutos, rhuparos genomenos, eis to pur

to asbeston choresei-i.-i.

[1141] Vis. III. 2, 7; Simil. VIII. 9 (ed. Funk, 1. p. 256, 488 sq.).

Dr. Pusey claims also Polycarp (?), Barrnabas, and the spurious second

Ep. of Clement, and many martyrs (from their Acts) on his side, p.

151-166.

[1142] Apol. I. 8. (Comp. Plato, Phaedr. I). 249 A; De Republ.p. 615

A.)

[1143] Apol. I. 21: Comp. C. 28, 45, 52; II. 2, 7, 8, 9; Dial. 45, 130.

Also v. Engelhardt, p. 206, and Donaldson, II. 321.

[1144] By Petavius, Beecher (p. 206), Farrar (p. 236), and others.

[1145] Dial.c. Tr. 4. 5; Comp. Apol. I. 21. Tatian, his disciple, says;

against the Platonists) Adv. Graec. c. 13) "The soul is not immortal in

itself, O Greeks, but mortal (ouk estin athanatos he psuche kath'

heauten, thnete de). Yet it is possible for it not to die."Irenaeus,

Theophilus of Antioch, Arnobius, and Lactantius held the same view. See

Nitzsch, I. 35l-353.

[1146] In Dial.c. 5, he puts into the mouth of the aged man by whom he

was converted, the sentence: "Such as are worthy to see God die no

more, but others shall undergo punishment as long as it shall please

Him that they shall exist and be punished." But just before he had

said: "I do not say that all souls die: for that would be a godsend to

the wicked. What then? the souls of the pious remain in a better place,

while those of the unjust and wicked are in a worse, waiting for the

time of judgment." Comp. the note of Otto on the passage, Op. II. 26.

[1147] Adv. Haer. 11. 34, � 3: "omnia quae facta sunt ... perseverant

quoadusque ea Deus et esse et perseverare voluerit." Irenaeus reasons

that whatever is created had a beginning, and therefore may have an

end. Whether it will continue or not, depends upon man's gratitude or

ingratitude. He who preserves the gift of life and is grateful to the

Giver, shall receive length of days forever and ever )accipiet et in

saeculum saeculi longitudinem dierum); but he who casts it away and

becomes ungrateful to his Maker, "deprives himself of perseverance

forever "(ipse se privat in saeculum saeculi perseverantia). From this

passage, which exists only in the imperfect Latin version, Dodwell,

Beecher (p. 260), and Farrar (241) infer that Irenaeus taught

annihilation, and interpret perseverantia to mean continued existence;

while Massuet (see his note in Stieren 1. 415), and Pusey (p. 183)

explain perseverantia of continuance in real life in God, or eternal

happiness. The passage, it must be admitted, is not clear, for

longitudo dierum and perseverantia are not identical, nor is

perseverantia equivalent to existentia or vita. In Bk. IV. 20, 7,

Irenaeus says that Christ "became the dispenser of the paternal grace

for the benefit of man ... lest man, failing away from God altogether,

should cease to exist " (cessaret esse); but he adds, "the life of man

consists in beholding God " (vita autem hominus visio Dei). In the

fourth Pfaffian Fragment ascribed to him (Stieren I. 889), he says that

Christ "will come at the end of time to destroy all evil (eis to

katargesai pan to kakon) and to reconcile all things (eis to

apokatallaxai to panta, from Col. 1:20) that there may be an end of all

impurity." This passage, like 1 Cor. 15:28 and Col. 1:20, looks towards

universal restoration rather than annihilation, but admits, like the

Pauline passages, of an interpretation consistent with eternal

punishment. See the long note in Stieren.

[1148] Adv. Haer. III. 4, 1; If. 28, 7. See Pusey, p. 177-181. Ziegler

(Iren�us, p. 312) says that Irenaeus teaches the eternity of punishment

in several passages, or presupposes it, and quotes III. 23, 3; IV. 27,

4; 28, 1; IV. 33, 11; 39, 4; 40, 1 and 2.

[1149] Philos. IX. 23, 30.

[1150] Apol. c. 45. Comp. De Test. An. 4; De Spect. 19, 30. Pusey 184

sq.

[1151] De Mortal. 10; Ep. VIII. 2. Pusey, 190. he quotes also the

Rocognitions of Clement, and the Clementine Homilies, (XI. 11) on this

side.

[1152] Orig. C. Cels. VIII. 48. Origen in his answer does not deny the

fact, but aims to prove that the truth is with the Christians.

[1153] Adv. Gent. 11. 14. The theory of conditional immortality and the

annihilation of the wicked has been recently renewed by a devout

English author, Rev. Edward White, Life in Christ. Dr. R. Rothe also

advocates annihilation, but not till after the conversion of the wicked

has become a moral impossibility. See his posthumous Dogmatik, ed. by

Schenkel, II. 335.

[1154] De Princ. I. 6, 3. Comp. In Jer. Hom. 19; C. Cels. VI. 26.

[1155] It is usually asserted from Augustin down to Nitzsch (I. 402),

that Origen included Satan in the apokatastasis ton panton, but In Ep.

ad Rom. l. VIII. 9 (Opera IV. 634) he says that Satan will not be

converted, not even at the end of the world, and in a letter Ad quosdam

amicos Alex. (Opera I. 5, quoted by Pusey, p. 125) " Although they say

that the father of malice and of the perdition of those who shall be

cast out of the kingdom of God, can be saved which no one can say, even

if bereft of reason."

[1156] After the apokatastasis has been completed in certain aeons, he

speaks of palin alle arche. See the judicious remarks of Neander, I.

656 (Am. ed.)

[1157] Nitzsch (I. 403 sq.) includes also Gregory Nazianzen, and

possibly Chrysostom among universalists. So does Farrar more

confidently (249 sqq., 271 sqq.). But the passages on the other side

are stronger, see Pusey, 209 sqq., 244 sqq., and cannot be explained

from mere "accommodation to the popular view." It is true, however,

that Chrysostom honored the memory of Origen, and eulogized his teacher

Diodorus, of Tarsus, and his comments on 1 Cor. 15:28 look towards an

apokatatasIs. Pusey speaks too disparagingly of Diodor and Theodore of

Mopsuestia, as the fathers of Nestorianism, and unjustly asserts that

they denied the incarnation (223-226). They and Chrysostom were the

fathers of a sound grammatical exegesis against the allegorizing

extravagances of the Origenistic school.

[1158] Posey contends (125-137), that Origen was condemned by the fifth

OEcumenical Council, 553, but Hefele conclusively proves that the

fifteen anathematisms against Origen were passed by a local Synod of

Constantinople in 543 under Mennas. See his Conciliengesch., second

ed., II. 859 sqq. The same view was before advocated by Dupin, Walch,

and D�llinger.

[1159] At least in the Lutheran church of Germany and in the church of

England. Bengel very cautiously intimates the apokatastasis, and the

Pietists in W�rtemberg generally hold it. Among recent divines

Schleiermacher, the Origen of Germany, is the most distinguished

Universalist. He started not, like Origen, from freedom, but from the

opposite Calvinistic theory of a particular election of individuals and

nations, which necessarily involves a particular reprobation or

praetermission rather, but only for time, until the election shall

reach at last the fulness of the Gentiles and the whole of Israel.

Satan was no obstacle with him, as he denied his personal existence. A

denomination of recent American origin, the Universalists, have a creed

of three articles called the Winchester Confession (1803), and one

article teaches the ultimate restoration of "the whole family of

mankind to holiness and happiness."

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� 158. Chiliasm.

Corrodi: Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus. 1781. Second ed. Z�rich,

1794. 4 vols. Very unsatisfactory.

M�nscher.: Lehre vom tausendj�hrigen Reich in den 3 ersten Jahrh. (in

Henke's "Magazin." VI. 2, p. 233 sqq.)

D. T. Taylor: The Voice of the Church on the Coming and Kingdom of the

Redeemer; a History of the Doctrine of the Reign of Christ on Earth.

Revised by Hastings. Second ed. Peace Dale, R. I. 1855. Pre-millennial.

W. Volck: Der Chiliasmus. Eine historisch exeget. Studie. Dorpat, 1869

Millennarian.

A. Koch: Das tausendj�hrige Reich. Basel, 1872. Millennarian against

Hengstenberg.

C. A. Briggs: Origin and History of Premillennarianism. In the

"Lutheran Quarterly Review." Gettysburg, Pa., for April, 1879. 38

pages. Anti-millennial, occasioned by the "Prophetic Conference" of

Pre-millennarians, held in New York, Nov. 1878. Discusses the

ante-Nicene doctrine.

Geo. N. H. Peters: The Theocratic Kingdom of our Lord Jesus, the

Christ. N. York, announced for publ. in 3 vols. 1884. Pre-millennarian.

A complete critical history is wanting, but the controversial and

devotional literature on the subject is very large, especially in the

English language. We mention 1) on the millennial side (embracing

widely different shades of opinion). (a) English and American divines:

Jos. Mede (1627), Twisse, Abbadie, Beverly T. Burnet, Bishop Newton,

Edward Irving, Birks, Bickersteth, Horatio and Andrew Bonar (two

brothers), E. B. Elliott (Horae Apoc.), John Cumming, Dean Alford,

Nathan Lord, John Lillie, James H. Brooks, E. R. Craven, Nath. West, J.

A. Seiss, S. H. Kellogg, Peters, and the writings of the Second

Adventists, the Irvingites, and the Plymouth Brethren. (b) German

divines: Spener (Hoffnung besserer Zeiten), Peterson, Bengel (Erkl�rte

Offenbarung Johannis, 1740), Oetinger, Stilling, Lavater, Auberlen (on

Dan. and Revel.), Martensen, Rothe, von Hofmann, L�he, Delitzsch,

Volck, Luthardt. 2) On the anti-millennial side--(a) English and

American: Bishop Hall, R. Baxter, David Brown (Christ's Second Advent),

Fairbairn, Urwick, G. Bush, Mos. Stuart (on Revel.), Cowles (on Dan.

ind Revel.), Briggs, etc. (b) German: Gerhard, Maresius, Hengstenberg,

Keil, Kliefoth, Philippi, and many others. See the articles

"Millennarianism" by Semisch, and "Pre-Millennarianism" by Kellog, in

Schaff-Herzog, vols. II. and III., and the literature there given.

The most striking point in the eschatology of the ante-Nicene age is

the prominent chiliasm, or millennarianism, that is the belief of a

visible reign of Christ in glory on earth with the risen saints for a

thousand years, before the general resurrection and judgment. [1160]

160 It was indeed not the doctrine of the church embodied in any creed

or form of devotion, but a widely current opinion of distinguished

teachers, such as Barnabas, Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenaeus,

Tertullian, Methodius, and Lactantius; while Caius, Origen, Dionysius

the Great, Eusebius (as afterwards Jerome and Augustin) opposed it.

The Jewish chiliasm rested on a carnal misapprehension of the Messianic

kingdom, a literal interpretation of prophetic figures, and an

overestimate of the importance of the Jewish people and the holy city

as the centre of that kingdom. It was developed shortly before and

after Christ in the apocalyptic literature, as the Book of Enoch, the

Apocalypse of Baruch, 4th Esdras, the Testaments of the Twelve

Patriarchs, and the Sibylline Books. It was adopted by the heretical

sect of the Ebionites, and the Gnostic Cerinthus. [1161] 161

The Christian chiliasm is the Jewish chiliasm spiritualized and fixed

upon the second, instead of the first, coming of Christ. It

distinguishes, moreover, two resurrections, one before and another

after the millennium, and makes the millennial reign of Christ only a

prelude to his eternal reign in heaven, from which it is separated by a

short interregnum of Satan. The millennium is expected to come not as

the legitimate result of a historical process but as a sudden

supernatural revelation.

The advocates of this theory appeal to the certain promises of the

Lord, [1162] 162 but particularly to the hieroglyphic passage of the

Apocalypse, which teaches a millennial reign of Christ upon this earth

after the first resurrection and before the creation of the new heavens

and the new earth. [1163] 163

In connection with this the general expectation prevailed that the

return of the Lord was near, though uncertain and unascertainable as to

its day and hour, so that believers may be always ready for it. [1164]

164 This hope, through the whole age of persecution, was a copious

fountain of encouragement and comfort under the pains of that martyrdom

which sowed in blood the seed of a bountiful harvest for the church.

Among the Apostolic Fathers Barnabas is the first and the only one who

expressly teaches a pre-millennial reign of Christ on earth. He

considers the Mosaic history of the creation a type of six ages of

labor for the world, each lasting a thousand years, and of a millennium

of rest; since with God "one day is as a thousand years." The

millennial Sabbath on earth will be followed by an eighth and eternal

day in a new world, of which the Lord's Day (called by Barnabas "the

eighth day") is the type. [1165] 165

Papias of Hierapolis, a pious but credulous contemporary of Polycarp,

entertained quaint and extravagant notions of the happiness of the

millennial reign, for which he appealed to apostolic tradition. He put

into the mouth of Christ himself a highly figurative description of the

more than tropical fertility of that period, which is preserved and

approved by Irenaeus, but sounds very apocryphal. [1166] 166

Justin Martyr represents the transition from the Jewish Christian to

the Gentile Christian chiliasm. He speaks repeatedly of the second

parousia of Christ in the clouds of heaven, surrounded by the holy

angels. It will be preceded by the near manifestation of the man of sin

(anthropos tes anomias) who speaks blasphemies against the most high

God, and will rule three and a half years. He is preceded by heresies

and false prophets. [1167] 167 Christ will then raise the patriarchs,

prophets, and pious Jews, establish the millennium, restore Jerusalem,

and reign there in the midst of his saints; after which the second and

general resurrection and judgment of the world will take place. He

regarded this expectation of the earthly perfection of Christ's kingdom

as the key-stone of pure doctrine, but adds that many pure and devout

Christians of his day did not share this opinion. [1168] 168 After the

millennium the world will be annihilated, or transformed. [1169] 169 In

his two Apologies, Justin teaches the usual view of the general

resurrection and judgment, and makes no mention of the millennium, but

does not exclude it. [1170] 170 The other Greek Apologists are silent

on the subject, and cannot be quoted either for or against chiliasm.

Irenaeus, on the strength of tradition from St. John and his disciples,

taught that after the destruction of the Roman empire, and the brief

raging of antichrist (lasting three and a half years or 1260 days),

Christ will visibly appear, will bind Satan, will reign at the rebuilt

city of Jerusalem with the little band of faithful confessors and the

host of risen martyrs over the nations of the earth, and will celebrate

the millennial sabbath of preparation for the eternal glory of heaven;

then, after a temporary liberation of Satan, follows the final victory,

the general resurrection, the judgment of the world, and the

consummation in the new heavens and the new earth. [1171] 171

Tertullian was an enthusiastic Chiliast, and pointed not only to the

Apocalypse, but also to the predictions of the Montanist prophets.

[1172] 172 But the Montanists substituted Pepuza in Phrygia for

Jerusalem, as the centre of Christ's reign, and ran into fanatical

excesses, which brought chiliasm into discredit, and resulted in its

condemnation by several synods in Asia Minor. [1173] 173

After Tertullian, and independently of Montanism, chiliasm was taught

by Commodian towards the close of the third century, [1174] 174

Lactantius, [1175] 175 and Victorinus of Petau, [1176] 176 at the

beginning of the fourth. Its last distinguished advocates in the East

were Methodius (d., a martyr, 311), the opponent of Origen, [1177] 177

and Apollinaris of Laodicea in Syria.

We now turn to the anti-Chiliasts. The opposition began during the

Montanist movement in Asia Minor. Caius of Rome attacked both Chiliasm

and Montanism, and traced the former to the hated heretic Cerinthus.

[1178] 178 The Roman church seems never to have sympathized with

either, and prepared itself for a comfortable settlement and normal

development in this world. In Alexandria, Origen opposed chiliasm as a

Jewish dream, and spiritualized the symbolical language of the

prophets. [1179] 179 His distinguished pupil, Dionysius the Great (d.

about 264), checked the chiliastic movement when it was revived by

Nepos in Egypt, and wrote an elaborate work against it, which is lost.

He denied the Apocalypse to the apostle John, and ascribed it to a

presbyter of that name. [1180] 180 Eusebius inclined to the same view.

But the crushing blow came from the great change in the social

condition and prospects of the church in the Nicene age. After

Christianity, contrary to all expectation, triumphed in the Roman

empire, and was embraced by the Caesars themselves, the millennial

reign, instead of being anxiously waited and prayed for, began to be

dated either from the first appearance of Christ, or from the

conversion of Constantine and the downfall of paganism, and to be

regarded as realized in the glory of the dominant imperial

state-church. Augustin, who himself had formerly entertained chiliastic

hopes, framed the new theory which reflected the social change, and was

generally accepted. The apocalyptic millennium he understood to be the

present reign of Christ in the Catholic church, and the first

resurrection, the translation of the martyrs and saints to heaven,

where they participate in Christ's reign. [1181] 181 It was consistent

with this theory that towards the close of the first millennium of the

Christian era there was a wide-spread expectation in Western Europe

that the final judgment was at hand.

From the time of Constantine and Augustin chiliasm took its place among

the heresies, and was rejected subsequently even by the Protestant

reformers as a Jewish dream. [1182] 182 But it was revived from time to

time as an article of faith and hope by pious individuals and whole

sects, often in connection with historic pessimism, with distrust in

mission work, as carried on by human agencies, with literal

interpretations of prophecy, and with peculiar notions about

Antichrist, the conversion and restoration of the Jews, their return to

the Holy Land, and also with abortive attempts to calculate "the times

and seasons" of the Second Advent, which "the Father hath put in his

own power" (Acts 1:7), and did not choose to reveal to his own Son in

the days of his flesh. In a free spiritual sense, however,

millennarianism will always survive as the hope of a golden age of the

church on earth, and of a great sabbath of history after its many

centuries of labor and strife. The church militant ever longs after the

church triumphant, and looks "for new heavens and a new earth, wherein

dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. 3:13). "There remaineth a sabbath rest

for the people of God." (Heb. 4:9).

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[1160] Chiliasm (from chilia ete, a thousand years, Rev. 20:2, 3) is

the Greek, millennarianism or millennialism (from mille anni), the

Latin term for the same theory. The adherents are called Chiliasts, or

Millennarians, also Pre-millennarians, or Pre-millennialists (to

indicate the belief that Christ will appear again before the

millennium), but among them many are counted who simply believe in a

golden age of Christianity which is yet to come. Post-millennarians or

Anti-millennarians are those who put the Second Advent after the

millennium.

[1161] See Euseb. H. E. III. 27 and 28.

[1162] Matt. 5:4; 19:28; Luke 14:12 sqq.

[1163] Rev. 20:1-6. This is the only strictly millennarian passage in

the whole Bible. Commentators are still divided as to the literal or

symbolical meaning of the millennium, and as to its beginning in the

past or in the future. But a number of other passages are drawn into

the service of the millennarian theory, as affording indirect support,

especially Isa. 11:4-9; Acts 3:21; Rom. 11:15. Modern Pre-millennarians

also appeal to what they call the unfulfilled prophecies of the Old

Testament regarding the restoration of the Jews in the holy land. But

the ancient Chiliasts applied those prophecies to the Christian church

as the true Israel.

[1164] Comp. Matt. 24:33, 36; Mark 13:32; Acts 1:7; 1 Thess. 5:1, 2; 2

Pet. 3:10; Rev. 1:3; 3:3.

[1165] Barn. Epist. ch. 15. He seems to have drawn his views from Ps.

90:4, 2 Pet. 3:8, but chiefly from Jewish tradition. He does not quote

the Apocalypse. See Otto in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r

wissenschaftliche Theologie." 1877, p. 525-529, and Funk's note in

Patr. Apost. I. 46.

[1166] Adv. Haer. V. 33, � 3 (ed. Stieren I. 809), quoted from the

fourth book of The Oracles of the Lord:" " The days will come when

vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch

ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in

every one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the

clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give

five-and-twenty measures of wine. And when any one of the saints shall

lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, 'I am a better cluster,

take me; bless the Lord through me.' In like manner [He said], 'that a

grain of wheat shall produce ten thousand ears, and that every ear

shall have ten thousand grains, and every grain shall yield ten pounds

of pure, fine flour; and that apples, and seeds, and grass shall

produce in similar proportions; and that all animals, feeding on the

productions of the earth, shall then live in peace and harmony, and be

in perfect subjection to man."' These words were communicated to Papias

by " the presbyters, who saw John the disciple of the Lord." and who

remembered having beard them from John as coming from the Lord. There

is a similar description of the Messianic times in the twenty-ninth

chapter of the Apocalypse of Baruch, from the close of the first or

beginning of the second century, as follows: " The earth shall yield

its fruits, one producing ten thousand, and in one vine shall be a

thousand bunches, and one bunch shall produce one thousand grapes, and

one grape shall produce one thousand berries, and one berry shall yield

a measure of wine. And those who have been hungry shall rejoice, and

they shall again see prodigies every day. For spirits shall go forth

from my sight to bring every morning the fragrance of spices, and at

the end of the day clouds dropping the dew of health. And it shall come

to pass, at that time, that the treasure of manna shall again descend

from above, and they shall eat of it in these years." See the Latin in

Fritzsche's ed. of the Libri Apoc. V. T., p. 666.

[1167] Dial.c. Tryph. c. 32, 51, 110. Comp. Dan. 7:25 and 2 Thess. 2:8.

[1168] Dial.c. 80 and 81. He appeals to the prophecies of Isaiah (65:17

sqq.), Ezekiel, Ps. 90:4, and the Apocalypse of "a man named John, one

of the apostles of Christ." In another passage, Dial. c. 113, Justin

says that as Joshua led Israel into the holy land and distributed it

among the tribes, so Christ will convert the diaspora and distribute

the goodly land, yet not as an earthly possession, but give us (hemin)

an eternal inheritance. He will shine in Jerusalem as the eternal

light, for he is the King of Salem after the order of Melchisedek, and

the eternal priest of the Most High. But be makes no mention of the

loosing of Satan after the millennium. Comp. the discussion of Justin's

eschatology by M. von Engelhardt, Das Christenthum Justins des M�rt.

)1878), p. 302-307, and by Donaldson, Crit. Hist. of Christ. Lit. II

316-322.

[1169] This point is disputed. Semisch contends for annihilation,

Weizs�cker for transformation. von Engelhardt (p. 309) leaves the

matter undecided. In the Dial. c. 113 Justin says that God through

Christ will renew (kainourgein ) the heaven and the earth; in the

Apologies, that the world will be burnt up.

[1170] Apol. I. 50, 51, 52. For this reason Donaldson (11. 263), and

Dr. Briggs (l.c. p. 21) suspect that the chiliastic passages in the

Dialogue (at least ch. 81) are an interpolation, or corrupted, but

without any warrant. The omission of Justin in Jerome's lists of

Chiliasts can prove nothing against the testimony of all the

manuscripts.

[1171] Adv. Haer. V. 23-36. On the eschatology of Irenaeus see Ziegler,

Iren.der B. v. Lyon (Berl. 1871), 298-320; and Kirchner, Die Eschatol.

d. Iren. in the "Studien und Kritiken" for 1863, p. 315-358.

[1172] De Res. Carn. 25; Adv. Marc. III. 24; IV. 29, etc. He discussed

the subject in a special work, De Spe Fidelium, which is lost.

[1173] See � 111, p. 424 sq.

[1174] Instruct. adv. Gentium Deos, 43, 44, with the Jewish notion of

fruitful millennial marriages.

[1175] Instit. VII. 24; Epit. 71, 72. He quotes from the Sibylline

books, and expects the speedy end of the world, but not while the city

of Rome remains.

[1176] In his Commentary on Revelation, and the fragment De Fabrica

Mundi (part of a Com. on Genesis). Jerome classes him among the

Chiliasts.

[1177] In his Banquet of the Ten Virgins, I X. 5, and Discourse on

Resurrection

[1178] Euseb. H. E. II. 25 (against the Montanist Proclus), and III. 28

(against chiliasm).

[1179] De Princ. II. 11. He had, however, in view a very sensuous idea

of the millennium with marriages and luxuriant feasts.

[1180] Euseb. VII. 24, 25.

[1181] De Civit. Dei, XX. 6-10.

[1182] The Augsburg Confession, Art. XVII., condemns the Anabaptists

and others "who now scatter Jewish opinions that, before the

resurrection of the dead, the godly shall occupy the kingdom of the

world, the wicked being everywhere suppressed." The 41st of the

Anglican Articles, drawn up by Cranmer (1553), but omitted afterwards

in the revision under Elizabeth (1563), describes the millennium as "a

fable of Jewish dotage."

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CHAPTER XIII:

ECCLESIASTICAL LITERATURE OF THE ANTE-NICENE AGE, AND BIOGRAPHICAL

SKETCHES OF THE CHURCH-FATHERS.

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� 159. Literature.

I. General Patristic Collections.

The Benedictine editions, repeatedly published in Paris, Venice, etc.,

are the best as far as they go, but do not satisfy the present state of

criticism. Jesuits (Petavius, Sirmond, Harduin), and Dominicans

(Combefis, Le Quien) have also published several fathers. These and

more recent editions are mentioned in the respective sections. Of

patristic collections the principal ones are:

Maxima Bibliotheca veteru Patrum, etc. Lugd. 1677, 27 tom. fol.

Contains the less voluminous writers, and only in the Latin

translation.

A. Gallandi (Andreas Gallandius, Oratorian, d. 1779): Bibliotheca

Graeco-Latina veterum Patrum, etc. Ven. 1765-88, 14 tom. fol. Contains

in all 380 ecclesiastical writers (180 more than the Bibl Max.) in

Greek and Latin, with valuable dissertations and notes.

Abb� Migne (Jacques Paul, b. 1800, founder of the Ultramontane

L'Univers religeux and the Cath. printing establishment at Montrouge,

consumed by fire 1868): Patrologiae cursus completus sive Bibliotheca

universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica, omnium SS.

Patrum, Doctorum, Scriptorumque ecelesiasticorum. Petit Montrouge (near

Paris), 1844-1866 (Garnier Fr�res). The cheapest and most complete

patristic library, but carelessly edited, and often inaccurate,

reaching down to the thirteenth century, the Latin in 222, the Greek in

167 vols., reprinted from the Bened. and other good editions, with

Prolegomena, Vitae, Dissertations, Supplements, etc. Some of the plates

were consumed by fire in 1868. but have been replaced. To be used with

great caution.

Abb� Horoy: Bibliotheca Patristica ab anno MCCXVI. usque ad Concilii

Tridentini Tempora. Paris, 1879 sqq. A continuation of Migne. Belongs

to mediaeval history.

A new and critical edition of the Latin Fathers has been undertaken by

the Imperial Academy of Vienna in 1866, under the title: Corpus

scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. The first volume contains the

works of Sulpicius Severus, ed. by C. Halm, 1866; the second Minucius

Felix and Jul. Firmicus Maternus, by the same, 1867; Cyprian by Hartel,

1876; Arnobius by Reifferscheid; Commodianus by Dombart; Salvianus by

Pauly; Cassianus by Petscheig; Priscillian by Schepss, etc. So far 18

vols. from 1866 to 1889.

A new and critical edition of the Greek fathers is still more needed.

Handy editions of the older fathers by Oberthur, Richter, Gersdorf,

etc.

Special collections of patristic fragments by Grabe (Spicilegium

Patrum), Routh (Reliquiae Sacrae), Angelo Mai (Scriptorum vet. nova

Collectio, Rom. 1825-'38, 10 t.; Spicilegium roman. 1839-'44, 10 t.;

Nova Patrum Bibliotheca, 1852 sqq. 7 t.); Card. Pitra (Spicilegium

Solesmense, 1852 sqq. 5 t.), Liverani (Spiciles Liberianum, 1865), and

others.

II. Separate Collections of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

Patres Apostolici, best critical editions, one Protestant by Oscar Von

Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn (ed. II. Lips. 1876-'78, in 3 parts);

another by Hilgenfeld (ed. II. Lips. 1876 sqq. in several parts); one

by Bp. Lightfoot (Lond. 1869 sqq.); and one, R. Catholic, by Bp.

Hefele, fifth ed. by Prof Funk, T�bingen (1878 and '81, 2 vols.). See �

161.

Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Seculi II., Ed. Otto. Jenae,

1847-'50; Ed. III. 1876 sqq. A new critical ed. by O. v. Gebhardt and

E. Schwartz. Lips. 1888 sqq.

Roberts and Donaldson: Ante-Nicene Christian Library. Edinburgh

1857-1872. 24 vols. Authorized reprint, N. York, 1885-'86, 8 vol.

III. Biographical, critical, doctrinal. Patristics and Patrology.

St. Jerome (d. 419): De Viris illustrious. Comprises, in 135 numbers,

brief notices of the biblical and ecclesiastical authors, down to a.d.

393. Continuations by Gennadius (490), Isidor (636), Ildefons (667),

and others.

Photius (d. 890): Muriobiblion, he bibliotheke, ed. J. Becker, Berol.

1824, 2 t. fol., and in Migne, Phot. Opera, t. III. and IV. Extracts of

280 Greek authors, heathen and Christian, whose works are partly lost.

See a full account in Hergenr�ther's, Photius, III. 13-31.

Bellermin (R.C.): Liber de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis (from the O. T.

to a.d. 1500). Rom. 1613 and often.

Tillemont (R.C.): Memoirs pour servir � l'histoire eccl�s. Par. 1693

sqq. 16 vols. The first six centuries.

L. E. Dupin (R.C. d. 1719): Nouvelle Biblioth�que des auteurs

ecclesiastiques, contenant l'histoire de leur vie, etc. Par. 1688-1715,

47 vols. 8�, with continuations by Coujet, Petit-Didier to the 18th

century, and Critiques of R. Simon, 61 vols., 9th ed. Par. 1698 sqq.;

another edition, but incomplete, Amstel. 1690-1713, 20 vols. 4�.

Remi Ceillter (R.C. d. 1761): Histoire g�n�rale des auteurs sacr�s et

ecclesiastiques. Par. 1729-'63, 23 vols. 4�; new ed. with additions,

Par. 1858-1865 in 14 vols. More complete and exact, but less liberal

than Dupin; extends to the middle of the thirteenth century.

Will. Cave (Anglican, d. 1713): Scriptorum ecelesiasticorum Historia a

Christo nato usque ad saecul. XIV. Lond. 1688-98, 2 vols.; Geneva,

1720; Colon. 1722; best edition superintended by Waterland, Oxf.

1740-43, reprinted at Basle 1741-'45. This work is arranged in the

centurial style (saeculum Apostolicum, s. Gnosticuni, s. Novatianum, s.

Arianum, s. Nestorianum, s. Eutychianum, s. Monotheleticum, etc.) W.

Cave: Lives of the most eminent fathers of the church that flourished

in the first four centuries. Best ed. revised by Henry Cary. Oxf. 1840,

3 vols.

Chas. Oudin (first a monk, then a Protestant, librarian to the

University at Leyden, died 1717): Commentarius de scriptoribus

ecclesiae antiquis illorumque scriptis, a Bellarmino, Possevino, Caveo,

Dupin et aliis omissis, ad ann. 1460. Lips. 1722. 3 vols. fol.

John Alb. Fabricius ("the most learned, the most voluminous and the

most useful of bibliographers." born at Leipsic 1668. Prof. of

Eloquence at Hamburg, died 1736): Bibliotheca Graeca, sive notilia

Scriptorum veterum Graecorum; ed. III. Hamb. 1718-'28, 14 vols.; ed.

IV. by G. Chr. Harless, with additions. Hamb. 1790-1811, in 12 vols.

(incomplete). This great work of forty years' labor embraces all the

Greek writers to the beginning of the eighteenth century, but is

inconveniently arranged. (A valuable supplement to it is S. F. G.

Hoffmann: Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literatur der

Griechen, Leipz. 3 vols.), 2nd ed. 1844-'45. J. A. Fabricius published

also a Bibliotheca Latina mediae et infimae aetatis, Hamb. 173 '46, in

6 vols. (enlarged by Mansi, Padua, 1754, 3 tom.), and a Bibliotheca

ecclesiastical Hamb. 1718, in 1 vol. fol., which contains the

catalogues of ecclesiastical authors by Jerome, Gennadius, Isidore,

Ildefondus, Trithemius (d. 1515) and others.

C. T. G. Sch�nemann: Bibliotheca historico-literaria patrum Latinorum a

Tertulliano usque ad Gregorina M. et Isidorum . Lips. 1792, 2 vols. A

continuation of Fabricius' Biblioth. Lat.

G. Lumper (R.C.): Historia theologico-critica de vita, scriptis et

doctrina SS. Patrum trium primorum saeculorum. Aug. Vind. 1783-'99, 13

t. 8�.

A.. M�hler (R.C. d. 1838): Patrologie, oder christliche

Liter�rgeschichte. Edited by Reithmayer. Regensb. 1840, vol. I. Covers

only the first three centuries.

J. Fessler (R.C.): Institutiones patrologicae. Oenip. 1850-'52, 2vols.

J. C. F. B�hr: Geschichte der r�mischen Literatur. Karlsruhe, 1836, 4th

ed. 1868.

Fr. B�hringer (d, 1879): Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen, oder die K.

G. in Biographien. Z�r. 1842 (2d ed. 1861 sqq. and 1873 sqq.), 2 vols.

in 7 parts (to the sixteenth century).

Joh. Alzog (R.C., Prof. in Freiburg, d. 1878):Grundriss der Patrologie

oder der �lteren christl. Liter�rgeschichte. Frieburg, 1866; second ed.

1869; third ed. 1876; fourth ed. 1888.

James Donaldson: A Critical History of Christian Literature and

Doctrine from the death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. London,

1864-'66. 3 vols. Very valuable, but unfinished.

Jos. Schwane (R.C.):Dogmengeschichte der patristischen Zeit. M�nster,

1866.

Adolf Ebert: Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur von ihren

Anf�ngen bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen Leipzig, 1872 (624 pages).

The first vol. of a larger work on the general history of mediaeval

literature. The second vol. (1880) contains the literature from

Charlemagne to Charles the Bald.

Jos. Nirschl (R.C.): Lehrbuch der Patrologie und Patristik. Mainz. Vol.

I. 1881 (VI. and 384).

George A. Jackson: Early Christian Literature Primers. N. York,

1879-1883 in 4 little vols., containing extracts from the fathers.

Fr. W. Farrar: Lives of the Fathers. Sketches of Church History in

Biographies. Lond. and N. York, 1889, 2 vols.

IV. On the Authority and Use of the Fathers.

Dallaeus (Daill�, Calvinist): De usu Patrum in decidendis

controversiis. Genev. 1656 (and often). Against the superstitious and

slavish R. Catholic overvaluation of the fathers.

J. W. Eberl (R.C.): Leitfaden zum Studium der Patrologie. Augsb. 1854.

J. J. Blunt (Anglican): The Right Use of the Early Fathers. Lond. 1857,

3^rd ed. 1859. Confined to the first three centuries, and largely

polemical against the depreciation of the fathers, by Daill�,

Barbeyrat, and Gibbon.

V. On the Philosophy of the Fathers.

H. Ritter: Geschichte der christl Philosophie. Hamb. 1841 sqq. 2 vols.

Joh. Huber (d. 1879 as an Old Catholic): Die Philosophie der

Kirchenv�ter. M�nchen, 1859.

A. St�ckl (R.C.): Geschichte der Philosophie der patristischen Zeit.

W�rz b. 1858, 2 vols.; andGeschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters.

Mainz, 1864-1866. 3 vols.

Friedr. Ueberweg. History of Philosophy (Engl. transl. by Morris &

Porter). N. Y. 1876 (first vol.).

VI. Patristic Dictionaries.

J. C. Suicer (d. in Zurich, 1660): Thesaurus ecclesiasticus e Patribus

Graecis. Amstel., 1682, second ed., much improved, 1728. 2 vols. for.

(with a new title page. Utr. 1746).

Du Cange (Car. Dufresne a Benedictine, d. 1688): Glossarium ad

scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis. Lugd. 1688. 2 vols. By the

same: Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis. Par.

1681, again 1733, 6 vols. fol., re-edited by Carpenter 1766, 4 vols.,

and by Henschel, Par. 1840-'50, 7 vols. A revised English edition of Du

Cange by E. A. Dayman was announced for publication by John Murray

(London), but has not yet appeared, in 1889.

E. A. Sophocles: A glossary of Latin and Byzantine Greek. Boston, 1860,

enlarged ed. 1870. A new ed. by Jos. H. Thayer, 1888.

G. Koffmane: Geschichte des Kirchlateins. Breslau, 1879 sqq.

Wm. Smith and Henry Wace (Anglicans): A Dictionary of Christian

Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines London, Vol. I. 18771887, 4

vols. By far the best patristic biographical Dictionary in the English

or any other language. A noble monument of the learning of the Church

of England.

E. C. Richardson (Hartford, Conn.): Bibliographical Synapsis of the

Ante-Nicene Fathers. An appendix to the Am. Ed. of the Ante-Nicene

Fathers, N. York, 1887. Very complete.

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� 160. A General Estimate of the Fathers.

As Christianity is primarily a religion of divine facts, and a new

moral creation, the literary and scientific element in its history

held, at first, a secondary and subordinate place. Of the apostles,

Paul alone received a learned education, and even he made his

rabbinical culture and great natural talents subservient to the higher

spiritual knowledge imparted to him by revelation. But for the very

reason that it is a new life, Christianity must produce also a new

science and literature; partly from the inherent impulse of faith

towards deeper and clearer knowledge of its object for its own

satisfaction; partly from the demands of self-preservation against

assaults from without; partly from the practical want of instruction

and direction for the people. The church also gradually appropriated

the classical culture, and made it tributary to her theology.

Throughout the middle ages she was almost the sole vehicle and guardian

of literature and art, and she is the mother of the best elements of

the modern European and American civilization. We have already treated

of the mighty intellectual labor of our period on the field of

apologetic, polemic, and dogmatic theology. In this section we have to

do with patrology, or the biographical and bibliographical matter of

the ancient theology and literature.

The ecclesiastical learning of the first six centuries was cast almost

entirely in the mould of the Graeco-Roman culture. The earliest church

fathers, even Clement of Rome, Hermas, and Hippolytus, who lived and

labored in and about Rome, used the Greek language, after the example

of the apostles, with such modifications as the Christian ideas

required. Not till the end of the second century, and then not in

Italy, but in North Africa, did the Latin language also become, through

Tertullian, a medium of Christian science and literature. The Latin

church, however, continued for a long time dependent on the learning of

the Greek. The Greek church was more excitable, speculative, and

dialectic; the Latin more steady, practical, and devoted to outward

organization; though we have on both sides striking exceptions to this

rule, in the Greek Chrysostom, who was the greatest pulpit orator, and

the Latin Augustin, who was the profoundest speculative theologian

among the fathers.

The patristic literature in general falls considerably below the

classical in elegance of form, but far surpasses it in the sterling

quality of its matter. It wears the servant form of its master, during

the days of his flesh, not the splendid, princely garb of this world.

Confidence in the power of the Christian truth made men less careful of

the form in which they presented it. Besides, many of the oldest

Christian writers lacked early education, and had a certain aversion to

art, from its manifold perversion in those days to the service of

idolatry and immorality. But some of them, even in the second and third

centuries, particularly Clement and Origen, stood at the head of their

age in learning and philosophical culture; and in the fourth and fifth

centuries, the literary productions of an Athanasius, a Gregory, a

Chrysostom, an Augustin, and a Jerome, excelled the contemporaneous

heathen literature in every respect. Many fathers, like the two

Clements, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tertullian, Cyprian,

and among the later ones, even Jerome and Augustin, embraced

Christianity after attaining adult years; and it is interesting to

notice with what enthusiasm, energy, and thankfulness they laid hold

upon it.

The term "church-father" originated in the primitive custom of

transferring the idea of father to spiritual relationships, especially

to those of teacher, priest, and bishop. In the case before us the idea

necessarily includes that of antiquity, involving a certain degree of

general authority for all subsequent periods and single branches of the

church. Hence this title of honor is justly limited to the more

distinguished teachers of the first five or six centuries, excepting,

of course, the apostles, who stand far above them all as the inspired

organs of Christ. It applies, therefore, to the period of the

oecumenical formation of doctrines, before the separation of Eastern

and Western Christendom. The line of the Latin fathers is generally

closed with Pope Gregory I. (d. 604), the line of the Greek with John

of Damascus (d. about 754).

Besides antiquity, or direct connection with the formative age of the

whole church, learning, holiness, orthodoxy, and the approbation of the

church, or general recognition, are the qualifications for a church

father. These qualifications, however, are only relative. At least we

cannot apply the scale of fully developed orthodoxy, whether Greek,

Roman, or Evangelical, to the ante-Nicene fathers. Their dogmatic

conceptions were often very indefinite and uncertain. In fact the Roman

church excludes a Tertullian for his Montanism, an Origen for his

Platonic and idealistic views, an Eusebius for his semi-Arianism, also

Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, Theodoret, and other distinguished

divines, from the list of "fathers" (Patres), and designates them

merely "ecclesiastical writers" (Scriptores Ecclastici).

In strictness, not a single one of the ante-Nicene fathers fairly

agrees with the Roman standard of doctrine in all points. Even Irenaeus

and Cyprian differed from the Roman bishop, the former in reference to

Chiliasm and Montanism, the latter on the validity of heretical

baptism. Jerome is a strong witness against the canonical value of the

Apocrypha. Augustin, the greatest authority of Catholic theology among

the fathers, is yet decidedly evangelical in his views on sin and

grace, which were enthusiastically revived by Luther and Calvin, and

virtually condemned by the Council of Trent. Pope Gregory the Great

repudiated the title "ecumenical bishop" as an antichristian

assumption, and yet it is comparatively harmless as compared with the

official titles of his successors, who claim to be the Vicars of

Christ, the viceregents of God Almighty on earth, and the infallible

organs of the Holy Ghost in all matters of faith and discipline. None

of the ancient fathers and doctors knew anything of the modern Roman

dogmas of the immaculate conception (1854) and papal infallibility

(1870). The "unanimous consent of the fathers" is a mere illusion,

except on the most fundamental articles of general Christianity. We

must resort here to a liberal conception of orthodoxy, and duly

consider the necessary stages of progress in the development of

Christian doctrine in the, church.

On the other hand the theology of the fathers still less accords with

the Protestant standard of orthodoxy. We seek in vain among them for

the evangelical doctrines of the exclusive authority of the Scriptures,

justification by faith alone, the universal priesthood of the laity;

and we find instead as early as the second century a high estimate of

ecclesiastical traditions, meritorious and even over-meritorious works,

and strong sacerdotal, sacramentarian, ritualistic, and ascetic

tendencies, which gradually matured in the Greek and Roman types of

catholicity. The Church of England always had more sympathy with the

fathers than the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches, and professes to be

in full harmony with the creed, the episcopal polity, and liturgical

worship of antiquity before the separation of the east and the west;

but the difference is only one of degree; the Thirty-Nine Articles are

as thoroughly evangelical as the Augsburg Confession or the Westminster

standards; and even the modern Anglo-Catholic school, the most churchly

and churchy of all, Ignores many tenets and usages which were

considered of vital importance in the first centuries, and holds others

which were unknown before the sixteenth century. The reformers were as

great and good men as the fathers, but both must bow before the

apostles. There is a steady progress of Christianity, an ever-deepening

understanding and an ever-widening application of its principles and

powers, and there are yet many hidden treasures in the Bible which will

be brought to light in future ages.

In general the excellences of the church fathers are very various.

Polycarp is distinguished, not for genius or learning, but for

patriarchal simplicity and dignity; Clement of Rome, for the gift of

administration; Ignatius, for impetuous devotion to episcopacy, church

unity, and Christian martyrdom; Justin, for apologetic zeal and

extensive reading; Irenaeus, for sound doctrine and moderation; Clement

of Alexandria, for stimulating fertility of thought; Origen, for

brilliant learning and bold speculation; Tertullian, for freshness and

vigor of intellect, and sturdiness of character; Cyprian, for energetic

churchliness; Eusebius, for literary industry in compilation;

Lactantius, for elegance of style. Each had also his weakness. Not one

compares for a moment in depth and spiritual fulness with a St. Paul or

St. John; and the whole patristic literature, with all its incalculable

value, must ever remain very far below the New Testament. The single

epistle to the Romans or the Gospel of John is worth more than all

commentaries, doctrinal, polemic, and ascetic treatises of the Greek

and Latin fathers, schoolmen, and reformers.

The ante-Nicene fathers may be divided into five or six classes:

(1.) The apostolic fathers, or personal disciples of the apostles. Of

these, Polycarp, Clement, and Ignatius are the most eminent.

(2.) The apologists for Christianity against Judaism and heathenism:

Justin Martyr and his successors to the end of the second century.

(3.) The controversialists against heresies within the church:

Irenaeus, and Hippolytus, at the close of the second century and

beginning of the third.

(4.) The Alexandrian school of philosophical theology: Clement and

Origen, in the first half of the third century.

(5.) The contemporary but more practical North African school of

Tertullian and Cyprian.

(6.) Then there were also the germs of the Antiochian school, and some

less prominent writers, who can be assigned to no particular class.

Together with the genuine writings of the church fathers there appeared

in the first centuries, in behalf both of heresy and of orthodoxy, a

multitude of apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Apocalypses, under the names

of apostles and of later celebrities; also Jewish and heathen

prophecies of Christianity, such as the Testaments of the Twelve

Patriarchs, the Books of Hydaspes, Of Hermas Trismegistos, and of the

Sibyls. The frequent use made of such fabrications of an idle

imagination even by eminent church teachers, particularly by the

apologists, evinces not only great credulity and total want of literary

criticism, but also a very imperfect development of the sense of truth,

which had not yet learned utterly to discard the pia fraus as immoral

falsehood.

Notes.

The Roman church extends the line of the Patres, among whom she further

distinguishes a small number of Doctores ecclesiae emphatically

so-called, down late into the middle ages, and reckons in it Anselm,

Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and the divines of

the Council of Trent, resting on her claim to exclusive catholicity,

which is recognized neither by the Greek nor the Evangelical church.

The marks of a Doctor Ecclesiae are: 1) eminens eruditio; 2) doctrina

orthodoxa; 3) sanctitas vitae; 4) expressa ecclesiae declaratio. The

Roman Church recognizes as Doctores Ecclesiae the following Greek

fathers: Athanasius, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzen, Chrysostom,

Cyril of Alexandria, and John of Damascus, and the following Latin

fathers: Ambrose, Jerome, Augustin, Hilarius of Poitiers, Leo I. and

Gregory I., together with the mediaeval divines Anselm, Thomas Aquinas,

Bonaventura and Bernard of Clairvaux. The distinction between doctores

ecclesiae and patres eccelesiae was formally recognized by Pope

Boniface VIII. in a decree of 1298, in which Ambrose, Augustin, Jerome,

and Gregory the Great are designated as magni doctores ecclesiae, who

deserve a higher degree of veneration. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, and

St. Bernard were added to the list by papal decree in 1830, Hilary in

1852, Alfonso Maria da Liguori in 1871. Anselm of Canterbury and a few

others are called doctores in the liturgical service, without special

decree. The long line of popes has only furnished two fathers, Leo I.

and Gregory I. The Council of Trent first speaks of the "unanimis

consensus patrum," which is used in the same sense as "doctrina

ecclesia."

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� 161. The Apostolic Fathers.

Sources:

Patrum Apostolicorum Opera. Best editions by O. von Gebhardt, A.

Harnack, Th. Zahn, Lips. 1876-'8. 3 vols. (being the third ed. of

Dressel much improved); by Fr. Xav. Funk (R.C.), T�b. 1878 and 1881, 2

vols. (being the 5th and enlarged edition of Hefele); by A. Hilgenfeld

(T�bingen school): Novum Testamentum extra canonem receptum, Lips.

1866, superseded by the revised ed. appearing in parts (Clemens R.,

1876; Barnabas, 1877; Hermas, 1881); and by Bishop Lightfoot, Lond. and

Cambr. 1869, 1877, and 1885 (including Clement of Rome, Ignatius and

Polycarp, with a full critical apparatus, English translations and

valuable notes; upon the whole the best edition as far as it goes.)

Older editions by B. Cotelerius (Cotelier, R.C.), Par. 1672, 2 vols.

fol., including the spurious works; republ. and ed. by J. Clericus (Le

Clerc), Antw. 1698, 2^nd ed. Amst. 1724, 2 vols.; Th. Ittig, 1699;

Frey, Basel, 1742; R. Russel, Lond. 1746, 2 vols. (the genuine works);

Hornemann, Havniae, 1828; Guil. Jacobson, Oxon. 1838, ed. IV. 1866, 2

vols. (very elegant and accurate, with valuable notes, but containing

only Clemens, Ignatius, Polycarp, and the Xartyria of Ign. and Polyc.);

C. J. Hefele (R.C.), T�b. 1839, ed. IV. 1855, 1 vol. (very handy, with

learned and judicious prolegomena and notes); A. R. M. Dressel. Lips.

1857, second ed. 1863 (more complete, and based on new MSS. Hefele's

and Dressel's edd. are superseded by the first two above mentioned.

English translations of the Apost. Fathers by Archbishop W. Wake (d.

1737), Lond. 1693, 4^th ed. 1737, and often republished (in admirable

style, though with many inaccuracies); by Alex. Roberts and James

Donaldson, in the first vol. of Clark's "Ante-Nicene Christian

Library." Edinb. 1867 (superior to Wake in accuracy, but inferior in

old English flavor); by Chs. H. Hoole, Lond. 1870 and 1872; best by

Lightfoot (Clement R. in Appendix, 1877). An excellent German

translation by H. Scholz, G�tersloh, 1865 (in the style of Luther's

Bible version).

Works:

The Prolegomena to the editions just named, particularly those of the

first four.

A. Schwegler: Das nacha postolische Zeitalter, T�b. 1846. 2 vols. A

very able but hypercritical reconstruction from the T�bingen school,

full of untenable hypotheses, assigning the Gospels, Acts, the Catholic

and later Pauline Epistles to the post-apostolic age, and measuring

every writer by his supposed Petrine or Pauline tendency, and his

relation to Ebionism and Gnosticism.

A. Hilgenfeld: Die apostolischen V�ter. Halle, 1853.

J. H. B. Lubkert: Die Theologie der apostolischen V�ter, in the

"Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol." Leipz. 1854.

Abb� Freppel (Prof. at the Sorbonne): Les P�res Apostoliques et leur

epoque, second ed. Paris, 1859. Strongly Roman Catholic.

Lechler: Das Apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter. Stuttgart, 1857, p.

476-495; 3d ed., thoroughly revised (Leipz., 1885), p. 526 -608.

James Donaldson (LL. D.): A Critical History of Christian Literature,

etc. Vol. I. The Apost. Fathers. Edinburgh, 1864. The same, separately

publ. under the title: The Apostolic Fathers: A critical account of

their genuine writings and of their doctrines. London, 1874 (412

pages). Ignatius is omitted. A work of honest and sober Protestant

learning.

George A. Jackson: The Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists of the

Second Century. New York 1879. Popular, with extracts (pages 203).

J. M. Cotterill: Peregrinus Proteus. Edinburgh, 1879. A curious book,

by a Scotch Episcopalian, who tries to prove that the two Epistles of

Clement, the Epistle to Diognetus, and other ancient writings, were

literary frauds perpetrated by Henry Stephens and others in the time of

the revival of letters in the sixteenth century.

Josef Sprinzl, (R.C.):Die Theologie der apost. V�ter. Wien, 1880. Tries

to prove the entire agreement of the Ap. Fathers with the modern

Vatican theology.

The "apostolic," or rather post-apostolic "fathers" [1183] 183 were the

first church teachers after the apostles, who had enjoyed in part

personal intercourse with them, and thus form the connecting link

between them and the apologists of the second century. This class

consists of Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and, in a

broader sense, Hermas, Papias, and the unknown authors of the Epistle

to Diognetus, and of the Didache.

Of the outward life of these men, their extraction, education, and

occupation before conversion, hardly anything is known. The distressed

condition of that age was very unfavorable to authorship; and more than

this, the spirit of the primitive church regarded the new life in

Christ as the only true life, the only one worthy of being recorded.

Even of the lives of the apostles themselves before their call we have

only a few hints. But the pious story of the martyrdom of several of

these fathers, as their entrance into perfect life, has been copiously

written. They were good men rather than great men, and excelled more in

zeal and devotion to Christ than in literary attainments. They were

faithful practical workers, and hence of more use to the church in

those days than profound thinkers or great scholars could have been.

"While the works of Tacitus, Sueton, Juvenal, Martial, and other

contemporary heathen authors are filled with the sickening details of

human folly, vice, and crime, these humble Christian pastors are ever

burning with the love of God and men, exhort to a life of purity and

holiness in imitation of the example of Christ, and find abundant

strength and comfort amid trial and persecution in their faith, and the

hope of a glorious immortality in heaven." [1184] 184

The extant works of the apostolic fathers are of small compass, a

handful of letters on holy living and dying, making in all a volume of

about twice the size of the New Testament. Half of these (several

Epistles of Ignatius, the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Pastor of

Hermas) are of doubtful genuineness; but they belong at all events to

that, obscure and mysterious transition period between the end of the

first century and the middle of the second. They all originated, not in

scientific study, but in practical religious feeling, and contain not

analyses of doctrine so much as simple direct assertions of faith and

exhortations to holy life; all, excepting Hermas and the Didache, in

the form of epistles after the model of Paul's. [1185] 185 Yet they

show the germs of the apologetic, polemic, dogmatic, and ethic

theology, as well as the outlines of the organization and the cultus of

the ancient Catholic church. Critical research has to assign to them

their due place in the external and internal development of the church;

in doing this it needs very great caution to avoid arbitrary

construction.

If we compare these documents with the canonical Scriptures of the New

Testament, it is evident at once that they fall far below in original

force, depth, and fulness of spirit, and afford in this a strong

indirect proof of the inspiration of the apostles. Yet they still shine

with the evening red of the apostolic day, and breathe an enthusiasm of

simple faith and fervent love and fidelity to the Lord, which proved

its power in suffering and martyrdom. They move in the element of

living tradition, and make reference oftener to the oral preaching of

the apostles than to their writings; for these were not yet so

generally circulated but they bear a testimony none the less valuable

to the genuineness of the apostolic writings, by occasional citations

or allusions, and by the coincidence of their reminiscences with the

facts of the gospel history and the fundamental doctrines of the New

Testament. The epistles of Barnabas, Clement, and Polycarp, and the

Shepherd of Hernias, were in many churches read in public worship.

[1186] 186 Some were even incorporated in important manuscripts of the

Bible. [1187] 187 This shows that the sense of the church, as to the

extent of the canon, had not yet become everywhere clear. Their

authority, however, was always but sectional and subordinate to that of

the Gospels and the apostolic Epistles. It was a sound instinct of the

church, that the writings of the disciples of the apostles, excepting

those of Mark and Luke, who were peculiarly associated with Peter and

Paul, were kept out of the canon of the New Testament. For by the wise

ordering of the Ruler of history, there is an impassable gulf between

the inspiration of the apostles and the illumination of the succeeding

age, between the standard authority of holy Scripture and the derived

validity of the teaching of the church. "The Bible"--to adopt an

illustration of a distinguished writer [1188] 188 --"is not like a city

of modern Europe, which subsides through suburban gardens and groves

and mansions into the open country around, but like an Eastern city in

the desert, from which the traveler passes by a single step into a

barren waste." The very poverty of these post-apostolic writings

renders homage to the inexhaustible richness of the apostolic books

which, like the person of Christ, are divine as well as human in their

origin, character, and effect. [1189] 189

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[1183] The usual name is probably derived from Tertullian, who calls

the followers of the apostles, Apostolici,) De Carne, 2; Proescr, Haer.

30). Westcott calls them sub-apostolic, Donaldson, ep-apostolic.

[1184] "The most striking feature of these writings," says Donaldson

(p. 105),"is the deep living piety which pervades them. It consists in

the warmest love to God, the deepest interest in man, and it exhibits

itself in a healthy, vigorous, manly morality."

[1185] Like the N. T. Epistles, the writings of the Apostolic fathers

generally open with an inscription and Christian salutation, and

conclude with a benediction and doxology. The Ep. of Clement to the

Corinthians beginning thus (ch. 1.): "The church of God, which

sojournes in Rome to the church of God which sojournes in Corinth, to

them that are called and sanctified by the will of God, through our

Lord Jesus Christ: Grace and peace from Almighty God, through Jesus

Christ, be multiplied unto You." (Comp. 1 Cor. 1:2, 3; 2 Pet. 1:2.) It

concludes (ch. 65, formerly ch. 59): "The grace of our Lord Jesus

Christ be with you, and with all men everywhere who are called of God

through Him, through whom be glory, honor, power, majesty, and eternal

dominion unto Him from the ages past to the ages of ages. Amen."--The

Ep. of Polycarp begins: " Polycarp, and the presbyters that are with

him, to the church of God sojourning in Philippi: Mercy unto you and

peace from God Almighty and from the Lord Jesus Christ our Saviour, be

multiplied;" and it concludes."Grace be with you all. Amen." The Ep. of

Barnabas opens and closes in a very general way, omitting the names of

the writer and readers. The inscriptions and salutations of the

Ignatian Epistles are longer and overloaded, even in the Syriac

recension.

[1186] Comp. Euseb. H. E. III. 16; IV. 23, as regards the epistle of

Clement, which continued to be read in the church of Corinth down to

the time of Dionysius, a.d. 160, and even to the time of Eusebius and

Jerome, in the fourth century. The Pastor Hermae is quoted by Irenaeus

IV. 3, as "scriptura." and is treated by Clement of Alex. and Origen

(Ad Rom. Comment. X. c. 31) as " scriptura valde utilis et divinitus

inspirata."

[1187] The Codex Alexandrinus (A) of the fifth century contains, after

the Apocalypse, the Epistle of Clemens Romanus to the Corinthians, with

a fragment of a homily; and the Codex Sinaiticus of the fourth century

gives, at the close, the Epistle of Barnabas complete in Greek, and

also a part of the Greek Pastor Hermae.

[1188] Ascribed to Archbishop Whately.

[1189] Baur, Schwegler, and the other T�bingen critics show great want

of spiritual discernment in assigning so many N. T. writings, even the

Gospel of John to the borrowed moonlight of the post-apostolic age.

They form the opposite extreme to the Roman overestimate of patristic

teaching as being of equal authority with the Bible.

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� 162. Clement of Rome.

(I.) The Epistle of Clemens Rom. to the Corinthians. Only the first is

genuine, the second so-called Ep. of Cl. is a homily of later date.

Best editions by Philotheos Bryennios (Tou en hagiois patros hemon

Klementos episkopou Rhomes ai duo pros Karinthious epistolai etc. Hen

Konstantinopolei, 1875. With prolegomena, commentary and facsimiles at

the end, 188 pp. text, and rxth 'or169 prolegomena); Hilgenfeld (second

ed. Leipz. 1876, with prolegomena, textual notes and conjectures); Von

Gebhardt & Harnack (sec. ed. 1876, with proleg., notes, and Latin

version); Funk (1878, with Latin version and notes); and Lightfoot

(with notes, Lond. 1869, and Appendix containing the newly-discovered

portions, and an English Version, 1877).

All the older editions from the Alexandrian MS. first published by

Junius, 1633, are partly superseded by the discovery of the new and

complete MS. in Constantinople, which marks an epoch in this chapter of

church history.

(II.) R. A. Lipsius: De Clementis Rom. Epistola ad Corinth. priore

disquisitio. Lips. 1856 (188 pages). Comp. his review of recent

editions in the "Jenaer Literaturzeitung." Jan. 13, 1877.

B. H. Cowper: What the First Bishop of Rome taught. The Ep. of Clement

of R. to the Cor., with an Introduction and Notes. London, 1867.

Jos. Mullooly: St. Clement Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome.

Rome, second ed. 1873. The same in Italian. Discusses the supposed

house and basilica of Clement, but not his works.

Jacobi: Die beiden Briefe des Clemens v. Rom., in the "Studien und

Kritiken" for 1876, p. 707 sqq.

Funk: Ein theologischer Fund, in the T�b. "Theol. Quartalschrift,"

1876, p. 286 sqq.

Donaldson: The New MS. of Clement of Rome. In the "Theolog. Review."

1877, p. 35 sqq.

Wieseler: Der Brief des r�m. Clemens an die Kor., in the "Jahrb�cher

f�r deutsche Theol." 1877. No. III.

Renan: Les �vangiles. Paris 1877. Ch. xv. 311-338.

C. J. H. Ropes: The New MS. of Clement of Rome, in the "Presb.

Quarterly and Princeton Review." N. York 1877, P. 325-343. Contains a

scholarly examination of the new readings, and a comparison of the

concluding prayer with the ancient liturgies.

The relevant sections in Hilgenfeld (Apost. V�ter, 85-92), Donaldson

(Ap. Fath., 113-190), Sprinzl (Theol. d. Apost. V�ter, 21 sqq., 57

sqq.), Salmon in Smith and Wace, I. 554 sqq., and Uhlhorn in Herzog^2,

sub Clemens Rom. III. 248-257.

Comp. full lists of editions, translations, and discussions on Clement,

before and after 1875, in the Prolegomena of von Gebhardt & Harnack,

XVIII.-XXIV.; Funk, XXXII.-XXXVI.; Lightfoot, p. 28 sqq., 223 sqq., and

393 sqq., and Richardson, Synopsis, I sqq.

The first rank among the works of the post-Apostolic age belongs to the

"Teaching of the Apostles," discovered in 1883. [1190] 190 Next follow

the letters of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

I. Clement, a name of great celebrity in antiquity, was a disciple of

Paul and Peter, to whom he refers as the chief examples for imitation.

He may have been the same person who is mentioned by Paul as one of his

faithful fellow-workers in Philippi (Phil. 4:3); or probably a Roman

who was in some way connected with the distinguished Flavian family,

and through it with the imperial household, where Christianity found an

early lodgment. [1191] 191 His Epistle betrays a man of classical

culture, executive wisdom, and thorough familiarity with the Septuagint

Bible. The last seems to indicate that he was of Jewish parentage.

[1192] 192 What we know with certainty is only this, that he stood at

the head of the Roman congregation at the close of the first century.

Yet tradition is divided against itself as to the time of his

administration; now making him the first successor of Peter, now, with

more probability, the third. According to Eusebius he was bishop from

the twelfth year of Domitian to the third of Trajan (A. D. 92 to 101).

Considering that the official distinction between bishops and

presbyters was not yet clearly defined in his time, he may have been

co-presbyter with Linus and Anacletus, who are represented by some as

his predecessors, by others as his successors. [1193] 193

Later legends have decked out his life in romance, both in the interest

of the Catholic church and in that of heresy. They picture him as a

noble and highly educated Roman who, dissatisfied with the, wisdom and

art of heathenism, journeyed to Palestine, became acquainted there with

the apostle Peter, and was converted by him; accompanied him on his

missionary tours; composed many books in his name; was appointed by him

his successor as bishop of Rome, with a sort of supervision over the

whole church; and at last, being banished under Trajan to the Taurian

Chersonesus, died the glorious death of a martyr in the waves of the

sea. But the oldest witnesses, down to Eusebius and Jerome, know

nothing of his martyrdom. The Acta Martyrii Clementis (by Simon

Metaphrastes) make their appearance first in the ninth century. They

are purely fictitious, and ascribe incredible miracles to their hero.

It is very remarkable that a person of such vast influence in truth and

fiction, whose words were law, who preached the duty of obedience and

submission to an independent and distracted church, whose vision

reached even to unknown lands beyond the Western sea, should

inaugurate, at the threshold of the second century, that long line of

pontiffs who have outlasted every dynasty in Europe, and now claim an

infallible authority over the consciences of two hundred millions of

Christians. [1194] 194

II. From this Clement we have a Greek epistle to the Corinthians. It is

often cited by the church fathers, then disappeared, but was found

again, together with the fragments of the second epistle, in the

Alexandrian codex of the Bible (now in the British Museum), and

published by Patricius Junius (Patrick Young) at Oxford in 1633. [1195]

195 A second, less ancient, but more perfect manuscript from the

eleventh century, containing the missing chapters of the first (with

the oldest written prayer) and the whole of the second Epistle

(together with other valuable documents), was discovered by Philotheos

Bryennios, [1196] 196 in the convent library of the patriarch of

Jerusalem in Constantinople, and published in 1875. [1197] 197 Soon

afterwards a Syriac translation was found in the library of Jules Mohl,

of Paris (d. 1876). [1198] 198 We have thus three independent texts (A,

C, S), derived, it would seem, from a common parent of the second

century. The newly discovered portions shed new light on the history of

papal authority and liturgical worship, as we have pointed out in

previous chapters. [1199] 199

This first (and in fact the only) Epistle to the Corinthians was sent

by the Church of God in Rome, at its own impulse, and unasked, to the

Church of God in Corinth, through three aged and faithful Christians:

Claudius Ephebus, Valerius Biton, and Fortunatus. [1200] 200 It does

not bear the name of Clement, and is written in the name of the Roman

congregation, but was universally regarded as his production. [1201]

201 It stood in the highest esteem in ancient times, and continued in

public use in the Corinthian church and in several other churches down

to the beginning of the fourth century. [1202] 202 This accounts for

its incorporation in the Alexandrian Bible Codex, but it is properly

put after the Apocalypse and separated from the apostolic epistles.

And this indicates its value. It is not apostolical, not inspired--far

from it--but the oldest and best among the sub-apostolic writings both

in form and contents. It was occasioned by party differences and

quarrels in the church of Corinth, where the sectarian spirit, so

earnestly rebuked by Paul in his first Epistle, had broken out afresh

and succeeded in deposing the regular officers (the presbyter-bishops).

The writer exhorts the readers to harmony and love, humility, and

holiness, after the pattern of Christ and his apostles, especially

Peter and Paul, who had but recently sealed their testimony with their

blood. He speaks in the highest terms of Paul who, "after instructing

the whole [Roman] world in righteousness, and after having reached the

end of the West, and borne witness before the rulers, departed into the

holy place, leaving the greatest example of patient endurance." [1203]

203 He evinces the calm dignity and executive wisdom of the Roman

church in her original simplicity, without hierarchical arrogance; and

it is remarkable how soon that church recovered after the terrible

ordeal of the Neronian persecution, which must have been almost an

annihilation. He appeals to the word of God as the final authority, but

quotes as freely from the Apocrypha as from the canonical Scriptures

(the Septuagint). He abounds in free reminiscences of the teaching of

Christ and the Apostles. [1204] 204 He refers to Paul's (First) Epistle

to the Corinthians, and shows great familiarity with his letters, with

James, First Peter, and especially the Epistle to the Hebrews, from

which he borrows several expressions. Hence he is mentioned--with Paul,

Barnabas, and Luke--as one of the supposed authors of that anonymous

epistle. Origen conjectured that Clement or Luke composed the Hebrews

under the inspiration or dictation of Paul.

Clement bears clear testimony to the doctrines of the Trinity ("God,

the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the

hope of the elect"), of the Divine dignity and glory of Christ,

salvation only by his blood, the necessity of repentance and living

faith, justification by grace, sanctification by the Holy Spirit, the

unity of the church, and the Christian graces of humility, charity,

forbearance, patience, and perseverance. In striking contrast with the

bloody cruelties practiced by Domitian, he exhorts to prayer for the

civil rulers, that God "may give them health, peace, concord, and

stability for the administration of the government be has given them."

[1205] 205 We have here the echo of Paul's exhortation to the Romans

(Rom. 13) under the tyrant Nero. Altogether the Epistle of Clement is

worthy of a disciple of the apostles, although falling far short of

their writings in original simplicity, terseness, and force.

III. In regard to its theology, this epistle belongs plainly to the

school of Paul and strongly resembles the Epistle to the Hebrews, while

at the same time it betrays the influence of Peter also; both these

apostles having, in fact, personally labored in the church of Rome, in

whose name the letter is written, and having left the stamp of their

mind upon it. There is no trace in it of an antagonism between

Paulinism and Petrinism. [1206] 206 Clement is the only one of the

apostolic fathers, except perhaps Polycarp, who shows some conception

of the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith. "All (the saints of

the Old Testament)," says he, [1207] 207 "became great and glorious,

not through themselves, nor by their works, nor by their righteousness,

but by the will of God. Thus we also, who are called by the will of God

in Christ Jesus, are righteous not of ourselves, neither through our

wisdom, nor through our understanding, nor through our piety, nor

through our works, which we have wrought in purity of heart, but by

faith, by which the almighty God justified all these from the

beginning; to whom be glory to all eternity." And then Clement,

precisely like Paul in Romans 6, derives sanctification from

justification, and continues: "What, then, should we do, beloved

brethren? Should we be slothful in good works and neglect love? By no

means! But with zeal and courage we will hasten to fulfil every good

work. For the Creator and Lord of all things himself rejoices in his

works." Among the good works he especially extols love, and describes

it in a strain which reminds one of Paul's 1 Corinthians 13: "He who

has love in Christ obeys the commands of Christ. Who can declare the

bond of the love of God, and tell the greatness of its beauty? The

height to which it leads is unspeakable. Love unites us with God;

covers a multitude of sins; beareth all things, endureth all things.

There is nothing mean in love, nothing haughty. It knows no division;

it is not refractory; it does everything in harmony. In love have all

the elect of God become perfect. Without love nothing is pleasing to

God. In love has the Lord received us; for the love which he cherished

towards us, Jesus Christ our Lord gave his blood for us according to

the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our

soul." [1208] 208 Hence all his zeal for the unity of the church.

"Wherefore are dispute, anger, discord, division, and war among you? Or

have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit, who is poured out

upon us, and one calling in Christ? Wherefore do we tear and sunder the

members of Christ, and bring the body into tumult against itself, and

go so far in delusion, that we forget that we are members one of

another?" [1209] 209

Very beautifully also he draws from the harmony of the universe an

incitement to concord, and incidentally expresses here the remarkable

sentiment, perhaps suggested by the old legends of the Atlantis, the

orbis alter, the ultima Thule, etc., that there are other worlds beyond

the impenetrable ocean, which are ruled by the same laws of the Lord.

[1210] 210

But notwithstanding its prevailing Pauline character, this epistle

lowers somewhat the free evangelical tone of the Gentile apostle's

theology, softens its anti-Judaistic sternness, and blends it with the

Jewish-Christian counterpart of St. James, showing that the conflict

between the Pauline and Petrine views was substantially settled at the

end of the first century in the Roman church, and also in that of

Corinth.

Clement knows nothing of an episcopate above the presbyterate; and his

epistle itself is written, not in his own name, but in that of the

church at Rome. But he represents the Levitical priesthood as a type of

the Christian teaching office, and insists with the greatest decision

on outward unity, fixed order, and obedience to church rulers. He

speaks in a tone of authority to a sister church of apostolic

foundation, and thus reveals the easy and as yet innocent beginning of

the papacy. [1211] 211 A hundred years after his death his successors

ventured, in their own name, not only to exhort, but to excommunicate

whole churches for trifling differences.

The interval between Clement and Paul, and the tran-sition from the

apostolic to the apocryphal, from faith to superstition, appears in the

indiscriminate use of the Jewish Apocrypha, and in the difference

between Paul's treatment of scepticism in regard to the resurrection,

and his disciple's treatment of the same subject. [1212] 212 Clement

points not only to the types in nature, the changes of the seasons and

of day and night, but also in full earnest to the heathen myth of the

miraculous bird, the phoenix in Arabia, which regenerates itself every

five hundred years. When the phoenix--so runs the fable--approaches

death, it makes itself a nest of frankincense, myrrh, and other spices;

from its decaying flesh a winged worm arises, which, when it becomes

strong, carries the reproductive nest from Arabia to Heliopolis in

Egypt, and there flying down by day, in the sight of all, it lays it,

with the bones of its predecessors, upon the altar of the sun. And this

takes place, according to the reckoning of the priests, every five

hundred years. After Clement other fathers also used the phoenix as a

symbol of the resurrection. [1213] 213

IV. As to the time of its composition, this epistle falls certainly

after the death of Peter and Paul, for it celebrates their martyrdom;

and probably after the death of John (about 98); for one would suppose,

that if he had been living, Clement would have alluded to him, in

deference to superior authority, and that the Corinthian Christians

would have applied to an apostle for counsel, rather than to a disciple

of the apostles in distant Rome. The persecution alluded to in the

beginning of the epistle refers to the Domitian as well as the

Neronian; for he speaks of "sudden and repeated calamities and reverses

which have befallen us." [1214] 214 He prudently abstains from naming

the imperial persecutors, and intercedes at the close for the civil

rulers. Moreover, he calls the church at Corinth at that time "firmly

established and ancient." [1215] 215 With this date the report of

Eusebius agrees, that Clement did not take the bishop's chair in Rome

till 92 or 93. [1216] 216

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[1190] See above p. 184 sq., and my monograph, third revised edition,

1889.

[1191] There are six different conjectures. 1) Clement was the

Philippian Clement mentioned by Paul. So Origen, Eusebius, Jerome. He

may have been a Greek or a Roman laboring for a time in Philippi and

afterwards in Rome. 2) A distant relative of the emperor Tiberius. So

the pseudoClementine romances which are historically confused and

worthless. 3) The Consul Flavius Clemens, Domitian's cousin, who was

put to death by him for "atheism" i.e. the Christian faith, a.d. 95,

while his wife Domitilla (who founded the oldest Christian cemetery in

Rome) was banished to an island. So Hilgenfeld, and, less confidently,

Harnack. But our Clement died a natural death, and if he had been so

closely related to the emperor, the fact would have been widely, spread

in the church. 4) A nephew of Flavius Clemens. So the martyr acts of

Nereus and Achilles, and Cav. de Rossi. 5) A son of Flavius Clemens. So

Ewald. But the sons of the Consul, whom Domitian appointed his

successors on the throne, were mere boys when Clement was bishop of

Rome. 6) A Jewish freedman or son of a freedman belonging to the

household of Flavius Clemens. Plausibly advocated by Lightfoot (p.

265). The imperial household seems to have been the centre of the Roman

church from the time of Paul's imprisonment (Phil. 4:22). Slaves and

freedmen were often very intelligent and cultivated. Hermas )Vis. I. 1)

and Pope Callistus )Philos. IX. 12) were formerly slaves. Funk

concludes: res non liquet. So also Uhlhorn in Herzog.

[1192] Renan (p. 313) thinks that he was a Roman Jew. So also

Lightfoot. But Justin Martyr had the same familiarity with the Old

Testament, though he was a Gentile by birth and education.

[1193] � 52, p. 166. Bryennios discusses this question at length in his

Prolegomena, and comes to the conclusion that Clement was the third

bishop of Rome, and the author of both Epistles to the Corinthians. He

identifies him with the Clement in Phil. 4:3.

[1194] "Cl�ment Romain." says the sceptical Renan, once a student of

Roman Catholic theology in St. Sulpice."ne fut pas seulement un

personnage r�el, ce fut un personnage de premier ordre, un vrai chef

d'�glise, un �v�que, avant que l'�piscopat f�t nettement constitu� j'

oserais presque dire un pape, si ce mot ne faisait ici un trop fort

anachronisme. Son autorit� passa pour la plus grande de toutes en

Italie, en Gr�ce, en Mac�donie, durant les dix derni�res ann�es du

Iersi�cle. A la limite de l' �ge apostolique, il fut comme unap�tre, un

�pigone de la grande g�n�ration des disciples de J�sus, une des

colonnes de cette Eglise de Rome, qui, depuis la destruction de

J�rusalem, devenait de plus en plus le centre du christianisme."

[1195] The Alexandrian Bible codex dates from the fifth century, and

was presented by Cyril Lucar, of Constantinople, to King Charles 1. in

1628. Since 1633 the Ep. of Cl. has been edited about thirty times from

this single MS. It lacks the concluding chapters (57-66) in whole or in

part, and is greatly blurred and defaced. It was carefully reexamined

and best edited by Tischendorf (1867 and 1873), Lightfoot (1869 and

1877), Laurent (1870), and Gebhardt (in his first ed. 1875). Their

conjectures have been sustained in great part by the discovery of the

Constantinopolitan MS. See the critical Addenda in the Append. of

Lightfoot, p. 396 sqq.

[1196] At that time metropolitan of Serrae (metropolites Serron)-an

ancient see Heraclea), in Macedonia--afterwards of Nicomedia. This

Eastern prelate was most cordially welcomed by the scholars of the

West, Catholic and Protestant, to an honored place in the republic of

Christian learning. His discovery is of inestimable value. In his

prolegomena and notes--all in Greek--he shows considerable knowledge of

the previous editions of Clement (except that of Lightfoot, 1869) and

of modern German literature. It is amusing to find familiar names

turned into Greek, as Neander (ho Neandros), Gieseler (ho Giselerios),

Hefele (ho Hephelos), Dressel (ho Dresselios), Hilgenfeld (ho

Hilgempheldos), Jacobson (ho Iakobsonios), Tischendorf (Konstan'tinos

ho Tisendorphios), Thiersch (ho theirsios), Schroeckh (ho Sroikchios),

Schwegler, (ho Souegleros), Schliemann (ho Slimannos), Reithmayr (ho

Reithmauros), Uhlhorn (ho Oulchornios en te Real Encykl. von Herzog en

lex. Clemens von ROM tom. B '. sel 721; p. xz '), etc. He complains,

however, of " the higher" or " lofty criticism" (hupsele kritike) and

the " episcophobia" (episkophobia) of certain Germans, and his own

criticism is checked by his reverence for tradition, which leads him to

accept the Second Epistle of Clement as genuine, contrary to the

judgment of the best scholars.

[1197] The Constantinopolitan codex belongs to the library of the

Convent of the Holy Sepulchre (tou Panagiou Taphou)in the Fanar or

Phanar, the Greek district of Constantinople, whose inhabitants, the

Fanariotes, were originally employed as secretaries and transcribers of

documents. It is a small 8vo parchment of 120 leaves, dates from a.d.

1056, is clearly and carefully written in cursive characters, with

accents, spiritus, punctuation (but without jota subscriptum), and

contains in addition the second Epistle of Clement in full, the Greek

Ep. of Barnabas, the larger Greek recension of the 12 Ignatian

Epistles, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" (didache ton dodeka

apostolon), and a work of Chrysostom (a Synopsis of the Old and New

Testments). The value of this text consists chiefly in the new matter

of the first Ep. (about one-tenth of the whole, from the close of ch.

57 to the end), and the remainder of the second. It presents nearly

four hundred variations. The Constantinopolitan codex is preferred by

Hilgenfeld, the Alexandrian by Lightfoot, Gebhardt and Harnack. The

Didache is far more important, but was not published till 1883.

[1198] This MS. which escaped the attention of French scholars, is now

in Cambridge. It was written in the year 1170, in the Convent of Mar

Saliba, at Edessa. It contains, with the exception of the Apocalypse,

the entire New Testament in the Harclean recension (616) of the

Philoxenian version (508), and the two Epistles of Clement between the

Catholic and Pauline Epistles (instead of at the close, as in the

Alexandrian Cod.), as if they were equal in authority to the canonical

books. Bishop Lightfoot (Appendix to S. Clemens p. 238) says, that this

Syriac version is conscientious and faithful, but with a tendency to

run into paraphrase, and that it follows the Alex. rather than the

Constantinopolitan text, but presents also some independent readings.

[1199] See � 50, p. 157, and � 66, p. 226, 228.

[1200] Mentioned at the close in ch. 65 (which in the Alex. text is ch.

59). Claudius and Valerius may have been connected with the imperial

household as freedmen (Comp. Phil. 4:22). Fortunatus has been

identified by some with the one mentioned 1 Cor. 16:17, as a younger

member of the household of Stephanas in Corinth.

[1201] By the author of the Catalogue of contents prefixed to the

Alexandrian codex, generally called Cod. A: by Dionysius of Corinth, in

his letter to Soter of Rome (Euseb. IV, 23); Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. I. 3,

� 3); Clement of Alexandria, who often quotes from it; Origen (Comm. in

Joan. VI. � 36 and other places); Eusebius )H. E. III. 16; IV. 23; V.

6); Jerome )De Virisillustr. c. 15). Polycarp already used it, as

appears from the similarity of several passages. All modern critics

(with the exception of Baur, Schwegler, Volkmar, and Cotterill) admit

the Clementine origin, which is supported by the internal evidence of

style and doctrine. Cotterill's Peregrinus Proteus (1879), which puts

the Clementine Epistles in their present shape among the Stephanic

fabrications, is an ingenious literary curiosity, but no serious

argument. Renan says (p. 319): "Peu d' �crits sontaussi authentiques."

[1202] Dionysius of Corinth (A. D. 170) first mentions the liturgical

use of the Epistle in his church. Eusebius (III. 16) testifies from his

own knowledge that it was read in very many churches (en pleistais

ekklesiais) both in former times and in his own day. Comp. Jerome, De

Vir. ill. c. 15.

[1203] 1 Ch. 5. The terma tes duseos must be Spain, whither Paul

intended to go, Rom. 15:24, 28. To a Roman writing in Rome, Spain or

Britain was the Western terminus of the earth. Comp. Strabo II.c. 1, 4;

III. 2. The hegoumenoi are the Roman magistrates; others refer the word

specifically to Tigellinus and Nymphidius, the prefects of the

praetorium in 67, or to Helium and Polycletus, who ruled in Rome during

the absence of Nero in Greece in 67.

[1204] Funk gives a list of quotations and parallel passages, Patr.

Apost. I. 566-570. From this it appears that 157 are from the O. T.,

including the Apocrypha and (apparently) the Assumption of Moses, 158

from the N. T., but only three of the latter are strict quotations (ch.

46 from Matt. 26:24, and Luke 17:2; ch. 2 and 61 from Tit. 3:1).

Clement mentions by name only one book of the N. T., epistole tou

makariou Paulou, with evident reference to I Cor. 1;10 sqq. Comp. also

the lists of Scripture quotations in the ed. of Bryennios (p. 159-165),

and G. and H. p. 144-155.

[1205] "When we remember," says Lightfoot, p. 268 sq., "that this

prayer issued from the fiery furnace of persecution after experience of

a cruel and capricious tyrant like Domitian, it will appear truly

sublime--sublime in its utterances and still more sublime in its

silence. Who would have grudged the Church, of Rome her primacy, if she

had always spoken thus?" Ropes (l. c, p. 343): The sublimity of this

prayer gains a peculiar sIgnificance when we remember that it was

Domitian in whose behalf it was offered."

[1206] Renan (p. 314) call, .; his epistle "un beau morceau neutre,

dont les disciples de Pierre et ceux de Paul durent se contenter

�galement. Ilest probale qu'il fut un des agents les plus �nergetiques

de la grande OEuvre qu� etait en train de s' accomplir, je veux dire,

de la r�conciliation posthume de Pierre et de Paul de la fusior des

deux partis, sans l'union desquels l'OEuvre du Christ ne pouvait que

p�rir."

[1207] Ch. 32. An echo of Paul's teaching is found in Polycarp, Ad

Phil. c.1, where he refers to "the firm root of their faith, preached

to them from olden times, which remains to this day, and bears fruit in

our Lord Jesus Christ."

[1208] Ch. 49.

[1209] Ch. 46. Comp. Eph. 4:3 sqq.

[1210] 3 Ch. 20: Okeanos anthropois aperantos kai hoi met' auton kosmoi

tais autais tagais tou despotou dieuthunontai. Lightfoot (p. 84)

remarks on this passage: "Clement may possibly be referring to some

known, but hardly accessible land, lying without the pillars of

Hercules. But more probably he contemplated some unknown land in the

far west beyond the ocean, like the fabled Atlantis of Plato, or the

real America of modern discovery." Lightfoot goes on to say that this

passage was thus understood by Irenaeus (II. 28, 2), Clement of

Alexandria (Strom. V. 12), and Origen ) De Princ. II.6; In Ezech. VIII.

3), but that, at a later date, this opinion was condemned by Tertullian

(De Pall. 2 Hermog. 25), Lactantius (Inst. II. 24), and Augustin )De

Civit. Dei XVI. 9). For centuries the idea of Cosmas Indicopleustes

that the earth was a plain surface and a parallelogram, prevailed in

Christian literature.

[1211] See especially chs. 56, 58, 59, 63, of the Constantinopolitan

and Syrian text.

[1212] Clement, Ad Cor. c. 25. Contrast with this account the fifteenth

chapter of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians.

[1213] Tertullian )De Resurrect. 13), Origen (C. Cels. IV. 72), Ambrose

(Hexa�m. V. 23, 79), Epiphanius, Rufinus, and other patristic writers.

The Phoenix was a favorite symbol of renovation and resurrection, and

even of Christ himself, among the early Christians, and appears

frequently on coins, medals, rings, cups, and tombstones. But in this

point they were no more superstitious than the most intelligent heathen

contemporaries. Herodotus heard the marvelous story of the burial of

the parent bird by the offspring from Egyptian priests, II. 73. Ovid

and other Latin poets refer to it, and Claudian devotes a poem to it.

Tacitus (Ann. VI. 28), Pliny ) H. Nat. X. 2), and Dion Cassius LVIII.

27) record that the Phoenix actually reappeared in Egypt, a.d. 34,

after In interval of 250 years. According to Pliny the bird was also

brought to Rome by a decree of Claudius, and exhibited in the comitium,

in the year of the city 800 (A. D. 47). This, of course, was a fraud,

but many, and among them probably Clement, who may have seen the

wonderful bird from Egypt at the time, took it for genuine. But an

inspired writer like Paul would never have made use of such a heathen

fable as an argument for a Christian truth. "It is now known," says

Lightfoot."that the story owes its origin to the symbolic and pictorial

representations of astronomy. The appearance of the phoenix is the

recurrence of a period marked by the heliacal rising of some prominent

star or constellation." See on the whole subject Henrichsen, De

Phoenicis Fabula (Havn. 1825), Cowper, Gebhardt and Harnack, Funk, and

Lightfoot on ch. 25 of the Clementine Ep., Piper, Mythologie und

Symbolik der christl. Kunst (1847) I. 446 sqq., and Lepsius,

Chronologie der Aegypter (1849) 180 sq.

[1214] Ch. 1. The usual reading is: genomenas, which refers to past

calamities. So Cod. C. The Alex. MS. is here defective, probably

[genom]enas .Lightfoot reads with the Syrian version ginomenas, " which

are befalling us" (267 and 399), and refers the passage to the

continued perils of the church under Domitian.

[1215] bebaiotaten kai archaian, c. 47.

[1216] The later date (93-97) is assIgned to the Epistle by Cotelier,

Tillemont, Lardner, M�hler, Schliemann, Bunsen, Ritschl, Lipsius,

Hilgenfeld, Donaldson, Bryennios, Harnack, Uhlhorn, Lightfoot (who puts

the letter soon after the martyrdom of Flavius Clement, a.d. 95), Funk

(who puts it after the death of Domitian, 96). But other writers,

including Hugo Grotius, Grabe, Hefele, Wieseler, B. H. Cowper, assIgn

the Epistle to an earlier date, and infer from ch. 41 that it must have

been written before 70, when the temple service in Jerusalem was still

celebrated. "Not everywhere, brethren," says Clement, "are the daily

sacrifices offered (prospherontai thusiai), or the vows, or the

sin-offerings, or the trespass-offerings, but in Jerusalem only; and

even there they are not offered prospheretai) in every place, but only

at the altar before the sanctuary, after the victim to be offered has

been examined by the high-priest and the ministers already mentioned."

This argument is very plausible, but not conclusive, since Josephus

wrote a.d. 93 in a similar way of the sacrifices of the temple, using

the praesens historicum, as if it still existed, Ant. III. 10. In ch. 6

Clement seems to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem when he says

that "jealousy and strife have overthrown great cities and uprooted

great nations." Cowper (l.c. p. 16) mentions the absence of any

allusion to the Gospel of John as another argument. But the Synoptic

Gospels are not named either, although the influence of all the Gospels

and nearly all the Epistles can be clearly traced in Clement.

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� 163. The Pseudo-Clementine Works.

The most complete collection of the genuine and spurious works of

Clement in Migne's Patrol. Graeca, Tom. I. and II.

The name of Clement has been forged upon several later writings, both

orthodox and heretical, to give them the more currency by the weight of

his name and position. These pseudo-Clementine works supplanted in the

church of Rome the one genuine work of Clement, which passed into

oblivion with the knowledge of the Greek language. They are as follows:

1. A Second Epistle to the Corinthians, falsely so called, formerly

known only in part (12 chapters), since 1875 in full (20 chapters).

[1217] 217 It is greatly inferior to the First Epistle in contents and

style, and of a later date, between 120 and 140, probably written in

Corinth; hence its connection with it in MSS. [1218] 218 It is no

epistle at all, but a homily addressed to "brothers and sisters." It is

the oldest known specimen of a post-apostolic sermon, and herein alone

lies its importance and value. [1219] 219 It is an earnest, though

somewhat feeble exhortation to active Christianity and to fidelity in

persecution, meantime contending with the Gnostic denial of the

resurrection. It is orthodox in sentiment, calls Christ "God and the

Judge of the living and the dead," and speaks of the great moral

revolution wrought by him in these words (2 Cor. 1): "We were deficient

in understanding, worshipping stocks and stones, gold and silver and

brass, the works of men; and our whole life was nothing else but

death.... Through Jesus Christ we have received sight, putting off by

his will the cloud wherein we were wrapped. He mercifully saved us....

He called us when we were not, and willed that out of nothing we should

attain a real existence."

2. Two Encyclical Letters on Virginity. They were first discovered by

J. J. Wetstein in the library of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam, in a

Syriac Version written a.d. 1470, and published as an appendix to his

famous Greek Testament, 1752. [1220] 220 They commend the unmarried

life, and contain exhortations and rules to ascetics of both sexes.

They show the early development of an asceticism which is foreign to

the apostolic teaching and practice. While some Roman Catholic divines

still defend the Clementine origin, [1221] 221 others with stronger

arguments assign it to the middle or close of the second century.

[1222] 222

3. The Apostolical Constitutions and Canons. [1223] 223 The so-called

Liturgia S. Clementis is a part of the eighth book of the

Constitutions.

4. The Pseudo-Clementina, or twenty Ebionitic homilies and their

Catholic reproduction, the Recognitions. [1224] 224

5. Five Decretal Letters, which pseudo-Isidore has placed at the head

of his collection. Two of them are addressed to James, the Lord's

Brother, are older than the pseudo-Isidore, and date from the second or

third century; the three others were fabricated by him. They form the

basis for the most gigantic and audacious literary forgery of the

middle ages--the Isidorian Decretals--which subserved the purposes of

the papal hierarchy. [1225] 225 The first Epistle to James gives an

account of the appointment of Clement by Peter as his successor in the

see of Rome, with directions concerning the functions of the

church-officers and the general administration of the church. The

second Epistle to James refers to the administration of the eucharist,

church furniture, and other ritualistic matters. They are attached to

the pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. But it is remarkable

that in the Homilies James of Jerusalem appears as the superior of

Peter of Rome, who must give an account of his doings, and entrust to

him his sermons for safe keeping.

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[1217] Ed. in full by Bryennios, Const. 1875, p. 113-142 with Greek

notes; by Funk, with a Latin version (I. 144-171), and by Lightfoot

with an English version (380-390).

[1218] It is first mentioned by Eusebius, but with the remark that it

was not used by ancient writers )H. E. III. 38). Irenaeus, Clement of

Alex., and Origen know only one Ep. of Clement. Dionysius of Corinth,

in a letter to Bishop Soter of Rome, calls it, indeed, "the former"

(protera), but with reference to a later epistle of Soter to the

Corinthians (Euseb. H. E. IV. 23). Bryennios, the discoverer of the

complete copy, still vindicates the Clementine authorship of the

homily, and so does Sprinzl (p. 28), but all other modern scholars give

it up. Wocher (1830) assIgned it to Dionysius of Corinth, Hilgenfeld

first to Soter of Rome, afterwards (Clem. Ep. ed. II. 1876, p. XLIX) to

Clement of Alex. in his youth during his sojourn in Corinth, Harnack

(1877) to a third Clement who lived in Rome between the Roman and the

Alexandrian Clement, Lightfoot (App. p. 307) and Funk (Prol. xxxix) to

an unknown Corinthian before a.d. 140, on account of the allusion to

the Isthmian games (c. 7) and the connection with the Ep. of Clement.

Comp. above p. 225.

[1219] Lightfoot (p. 317) calls it a testimony "of the lofty moral

earnestness and triumphant faith which subdued a reluctant world, and

laid it prostrate at the feet of the cross." but "almost worthless as a

literary work."

[1220] Best edition with Latin version by Beelen: S. Clementis R.

Epistolae binae, de Virginitate. Louvain, 1856. German translation by

Zingerle (1827), French by Villecourt (1853), English in the

"Ante-Nicene Library."

[1221] Villecourt, Beelen, M�hler, Champagny, Br�ck.

[1222] Mansi, Hefele, Alzog, Funk (Prol. XLII. sq.). Also all the

Protestant critics except Wetstein, the discoverer. Lightfoot (l. c. p.

15 sq.) assIgns the document to the beginning of the third century.

Eusebius nowhere mentions it.

[1223] See � 56, p. 183 sqq.

[1224] See � 114, p. 435 sqq.

[1225] They originated in the east of France between a.d. 829 and 847.

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� 164. Ignatius of Antioch.

Comp. �� 17 and 45 (this vol.).

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Ant. Hergestellter u. verqleichender Text mit Anmerkk. Hamb., 1847.

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in both recensions) by Roberts, Donaldson, and Crombie, in Clark's

"Ante-Nicene Library, (1867), and by Lightfoot (1885).

Earlier Engl. translations by Whiston (1711) and Clementson (1827).

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des heil. Ign. und sein Martyrium, 1870).

II. The Martyria.

Acta Martyrii S. Ignatii (Marturrion tou hagiou hieromarturos Ignatiou

tou theophorou), ed. by Ussher (from two Latin copies, 1647), Cotelier

(Greek, 1672), Ruinart (1689), Grabe, Ittig, Smith, Gallandi, Jacobson,

Hefele, Dressel, Cureton, M�singer, Petermann, Zahn (pp. 301 sqq.),

(Funk (I. 254-265; II. 218-275), and Lightfoot (II. 473-536). A Syriac

version was edited by Cureton (Corpus Ignat. 222-225, 252-255), and

more fully by M�singer (Supplementum Corporis Ignat., 1872). An

Armenian Martyr. was edited by Petermann, 1849. The Martyrium

Colbertinum (from the codex Colbertinus in Paris) has seven chapters.

There are several later and discordant recensions, with many

interpolations. The Acts of Ignatius profess to be written by two of

his deacons and travelling companions; but they were unknown to

Eusebius, they contradict the Epistles, they abound in unhistorical

statements, and the various versions conflict with each other. Hence

recent Protestant critics reject them; and even the latest Roman

Catholic editor admits that they must have been written after the

second century. Probably not before the fifth. Comp. the investigation

of Zahn, Ign. v. Ant., p. 1-74; Funk, Proleg. p. lxxix. sqq., and

Lightfoot, II. 363-536.

The patristic statements concerning Ignatius are collected by Cureton,

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genuineness.

\*J. Pearson: Vindiciae Ignatianae. Cambr., 1672. Also in Cleric. ed. of

the Patres Apost. II. 250-440, and in Migne's Patrol. Gr., Tom. V.

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sqq.

Lipsius: Ueber die Aechtheit der syr. Recens. der Ignat. Br. Leipz.,

1856 (in Niedner's "Zeitschr. f�r Hist. Theol."). For the Syriac

version. But he afterwards changed his view in Hilgenfeld's

"Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol." 1874, p. 211.

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\*Theod. Zahn: Ignatiusvon Antiochien. Gotha, 1873. (631 pages.) For the

short Greek recension. The best vindication. Comp. the Proleg. to his

ed., 1876.

Renan: Les �vangiles (1877), ch. xxii. 485-498, and the introduction,

p. x sqq. Comp. also his notice of Zahn in the "Journal des Savants"

for 1874. Against the genuineness of all Ep. except Romans. See in

reply Zahn, Proleg. p. x.

F. X. Funk: Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe. T�bingen 1883.

Lightfoot: St. Paul's Ep. to the Philippians (Lond. 1873), Excurs. on

the Chr. Ministry, p. 208-911, and 232-236. "The short Greek of the

Ignatian letters is probably corrupt or spurious: but from internal

evidence this recension can hardly have been made later than the middle

of the second century." (p. 210). On p. 232, note, he expressed his

preference with Lipsius for the short Syriac text. But since then he

has changed his mind in favor of the short Greek recension. See his S.

Ignatius and S. Polycarp, London, 1885, Vol. I., 315-414. He repeats

and reinforces Zahn's arguments.

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Ignatiusund die Chronologie der Antiochenischen Bisch�fe bis Tyrannus

(Leipzig, 1878); and Wiessler: Die Christenverfolgungen der Caesaren

(G�tersloh, 1878), p. 125 sqq.

On the theology of Ignatius, comp. the relevant sections in M�hler,

Hilgenfeld, Zahn (422-494), Nirschl, and Sprinzl.

I. Life of Ignatius.

Ignatius, surnamed Theophorus, [1226] 226 stood at the head of the

Church of Antioch at the close of the first century and the beginning

of the second, and was thus contemporaneous with Clement of Rome and

Simeon of Jerusalem. The church of Antioch was the mother-church of

Gentile Christianity; and the city was the second city of the Roman

empire. Great numbers of Christians and a host of heretical tendencies

were collected there, and pushed the development of doctrine and

organization with great rapidity.

As in the case of Rome, tradition differs concerning the first

episcopal succession of Antioch, making Ignatius either the second or

the first bishop of this church after Peter, and calling him now a

disciple of Peter, now of Paul, now of John. The Apostolic

Constitutions intimate that Evodius and Ignatius presided

contemporaneously over that church, the first being ordained by Peter,

the second by Paul. [1227] 227 Baronius and others suppose the one to

have been the bishop of the Jewish, the other of the Gentile converts.

Thiersch endeavors to reconcile the conflicting statements by the

hypothesis, that Peter appointed Evodius presbyter, Paul Ignatius, and

John subsequently ordained Ignatius bishop. But Ignatius himself and

Eusebius say nothing of his apostolic discipleship; while the testimony

of Jerome and the Martyrium Colbertinum that he and Polycarp were

fellow-disciples of St. John, is contradicted by the Epistle of

Ignatius to Polycarp, according to which he did not know Polycarp till

he came to Smyrna on his way to Rome. [1228] 228 According to later

story, Ignatius was the first patron of sacred music, and introduced

the antiphony in Antioch.

But his peculiar glory, in the eyes of the ancient church, was his

martyrdom. The minute account of it, in the various versions of the

Martyrium S. Ignatii, contains many embellishments of pious fraud and

fancy; but the fact itself is confirmed by general tradition. Ignatius

himself says, in his Epistle to the Romans, according to the Syriac

version: "From Syria to Rome I fight with wild beasts, on water and on

land, by day and by night, chained to ten leopards [soldiers], [1229]

229 made worse by signs of kindness. Yet their wickednesses do me good

as a disciple; but not on this account am I justified. Would that I

might be glad of the beasts made ready for me. And I pray that they may

be found ready for me. Nay, I will fawn upon them, that they may devour

me quickly, and not, as they have done with some, refuse to touch me

from fear. Yea, and if they will not voluntarily do it, I will bring

them to it by force."

The Acts of his martyrdom relate more minutely, that Ignatius was

brought before the Emperor Trajan at Antioch in the ninth year of his

reign (107-108), was condemned to death as a Christian, was transported

in chains to Rome, was there thrown to lions in the Coliseum for the

amusement of the people, and that his remains were carried back to

Antioch as an invaluable treasure. [1230] 230 The transportation may be

accounted for as designed to cool the zeal of the bishop, to terrify

other Christians on the way, and to prevent an outbreak of fanaticism

in the church of Antioch. [1231] 231 But the chronological part of the

statement makes difficulty. So far as we know, from coins and other

ancient documents, Trajan did not come to Antioch on his Parthian

expedition till the year 114 or 115. We must therefore either place the

martyrdom later, [1232] 232 or suppose, what is much more probable,

that Ignatius did not appear before the emperor himself at all, but

before his governor. [1233] 233 Eusebius, Chrysostom, and other ancient

witnesses say nothing of an imperial judgment, and the Epistle to the

Romans rather implies that Ignatius was not condemned by the emperor at

all; for otherwise it would have been useless for him to forbid them to

intercede in his behalf. An appeal was possible from a lower tribunal,

but not from the emperor's.

II. His Letters.

On his journey to Rome, Bishop Ignatius, as a prisoner of Jesus Christ,

wrote seven epistles to various churches, mostly in Asia Minor.

Eusebius and Jerome put them in the following order: (1) To the

Ephesians; (2) to the Magnesians; (3) to the Trallians; (4) to the

Romans; (5) to the Philadelphians; (6) to the Smyrneans; (7) to

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. The first four were composed in Smyrna; the

other three later in Troas. These seven epistles, in connection with a

number of other decidedly spurious epistles of Ignatius, have come down

to us in two Greek versions, a longer and a shorter. The shorter is

unquestionably to be preferred to the longer, which abounds with later

interpolations. Besides these, to increase the confusion of

controversy, a Syriac translation has been made known in 1845, which

contains only three of the former epistles--those to Polycarp, to the

Ephesians, and to the Romans--and these in a much shorter form. This

version is regarded by some as an exact transfer of the original; by

others, with greater probability, as a mere extract from it for

practical and ascetic purposes.

The question therefore lies between the shorter Greek copy and the

Syriac version. The preponderance of testimony is for the former, in

which the letters are no loose patch-work, but were produced each under

its own impulse, were known to Eusebius (probably even to Polycarp),

[1234] 234 and agree also with the Armenian version of the fifth

century, as compared by Petermann. The three Syriac epistles, however,

though they lack some of the strongest passages on episcopacy and on

the divinity of Christ, contain the outlines of the same life-picture,

and especially the same fervid enthusiasm for martyrdom, as the seven

Greek epistles.

III. His Character and Position in history.

Ignatius stands out in history as the ideal of a catholic martyr, and

as the earliest advocate of the hierarchical principle in both its good

and its evil points. As a writer, he is remarkable for originality,

freshness and force of ideas, and for terse, sparkling and sententious

style; but in apostolic simplicity and soundness, he is inferior to

Clement and Polycarp, and presents a stronger contrast to the epistles

of the New Testament. Clement shows the calmness, dignity and

governmental wisdom of the Roman character. Ignatius glows with the

fire and impetuosity of the Greek and Syrian temper which carries him

beyond the bounds of sobriety. He was a very uncommon man, and made a

powerful impression upon his age. He is the incarnation, as it were, of

the three closely connected ideas: the glory of martyrdom, the

omnipotence of episcopacy, and the hatred of heresy and schism.

Hierarchical pride and humility, Christian charity and churchly

exclusiveness are typically represented in Ignatius.

As he appears personally in his epistles, his most beautiful and

venerable trait is his glowing love for Christ as God incarnate, and

his enthusiasm for martyrdom. If great patriots thought it sweet to die

for their country, he thought it sweeter and more honorable to die for

Christ, and by his blood to fertilize the soil for the growth of His

Church. "I would rather die for Christ," says he, "than rule the whole

earth." "It is glorious to go down in the world, in order to go up into

God." He beseeches the Romans: "Leave me to the beasts, that I may by

them be made partaker of God. I am a grain of the wheat of God, and I

would be ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure

bread of God. Rather fawn upon the beasts, that they may be to me a

grave, and leave nothing of my body, that, when I sleep, I may not be

burdensome to any one. Then will I truly be a disciple of Christ, when

the world can no longer even see my body. Pray the Lord for me, that

through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God." [1235]

235 And further on: "Fire, and cross, and exposure to beasts,

scattering of the bones, hewing of the limbs, crushing of the whole

body, wicked torments of the devil, may come upon me, if they only make

me partaker of Jesus Christ.... My love is crucified, and there is no

fire in me, which loves earthly stuff.... I rejoice not in the food of

perishableness, nor in the pleasures of this life. The bread of God

would I have, which is the flesh of Christ; and for drink I wish his

blood, which is imperishable love." [1236] 236

From these and similar passages, however, we perceive also that his

martyr-spirit exceeds the limits of the genuine apostolic soberness and

resignation, which is equally willing to depart or to remain according

to the Lord's good pleasure. [1237] 237 It degenerates into boisterous

impatience and morbid fanaticism. It resembles the lurid torch rather

than the clear calm light. There mingles also in all his extravagant

professions of humility and entire unworthiness a refined spiritual

pride and self-commendation. And, finally, there is something offensive

in the tone of his epistle to Polycarp, in which he addresses that

venerable bishop and apostolic disciple, who at that time must have

already entered upon the years of ripe manhood, not as a colleague and

brother, but rather as a pupil, with exhortations and warnings, such

as: "Strive after more knowledge than thou hast." "Be wise as the

serpents." "Be more zealous than thou art." "Flee the arts of the

devil." [1238] 238 This last injunction goes even beyond that of Paul

to Timothy: "Flee youthful lusts," [1239] 239 and can hardly be

justified by it. Thus, not only in force and depth of teaching, but

also in life and suffering, there is a significant difference between

an apostolic and a post-apostolic martyr.

The doctrinal and churchly views of the Ignatian epistles are framed on

a peculiar combination and somewhat materialistic apprehension of

John's doctrine of the incarnation, and Paul's idea of the church as

the body of Jesus Christ. In the "catholic church"--an expression

introduced by him--that is, the episcopal orthodox organization of his

day, the author sees, as it were, the continuation of the mystery of

the incarnation, on the reality of which he laid great emphasis against

the Docetists; and in every bishop, a visible representative of Christ,

and a personal centre of ecclesiastical unity, which he presses home

upon his readers with the greatest solicitude and almost passionate

zeal. He thus applies those ideas of the apostles directly to the

outward organization, and makes them subservient to the principle and

institution of the growing hierarchy. Here lies the chief importance of

these epistles; and the cause of their high repute with catholics and

prelatists, [1240] 240 and their unpopularity with anti-episcopalians,

and modern critics of the more radical school. [1241] 241

It is remarkable that the idea of the episcopal hierarchy which we have

developed in another chapter, should be first clearly and boldly

brought out, not by the contemporary Roman bishop Clement, [1242] 242

but by a bishop of the Eastern church; though it was transplanted by

him to the soil of Rome, and there sealed with his martyr blood.

Equally noticeable is the circumstance, that these oldest documents of

the hierarchy soon became so interpolated, curtailed, and mutilated by

pious fraud, that it is today almost impossible to discover with

certainty the genuine Ignatius of history under the hyper- and

pseudo-Ignatius of tradition.

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[1226] theophoros-i,-i" bearer of God."The titles of the Epistles call

him Ignatios ho kai theophoros, adding simply the Greek to the Latin

name. The Martyrium Ignatii, c. 2, makes him explain the term, in

answer to a question of Trajan, as meaning " one who has Christ in his

breast."The still later legend (in Symeon Metaphrastes and the Menaea

Graeca), by changing the accent. (theophoros, Theophorus), gives the

name the passive meaning, "one carried by God." because Ignatius was

the child whom Christ took up in his arms and set before his disciples

as a pattern of humilit y (Matt. 18:2). So the Acta Sanctorum, 1 Febr.

I. 28. The Syrians called him Nurono, the Fiery, in allusion to his

Latin name from Ignis.

[1227] Ap. Const. VI I. 46: Antiocheias Euodios men hup' emou Petrou,

Hignatios de hupo Paulou kecheirotonetai. According to Eusebius

(Chron., ed. Schoene II., p. 158) and Jerome, Ignatius was " Antiochiae

secundus episcopus."Comp. Zahn, Ign v. A., p. 56 sqq., and Harnack, Die

Zeit des Ign., p. 11 sq.

[1228] Comp. Zahn, p. 402, who rejects this tradition as altogether

groundless: Es fehlt bei Ignatiusauch jede leiseste Spur davon, dass er

noch aus apostolischem Mund die Predigt geh�rt habe."He calls himself

five times the least among the Antiochian Christians, and not worthy to

be one of their number. From this, Zahn infers that he was converted

late in life from determined hostility to enthusiastic devotion, like

Paul (Comp. 1 Cor. 15:8-10).

[1229] Ho esti stratioton tagma is added here for explanation by the

two Greek versions, and by Eusebius also, H. E. III. 36.

[1230] thesauros atimos Mart. c. 6.

[1231] Lucian, in his satire on the Death of Peregrinus, represents

this Cynic philosopher as a hyocritical bishop and confessor, who while

in prison received and sent message, and was the centre of attention

and correspondence among the credulous and good-natured Christians in

Syria and Asia Minor. The coincidence is so striking that Zahn and

Renan agree in the inference that Lucian knew the story of Ignatius,

and intended to mimic him in the person of Peregrinus Proteus, as he

mimicked the martyrdom of Polycarp. See Renan, Les �vangiles, p. 430

sq.

[1232] Grabe proposes to read, in the Martyr. c, 2, dekato ennato

hetei, for ennato which would give the year 116. Tillemont and others

escape the difficulty by suppossing, without good reason, a double

Parthian expedition of Trajan, one in 107 and another in 115 or 116.

Comp. Francke: Zur Geschichte Trajan's. 1837, p. 253 sqq., and

B�dinger, Untersuchungen zur r�m. Kaisergesch. I. 153 sqq. Nirschl

assumes even three oriental expeditions of TraJan. Wieseley and Frank

defend the traditional date (107); Harnack puts the martyrdom down to

the reIgn of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius, but without solid reasons Zahn

(p. 58) leaves it indefinite between 107 and 116, Lightf. between 110

and 118,

[1233] So Uhlhorn, Zahn (248 sq.), Funk (XLVII.). Comp. Lightfoot (II.

390).

[1234] Polycarp writes to the Philippians (ch. 13), that he had sent

them the Epistles of Ignatius (tas epistolas Ignatiou, tas pemphtheisas

hemin hup' autou kai allas... epempsamen humin). Zahn and Funk maintain

that this sylloge Polycarpiana consisted of six epistles, and excluded

that to the Romans. (Ussher excluded the Ep. to Polycarp). Irenaeus

quotes a passage from the Epistle to the Romans, Adv. Haer. V. 28, � 4.

Origen speaks of several letters of Ignatius, and quotes a passage from

Romans and another from Ephesians, Prol. in Cant. Cantic. and Hom. VI.

in Luc. (III. 30 and 938, Delarue). Zahn (p. 513) finds also traces of

Ignatius in Clement of Alexandria and Lucian's book De Morte Peregrini,

which was written soon after the martyrdom of Polycarp.

[1235] Ad Rom. c. 2, according to the Syriac text; c. 4, in the Greek.

[1236] Ch. 4 (Syr.), or 5-7 (Gr.).

[1237] Comp. Phil. 1:23, 24, and Matt. 26:39.

[1238] Tas kakotechnias pheuge, according to all the MSS., even the

Syriac. Bunsen proposes to read kakotechnous, in the sense of seductive

women, coquettes, instead of kakotechnias . But this, besides being a

mere conjecture, would not materially soften the warning.

[1239] 2 Tim. ii. 22.

[1240] Such Roman Catholic writers as Nirschl and Sprinzl find the

whole theology and church polity of Rome in Ignatius. Episcopalians

admire him for his advocacy of episcopacy; but he proves too little and

too much for them; too little because Ignatius knows nothing of a

diocesan, but only of a congregational episcopacy; too much because he

requires absolute obedience to the bishop as the representative of

Christ himself, while the Presbyters represent the apostles. Moreover

the Ignatian episcopacy is free from the sacerdotal idea which came in

later with Cyprian, but is intimated in Clement of Rome.

[1241] Calvin, who, however, knew only the spurious and worthless

longer recension, calls the Ignatian Epistles abominable trash (Inst.

I. 1, c. 13, � 29); Dr. W. D. Killen, who ought to know better, from

strong anti-prelatic feeling, speaks of Ignatius, even according to the

shorter Syriac recension, as an "anti-evangelical formalist, a puerile

boaster, a mystic dreamer and crazy fanatic." (Ancient Church, 1859, p.

414). Neander is far more moderate, yet cannot conceive that a martyr

so near the apostolic age should have nothing more important to say

than "such things about obedience to the bishops ") Ch. H. I.192, note,

Bost, ed.). Baur and the T�bingen critics reject the entire Ignatian

literature as a forgery. Rothe on the other hand is favorably impressed

with the martyr-enthusiasm of the Epistles, and Zahn (an orthodox

Lutheran) thinks the Ignatian epistles in the shorter (Greek recension

worthy of a comparison with the epistles of St. Paul (p. 400).

[1242] Still less by the apostle Peter, the alleged first Pope of Rome;

on the contrary, he enters a solemn protest against hierarchical

tendencies for all time to come, 1 Pet. 5:14.

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� 165. The Ignatian Controversy.

Of all the writings of the apostolic fathers none have been so much

discussed, especially in modern times, as the Ignatian Epistles. This

arises partly from the importance of their contents to the episcopal

question, partly from the existence of so many different versions. The

latter fact seems to argue as strongly for the hypothesis of a genuine

basis for all, as against the supposition of the full integrity of any

one of the extant texts. Renan describes the Ignatian problem as the

most difficult in early Christian literature, next to that of the

Gospel of John (Les �vang. p. x).

The Ignatian controversy has passed through three periods, the first

from the publication of the spurious Ignatius to the publication of the

shorter Greek recension (A. D. 1495 to 1644); the second from the

discovery and publication of the shorter Greek recension to the

discovery and publication of the Syrian version (A. D. 1644 to 1845),

which resulted in the rejection of the larger Greek recension; the

third from the discovery of the Syrian extract to the present time

(1845-1883), which is favorable to the shorter Greek recension.

1. The Larger Greek Recension of Seven Epistles with eight additional

ones. Four of them were published in Latin at Paris, 1495, as an

appendix to another book; eleven more by Faber Stapulensis, also in

Latin, at Paris, 1498; then all fifteen in Greek by Valentine Hartung

(called Paceus or Irenaeus) at Dillingen, 1557; and twelve by Andreas

Gesner at Zurich, 1560. The Catholics at first accepted them all as

genuine works of Ignatius; and Hartung, Baronius, Bellarmin defended at

least twelve; but Calvin and the Magdeburg Centuriators rejected them

all, and later Catholics surrendered at least eight as utterly

untenable. These are two Latin letters of Ignatius to St. John and one

to the Virgin Mary with an answer of the Virgin; and five Greek letters

of Ignatius to Maria Castabolita, with an answer, to the Tarsenses, to

the Antiochians, to Hero, a deacon of Antioch, and to the Philippians.

These letters swarm with offences against history and chronology. They

were entirely unknown to Eusebius and Jerome. They are worthless

forgeries, clothed with the name and authority of Ignatius. It is a

humiliating fact that the spurious Ignatius and his letters to St. John

and the Virgin Mary should in a wretched Latin version have so long

transplanted and obscured the historical Ignatius down to the sixteenth

century. No wonder that Calvin spoke of this fabrication with such

contempt. But in like manner the Mary of history gave way to a Mary of

fiction, the real Peter to a pseudo-Peter, and the real Clement to a

pseudo-Clement. Here, if anywhere, we see the necessity and use of

historical criticism for the defense of truth and honesty.

2. The Shorter Greek Recension of the seven Epistles known to Eusebius

was discovered in a Latin version and edited by Archbishop Ussher at

Oxford, 1644 (Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolae), and in Greek by Isaac

Vossius, from a Medicean Codex in 1646, again by Th. Ruinart from the

Codex Colbertinus (together with the Martyrium) in 1689. We have also

fragments of a Syrian version (in Cureton), and of an Armenian version

apparently from the Syrian (printed in Constantinople in 1783, and

compared by Petermann). Henceforth the longer Greek recension found

very few defenders (the eccentric Whiston, 1711, and more recently Fr.

C. Meier, 1836), and their arguments were conclusively refuted by R.

Rothe in his Anf�nge, 1837, and by K. Fr. L. Arndt in the "Studien und

Kritiken," 1839). It is generally given up even by Roman Catholic

scholars (as Petavius, Cotelier, Dupin, Hefele, Funk). But as regards

the genuineness of the shorter Greek text there are three views among

which scholars are divided.

(a) Its genuineness and integrity are advocated by Pearson (Vindiciae

Ignatianae, 1672, against the doubts of the acute Dallaeus), latterly

by Gieseler, M�hler (R.C.), Rothe (1837), Huther (1841), D�sterdieck

(1843), Dorner (1845), and (since the publication of the shorter Syriac

version) by Jacobson, Hefele (R.C., 1847 and 1855), Denzinger (R.C.,

1849), Petermann (1849), Wordsworth, Churton (1852), and most

thoroughly by Ulhhorn, (1851 and '56), and Zahn (1873, Ign. v. Ant.

495-541). The same view is adopted by Wieseler (1878), Funk (in Patr.

Apost. 1878, Prol LX. sqq., and his monograph, 1883), Canon Travers

Smith, (in Smith and Wace, 1882), and Lightfoot (1885).

(b) The friends of the three Syriac epistles (see below under No. 3)

let only so many of the seven epistles stand as agree with those. Also

Lardner (1743), Mosheim (1755), Neander (1826), Thiersch (1852),

Lechler (1857), Robertson and Donaldson (1867), are inclined to suppose

at least interpolation.

(c) The shorter recension, though older than the longer, is likewise

spurious. The letters were forged in the later half of the second

century for the purpose of promoting episcopacy and the worship of

martyrs. This view is ably advocated by two very different classes of

divines: first by Calvinists in the interest of Presbyterianism or

anti-prelacy, Claudius Salmasius (1645), David Blondel (1646), Dallaeus

(1666), Samuel Basnage, and by Dr. Killen of Belfast (1859 and 1883);

next by the T�bingen school of critics in a purely historical interest,

Dr. Baur (1835, then against Rothe, 1838, and against Bunsen, 1848 and

1853), Schwegler (1846), and more thoroughly by Hilgenfeld (1853). The

T�bingen critics reject the whole Ignatian literature as unhistorical

tendency writings, partly because the entire historical situation

implied in it and the circuitous journey to Rome are in themselves

improbable, partly because it advocates a form of church government and

combats Gnostic heresies, which could not have existed in the age of

Ignatius. This extreme scepticism is closely connected with the whole

view of the T�bingen school in regard to the history of primitive

Christianity, and offers no explanation of the stubborn fact that

Ignatius was a historical character of a strongly marked individuality

and wrote a number of letters widely known and appreciated in the early

church. Renan admits the genuineness of the Ep. to the Romans, but

rejects the six others as fabrications of a zealous partizan of

orthodoxy and episcopacy about a.d. 170. He misses in them le g�nie, le

caract�re individuel, but speaks highly of the Ep. to the Romans, in

which the enthusiasm of the martyr has found "son expressio la plus

exalt�e"(p. 489).

(d) We grant that the integrity of these epistles, even in the shorter

copy, is not beyond all reasonable doubt. As the manuscripts of them

contain, at the same time, decidedly spurious epistles (even the

Armenian translation has thirteen epistles), the suspicion arises, that

the seven genuine also have not wholly escaped the hand of the forger.

Yet there are, in any case, very strong arguments for their genuineness

and substantial integrity; viz. (1) The testimony of the fathers,

especially of Eusebius. Even Polycarp alludes to epistles of Ignatius.

(2) The raciness and freshness of their contents, which a forger could

not well imitate. (3) The small number of citations from the New

Testament, indicating the period of the immediate disciples of the

apostles. (4) Their way of combating the Judaists and Docetists

(probably Judaizing Gnostics of the school of Cerinthus), showing us

Gnosticism as yet in the first stage of its development. (5) Their

dogmatical indefiniteness, particularly in regard to the Trinity and

Christology, notwithstanding very strong expressions in favor of the

divinity of Christ. (6) Their urgent recommendation of episcopacy as an

institution still new and fresh, and as a centre of congregational

unity in distinction from the diocesan episcopacy of Irenaeus and

Tertullian. (7) Their entire silence respecting a Roman primacy, even

in the epistle to the Romans, where we should most expect it. The Roman

church is highly recommended indeed, but the Roman bishop is not even

mentioned. In any case these epistles must have been written before the

middle of the second century, and reflect the spirit of their age in

its strong current towards a hierarchical organization and churchly

orthodoxy on the basis of the glory of martyrdom.

3. The Syriac Version contains only three epistles (to Polycarp, to the

Ephesians, and to the Romans), and even these in a much reduced form,

less than half of the corresponding Greek Epistles. It has the

subscription: "Here end the three epistles of the bishop and martyr

Ignatius," on which, however, Bunsen lays too great stress; for, even

if it comes from the translator himself, and not from a mere

transcriber, it does not necessarily exclude the existence of other

epistles (comp. Petermann, l.c. p. xxi.). It was discovered in 1839 and

'43 by the Rev. Henry Tattam in a monastery of the Libyan desert,

together with 365 other Syriac manuscripts, now in the British Museum;

published first by Cureton in 1845, and again in 1849, with the help of

a third MS. discovered in 1847; and advocated as genuine by him, as

also by Lee (1846), Bunsen (1847), Ritschl (1851 and 1857), Weiss

(1852), and most fully by Lipsius (1856), also by E. de Pressen�

(1862), B�hringer (1873), and at first by Lightfoot.

Now, it is true, that all the considerations we have adduced in favor

of the shorter Greek text, except the first, are equally good, and some

of them even better, for the genuineness of the Syrian Ignatius, which

has the additional advantage of lacking many of the most offensive

passages (though not in the epistle to Polycarp).

But against the Syriac text is, in the first place, the external

testimony of antiquity, especially that of Eusebius, who confessedly

knew of and used seven epistles, whereas the oldest of the three

manuscripts of this version, according to Cureton, belongs at the

earliest to the sixth century, a period, when the longer copy also had

become circulated through all the East, and that too in a Syriac

translation, as the fragments given by Cureton show. Secondly, the

internal testimony of the fact, that the Syriac text, on close

examination, by the want of a proper sequence of thoughts and sentences

betrays the character of a fragmentary extract from the Greek; as Baur

(1848), Hilgenfeld (1853), and especially Uhlhorn (185l), and Zahn

(1873, p. 167-241), by an accurate comparison of the two, have proved

in a manner hitherto unrefuted and irrefutable. The short Syriac

Ignatius has vanished like a dream. Even Lipsius and Lightfoot have

given up or modified their former view. The great work of Lightfoot on

Ignatius and Polycarp (1885) which goes into all the details and gives

all the documents, may be regarded as a full and final settlement of

the Ignatian problem in favor of the shorter Greek recension.

The only genuine Ignatius, as the question now stands, is the Ignatius

of the shorter seven Greek epistles.

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� 166. Polycarp of Smyrna.

Comp � 19 and the Lit. there quoted.

S. Polycarpi, Smyrnaeorum episcopi et hieromartyris, ad Philippenses

Epistola, first published in Latin by Faber Stapulensis (Paris 1498),

then with the Greek original by Petrus Halloisius (Halloix), Duaei,

1633; and Jac. Usserius (Ussher), Lond. 1647: also in all the editions

of the Apost. Fath., especially those of Jacobson (who compared several

manuscripts), Zahn (1876), Funk (1878), and Lightfoot)1885).

Martyrium S. Polycarpi (Epistola circularis ecclesix Smyrnensis), first

completed ed. in Gr. & Lat. by Archbp. Ussher, Lond. 1647, then in all

the ed. of the Patr. Apost., especially that of Jacobson (who here also

made use of three new codices), of Zahn, and Funk.

L. Duchesne: Vita Sancti Polycarpi Smyrnaeorum episcopi auctore Pionio

Primum graece edita. Paris 1881. The same also in the second vol. of

Funk's Patr. Apost. (1881) pp. LIV. -LVIII. 315-347. It is, according

to Funk, from the fourth or fifth century, and shows not what Polycarp

really was, but how he appeared to the Christians of a later age.

Zahn: Ign. v. Ant. p. 495-511; and Proleg. to his ed. of Ign. and Pol.

(1876), p. XLII-LV.

Donaldson: Ap. Fath. 191-247.

RenanL'�glise chr�tienne (1879), ch. ix. and x. p. 437-466.

Lightfoot: S. Ign. and S. Polycarp, (1885), vol. I. 417-704.

Polycarp, born about a.d. 69 or earlier, a disciple of the apostle

John, a younger friend of Ignatius, and the teacher of Irenaeus

(between 130 and 140), presided as presbyter-bishop over the church of

Smyrna in Asia Minor in the first half of the second century; made a

journey to Rome about the year 154, to adjust the Easter dispute; and

died at the stake in the persecution under Antoninus Pius a.d. 155, at

a great age, having served the Lord six and eighty years. [1243] 243 He

was not so original and intellectually active as Clement or Ignatius,

but a man of truly venerable character, and simple, patriarchal piety.

His disciple Irenaeus of Lyons (who wrote under Eleutherus, 177-190),

in a letter to his fellow-pupil Florinus, who had fallen into the error

of Gnosticism) has given us most valuable reminiscences of this

"blessed and apostolic presbyter," which show how faithfully he held

fast the apostolic tradition, and how he deprecated all departure from

it. He remembered vividly his mode of life and personal appearance, his

discourses to the people, and his communications respecting the

teaching and miracles of the Lord, as he had received them from the

mouth of John and other eye-witnesses, in agreement with the Holy

Scriptures. [1244] 244 In another place, Irenaeus says of Polycarp,

that he had all the time taught what he had learned from the apostles,

and what the church handed down; and relates, that he once called the

Gnostic Marcion in Rome, "the first-born of Satan." [1245] 245 This is

by no means incredible in a disciple of John, who, with all his

mildness, forbids his people to salute the deniers of the true divinity

and humanity of the Lord; [1246] 246 and it is confirmed by a passage

in the epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, [1247] 247 where he

says: "Whoever doth not confess, that Jesus Christ is come in the

flesh, is antichrist, [1248] 248 and whoever doth not confess the

mystery of the cross, is of the devil; and he, who wrests the words of

the Lord according to his own pleasure, and saith, there is no

resurrection and judgment, is the first-born of Satan. Therefore would

we forsake the empty babbling of this crowd and their false teachings,

and turn to the word which hath been given us from the beginning,

watching in prayer, [1249] 249 continuing in fasting, and most humbly

praying God, that he lead us not into temptation, [1250] 250 as the

Lord hath said: 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.' "

[1251] 251

This epistle to the Philippians consists of fourteen short chapters,

and has been published in full since 1633. It is the only, document

that remains to us from this last witness of the Johannean age, who

wrote several letters to neighboring congregations. It is mentioned

first by his pupil Irenaeus; [1252] 252 it was still in public use in

the churches of Asia Minor in the time of Jerome as he reports; and its

contents correspond with the known life and character of Polycarp; its

genuineness there is no just reason to doubt. [1253] 253 It has little

merit as a literary production, but is simple and earnest, and breathes

a noble Christian spirit, It was written after the death of Ignatius

(whose epistles are mentioned, c. 13) in the name of Polycarp and his

presbyters; commends the Philippians for the love they showed Ignatius

in bonds and his companions, and for their adherence to the ancient

faith; and proceeds with simple, earnest exhortation to love, harmony,

contentment, patience, and perseverance, to prayer even for enemies and

persecutors; also giving special directions for deacons, presbyters,

youths, wives, widows, and virgins; with strokes against Gnostic

Docetic errors. Of Christ it speaks in high terms, as the Lord, who

sits at the right hand of God to whom everything in heaven and earth is

subject; whom every living being serves; who is coming to judge the

quick and the dead; whose blood God will require of all, who believe

not on him. [1254] 254 Polycarp guards with sound feeling against being

considered equal with the apostles: "I write these things, brethren,

not in arrogance, but because ye have requested me. For neither I, nor

any other like me, can attain the wisdom of the blessed and glorious

Paul, who was among you, and in the presence of the then living

accurately and firmly taught the word of truth, who also in his absence

wrote you an epistle, [1255] 255 from which ye may edify yourselves in

the faith given to you, which is the mother of us all, [1256] 256 hope

following after, and love to God and to Christ, and to neighbors

leading further. [1257] 257 For when any one is full of these virtues,

he fulfills the command of righteousness; for he, who has love, is far

from all sin." [1258] 258 This does not agree altogether with the

system of St. Paul. But it should be remembered that Polycarp, in the

very first chapter, represents faith and the whole salvation as the

gift of free grace. [1259] 259

The epistle is interwoven with many reminiscences of the Synoptical

Gospels and the epistles of Paul, John and First Peter, which give to

it considerable importance in the history of the canon. [1260] 260

The Martyrium S. Polycarpi (22 chs.), in the form of a circular letter

of the church of Smyrna to the church of Philomelium in Phrygia, and

all "parishes of the Catholic church," appears, from ch. 18, to have

been composed before the first annual celebration of his martyrdom.

Eusebius has incorporated in his church history the greater part of

this beautiful memorial, and Ussher first published it complete in the

Greek original, 1647. It contains an edifying description of the trial

and martyrdom of Polycarp, though embellished with some marvellous

additions of legendary poesy. When, for example, the pile was kindled,

the flames surrounded the body of Polycarp, like the full sail of a

ship, without touching it; on the contrary it shone, unhurt, with a

gorgeous color, like white baken bread, or like gold and silver in a

crucible, and gave forth a lovely fragrance as of precious spices. Then

one of the executioners pierced the body of the saint with a spear, and

forthwith there flowed such a stream of blood that the fire was

extinguished by it. The narrative mentions also a dove which flew up

from the burning pile; but the reading is corrupt, and Eusebius,

Rufinus, and Nicephorus make no reference to it. [1261] 261 The sign of

a dove (which is frequently found on ancient monuments) was probably

first marked on the margin, as a symbol of the pure soul of the martyr,

or of the power of the Holy Spirit which pervaded him; but the

insertion of the word dove in the text suggests an intended contrast to

the eagle, which flew up from the ashes of the Roman emperors, and

proclaimed their apotheosis, and may thus be connected with the rising

worship of martyrs and saints.

Throughout its later chapters this narrative considerably exceeds the

sober limits of the Acts of the Apostles in the description of the

martyrdom of Stephen and the elder James, and serves to illustrate, in

this respect also, the undeniable difference, notwithstanding all the

affinity, between the apostolic and the old catholic literature. [1262]

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Notes.

I. Of all the writings of the Apostolic Fathers the Epistle of Polycarp

is the least original, but nearest in tone to the Pastoral Epistles of

Paul, and fullest of reminiscences from the New Testament. We give the

first four chapters as specimens.

I. "Polycarp and the presbyters with him to the congregation of god

which sojourns at philippi. Mercy and peace be multiplied upon you,

from god almighty, and from Jesus Christ our Saviour.

1. "I have greatly rejoiced with you in the joy you have had in our

Lord Jesus Christ, in receiving those examples of true charity, and

having accompanied, as it well became you, those who were bound with

holy chains [Ignatius and his fellow-prisoners, Zosimus and Rufus;

comp. ch. 9]; who are the diadems of the truly elect of God and our

Lord; and that the strong root of your faith, spoken of in the earliest

times, endureth until now, and bringeth forth fruit unto our Lord Jesus

Christ, who suffered for our sins, but whom God raised from the dead,

having loosed the pains of Hades [Acts 2:24]; in whom though ye see Him

not, ye believe, and believing rejoice with joy unspeakable and full of

glory [I Pet. 1:8]; into which joy many desire to enter; knowing that

by grace ye are saved, not by works [Eph. 2:8, 9], but by the will of

God through Jesus Christ.

2. "Wherefore, girding up your loins, serve the Lord in fear [1 Pet.

1:13] and truth, as those who have forsaken the vain, empty talk and

error of the multitude, and believed in Him who raised up our Lord

Jesus Christ from the dead, and gave him glory [1Pet. 1:21], and a

throne at His right hand [comp. Heb. 1:3; 8:1; 12:2]; to whom all

things in heaven and on earth are subject. Him every spirit serves. His

blood will God require of those who do not believe in Him. But He who

raised Him up from the dead will raise up us also, if we do His will,

and walk in His commandments, and love what He loved, keeping ourselves

from all unrighteousness, covetousness, love of money, evil-speaking

false-witness; not rendering evil for evil, or reviling for reviling [1

Pet. 3:9]; or blow for blow, or cursing for cursing, remembering the

words of the Lord Jesus [comp. Acts 20:35] in His teaching: Judge not,

that ye be not judged; forgive, and it shall be forgiven unto you; be

merciful, that ye may obtain mercy; with what measure ye mete, it shall

be measured to you again [Matt. 7:1, 2; Luke 6:36-38], and once more,

Blessed are the poor, and those that are persecuted for righteousness'

sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God [Luke 6:20; Matt. 5:3, 10].

3. "These things, brethren, I write to you concerning righteousness,

not because I take anything on myself, but because ye have invited me

thereto. For neither I, nor any such as I, can come up to the wisdom of

the blessed and glorified Paul. He, when among you, accurately and

steadfastly taught the word of truth in the presence of those who were

then alive; and when absent from you, he wrote you a letter, which, if

you carefully study, you will find to be the means of building you up

in that faith which has been given you, and which, being followed by

hope and preceded by love towards God, and Christ, and our neighbor, is

the mother of us all [Gal. 4:26]. For if any one be inwardly possessed

of these graces, be has fulfilled the command of righteousness, since

he that has love is far from all sin.

4. "But the love of money is a beginning [archeinstead of root, rize]

of all kinds of evil, [1 Tim. 6:10]. Knowing, therefore, that as we

brought nothing into the world, so we can carry nothing out, [1 Tim.

6:7], let us arm ourselves with the armor of righteousness; and let us

teach, first of all, ourselves to walk in the commandments of the Lord.

Next teach your wives to walk in the faith given to them, and in love

and purity tenderly loving their own husbands in all truth, and loving

all equally in all chastity; and to train up their children in the

knowledge and fear of God [comp. Eph. 6:11, 13, 14]. Let us teach the

widows to be discreet as respects the faith of the Lord, praying

continually for all, being far from all slandering, evil-speaking,

false-witnessing, love of money, and every kind of evil; knowing that

they are the altar of God, that He clearly perceives all things, and

that nothing is hid from Him, neither reasonings, nor reflections, nor

any one of the secret things of the heart."

II. From the Martyrium Polycarpi. When the Proconsul demanded that

Polycarp should swear by the genius of Caesar and renounce Christ, he

gave the memorable answer:

"Eighty and six years have I served Christ, nor has He ever done me any

harm. How, then, could I blaspheme my King who saved me" (ton basilea

mou ton sosanta me)? Ch. 9.

Standing at the stake with his hands tied to the back, as the fagots

were kindled, Polycarp lifted up his voice and uttered this sublime

prayer as reported by disciples who heard it (ch. 14):

"Lord God Almighty, Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son, Jesus

Christ, through whom we have received the grace of knowing Thee; God of

angels and powers, and the whole creation, and of the whole race of the

righteous who live in Thy presence; I bless Thee for deigning me worthy

of this day and this hour that I may be among Thy martyrs and drink of

the cup of my Lord Jesus Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life

of soul and body in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit. Receive me

this day into Thy presence together with them, as a fair and acceptable

sacrifice prepared for Thyself in fulfillment of Thy promise, O true

and faithful God. Wherefore I praise Thee for all Thy mercies; I bless

Thee, I glorify Thee, through the eternal High-Priest, Jesus Christ,

Thy beloved Son, with whom to Thyself and the Holy Spirit, be glory

both now and forever. Amen."

For a good popular description of Polycarp, including his letter and

martyrdom, see The Pupils of St. John the Divine, by the Author of the

Heir of Redcliffe, in Macmillan's "Sunday Library." London 1863.

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[1243] On the change of date from 166 or 167 to 155 or 156, in

consequence of Waddington's researches, see p. 50.

[1244] Eusebius, H. E. V. 20.

[1245] Adv. Haer. iii. 3, � 4.

[1246] 2 John 10

[1247] Ch. 7.

[1248] �Comp. 1 John 4:3.

[1249] Comp. 1 Pet. 4:17.

[1250] Matt. 6:13,

[1251] Matt. 26:41.

[1252] Adv. Haer. III. 3, � 4. Comp. Euseb. H E. III. 36, and Jerome De

Vir. ill. c. 17.

[1253] Nor has its integrity been called in question with sufficient

reason by Dallaeus, and more recently by Bunsen, Ritschl (in the second

ed of his Entstehung der altkath. Kirche, p. 584-600), Renan (Journal

des savants, 1874, and less confidently in L'�glise chret., 1879, p.

442 sqq.), and the author of Supernatural Religion (I. 274-278). But

the genuineness and integrity of the Ep. are ably vindicated by Zahn

(1873) and by Lightfoot ("Contemp. Rev. ." Feb. 1875, p. 838-852). The

testimony of Irenaeus, who knew it ) Adv. Haer. III. 3, � 4), is

conclusive. Renan urges chiefly the want of originality and force

against it.

[1254] Ch. 2.

[1255] Epistolas must here probably be understood, like the Latin

literae, of one epistle.

[1256] Gal. 4:26.

[1257] proagouses.

[1258] Ch. 3.

[1259] Chariti este sesosmenoi ouk ex ergon, alla thelemati theou, dia

Iesou Christou, comp. Eph. 2:8, 9.

[1260] Funk (I. 573 sq.), counts only 6 quotations from the O. T., but

68 reminiscences of passages in Matthew (8), Mark (1), Luke (1), Acts

(4), Romans, Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., 1 and 2 Tim., James

(1). 1 Pet. (10), 2 Pet. (1 and 2 John. Comp. the works on the canon of

the N. T.

[1261] All sorts of corrections, accordingly, have been proposed for

peristera in ch. 16; e.g. ep' aristera-i -ia sinistra, or peri` sterna,

or periptera aimatos (scintillarum instar sanguinis), or peri sturaka

(circa hastile, around the spike). Comp. Hefele: Patr. Ap. p. 288 (4th

ed.) note 4; and Funk (5th ed) 299. Funk reads peristuraka, which gives

good sense. So also the ed. of Gebh. and Harn.

[1262] Keim (1873), and Lipsius (1876) reject the whole Martyrium.

Steitz (1861), Zahn (1876), and Funk (Prol XCVII.) the last two

chapters as later additions. Donaldson (p. 198 sqq.) assumes several

interpolations which make it unreliable as a historical document, but

admits that it is superior to the later martyria by its greater

simplicity and the probability of the most part of the narrative,

especially the circumstances of the flight and capture of Polycarp.

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� 167. Barnabas.

Editions.

First editions in Greek and Latin, except the first four chapters and

part of the fifth, which were known only in the Latin version, by

Archbishop Ussher (Oxf. 1643, destroyed by fire 1644), Luc. d'achery

(Par. 1645), and Isaac Voss (Amstel. 1646).

First complete edition of the Greek original from the Codex Sinaiticus,

to which it is appended, by Tischendorf in the facsimile ed. of that

Codex, Petropoli, 1862, Tom. IV. 135-141, and in the Novum Testam.

Sinait. 1863. The text dates from the fourth century. It was discovered

by Tischendorf in the Convent of St. Catharine at Mt. Sinai, 1859, and

is now in the library of St. Petersburg.

A new MS. of the Greek B. from the eleventh century (1056) was

discovered in Constantinople by Bryennios, 1875, together with the Ep.

of Clement, and has been utilized by the latest editors, especially by

Hilgenfeld.

O. v. Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn: Patr. Ap. 1876. Gebhardt ed. the

text from Cod. Sin. Harnack prepared the critical commentary. In the

small ed. of 1877 the Const. Cod. is also compared.

Hefele-Funk: Patr. Ap. 1878, p. 2-59.

Ad. Hilgenfeld: Barnabae Epistula. Inteqram Graece iterum edidit,

veterem interpretationem Latinam, commentarium criticum et adnotationes

addidit A. H. Ed. altera et valde aucta. Lips. 1877. Dedicated to

Bryennios. "Orientalis Ecclesicae splendido lumini." who being

prevented by the Oriental troubles from editing the new MS., sent a

collation to H. in Oct. 1876 (Prol. p. xiii). The best critical

edition. Comp. Harnack's review in Sch�rer's "Theol. Lit. Ztg. 1877, f.

473-'77.

J. G. M�ller (of Basle): Erkl�rung des Barnabasbriefes. Leipz. 1869. An

Appendix to De Wette's Corn. on the N. T.

English translations by Wake (1693), Roberts and Donaldson (in

Ante-Nic. Lib. 1867), Hoole (1872), Rendall (1877), Sharpe (1880, from

the Sinait. MS). German translations by Hefele (1840), Scholz (1865),

Mayer (1869), Riggenbach (1873).

Critical Discussions.

C. Jos. Hefele (R.C.): Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas, auf's

Neue untersucht und erkl�rt. T�b. 1840.

Joh. Kayser: ueber den sogen. Barnabasbrief. Paderborn, 1866.

Donaldson: Ap. Fathers (1874), p. 248-317.

K. Wieseler: On the Origin and Authorship of the Ep. of B., in the

"Jahrbuecher f�r Deutsche Theol.," 1870, p. 603 sqq.

O. Braunsberger (R.C.): Der Apostel Barnabas. Sein Leben und der ihm

beigelegte Brief wissenschaftlich gew�rdigt. Mainz, 1876.

W. Cunningham: The Ep. of St. Barnabas. London, 1876.

Samuel Sharpe: The Ep. of B. from the Sinaitic MS. London, 1880.

J. Weiss: Der Barnabasbrief kritisch untersucht. Berlin, 1888.

Milligan in Smith and Wace, I. 260-265; Harnack in Herzog2 II. 101-105.

Other essays by Henke (1827), R�rdam (1828), Ullmann (1828), Schenkel

(1837), Franke (1840), Weizs�cker (1864), Heydecke (1874). On the

relation of Barnabas to Justin Martyr see M. von Engelhardt: Das

Christenthum Justins d. M. (1878), p. 375-394.

The doctrines of B. are fully treated by Hefele, Kayser, Donaldson,

Hilgenfeld, Braunsberger, and Sprinzl.

Comp. the list of books from 1822-1875 in Harnack's Prol. to the Leipz.

ed. of Barn. Ep. p. XX sqq.; and in Richardson, Synopsis 16-19 (down to

1887).

The Catholic Epistle of Barnabas, so called, is anonymous, and omits

all allusion to the name or residence of the readers. He addresses them

not as their teacher, but as one among them. [1263] 263 He commences in

a very general way: "All hail, ye sons and daughters, in the name of

our Lord Jesus Christ, who loved us, in peace;" and concludes:

"Farewell, ye children of love and peace, The Lord of glory and all

grace be with your spirit. Amen." [1264] 264 For this reason, probably,

Origen called it a "Catholic" Epistle, which must be understood,

however, with limitation. Though not addressed to any particular

congregation, it is intended for a particular class of Christians who

were in danger of relapsing into Judaizing errors.

1. Contents. The epistle is chiefly doctrinal (ch. 1-17), and winds up

with some practical exhortations to walk "in the way of light," and to

avoid "the way of darkness" (ch. 18-21). [1265] 265 It has essentially

the same object as the Epistle to the Hebrews, though far below it in

depth, originality and unction. It shows that Christianity is the

all-sufficient, divine institution for salvation, and an abrogation of

Judaism, with all its laws and ceremonies. Old things have passed away;

all things are made new. Christ has indeed given us a law; but it is a

new law, without the yoke of constraint. [1266] 266 The tables of Moses

are broken that the love of Christ may be sealed in our hearts. [1267]

267 It is therefore sin and folly to assert that the old covenant is

still binding. Christians should strive after higher knowledge and

understand the difference.

By Judaism, however, the author understands not the Mosaic and

prophetic writings in their true spiritual sense, but the carnal

misapprehension of them. The Old Testament is, with him, rather a

veiled Christianity, which he puts into it by a mystical allegorical

interpretation, as Philo, by the same method, smuggled into it the

Platonic philosophy. In this allegorical conception he goes so far,

that he actually seems to deny the literal historical sense. He

asserts, for example, that God never willed the sacrifice and fasting,

the Sabbath observance and temple-worship of the Jews, but a purely

spiritual worship; and that the laws of food did not relate at all to

the eating of clean and unclean animals, but only to intercourse with

different classes of men, and to certain virtues and vices. His

chiliasm likewise rests on an allegorical exegesis, and is no proof of

a Judaizing tendency any more than in Justin, Irenaeus, and Tertullian.

He sees in the six days of creation a type of six historical millennia

of work to be followed first by the seventh millennium of rest, and

then by the eighth millennium of eternity, the latter being

foreshadowed by the weekly Lord's Day. The carnal Jewish interpretation

of the Old Testament is a diabolical perversion. The Christians, and

not the Jews, are the true Israel of God and the righteous owners of

the Old Testament Scriptures.

Barnabas proclaims thus an absolute separation of Christianity from

Judaism. In this respect he goes further than any post-apostolic

writer. He has been on that ground charged with unsound ultra-Paulinism

bordering on antinomianism and heretical Gnosticism. But this is

unjust. He breathes the spirit of Paul, and only lacks his depth,

wisdom, and discrimination, Paul, in Galatians and Colossians, likewise

takes an uncompromising attitude against Jewish circumcision,

sabbatarianism, and ceremonialism, if made a ground of justification

and a binding yoke of conscience; but nevertheless he vindicated the

Mosaic law as a preparatory school for Christianity. Barnabas Ignores

this, and looks only at the negative side. Yet he, too, acknowledges

the new law of Christ. He has some profound glances and inklings of a

Christian philosophy. He may be called an orthodox Gnostic. He stands

midway between St. Paul and Justin Martyr, as Justin Martyr stands

between Barnabas and the Alexandrian school. Clement and Origen, while

averse to his chiliasm, liked his zeal for higher Christian knowledge

and his allegorizing exegesis which obscures every proper historical

understanding of the Old Testament.

The Epistle of Barnabas has considerable historical, doctrinal, and

apologetic value. He confirms the principal facts and doctrines of the

gospel. He testifies to the general observance of Sunday on "the eighth

day," as the joyful commemoration of Christ's resurrection, in strict

distinction from the Jewish Sabbath on the seventh. He furnishes the

first clear argument for the canonical authority of the Gospel of

Matthew (without naming it) by quoting the passage: "Many are called,

but few are chosen," with the solemn formula of Scripture quotation:

"as it is written." [1268] 268 He introduces also (ch. 5) the words of

Christ, that he did not come "to call just men, but sinners," which are

recorded by Matthew 9:13. He furnishes parallels to a number of

passages in the Gospels, Pauline Epistles, First Peter, and the

Apocalypse. His direct quotations from the Old Testament, especially

the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Isaiah, are numerous; but he quotes

also IV. Esdras and the Book of Enoch. [1269] 269

2. Authorship. The Epistle was first cited by Clement of Alexandria,

and Origen, as a work of the apostolic Barnabas, who plays so prominent

a part in the early history of the church. [1270] 270 Origen seems to

rank it almost with the inspired Scriptures. In the Sinaitic Bible, of

the fourth century, it follows as the "Epistle of Barnabas,"

immediately after the Apocalypse (even on the same page 135, second

column), as if it were a regular part of the New Testament. From this

we may, infer that it was read in some churches as a secondary

ecclesiastical book, like the Epistle of Clement, the Epistle of

Polycarp, and the Pastor of Hermas. Eusebius and Jerome likewise

ascribe it to Barnabas but number it among the "spurious," or

"apocryphal" writings. [1271] 271 They seem to have doubted the

authority, but not the authenticity of the epistle. The historical

testimony therefore is strong and unanimous in favor of Barnabas, and

is accepted by all the older editors and several of the later critics.

[1272] 272

But the internal evidence points with greater force to a post-apostolic

writer. [1273] 273 The Epistle does not come up to the position and

reputation of Barnabas, the senior companion of Paul, unless we assume

that he was a man of inferior ability and gradually vanished before the

rising star of his friend from Tarsus. It takes extreme ground against

the Mosaic law, such as we can hardly expect from one who stood as a

mediator between the Apostle of the Gentiles and the Jewish Apostles,

and who in the collision at Antioch sided with Peter and Mark against

the bold champion of freedom; yet we should remember that this was only

a temporary inconsistency, and that no doubt a reaction afterwards took

place in his mind. The author in order to glorify the grace of the

Saviour, speaks of the apostles of Christ before their conversion as

over-sinful, [1274] 274 and indulges in artificial and absurd

allegorical fancies. [1275] 275 He also wrote after the destruction of

Jerusalem when Barnabas in all probability was no more among the

living, though the date of his death is unknown, and the inference from

Col. 4:10 and 1 Pet. 5:13 is uncertain.

These arguments are not conclusive, it is true, but it is quite certain

that if Barnabas wrote this epistle, he cannot be the author of the

Epistle to the Hebrews, and vice versa. The difference between the two

is too great for the unity of the authorship. The ancient church showed

sound tact in excluding that book from the canon; while a genuine

product of the apostolic Barnabas [1276] 276 had a claim to be admitted

into it as well as the anonymous Epistle to the Hebrews or the writings

of Mark and Luke.

The author was probably a converted Jew from Alexandria (perhaps by the

name Barnabas, which would easily explain the confusion), to judge from

his familiarity with Jewish literature, and, apparently, with Philo and

his allegorical method in handling the Old Testament. In Egypt his

Epistle was first known and most esteemed; and the Sinaitic Bible which

contains it was probably written in Alexandria or Caesarea in

Palestine. The readers were chiefly Jewish Christians in Egypt and the

East, who overestimated the Mosaic traditions and ceremonies. [1277]

277

3. Time of composition. The work was written after the destruction of

Jerusalem and the temple, which is alluded to as an accomplished fact;

[1278] 278 yet probably before the close of the first century,

certainly before the reconstruction of Jerusalem under Hadrian (120).

[1279] 279

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[1263] ouch hos didaskalos , all' hos heis ex humon, ch. 1; Comp. 4:

polla thelon graphein, ouch hos didaskalos .

[1264] The Cod. Sinaiticus omits 'Amen."and adds at the close:

Hepistole Barnaba..

[1265] The last chapters are derived either from the Didache, or from a

a still older work, Duae Viae vel Judicium Petri, which may have been

the common source of both. See my work on the Didache, p. 227 sqq.,

305, 309, 312 sq., 317.

[1266] Ch. 2:ho kainos nomos tou Kuriou hemon I.Ch., aneu (ater) zugou

anankes on

[1267] Ch. 4:sunetribe auton he diatheke, hina he tou egapemenou Iesou

enkatasphragisthe? eis ten kardian hemon en elpidi tes pisteos autou.

[1268] Cap. 4 at the close: prosechomen mepote, hos gegraptai, polloi

kletoi, oligoi de eklektoi heurethomen. From Matt. 22:14. As long as

the fourth chapter of this epistle existed only in Latin, the words:

"sicut scriptum est" were suspected by Dr. Credner and other critics as

an interpolation, Hilgenfeld (1853) suggested that the original had

simply kathos phesin, and Dressel, in his first edition of the

Apostolic Fathers (1857), remarked in loc: "Voces 'sicut scriptum est'

glossam olent." But the discovery of the Greek original in the Sinaitic

MS. of the Bible has settled this point, and the Constantinopolitan MS.

confirms it. The attempt of Strauss and other sceptics to refer the

quotation to the apocryphal fourth Book of Esdras, which was probably

written by a Jewish Christian after the destruction of Jerusalem, and

contains the passage: 'Many are born, but few will be saved."is only

worth mentioning as an instance of the stubbornness of preconceived

prejudice.

[1269] Funk (I. 364-366) gives nine quotations from Genesis, thirteen

from Exodus, six from Deuteronomy, fourteen from the Psalms, twenty-six

from Isaiah, etc., also one from IV. Esdras, four from Enoch. Comp. the

list in Anger's Synopsis Evang. (1852), Gebh. and Harn., 217-230.

[1270] See Acts 1:23; 4:37; 9:26 sq.; 11:22, 30; 14:4, 14; 15:2, etc.

Clement of Alex. quotes the Epistle seven times (four times under the

name of Barnabas), in his Stromtata, Origen, his pupil, three or four

times (Contra Cels. I. 63; De Princ. III. 2; Ad Rom. I. 24). Tertullian

does not mention the epistle, but seems to have known it (Comp. Adv,

Marc. III. 7; Adv. Jud. 14); he, however, ascribes the Ep, to the

Hebrews to Barnabas )De Pudic. c. 20). Hefele and Funk find probable

allusions to it in Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and Hermas; but

these are uncertain. On the life and labors of Barnabas see especially

Hefele and Braunsberger (p. 1-135).

[1271] In H. E. III. 25, Eusebius counts it among the "spurious" books

(en tois nothois ... he pheromene Barnaba epistole),but immediately

afterwards and in VI. 14, among the "doubtful" (antilegomena), and

Jerome (De Vir. ill. c. 6), "inter apocryphas scripturas."

[1272] Voss, Dupin, Gallandi, Cave, Pearson, Lardner, Henke, R�rdam,

Schneckenburger, Franke, Gieseler, Credner, Bleek (formerly), De Wette,

M�hler, Alzog, Sprinzl ("genuine, but not inspired "), Sharpe. The

interpolation hypothesis of Schenkel (1837) and Heydeke (1874) is

untenable; the book must stand or fall as a whole.

[1273] So Ussher, Daill�, Cotelier, Tillemont, Mosheim, Neander,

Ullmann, Baur, Hilgenfeld, Hefele, D�llinger, Kayser, Donaldson,

Westcott, M�ller, Wieseler, Weizs�cker, Braunsberger, Harnack, Funk.

Hefele urges eight arguments against the genuineness; but five of them

are entirely inconclusive. See Milligan, l. c., who examines them

carefully and concludes that the authenticity of the Epistle is more

probable than is now commonly supposed.

[1274] Or "sinners above all sin," huper pasan hamartian

anomoterous,homines omni peccato iniquiores, c. 5. Paul might call

himself in genuine humility " the chief of sinners" (1 Tim. 1:15), with

reference to his former conduct as a persecutor; but he certainly would

not have used such a term of all the apostles nor would it be true of

any of them but Judas.

[1275] He is also charged with several blunders concerning Jewish

history and worship which can hardly be expected from Barnabas the

Levite. Comp. chs. 7, 8, 9, 10, 15. But this is disproved by

Braunsberger (p. 253 sqq.), who shows that the epistle gives us

interesting archaeological information in those chapters although he

denies the genuineness.

[1276] He is twice called an apostle, Acts 14:4, 14, being included

with Paul in apostoloi.

[1277] So Neander, M�hler, Hefele (1840), Funk, G�demAnn. On the other

hand, Lardner, Donaldson, Hilgenfeld, Kayser, Riggenbach, Hefele

(1868), Braunsberger, Harnack contend that Barnabas and his readers

were Gentile Christians, because he distinguishes himself and his

readers (hemeis) from the Jews chs. 2, 3, 4, 8. 10, 14, 16. But the

same distinction is uniformly made by John in the Gospel, and was quite

natural after the final separation between the church and the

synagogue. The mistakes in Jewish history are doubtful and less

numerous than the proofs of the writer's familiarity with it. The

strongest passage is ch. 16: " Before we became believers in God, the

house of our heart was ... full of idolatry and the house of demons,

because we did what was contrary to God's will."But even this, though

more applicable to heathen, is not inapplicable to Jews; nor need we

suppose that there were no Gentiles among the readers. Towards the

close of the second century there were probably very few unmixed

congregations. Lipsius and Volkmar seek the readers in Rome, M�ller in

Asia Minor, Schenkel, Hilgenfeld, Harnack, and Funk in Alexandria or

Egypt. There is a similar difference of opinion concerning the readers

of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

[1278] Ch. 16 compared with the explanation of Daniel's prophecy of the

little horn in ch. 4.

[1279] Hefele, Kayser, Baur, M�ller, Lipsius, put the composition

between 107 and 120 (before the building of Aelia Capitolina under

Hadrian), and Braunsberger between 110 and 137; but Hilgenfeld, Reuss

)Gesch. d. N. T, 4th ed., 1864, p. 233), Ewald )Gesch. d. Volkes

Israel, VII. 136), Weizs�cker (" in Jahrb. f�r Deutsch. Theol.," 1865,

p. 391, and 1871, p. 569), Wieseler (Ibid. 1870, p. 603-614), and Funk

(Prol. p. VI.), at the close of the first century, or even before 79.

Wieseler argues from the author's interpretation of Daniel's prophecy

concerning the ten kingdoms and the little horn (ch. 4 and 16), that

the Ep. was written under Domitian, the eleventh Rom. emperor, and "the

little horn" of Daniel. Weisz�cker and Cunningham refer the little hero

to Vespasian (79-79), Hilgenfeld to Nerva; but even in the last case

the Ep. would have been written before a.d. 98, when Nerva died.

Milligan concludes that it was written very soon after the destruction

of Jerusalem. But in fresh view of that terrible judgment, we can

scarcely account for the danger of apostasy to Judaism. The author's

aim seems to presuppose a revival of Judaism and of Jewish tendencies

within the Christian Church.

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� 168. Hermas.

Editions.

The older editions give only the imperfect Latin Version, first

published by Faber Stapulensis (Par. 1513). Other Latin MSS. were

discovered since. The Greek text (brought from Mt. Athos by Constantine

Simonides, and called Cod. Lipsiensis) was first published by R. Anger,

with a preface by G. Dindorf (Lips. 1856); then by Tischendorf, in

Dressel's Patres Apost., Lips 1857 (p. 572-637); again in the second

ed. 1863, where Tischenderf, (sic) in consequence of the intervening

discovery of the Cod. Sinaiticus retracted his former objections to the

originality of the Greek Hermas from Mt. Athos, which he had pronounced

a mediaeval retranslation from the Latin (see the Proleg., Appendix and

Preface to the second ed.). The Poimen horasis is also printed in the

fourth vol. of the large edition of the Codex Sinaiticus, at the close

(pp. 142-148), Peters b. 1862. The texts from Mt. Athos and Mt. Sinai

substantially agree. An Ethiopic translation appeared in Leipz. 1860,

ed. with a Latin version by Ant. d'abbadie. Comp. Dillmann in the

"Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl�nd. Gesellschaft "for 1861; Schodde: H�rm�

Nab�, the Ethiop. V of P. H. examined. Leipz. 1876 (criticised by

Harnack in the "Theol. Lit. Ztg." 1877, fol. 58), and G. and H's

Proleg. xxxiv. sqq.

O. v. Gebhardt, and Harnack: Patrum Apost. Opera, Fascic. III. Lips.

1877. Greek and Latin. A very careful recension of the text (from the

Sinaitic MS.) by v. Gebhardt, with ample Prolegomena (84 pages), and a

critical and historical commentary by Harnack.

Funk's fifth ed. of Hefele's Patres Apost. I. 334-563. Gr. and Lat.

Follows mostly the text of Von Gebhardt.

Ad. Hilgenfeld: Hermae Pastor. Graece e codicibus Sinaitico et

Lipsiensi ... restituit, etc. Ed. altera emendata et valde aucta. Lips.

1881. With Prolegomena and critical annotations (257 pp.). By the same:

Hermae Pastor Graece integrum ambitu. Lips., 1887 (pp. 130). From the

Athos and Sinaitic MSS.

S. P. Lambros (Prof. in Athens): A Collation of the Athos Codex of the

Shepherd of Hermas, together with an Introduction. Translated and

edited by J. A. Robinson, Cambridge, 1888.

English translations by Wake (1693, from the Latin version); F. Crombie

(Vol. I. of the "Ante-Nicene Christian Library." 1867, from the Greek

of the Sinait. MS.), by Charles H. Hoole (1870, from Hilgenfeld's first

ed. of 1866,) and by Robinson (1888).

Essays.

C. Reinh. Jachmann: Der Hirte der Hermas. K�nigsberg, 1835.

Ernst Ga�b: Der Hirte des Hermas. Basel, 1866 (pp. 203).

Theod. Zahn: Der Hirt des Hermas. Gotha 1868. (Comp. also his review of

Ga�b in the Studien und Kritiken for 1868, pp. 319-349).

Charles R. Hoole (of Christ Church, Oxf.): The Shepherd of Hermas

translated into English, with an Introduction and Notes. Lond., Oxf.

and Cambr. 1870 (184 pages).

Gust. Heyne: Quo tempore Hermae Pastor scriptus sit. Regimonti, 1872.

J. Donaldson: The Apostolical Fathers (1874) p. 318-392.

H. M. Behm: Der Verfasser der Schrift., welche d. Titel "Hirt" f�hrt.

Rostock, 1876 (71 pp.).

Br�ll: Der Hirt des Hermas. Nach Ursprung und Inhalt untersucht.

Freiburg i. B. 1882. The same: Ueber den Ursprung des ersten

Clemensbriefs und des Hirten des Hermas. 1882.

Ad. Link:Christi Person und Werk im Hirten des Hermas. Marburg, 1886.

Die Einheit des Pastor Hermae. Mar b. 1888. Defends the unity of Hermas

against Hilgenfeld.

P. Baumg�rtner: Die Einheit des Hermas-Buches. Freiburg, 1889. He

mediates between Hilgenfeld and Link, and holds that the book was

written by one author, but at different times.

I. The Shepherd of Hermas [1280] 280 has its title from the

circumstance that the author calls himself Hermas and is instructed by

the angel of repentance in the costume of a shepherd. It is

distinguished from all the productions of the apostolic fathers by its

literary form. It is the oldest Christian allegory, an apocalyptic

book, a sort of didactic religious romance. This accounts in part for

its great popularity in the ancient church. It has often been compared

with Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress and Dante's Divina Commedia, though

far inferior in literary merit and widely different in theology from

either. For a long time it was only known in an old, inaccurate Latin

translation, which was first published by Faber Stapulensis in 1513;

but since 1856 and 1862, we have it also in the original Greek, in two

texts, one hailing from Mount Athos re-discovered and compared by

Lambros, and another (incomplete) from Mount Sinai.

II. Character and Contents. The Pastor Hermae is a sort of system of

Christian morality in an allegorical dress, and a call to repentance

and to renovation of the already somewhat slumbering and secularized

church in view of the speedily approaching day of judgment. It falls

into three books: [1281] 281

(1) Visions; four visions and revelations, which were given to the

author, and in which the church appears to him first in the form of a

venerable matron in shining garments with a book, then as a tower, and

lastly as a virgin. All the visions have for their object to call

Hermas and through him the church to repentance, which is now possible,

but will close when the church tower is completed.

It is difficult to decide whether the writer actually had or imagined

himself to have had those visions, or invented them as a pleasing and

effective mode of instruction, like Dante's vision and Bunyan's dream.

(2) Mandats, or twelve commandments, prescribed by a guardian angel in

the garb of a shepherd.

(3) Similitudes, or ten parables, in which the church again appears,

but now in the form of a building, and the different virtues are

represented under the figures of stones and trees. The similitudes were

no doubt suggested by the parables of the gospel, but bear no

comparison with them for beauty and significance.

The scene is laid in Rome and the neighborhood. The Tiber is named, but

no allusion is made to the palaces, the court, the people and society

of Rome, or to any classical work. An old lady, virgins, and angels

appear, but the only persons mentioned by name are Hermas, Maximus,

Clement and Grapte.

The literary merit of the Shepherd is insignificant. It differs widely

from apostolic simplicity and has now only an antiquarian interest,

like the pictures and sculptures of the catacombs. It is prosy, frigid,

monotonous, repetitious, overloaded with uninteresting details, but

animated by a pure love of nature and an ardent zeal for doing good.

The author was a self-made man of the people, Ignorant of the classics

and Ignored by them, but endowed with the imaginative faculty and a

talent for popular religious instruction. He derives lessons of wisdom

and piety from shepherd and sheep, vineyards and pastures, towers and

villas, and the language and events of every-day life.

The first Vision is a fair specimen of the book, which opens like a

love story, but soon takes a serious turn. The following is a faithful

translation:

1. "He who had brought me up, sold me to a certain Rhoda at Rome.

[1282] 282 Many years after, I met her again and began to love her as a

sister. Some time after this, I saw her bathing in the river Tiber, and

I gave her my hand and led her out of the river. And when I beheld her

beauty, I thought in my heart, saying: 'Happy should I be, if I had a

wife of such beauty and goodness.' This was my only thought, and

nothing more.

"After some time, as I went into the villages and glorified the

creatures of God, for their greatness, and beauty, and power, I fell

asleep while walking. And the Spirit seized me and carried me through a

certain wilderness through which no man could travel, for the ground

was rocky and impassable, on account of the water.

"And when I had crossed the river, I came to a plain; and falling upon

my knees, I began to pray unto the Lord and to confess my sins. And

while I was praying, the heaven opened, and I beheld the woman that I

loved saluting me from heaven, and saying: 'Hail, Hermas!' And when I

beheld her, I said unto her: 'Lady, what doest thou here?' But she

answered and said: 'I was taken up, in order that I might bring to

light thy sins before the Lord.' And I said unto her: 'Hast thou become

my accuser?' 'No,' said she; 'but hear the words that I shall say unto

thee. God who dwells in heaven, and who made the things that are out of

that which is not, and multiplied and increased them on account of his

holy church, is angry with thee because thou hast sinned against me.' I

answered and said unto her: 'Have I sinned against thee? In what way?

Did I ever say unto thee an unseemly word? Did I not always consider

thee as a lady? Did I not always respect thee as a sister? Why doest

thou utter against me, O Lady, these wicked and foul lies?' But she

smiled and said unto me: 'The desire of wickedness has entered into thy

heart. Does it not seem to thee an evil thing for a just man, if an

evil desire enters into his heart? Yea, it is a sin, and a great one

(said she). For the just man devises just things, and by devising just

things is his glory established in the heavens, and he finds the Lord

merciful unto him in all his ways; but those who desire evil things in

their hearts, bring upon themselves death and captivity, especially

they who set their affection upon this world, and who glory in their

wealth, and lay not hold of the good things to come. The souls of those

that have no hope, but have cast themselves and their lives away, shall

greatly regret it. But do thou pray unto God, and thy sins shall be

healed, and those of thy whole house and of all the saints.'

2. "After she had spoken these words, the heavens were closed, and I

remained trembling all over and was sorely troubled. And I said within

myself: 'If this sin be set down against me, how can I be saved? or how

can I propitiate God for the multitude of my sins? or with what words

shall I ask the Lord to have mercy upon me?'

"While I was meditating on these things, and was musing on them in my

heart, I beheld in front of me a great white chair made out of fleeces

of wool; and there came an aged woman, clad in very shining raiment,

and having a book in her hand, and she sat down by herself on the chair

and saluted me, saying: 'Hail, Hermas!" And I, sorrowing and weeping,

said unto her: 'Hail, Lady!' And she said unto me: 'Why art thou

sorrowful, O Hermas, for thou wert wont to be patient, and

good-tempered, and always smiling? Why is thy countenance cast down?

and why art thou not cheerful?' And I said unto her: 'O Lady, I have

been reproached by a most excellent woman, who said unto me that I

sinned against her.' And she said unto me: 'Far be it from the servant

of God to do this thing. But of a surety a desire after her must have

come into thy heart. Such an intent as this brings a charge of sin

against the servant of God; for it is an evil and horrible intent that

a devout and tried spirit should lust after an evil deed; and

especially that the chaste Hermas should do so-he who abstained from

every evil desire, and was full of all simplicity, and of great

innocence!'

3. " 'But [she continued] God is not angry with thee on account of

this, but in order that thou mayest convert thy house, which has done

iniquity against the Lord, and against you who art their parent. But

thou, in thy love for your children (philoteknos on) didst not rebuke

thy house, but didst allow it to become dreadfully wicked. On this

account is the Lord angry with thee; but He will heal all the evils

that happened aforetime in thy house; for through the sins and

iniquities of thy household thou hast been corrupted by the affairs of

this life. But the mercy of the Lord had compassion upon thee, and upon

thy house, and will make thee strong and establish thee in His glory.

Only be not slothful, but be of good courage and strengthen thy house.

For even as the smith, by smiting his work with the hammer,

accomplishes the thing that he wishes, so shall the daily word of

righteousness overcome all iniquity. Fail not, therefore, to rebuke thy

children, for I know that if they will repent with all their heart,

they will be written in the book of life, together with the saints.'

"After these words of hers were ended, she said unto me: 'Dost thou

wish to hear me read?' I said unto her: 'Yea, Lady, I do wish it.' She

said unto me: 'Be thou a hearer, and listen to the glories of God.'

Then I heard, after a great and wonderful fashion, that which my memory

was unable to retain; for all the words were terrible, and beyond man's

power to bear. The last words, however, I remembered; for they were

profitable for us, and gentle: 'Behold the God of power, who by his

invisible strength, and His great wisdom, has created the world, and by

His magnificent counsel hath crowned His creation with glory, and by

His mighty word has fixed the heaven, and founded the earth upon the

waters, and by His own wisdom and foresight has formed His holy church,

which He has also blessed! Behold, He removes the heavens from their

places, and the mountains, and the hills, and the stars, and everything

becomes smooth before His elect, that He may give unto them the

blessing which He promised them with great glory and joy, if only they

shall keep with firm faith the laws of God which they have received.'

4. "When, therefore, she had ended her reading, and had risen up from

the chair, there came four young men, and took up the chair, and

departed towards the east. Then she called me, and touched my breast,

and said unto me: 'Hast thou been pleased with my reading?' And I said

unto her: 'Lady, these last things pleased me; but the former were hard

and harsh.' But she spake unto me, saying: 'These last are for the

righteous; but the former are for the heathen and the apostates." While

she was yet speaking with me, there appeared two men, and they took her

up in their arms and departed unto the east, whither also the chair had

gone. And she departed joyfully; and as she departed, she said: 'Be of

good courage, O Hermas!'

III. The theology of Hermas is ethical and practical. He is free from

speculative opinions and Ignorant of theological technicalities. He

views Christianity as a new law and lays chief stress on practice.

Herein he resembles James, but he ignores the "liberty" by which James

distinguishes the "perfect" Christian law from the imperfect old law of

bondage. He teaches not only the merit, but the supererogatory merit of

good works and the sin-atoning virtue of martyrdom. He knows little or

nothing of the gospel, never mentions the word, and has no idea of

justifying faith, although he makes faith the chief virtue and the

mother of virtues. He dwells on man's duty and performance more than on

God's gracious promises and saving deeds. In a word, his Christianity

is thoroughly legalistic and ascetic, and further off from the

evangelical spirit than any other book of the apostolic fathers. Christ

is nowhere named, nor his example held up for imitation (which is the

true conception of Christian life); yet he appears as "the Son of God,

and is represented as pre-existent and strictly divine. [1283] 283 The

word Christian never occurs.

But this meagre view of Christianity, far from being heretical or

schismatic, is closely connected with catholic orthodoxy as far as we

can judge from hints and figures. Hermas stood in close normal relation

to the Roman congregation (either under Clement or Pius), and has an

exalted view of the "holy church," as he calls the church universal. He

represents her as the first creature of God for which the world was

made, as old and ever growing younger; yet he distinguishes this ideal

church from the real and represents the latter as corrupt. He may have

inferred this conception in part from the Epistle to the Ephesians, the

only one of Paul's writings with which he shows himself familiar. He

requires water-baptism as indispensable to salvation, even for the

pious Jews of the old dispensation, who received it from the apostles

in Hades. [1284] 284 He does not mention the eucharist, but this is

merely accidental. The whole book rests on the idea of an exclusive

church out of which there is no salvation. It closes with the

characteristic exhortation of the angel: "Do good works, ye who have

received earthly blessings from the Lord, that the building of the

tower (the church) may not be finished while ye loiter; for the labor

of the building has been interrupted for your sakes. Unless, therefore,

ye hasten to do right, the tower will be finished, and ye will be shut

out."

Much of the theology of Hermas is drawn from the Jewish apocalyptic

writings of pseudo-Enoch, pseudo-Esdras, and the lost Book of Eldad and

Medad. [1285] 285 So his doctrine of angels. He teaches that six angels

were first created and directed the building of the church. Michael,

their chief, writes the law in the hearts of the faithful; the angel of

repentance guards the penitent against relapse and seeks to bring back

the fallen. Twelve good spirits which bear the names of Christian

virtues, and are seen by Hermas in the form of Virgins, conduct the

believer into the kingdom of heaven; twelve unclean spirits named from

the same number of sins hinder him. Every man has a good and an evil

genius. Even reptiles and other animals have a presiding angel. The

last idea Jerome justly condemns as foolish.

It is confusing and misleading to judge Hermas from the apostolic

conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. [1286] 286 That

conflict was over. John shows no traces of it in his Gospel and

Epistles. Clement of Rome mentions Peter and Paul as inseparable. The

two types had melted into the one Catholic family, and continued there

as co-operative elements in the same organization, but were as yet very

imperfectly understood, especially the free Gospel of Paul. Jewish and

pagan features reappeared, or rather they never disappeared, and

exerted their influence for good and evil. Hence there runs through the

whole history of Catholicism a legalistic or Judaizing, and an

evangelical or Pauline tendency; the latter prevailed in the

Reformation and produced Protestant Christianity. Hermas stood nearest

to James and furthest from Paul; his friend Clement of Rome stood

nearer to Paul and further off from James: but neither one nor the

other had any idea of a hostile conflict between the apostles.

IV. Relation to the Scriptures. Hermas is the only one of the apostolic

fathers who abstains from quoting the Old Testament Scriptures and the

words of our Lord. This absence is due in part to the prophetic

character of the Shepherd, for prophecy is its own warrant, and speaks

with divine authority. There are, however, indications that he knew

several books of the New Testament, especially the Gospel of Mark, the

Epistle of James, and the Epistle to the Ephesians. The name of Paul is

nowhere mentioned, but neither are the other apostles. It is wrong,

therefore, to infer from this silence an anti-Pauline tendency. Justin

Martyr likewise omits the name, but shows acquaintance with the

writings of Paul. [1287] 287

V. Relation to Montanism. The assertion of the prophetic gift and the

disciplinarian rigorism Hermas shares with the Montanists; but they

arose half a century later, and there is no historic connection.

Moreover his zeal for discipline does not run into schismatic excess.

He makes remission and absolution after baptism difficult, but not

impossible; he ascribes extra merit to celibacy and seems to have

regretted his own unhappy marriage, but he allows second marriage as

well as second repentance, at least till the return of the Lord which,

with Barnabas, he supposes to be near at hand. Hence Tertullian as a

Montanist denounced Hermas.

VI. Authorship and time of composition. Five opinions are possible. (a)

The author was the friend of Paul to whom he sends greetings in Rom.

16:14, in the year 58. This is the oldest opinion and accounts best for

its high authority. [1288] 288 (b) A contemporary of Clement,

presbyter-bishop of Rome, a.d. 92-101. Based upon the testimony of he

book itself. [1289] 289 (c) A brother of Bishop Pius of Rome (140). So

asserts an unknown author of 170 in the Muratorian fragment of the

canon. [1290] 290 But he may have confounded the older and younger

Hermas with the Latin translator. (d) The book is the work of two or

three authors, was begun under Trajan before 112 and completed by the

brother of Pius in 140. [1291] 291 (e) Hermas is a fictitious name to

lend apostolic authority to the Shepherd. (f) Barely worth mentioning

is the isolated assertion of the Ethiopian version that the apostle

Paul wrote the Shepherd under the name of Hermas which was given to him

by the inhabitants of Lystra.

We adopt the second view, which may be combined with the first. The

author calls himself Hermas and professes to be a contemporary of the

Roman Clement, who was to send his book to foreign churches. [1292] 292

This testimony is clear and must outweigh every other. If the Hermas

mentioned by Paul was a young disciple in 58, he may well have lived to

the age of Trajan, and be expressly represents himself as an aged man

at the time when he wrote.

We further learn from the author that he was a rather unfortunate

husband and the father of bad children, who had lost his wealth in

trade through his own sins and those of his neglected sons but who

awoke to repentance and now came forward himself, as a plain preacher

of righteousness, though without any official position, and apparently

a mere layman. [1293] 293 He had been formerly a slave and sold by his

master to a certain Christian lady in Rome by the name of Rhoda. It has

been inferred from his Greek style that be was born in Egypt and

brought up in a Jewish family. [1294] 294 But the fact that he first

mistook the aged woman who represents the church, for the heathen

Sibyl, rather suggests that he was of Gentile origin. We may infer the

same from his complete silence about the prophetic Scriptures of the

Old Testament. He says nothing of his conversion.

The book was probably written at the close of the first or early in the

second century. It shows no trace of a hierarchical organization, and

assumes the identity of presbyters and bishops; even Clement of Rome is

not called a bishop. [1295] 295 The state of the church is indeed

described as corrupt, but corruption began already in the apostolic

age, as we see from the Epistles and the Apocalypse. At the time of

Irenaeus the book was held in the highest esteem, which implies its

early origin.

VII. Authority and value. No product of post-apostolic literature has

undergone a greater change in public esteem. The Shepherd was a book

for the times, but not for all times. To the Christians of the second

and third century it had all the charm of a novel from the

spirit-world, or as Bunyan's Pilgrims' Progress has at the present day.

It was even read in public worship down to the time of Eusebius and

Jerome, and added to copies of the Holy Scriptures (as the Codex

Sinaiticus, where it follows after the Ep. of Barnabas). Irenaeus

quotes it as "divine Scripture." [1296] 296 The Alexandrian fathers,

who with all their learning were wanting in sound critical

discrimination, regarded it as "divinely inspired," though Origen

intimates that others judged less favorably. [1297] 297 Eusebius

classes it with the "spurious," though orthodox books, like the Epistle

of Barnabas, the Acts of Paul, etc.; and Athanasius puts it on a par

with the Apocrypha of the Old Testament, which are useful for

catechetical instruction.

In the Latin church where it originated, it never rose to such high

authority. The Muratorian canon regards it as apocryphal, and remarks

that "it should be read, [1298] 298 but not publicly used in the church

or numbered among the prophets or the apostles." Tertullian, who took

offence at its doctrine of the possibility of a second repentance, and

the lawfulness of second marriage, speaks even contemptuously of it.

[1299] 299 So does Jerome in one passage, though he speaks respectfully

of it in another. [1300] 300 Ambrose and Augustin Ignore it. The decree

of Pope Gelasius I. (about 500) condemns the book as apocryphal. Since

that time it shared the fate of all Apocrypha, and fell into entire

neglect. The Greek original even disappeared for centuries, until it

turned up unexpectedly in the middle of the nineteenth century to

awaken a new interest, and to try the ingenuity of scholars as one of

the links in the development of catholic Christianity.

Note.

The Pastor Hermae has long ceased to be read for devotion or

entertainment. We add some modern opinions. Mosheim (who must have read

it very superficially) pronounced the talk of the heavenly spirits in

Hermas to be more stupid and insipid than that of the barbers of his

day, and concluded that he was either a fool or an impostor. The great

historian Niebuhr, as reported by Bunsen, used to say that he pitied

the Athenian [why not the Roman?] Christians who were obliged to listen

to the reader of such a book in the church. Bunsen himself pronounces

it "a well-meant but silly romance."

On the other hand, some Irvingite scholars, Dr. Thiersch and Mr. Ga�b,

have revived the old belief in a supernatural foundation for the

visions, as having been really seen and recorded in the church of Rome

during the apostolic age, but afterwards modified and mingled with

errors by the compiler under Pius. Ga�b thinks that Hermas was gifted

with the power of vision, and inspired in the same sense as Swedenborg.

Westcott ascribes "the highest value" to the Shepherd, "as showing in

what way Christianity was endangered by the influence of Jewish

principles as distinguished from Jewish forms." Hist. of the Canon of

the N. T p. 173 (second ed.)

Donaldson (a liberal Scotch Presbyterian) thinks that the Shepherd

"ought to derive a peculiar interest from its being the first work

extant, the main effort of which is to direct the soul to God. The

other religious books relate to internal workings in the church--this

alone specially deals with the great change requisite to living to God

.... Its creed is a very short and simple one. Its great object is to

exhibit the morality implied in conversion, and it is well calculated

to awaken a true sense of the spiritual foes that are ever ready to

assail him." (Ap. Fath., p. 339). But he also remarks (p. 336) that

"nothing would more completely show the immense difference between

ancient Christian feeling and modern, than the respect in which

ancient, and a large number of modern Christians hold this work."

George A. Jackson (an American Congregationalist) judges even more

favorably (Ap. Fath., 1879, p. 15): Reading the 'Shepherd,' and

remembering that it appeared in the midst of a society differing little

from that satirized by Juvenal, we no longer wonder at the esteem in

which it was held by the early Christians, but we almost join with them

in calling it an inspired book."

Mr. Hoole, of Oxford, agrees with the judgment of Athanasius, and puts

its literary character on the same footing as the pious but rude art of

the Roman catacombs.

Dr. Salmon, of Dublin, compares Hermas with Savonarola, who sincerely

believed: (a) that the church of his time was corrupt and worldly; (b)

that a time of great tribulation was at hand, in which the dross should

be purged away; (c) that there was still an intervening time for

repentance; (d) that he himself was divinely commissioned to be a

preacher of that repentance.

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[1280] Pastor Hermae, Ho Poimen. Comp. Vis. I. 1, 2, 4; II. 2.

[1281] This division, however, is made by later editors.

[1282] So v. Gebh. and Hilgenf. ed. II., with Cod. Sin. But the MSS.

vary considerably. The Vatican MS. reads: vendidit quandam puellam

Romae. The words, eis Rhomen would indicate that the writer was not

from Rome; but he often confounds eis and en.

[1283] In the Visions andMandates the person of the Redeemer is

mentioned only three times; in the Similitudes Hermas speaks repeatedly

of the "Son of God." and seems to identify his pre-existent divine

nature with the Holy Spirit. Sim. I X. 1 to pneuma to hagion... ho

theos tou theou estin. But a passage in a parable must not be pressed

and it is differently explained. Comp. Hilgenfeld, Ap. V�ter, 166 sq.,

Harnack's notes on Sim. V. 5 and IX. 1; the different view of Zahn, 139

sqq. and 245 sqq., and especially Link's monograph quoted above (p.

680).

[1284] This is the natural interpretation of the carious passage Simil.

IX. 16: These apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of

God, after having fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of

God, preached to those also who were asleep and gave to them the seal

of preaching. They descended therefore into the water with them and

again ascended (katebesan oun met' auton eis to hudor kai palin

anebesan). But these descended alive and again ascended alive; but

those who had fallen asleep before descended dead (nekroi) and ascended

alive (xontes)."This imaginary post-mortem baptism is derived from the

preaching of Christ in Hades, 1 Pet. 3:19; 4:6. Clement of Alex. quotes

this passage with approbation, but supposed that Christ as well as the

apostles baptized in Hades. Strom. II. 9. 44; VI. 6, 45, 46. Cotelier

and Donaldson (p. 380) are wrong in interpreting Hermas as meaning

merely a metaphorical and mystical baptism, or the divine blessings

symbolized by it.

[1285] The last is expressly quoted in the Second Vision.

[1286] As is done by, the T�bingen School, but without unanimity.

Schwegler, and, with qualifications, Hilgenfeld and Lipsius represent

Hermas as an Ebionite, while Ritschl on the contrary assigns him to the

school of Paul. There is no trace whatever in Hermas of the essential

features of Ebionism circumcision, the sabbath, the antipathy to

Paul;-nor on the other hand of an understanding of the specific

doctrines of Paul. Uhlhorn his the point )l.c. p. 13): "Hermas ist ein

Glied der damaligen orthodoxen Kirche, und seine Auffassung der

christlichen Lehre die eines einfachen Gemeindegliedes one be stimmte

Auspr�gung irgend eines Parteicharakters."

[1287] See the list of Scripture allusions of Hermas in Gebhardt's ed.

p. 272-274; in Funk's ed. I. 575-578; Hilgenfeld, Die Ap. V�ter,

182-184; Zahn, Hermae Pastore N. T. illustratus, G�tt. 1867; and D.

Hirt d. H. 391-482. Zahn discovers considerable familiarity of H. with

the N. T. writings. On the relation of Hermas to John see Holtzmann, in

Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol." 1875, p. 40 sqq.

[1288] So Origen (his opinion, puto enim, etc.), Eusebius, Jerome,

probably also Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria; among recent writers

Cotelier, Cave, Lardner, Gallandi, Lumper, Lachmann, Sprinzl.

[1289] Ga�b, Zahn, Caspari, Alzog, Salmon (in "Dict. of Chr. Biog. II.

912 sqq.).

[1290] "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma

(Hermas) conscripsit, sedente, [in] cathedra urbis Romae ecclesiae Pio

episcopo, fratre ejus. Et ideo legi cum quidem opportet, se[d]

publicare vero in ecclesia populo neque inter prophetas completum

[read: completos] numero, neque inter apostolos, in finem temporum

potest." The same view is set forth in a poem of pseudo-Tertullian

against Marcion: Post hunc [Hyginus] deinde Pius, Hermas, cui germine

frater, Angelicus Pastor, qui tradita verba locutus." It is also

contained in the Liberian Catalogue of Roman bishops (A. D. 354), and

advocated by Mosheim, Schr�ckh, Credner, Hefele, Lipsius, Ritschl,

Heyne, v. Gebhardt, Harnack, Br�ll, Funk, Uhlhorn, Baumg�rtner. Others

assume that the brother of Pius was the author, but simulated an elder

Hermas.

[1291] Hilgenfeld desIgnates these authors H. a=Hermas apocalypticus H.

P.=Hermas pastoralis H. s.=Hermas secundarius. See Prol. p. XXI. sq.

Thiersch, Count de Champagny (Les Antonins, ed. III 1875, T. I, p. 144)

and Gu�ranger likewise assumed more than one author. But the book is a

unit. Comp. Harnack versus Hilgenfeld in the "Theol."

Literatur-Zeitung" for 1882, f. 249 sqq., Link, Baumg�rtner, Lambros,

quoted above.

[1292] In Vis. II. 4 Hermas receives the command to write "two books

and to send one to Clement and one to Grapte; " and Clement was to send

the books to foreign cities (eis tas exo poleis). This seems to imply

that he was the well known bishop of Rome. Grapte was a deaconess,

having charge of widows and orphans. The opinion of Origen that Clement

and Grapte represent the spiritual and literal methods of

interpretation is merely an allegorical fancy. Donaldson and Harnack

assume that Clement is an unknown person, but this is inconsistent with

the assumed authority of that person.

[1293] He is told in the Second Vision, ch. 2: "Your seed, Hermas, has

sinned against God, and they have blasphemed against the Lord, and in

their great wickedness they, have betrayed their parents ... and their

iniquities have been filled up. But make known these words to all your

children, and to your wife who is to be your sister. For she does not

restrain her tongue, with which she commits iniquity; but on hearing

these words she will control herself, and will obtain mercy." The words

"who is to be your sister" probably refer to future continence or

separation. Tillemont and Hefele regard Hermas as a presbyter, but

Fleury, Hilgenfeld, Thiersch, Zahn, Uhlhorn and Salmon as a layman. He

always speaks of presbyters as if he were not one of them, and severely

censures the Roman clergy. Justin Martyr was also a lay-preacher, but

with more culture.

[1294] Zahn infers from the Jewish Greek idiom of Hermas that he grew

up in Jewish circles and was perhaps acquainted with the Hebrew

language. On the other hand Harnack supposes (Notes on Vis. I. 1) that

Hermas was descended from Christian parents, else he would not have

omitted to inform us of his conversion in the house of Rhoda.

Hilgenfeld (p. 138) makes Hermas a Jew, but his master, who sold him, a

Gentile. Robinson conjectures that he was a Greek slave )Sim. IX.) and

wrote reminiscences of his youth.

[1295] The church officers appear as a plurality of presbuteroi, or

seniores, or praesides, of equal rank, but Clement of Rome is supposed

to have a certain supervision in relation to foreIgn churches. Vis.

II., 2, 4; III, 9; Simil. IX., 31. In one passage )Vis. III., 5) Hermas

mentions four officers "apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons." The

"bishops" here include presbyters, and the "teachers " are either all

preachers of the gospel or the presbyter-bishops in their teaching (as

distinct from their ruling) capacity and function. In other passages be

names only the apostoloi and didaskaloi, Sim. IX., 15, 16, 25; comp.

Paul's poimenes kai didaskaloi, Eph. 4:11. The statements of Hermas on

church organization are rather loose and indefinite. They have been

discussed by Hilgenfeld and Harnack in favor of presbyterianism, by

Hefele and Rothe in favor of episcopacy. Lightfoot, who identifies

Hermas with the brother of bishop Pius (140), says: " Were it not known

that the writer's own brother was bishop of Rome (?), we should be at a

loss what to say about the constitution of the Roman church in his

day."(Com. on Philipp., p. 218.)

[1296] Adv. Haer. IV. 20, � 2: eipen he graphe he legousa. Then follows

a quotation from Mand. I. 1: "First of all believe that there is one

God who created and prepared and made all things out of nothing."

Possibly the wrong reference was a slip of memory in view of familiar

passages, 2 Macc. 7:28 (panta ex ouk onton epoisen); Heb. 11:3; Mark

12:29 (ho theos eis esti); James 2:18 Hilgenfeld thinks that the Hermas

was known also to the author of the kerugma Petrou and pseudo-Clement.

[1297] See the quotations from Clement of Alex. and Origen in G. and H.

Prol., p. LIII.-LVI. Zahn says that "the history of the ecclesiastical

authority of Hermas in the East begins with an unbounded recognition of

the same as a book resting on divine revelation."

[1298] In private only, or in the church? The passage is obscure and

disputed.

[1299] On account of this comparative mildness (Mand. IV., 1),

Tertullian calls Hermas sarcastically "ille apocryphus Pastor

maechorum."De Pud. c. 20; comp. c. 10.

[1300] Jerome calls the Shepherd "revera utilis liber." which was

publicly read in certain churches of Greece, and quoted by many ancient

writers as an authority, but "almost unknown among the Latins" (apud

Latinos' paene Ignotus). Op. II. 846. In another passage, Op. VI. 604,

he condemns the view of the angelic supervision of animals (Vis. IV.

2).

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� 169. Papias.

(I.) The fragments of Papias collected in Routh: Reliquiae, Sacrae, ed.

II., Oxf., 1846, vol. I., 3-16. Von Gebhardt and Harnack: Patres

Apost., Appendix: Papice Fragmenta, I., 180-196. English translation in

Roberts and Donaldson. "Ante-Nicene Library." I., 441-448.

Passages on Papias in Irenaeus:Adv. Haer., v. 33, �� 3, 4. Euseb. H. E.

III. 36, 39; Chron. ad Olymp. 220, ed. Sch�ne II. 162. Also a few later

notices; see Routh and the Leipz. ed. of P. A.. The Vita S. Papiae, by

the Jesuit Halloix, Duaei, l633, is filled with a fanciful account of

the birth, education, ordination, episcopal and literary labors of the

saint, of whom very little is really known.

(II.) Separate articles on Papias, mostly connected with the Gospel

question, by Schleiermacher (on his testimonies concerning Matthew and

Mark in the "Studien und Kritiken" for l832, p. 735); Th. Zahn (ibid.

1866, No. IV. p. 649 sqq.); G. E. Steitz (in the "Studien und Kritiken"

for 1868, No. 1. 63-95, and art. Papias in Herzog's Encyc." ed. I. vol.

XI., 78-86; revised by Leimbach in ed. II. vol. XI. 194-206); James

Donaldson (The Apost. Fathers 1874, p. 393-402); Bishop Lightfoot (in

the "Contemporary Review" for Aug., 1875, pp. 377-403; a careful

examination of the testimonies of Papias concerning the Gospels of Mark

and Matthew against the misstatements in "Supernatural Religion");

Leimbach (Das Papiasfragment, 1875) Weiffenbach Das Papiasfragment,

1874 and 1878); Hilgefeld ("Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol." 1875,

239 sqq.); Ludemann (Zur Erkl�runq des Papiasfragments, in the

"Jahrb�cher f�r protest. Theol.," 1879, p. 365 sqq.); H. Holtzmann

(Papias und Johannes, in Hilgenfeld's "Zeitschrift f�r wissensch.

Theologie," 1880, pp. 64-77). Comp. also Westcott on the Canon of the

N. T., p. 59-68.

Papias, a disciple of John [1301] 301 and friend of Polycarp, was

bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, till towards the middle of the second

century. According to a later tradition in the "Paschal Chronicle," he

suffered martyrdom at Pergamon about the same time with Polycarp at

Smyrna. As the death of the latter has recently been put back from 166

to 155, the date of Papias must undergo a similar change; and as his

contemporary friend was at least 86 years old, Papias was probably born

about a.d. 70, so that he may have known St. John, St. Philip the

Evangelist, and other primitive disciples who survived the destruction

of Jerusalem.

Papias was a pious, devout and learned student of the Scriptures, and a

faithful traditionist, though somewhat credulous and of limited

comprehension. [1302] 302 He carried the heavenly treasure in an

earthen vessel. His associations give him considerable weight. He went

to the primitive sources of the Christian faith. "I shall not regret,"

he says, "to subjoin to my interpretations [of the Lord's Oracles],

whatsoever I have at any time accurately ascertained and treasured up

in my memory, as I have received it from the elders (para ton

presbuteron) and have recorded it to give additional confirmation to

the truth, by my testimony. For I did not, like most men, delight in

those who speak much, but in those who teach the truth; nor in those

who record the commands of others [or new and strange commands], but in

those who record the commands given by the Lord to our faith, and

proceeding from truth itself. If then any one who had attended on the

elders came, I made it a point to inquire what were the words of the

elders; what Andrew, or what Peter said, or Philip, or Thomas, or

James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord;

and what things Aristion and the elder John, the disciples of the Lord,

say. For I was of opinion that I could not derive so much benefit from

books as from the living and abiding voice." [1303] 303 He collected

with great zeal the oral traditions of the apostles and their disciples

respecting the discourses and works of Jesus, and published them in

five books under the title: "Explanation of the Lord's Discourses."

[1304] 304

Unfortunately this book, which still existed in the thirteenth century,

is lost with the exception of valuable and interesting fragments

preserved chiefly by Irenaeus and Eusebius. Among these are his

testimonies concerning the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew and the Petrine

Gospel of Mark, which figure so prominently in all the critical

discussions on the origin of the Gospels. [1305] 305 The episode on the

woman taken in adultery which is found in some MSS. of John 7:53-8:11,

or after Luke 21:38, has been traced to the same source and was perhaps

to illustrate the word of Christ, John 8:15 ("I judge no man"); for

Eusebius reports that Papias "set forth another narrative concerning a

woman who was maliciously accused before the Lord of many sins, which

is contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews." [1306] 306 If so,

we are indebted to him for the preservation of a precious fact which at

once illustrates in a most striking manner our Saviour's absolute

purity in dealing with sin, and his tender compassion toward the

sinner. Papias was an enthusiastic chiliast, and the famous parable of

the fertility of the millennium which he puts in the Lord's mouth and

which Irenaeus accepted in good faith, may have been intended as an

explanation of the Lord's word concerning the fruit of the vine which

he shall drink new in his Father's kingdom, Matt. 26:29. [1307] 307 His

chiliasm is no proof of a Judaizing tendency, for it was the prevailing

view in the second century. He also related two miracles, the

resurrection of a dead man which took place at the time of Philip (the

Evangelist), as he learned from his daughters, and the drinking of

poison without harm by Justus Barsabas.

Papias proves the great value which was attached to the oral traditions

of the apostles and their disciples in the second century. He stood on

the threshold of a new period when the last witnesses of the apostolic

age were fast disappearing, and when it seemed to be of the utmost

importance to gather the remaining fragments of inspired wisdom which

might throw light on the Lord's teaching, and guard the church against

error.

But he is also an important witness to the state of the canon before

the middle of the second century. He knew the first two Gospels, and in

all probability also the Gospel of John, for he quoted, as Eusebius

expressly says, from the first Epistle of John, which is so much like

the fourth Gospel in thought and style that they stand or fall as the

works of one and the same author. [1308] 308 He is one of the oldest

witnesses to the inspiration and credibility of the Apocalypse of John,

and commented on a part of it. [1309] 309 He made use of the first

Epistle of Peter, but is silent as far as we know concerning Paul and

Luke. This has been variously explained from accident or Ignorance or

dislike, but best from the nature of his design to collect only words

of the Lord. Hermas and Justin Martyr likewise Ignore Paul, and yet

knew his writings. That Papias was not hostile to the great apostle may

be inferred from his intimacy with Polycarp, who lauds Paul in his

Epistle.

Notes.

The relation of Papias to the Apostle John is still a disputed point.

Irenaeus, the oldest witness and himself a pupil of Polycarp, calls

Papias Ioannou men akoustes, Polukarpou de hetairos (Adv. Haer. V. 33,

4). He must evidently mean here the Apostle John. Following him, Jerome

and later writers (Maximus Confessor, Andrew of Crete and Anastasius

Sinaita) call him a disciple of the Apostle John, and this view has

been defended with much learning and acumen by Dr. Zahn (1866), and,

independently of him, by Dr. Milligan (on John the Presbyter, in

Cowper's "Journal of Sacred Literature" for Oct., 1867, p. 106 sqq.),

on the assumption of the identity of the Apostle John with "Presbyter

John;" comp. 2 and 3 John, where the writer calls himself ho

presbuteros. Riggenbach (on John the Ap. and John the Presbyter, in the

"Jahrb�cher f�r Deutsche Theologie," 1868, pp. 319-334), Hengstenberg,

Leimbach, take the same view (also Schaff in History of the Apost. Ch.,

1853, p. 421).

On the other hand, Eusebius (H. E. III. 39) infers that Papias

distinguishes between John the Apostle and "the Presbyter John" (ho

presbuteros Ioannes) so called, and that he was a pupil of the

Presbyter only. He bases the distinction on a fragment he quotes from

the introduction to the "Explanation of the Lord's Discourses," where

Papias says that he ascertained the primitive traditions: ti Andreas e

ti Petros eipen [in the past tense], e ti Philippos e ti thomas e

Iakobos e ti Ioannes [the Apostle] e Matthaios, e tis heteros ton tou

kuriou matheton, ha te Aristion kai ho presbuteros Ioannes, hoi tou

kuriou [not ton apostolon] mathetai, legousin[present tense]. Here two

Johns seem to be clearly distinguished; but the Presbyter John,

together with an unknown Aristion, is likewise called a disciple of the

Lord (not of the Apostles). The distinction is maintained by Steitz,

Tischendorf, Keim, Weiffenbach, L�demann, Donaldson, Westcott, and

Lightfoot. In confirmation of this view, Eusebius states that two

graves were shown at Ephesus bearing the name of John (III 39: duo en

Epheso genesthai mnemata, kai ekateron Ioannou eti nun legesthai). But

Jerome, De Vir. ill. c. 9, suggests, that both graves were only

memories of the Apostle. Beyond this, nothing whatever is known of this

mysterious Presbyter John, and it was a purely critical conjecture of

the anti-millennarian Dionysius of Alexandria that he was the author of

the Apocalypse (Euseb. VII. 25). The substance of the mediaeval legend

of "Prester John" was undoubtedly derived from another source.

In any case, it is certainly possible that Papias, like his friend

Polycarp, may have seen and heard the aged apostle who lived to the

close of the first or the beginning of the second century. It is

therefore unnecessary to charge Irenaeus with an error either of name

or memory. It is more likely that Eusebius misunderstood Papias, and is

responsible for a fictitious John, who has introduced so much confusion

into the question of the authorship of the Johannean Apocalypse.

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[1301] See notes at the end of this section.

[1302] Eusebius, H. E. III. 39, says that he was sphodra smikros ton

noun, " very, small-minded."and that this appears from his writings;

but he was no doubt unfavorably influenced in his judgment by the

strong millennarianism of Papias, which he mentions just before; and

even if well founded, it would not invalidate his testimony as to mere

facts. In another place (III. 36), Eusebius calls him a man of

comprehensive learning and knowledge of the Scriptures (aner ta panta

hoti malista logiotatos kai tes graphes eudemon, omni doctrinae genere

instructissimus et in scriptura sacra versatus). Learning, piety, and

good sense are not always combined. The passage, however, is wanting in

some MSS. of Eusebius. See the note of Heinichen, vol. I. 141 sqq.

[1303] para zoses phones kai menouses Eus. III. 39 (Heinichen, 1. 148).

[1304] Logion kuriskon exegesis, Explanatio sermonum Domini. The word

exegesis here no doubt means interpretation of some already existing

gospel record, since Anastasius of Sinai (d. 599) classes Papias among

Biblical exegetes or interpreters. He probably took as his text the

canonical Gospels, and gave his own comments on the Lord's Discourses

therein contained, together with additional sayings which he had

derived, directly or indirectly, from personal disciples of Christ.

Although this work has disappeared for several centuries, it may

possibly yet be recovered either in the original, or in a Syriac or

Armenian version. The work was still extant in 1218 in the MSS.

collection of the church at Nismes, according to Gallandi and Pitra. It

is also mentioned thrice in the Catalogue of the Library of the

Benedictine Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, contained in the

Cottonian MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth centurvy. Donaldson, p.

402. On the meaning of logia see Vol. I. 622 sq.

[1305] See vol. I. p. 622, 633 sq.

[1306] The plural (epi pollais hamartiais, H. E. III. 39) is no

argument against the conjecture. Cod. D reads hamartia instead of

mocheiain John 8:3.

[1307] See above, �158, p. 616. Card. Pitra, in the first vol. of his

Spicileg. Solesm., communicates a similar fragment, but this is, as the

title and opening words intimate, a translation of Irenaeus, not of

Papias. The authoress of "The Pupils of St. John." p. 203, remarks on

that description of Papias: "Understood literally, this is of course

utterly unlike anything we know of our blessed Lord's unearthly

teaching; yet it does sound like what a literal and narrow mind,

listening to mere word of mouth narrative, might make of the parable of

the Vine, and of the Sower, or of the Grain of Mustard-seed; and we

also see how providential and how merciful it was that the real words

of our Lord were so early recorded by two eye-witnesses, and by two

scholarly men, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, instead of being

left to the versions that good but dull-minded believers might make of

them."

[1308] A mediaeval tradition assigns to Papias an account of the

origin, and even a part in the composition, of the Gospel of John as

his amanuensis. So a note prefixed to John's Gospel in a MS. of the

ninth century, rediscovered by Pitra and Tischendorf in 1866 in the

Vatican library. The note is, in Tischendorf's opinion, older than

Jerome, and is as follows: "Evangelium johannis manifestatum et datum

est ecclesiis ab johanne adhuc in corpore constituto, sicut papias

nomine hierapolitanus discipulus johannis carus in exotericis

[exegeticis], id est in extremis, quinque libras retulit. Discripsit

vero evangeliumdictante johanne recte." etc. The last sentence is

probably a mistaken translation of the Greek. See Lightfoot in the

"Contemp. Rev. ." Oct. 1875, p. 854; Charteris, Canonicity, p. 168.

Another testimony is found in a fragment of a Greek commentator

Proaemium of the Catena Patrum Graecorum in S. Johannem, ed. by

Corderius. Antwerp, 1630, according to which John dictated his Gospel

to Papias of Hierapolis. See Papiae Frag. in Gebh. and Harn's ed. p.

194. This tradition is discredited by the silence of Eusebius, but it

shows that in the opinion of the mediaeval church Papias was closely

connected with the Gospel of John.

[1309] Andreas of Caesarea, In Apoc. c. 34, Serm. 12. See v. G. and H.

p. 189.

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� 170. The Epistle to Diognetus.

Editions.

Epistola Ad Diognetum, ed. Otto (with Lat. transl., introduction and

critical notes), ed. II. Lips. 1852.

In the Leipz. edition of the Apost. Fathers, by O. v. Gebhardt and Ad

Harnack, I. 216-226; in the T�bingen ed. of Hefele-Funk, I. pp 310-333.

W. A. Hollenberg: Der Brief an Diognet. Berl. 1853.

E. M. Krenkel: Epistola, ad Diogn. Lips. 1860.

English translation: in Kitto's "Journal of S. Lit." 1852, and in vol.

I of the "Ante-Nicene Library." Edinb. 1867.

French versions by P. le Gras, Paris 1725; M. de Genoude, 1838; A.

Kayser, 1856.

Discussions.

Otto: De Ep. ad Diognetum. 1852.

A. Kayser: La Lettre � Diogn�te 1856 (in "R�vue de Th�ologie ").

G. J. Snoeck: Specimen theologicum exhibens introductionem in Epistolan

ad Diogn. Lugd. Bat. 1861.

Donaldson: A Critical Hist. of Christian Liter., etc. Lond., 1866, II

126 sqq. He was inclined to assume that Henry Stephens, the first

editor, manufactured the Ep., but gave up the strange hypothesis, which

was afterwards reasserted by Cotterill in his Peregrinus Proteus, 1879.

Franz Overbeck: Ueber den pseudo-justinischen Brief an Diognet. Basel

1872. And again with additions in his Studien zur Geschichte der alten

Kirche (Schloss-Chemnitz, 1875), p. 1-92. He represents the Ep. (like

Donaldson) as a post-Constantinian fiction, but has been refuted by

Hilgenfeld, Keim, Lipsius, and Dr�seke.

Joh. Dr�seke: Der Brief an Diognetos. Leipz. 1881 (207 pp.). Against

Overbeck and Donaldson. The Ep. was known and used by Tertullian, and

probably composed in Rome by a Christian Gnostic (perhaps Appelles).

Unlikely.

Heinr. Kihn (R.C.): Der Ursprung des Briefes an Diognet. Freiburg i. B.

1882 (XV. and 168 pages).

Semisch: art. Diognet, in Herzog2 III. 611-615 (and in his Justin der

M�rt., 1840, vol. I. 172 sqq.); Schaff, in McClintock and Strong, III.

807 sq., and Birks, in Smith and Wace, II. 162-167.

The Ep. to D. has also been discussed by Neander, Hefele, Credner,

M�hler, Bunsen, Ewald, Dorner, Hilgenfeld, Lechler, Baur, Harnack,

Zahn, Funk, Lipsius, Keim (especially in Rom und das Christhum,

460-468).

1. The short but precious document called the Epistle to Diognetus was

unknown in Christian literature [1310] 310 until Henry Stephens, the

learned publisher of Paris, issued it in Greek and Latin in 1592, under

the name of Justin Martyr. [1311] 311 He gives no account of his

sources. The only Codex definitely known is the Strassburg Codex of the

thirteenth century, and even this (after having been thoroughly

compared by Professor Cunitz for Otto's edition), was destroyed in the

accidental fire at Strassburg during the siege of 1870. [1312] 312 So

great is the mystery hanging over the origin of this document, that

some modern scholars have soberly turned it into a post-Constantinian

fiction in imitation of early Christianity, but without being able to

agree upon an author, or his age, or his nationality.

Yet this most obscure writer of the second century is at the same time

the most brilliant; and while his name remains unknown to this day, he

shed lustre on the Christian name in times when it was assailed and

blasphemed from Jew and Gentile, and could only be professed at the

risk of life. He must be ranked with the "great unknown" authors of Job

and the Epistle to the Hebrews, who are known only to God.

2. Diognetius was an inquiring heathen of high social position and

culture, who desired information concerning the origin and nature of

the religion of the Christians, and the secret of their contempt of the

world, their courage in death, their brotherly love, and the reason of

the late origin of this new fashion, so different from the gods of the

Greeks and the superstition of the Jews. A Stoic philosopher of this

name instructed Marcus Aurelius in his youth (about 133) in painting

and composition, and trained him in Attic simplicity of life, and

"whatever else of the kind belongs to Grecian discipline." Perhaps he

taught him also to despise the Christian martyrs, and to trace their

heroic courage to sheer obstinacy. It is quite probable that our

Diognetus was identical with the imperial tutor; for he wished

especially to know what enabled these Christians "to despise the world

and to make light of death." [1313] 313

3. The Epistle before us is an answer to the questions of this noble

heathen. It is a brief but masterly vindication of Christian life and

doctrine from actual experience. It is evidently the product of a man

of genius, fine taste and classical culture It excels in fresh

enthusiasm of faith, richness of thought, and elegance of style, and is

altogether one of the most beautiful memorials of Christian antiquity,

unsurpassed and hardly equalled by any genuine work of the Apostolic

Fathers. [1314] 314

4. Contents. The document consists of twelve chapters. It opens with an

address to Diognetus who is described as exceedingly desirous to learn

the Christian doctrine and mode of worship in distinction from that of

the Greeks and the Jews. The writer, rejoicing in this opportunity to

lead a Gentile friend to the path of truth, exposes first the vanity of

idols (ch. 2), then the superstitions of the Jews (ch. 3, 4); after

this he gives by contrasts a striking and truthful picture of Christian

life which moves in this world like the invisible, immortal soul in the

visible, perishing body (ch. 5 and 6), [1315] 315 and sets forth the

benefits of Christ's coming (ch. 7). He next describes the miserable

condition of the world before Christ (ch. 8), and answers the question

why He appeared so late (ch. 9). In this connection occurs a beautiful

passage on redemption, fuller and clearer than any that can be found

before Irenaeus. [1316] 316 He concludes with an account of the

blessings and moral effects which flow from the Christian faith (ch.

10). The last two chapters which were probably added by a younger

contemporary, and marked as such in the MS., treat of knowledge, faith

and spiritual life with reference to the tree of knowledge and the tree

of life in paradise. Faith opens the paradise of a higher knowledge of

the mysteries of the supernatural world.

The Epistle to Diognetus forms the transition from the purely practical

literature of the Apostolic Fathers to the reflective theology of the

Apologists. It still glows with the ardor of the first love. It is

strongly Pauline. [1317] 317 It breathes the spirit of freedom and

higher knowledge grounded in faith. The Old Testament is Ignored, but

without any sign of Gnostic contempt.

5. Authorship and Time of composition. The author calls himself "a

disciple of the Apostles," [1318] 318 but this term occurs in the

appendix, and may be taken in a wider sense. In the MS. the letter is

ascribed to Justin Martyr, but its style is more elegant, vigorous and

terse than that of Justin and the thoughts are more original and

vigorous. [1319] 319 It belongs, however, in all probability, to the

same age, that is, to the middle of the second century, rather earlier

than later. Christianity appears in it as something still new and

unknown to the aristocratic society, as a stranger in the world,

everywhere exposed to calumny and persecution of Jews and Gentiles. All

this suits the reign of Antoninus Pius and of Marcus Aurelius. If

Diognetus was the teacher of the latter as already suggested, we would

have an indication of Rome, as the probable place of composition.

Some assign the Epistle to an earlier date under Trajan or Hadrian,

[1320] 320 others to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, [1321] 321 others to

the close of the second century or still later. [1322] 322 The

speculations about the author begin with Apollos in the first, and end

with Stephens in the sixteenth century. He will probably remain

unknown. [1323] 323

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[1310] Not even Eusebius or Jerome or Photius make any mention of it.

M�hler (Patrol. p. 170) refers to Photius, but Photius speaks of Justin

Martyr, with whose writings he was well acquainted. See Hergenr�ther,

Photius, III. 19 sq.

[1311] IOUSTINOU TOPs philosophou kai marturos Epistole pros Diogneton,

kai Logos pros Hellenas. lustini Philosophi et Martyris Ep. ad

Diognetum, et Oratio ad Graecos, nunc primum luce et latinitate donatae

ab Henrico Stephano. Eiusdem Henr. Stephani annotationibus additum est

Io. lacobi Beureri de quorundam locorum partim interpretatione partim

emendations iudicium. Tatiani, discipuli Iustini, quaedam. Excudebat

Henricus Stephanus. Anno MDXCII. The copy of Stephens is still

preserved in the University library at Leiden. The copy of Beurer is

lost, but was probably made from the Strassburg Codex, with which it

agrees in the readings published by Stephens in his appendix, and by

Sylburg in his notes.

[1312] "Epistulae ad Diognetum unum tantummodo exemplar antiquius ad

nostram usque pervenit memoriam: codicem dico loannis Reuchlini

quondam, postea Argentoratensem, qui misero illo incendio die nono ante

Calendas Septembres anni MDCCCLXX cum tot aliis libris pretiosis in

ciner es dilapsus est." Von Gebhardt and Harnack, p. 205. They assert,

p. 208, that the copies of Stephens and Beurer were taken from the Cod.

of Strassburg. Otto (Prol. p. 3) speaks of tres codices,

Argentoratensis, apographon Stephani, apoqraphon Beureri."

[1313] Comp. Ep. ad Diog., c. 1, with Marcus Aur. Medit., IX. 3 (his

only allusion to Christianity, quoted p. 329). Marcus Aurelius

gratefully remembers his teacher Diognetus Medit., I.6. Diognetus was

not a rare name; but the one of our Epistle was a person of social

prominence, as the term kratistos, honorable, implies. Otto and Ewald

identify the two. Keim and Dr�seke (p. 141) admit that our Diognetus

belonged to the imperial court, but put him later.

[1314] Ewald (Geschichte des Volkes Israel, Bd. VII. p. 150) places it

first among all the early Christian epistles which were not received

into the N. T., and says that it combines perfectly "the fulness and

art of Greek eloquence with the purest love of truth, and the ease and

grace of words with the elevating seriousness of tlle Christian."

Bunsen: "Indisputably, after Scripture, the finest monument of sound

Christian feeling, noble courage, and manly eloquence." Semisch (in

Herzog) calls it "ein Kleinod des christl. Alterthums, welchem in Geist

und Fassung kaum ein zweites Schriftwerk der nachapostolishen Zeit

gleichsteht." Keim (Rom und das Christenthum, p. 463 sq.) calIs it "das

lieblichste, ja ein fast zauberhaftes Wort des zweiten Jahrhunders."

and eloquently praises "die reine, klassische Sprache, den sch�nen,

korrekten Satzbau, die rhetorische Frische, die schlagenden Antithesen,

den geistreichen Ausdruck, die logische Abrundung ... die unmittelbare,

liebswarme, begeisterte, wenn schon mit Bildung durchs�ttigte

Fr�mmigkeit."

[1315] Quoted above, � 2, p. 9.

[1316] See above, � 153, p. 587.

[1317] "As if no less a person than Paul himself had returned to life

for that age." Ewald, vii. 149.

[1318] Apostolon genomenos mathetes ch. 11.

[1319] The Justinian authorship is defended by Cave, Fabricius, and

Otto, but refuted by Semisch, Hefele, Keim, and others.

[1320] Tillemont and M�hler to the first century, Hefele and Ewald to

the reign of Hadrian (120-130). Westcott (Can. N. T. p. 76): Not before

Trajan, and not much later; everything betokens an early age.

[1321] So Keim, who suggests the bloody year 177.

[1322] So Hilgenfeld, Lipsius, Gass, Zahn, Dr�seke (under Septimus

Severus, between 193-211). Overbeck's hypothesis of a

post-Constantinian date is exploded.

[1323] Justin M. (the MS. tradition); Marcion before his secession from

the church(Bunsen); Quadratus Dorner); Apelles, the Gnostic in his old

age (Dr�seke, p. 141). The writer of the art. in Smith and Wace, II.

162, identifies the author with one Ambrosius, "a chief man of Greece

who became a Christian, and all his fellow councillors raised a clamor

against him." and refers to Cureton's Spicil. Syriacum, p. 61-69. The

Stephanie hypothesis of and Cotterill is a literary and moral

impossibility.

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� 171. Sixtus of Rome.

Enchiridion SIXTI philosophi Pythagorici, first ed. by Symphor.

Champerius, Lugd. 1507 (under the title: Sixtii Xysti Anulus); again at

Wittenberg with the Carmina aurea of Pythagoras, 1514; by Beatus

Rhenanus, Bas. 1516; in the "Maxima Bibliotheca Vet. Patrum." Lugd.

1677, Tom. III. 335-339 (under the title Xysti vel Sexti Pythagorici

philosophi ethnici Sententicae, interprete Rufino Presbytero

Aquilejensi); by U. G. Siber, Lips. 1725 (under the name of Sixtus II.

instead of Sixtus I.); and by Gildemeister (Gr., Lat. and Syr.),Bonn

1873.

A Syriac Version in P. Lagardii Analecta Syriaca, Lips. and Lond. 1858

(p. 1-31, only the Syriac text, derived from seven MSS. of the Brit.

Museum, the oldest before a.d. 553, but mutilated).

The book is discussed in the "Max. Bibl." l. c.; by Fontaninus:

Historia liter. Aquilejensis (Rom. 1742); by Fabricius, in the

Bibliotheca Graeca, Tom. I. 870 sqq. (ed. Harles, 1790); by Ewald:

Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. VII. (G�ttingen, 1859), p. 321-326;

and by Tobler in Annulus Rufini, Sent. Sext. (T�bingen 1878).

Xystus, or as the Romans spelled the name, Sextus or Sixtus I., was the

sixth bishop of Rome, and occupied this position about ten years under

the reign of Hadrian (119-128). [1324] 324 Little or nothing is known

about him except that he was supposed to be the author of a remarkable

collection of moral and religious maxims, written in Greek, translated

into Latin by Rufinus and extensively read in the ancient church. The

sentences are brief and weighty after the manner of the Hebrew Proverbs

and the Sermon on the Mount. They do not mention the prophets or

apostles, or even the name of Christ, but are full of God and sublime

moral sentiments, only bordering somewhat on pantheism. [1325] 325 If

it is the production of a heathen philosopher, he came nearer the

genius of Christian ethics than even Seneca, or Epictetus, or Plutarch,

or Marcus Aurelius; but the product has no doubt undergone a

transformation in Christian hands, and this accounts for its ancient

popularity, and entitles it to a place in the history of ecclesiastical

literature. Rufinus took great liberties as translator; besides, the

MSS. vary very much.

Origen first cites in two places the Gnomae or Sententiae of Sextus

(gnomai Sextou), as a work well known and widely read among the

Christians of his times, i.e., in the first half of the second century,

but he does not mention that the writer was a bishop, or even a

Christian. Rufinus translated them with additions, and ascribes them to

Sixtus, bishop of Rome and martyr. But Jerome, who was well versed in

classical literature, charges him with prefixing the name of a

Christian bishop to the product of a christless and most heathenish

Pythagorean philosopher, Xystus, who is admired most by those who teach

Stoic apathy and Pelagian sinlessness. Augustin first regarded the

author as one of the two Roman bishops Sixti, but afterwards retracted

his opinion, probably in consequence of Jerome's statement. Maximus the

Confessor and John of Damascus ascribe it to Xystus of Rome. Gennadius

merely calls the work Xysti Sententiae. Pope Gelasius declares it

spurious and written by heretics. [1326] 326 More recent writers (as

Fontanini, Brucker, Fabricius, Mosheim) agree in assigning it to the

elder Quintus Sextus or Sextius (Q. S. Pater), a Stoic philosopher who

declined the dignity of Roman Senator offered to him by Julius Caesar

and who is highly lauded by Seneca. He abstained from animal food, and

subjected himself to a scrupulous self-examination at the close of

every day. Hence this book was entirely ignored by modern church

historians. [1327] 327 But Paul de Lagarde, who published a Syriac

Version, and Ewald have again directed attention to it and treat it as

a genuine work of the first Pope Xystus. Ewald puts the highest

estimate on it. "The Christian conscience," he says," appears here for

the first time before all the world to teach all the world its duty,

and to embody the Christian wisdom of life in brief pointed sentences."

. [1328] 328 But it seems impossible that a Christian sage and bishop

should write a system of Christian Ethics or a collection of Christian

proverbs without even mentioning the name of Christ.

Notes.

The following is a selection of the most important of the 430 Sentences

of Xystus from the Bibliotheca Maxima Veterum Patrum, Tom. III.

335-339. We add some Scripture parallels:

"1. Fidelis homo, electus homo est. 2. Electus homo, homo Dei est. 3.

Homo Dei est, qui Deo dIgnus est. 4. Deo dIgnus est, qui nihil indigne

agit. 5. Dubius in fide, infidelis est. 6. Infidelis homo, mortuus est

corpore vivente. 7. Vere fidelis est, qui non peccat, atque etiam, in

minimis caute agit. 8. Non est minimum in humana vita, negligere

minima. 9. Omne peccatum impietatem puta. Non enim manus, vel oculus

peccat, vel aliquod huiusmodi membrum, sed male uti manu vel oculo,

peccatum est. 10. Omne membrum corporis, quod invitat te contra

pudicitiam agere, abjiciendum est.

Melius est uno membro vivere, quam cum duobus puniri [Comp. Matt. 5:29]

....

"15. Sapiens vir, et pecuniae contemptor, similis est Deo. 16. Rebus

mundanis in causis tantum necessariis utere. 17. Quae mundi sunt, mundo

et quae Dei sunt, reddantur Deo [Comp. Matt. 22:21]. 18. Certus esto,

quod animam tuam fidele depositum acceperis � Deo. 19. Cum loqueris

Deo, scito quod judiceris � Deo. 20. Optimam purificationem putato,

nocere nemini. 21. Enim purificatur Dei verbo per sapientiam ... .

"28. Quaecumque fecit Deus, pro hominibus ea fecit. 29. Angelus

minister est Dei ad hominem. 30. Tam pretiosus est homo apud Deum, quam

angelus. 31. Primus beneficus est Deus: secundus est is, qui beneficii

eius fit particeps homo. Vive igitur ita, tanquam qui sis secundus post

Deum, et electus ab eo. 32. Habes, inquam, in te aliquid simile Dei, et

ideo utere teipso velut templo Dei, propter illud quod te simile est

Dei [1 Cor. 3:16, 17] ...

"40. Templum sanctum est Deo mens pii, et altare est optimum ei cor

mundum et sine peccato. 41. Hostia soli Deo acceptabilis, benefacere

hominibus pro Deo. 42. Deo gratiam praestat homo, qui quantum possibile

est vivit secundum Deum ....

"47. Omne tempus, quo Deo non cogitas, hoc puta te perdidisse. 48.

Corpus quidem tuum incedat in terra, anima autem semper sit apud Deum.

49. Intellige quae, sint bona, ut bene agas. 50. Bona cogitatio hominis

Deum non latet et ideo cogitatio tua pura sit ab omni malo. 51. Dignus

esto eo, qui te dignatus est filium dicere, et age omnia ut filius Dei.

52. Quod Deum patrem vocas, huius in actionibus tuis memor esto. 53.

Vir castus et sine peccato, potestatem accepit a Deo esse filius Dei

[Comp. John 1:13]. 54. Bona mens chorus est Dei. 55. Mala mens chorus

est daemonum malorum ....

78. Fundamentum pietatis est continentia: culmen autem pietatis amor

Dei. 79. Pium hominem habeto tamquam teipsum. 80. Opta tibi evenire non

quod vis, sed quod expedit. 81. Qualem vis esse proximum tuum tibi,

talis esto et tu tais proximis [Luke 6:31,] ....

"86. Si quid non vis scire Deum, istud nec agas, nec cogites, 87.

Priusquam agas quodcunque agis, cogita Deum, ut lux eius paecedat actus

tuos ... .

"96. Deus in bonis actibus hominibus dux est. 97. Neminem inimicum

deputes. 98. Dilige omne quod eiusdem tecum naturae est, Deum vero plus

quam animam dilige. 99. Pessimum est peccatoribus, in unum convenire

cum peccant. 100. Multi cibi impediunt castitatem, et incontinentia

ciborum immundum facit hominem. 101. Animantium omnium usus quidem in

cibis indifferens, abstinere vero rationabilius est. 102. Non cibi per

os inferuntur polluunt hominem, sed ea quae ex malis actibus

proferuntur [Mark 7:18-21] ....

"106. Mali nullius autor est Deus. 107. Non amplius possideas quam usus

corporis poscit ....

"115. Ratio quae in te est, vitae, tu�e lux est [Matt. 6:22]. 116. Ea

pete a Deo, quae accipere ab homine non potes ...

"122. Nil pretiosum ducas, quod auferre a te possit homo malus. 123.

Hoc solum bonum putato, quod Deo dignum est. 124. Quod Deo dignum est,

hoc et viro bono. 125. Quicquid non convenit ad beatudinem Dei. non

conveniat nomini Dei. 126. Ea debes velle, quae et Deus vult. 127.

Filius Dei est, qui haec sola pretiosa ducit quae et Deus. 139. Semper

apud Deum mens est sapientIs. 137. Sapientis mentem Deus inhabitat ....

"181. Sapiens vir etiamsi nudus sit, sapiens apud te habeatur. 182.

Neminem propterea magni aestimes, quod pecunia divitiisque abundet.

183. Difficile est divitem salvari [Matt. 19:3] ...

"187. Age magna, non magna pollicens. 188. Non eris sapiens, si te

reputaveris sapientem. 189. Non potest bene vivere qui non integre

credit. 190. In tribulationibus quis sit fidelis, agnoscitur. 191.

Finem vitae existima vivere secundum Deum. 192. Nihil putes malum, quod

non sit turpe ... .

"198. Malitia est aegritudo animae. 199. Animae autem mors iniustitia

et impietas. 200. Tunc te putato fidelem, cum passionibus animae

carueris. 201. Omnibus hominibus ita utere, quasi communis omnium post

Deum curator. 202. Qui hominibus male utitur, seipso male utitur. 203.

Qui nihil mali vult, fidelis est ....

"214. Verba tua pietate semper plena sint. 215. In actibus tuis ante

oculos pone Deum. 216. Nefas est Deum patrem invocare, et aliquid

inhonestum agere ....

"261. Ebrietatem quasi insaniam fuge. 262. Homo qui a ventre vincitur,

belluae similis est. 263. Ex carne nihil oritur bonum ....

"302. Omne quod malum est, Deo inimicum est. 303. Qui sapit in te, hunc

dicito esse hominem. 304. Particeps Dei est vir sapiens. 305. Ubi est

quod sapit in te, ibi est et bonum tuum. 306. Bonum in carne non

quaeras. 307. Quod animae non nocet, nec homini. 308. Sapientem hominem

tanquam Dei ministrum honora post Deum ....

"390. Quaecunque dat mundus, nemo firmiter tenet. 391. Quaecumque dat

Deus nemo auferre potest. 392. Divina sapientia vera est scientia ....

"403. Animae ascensus ad Deum per Dei verbum est. 404. Sapiens sequitur

Deum, et Deus animam sapientis. 405. Gaudet rex super his quos regit,

gaudet ergo Deus super sapiente. Inseparabilis est et ab his quos regit

ille, qui regit, ita ergo et Deus ab anima sapientis quam tuetur et

regit. 406. Reqitur a Deo vir sapiens, et idcirco beatus est ... .

"424. Si non diligis Deum, non ibis ad Deum. 425. Consuesce teipsum

semper respicere ad Deum. 426. Intuendo Deum videbis Deum. 427. Videns

Deum facies mentem tuam qualis est Deus. 428. Excole quod intra te est,

nec ei ex libidine corporis contumeliam facias. 429. Incontaminatum

custodi corpus tuum, tanquam si indumentum acceperis � Deo, et sicut

vestimentum corporis immaculatum servare stude. 430. Sapiens mens

speculam est Dei."

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[1324] Irenaeus )Adv. Haer. 1.III.c. 3, � 3) mentions him as the Roman

bishop after Clement, Evaristus, and Alexander. Eusebius (H. E. iv. 5)

relates that he ruled the Roman church for ten years. Jaff� )Regesta

Ponti cum Rom. p. 3) puts his pontificate beween 119 and 128. The

second Pope of that name died a martyr a.d. 257 or 258. The two have

been sometimes confounded as authors of the Enchiridion. Siber

published it under the name of Sixtus II.

[1325] See specimens in the Notes.

[1326] See the references in the Biblioth. Max. III. 525; and in

Fontanini and Fabricius, l. c.

[1327] Neander, Gieseler, Baur, Donaldson, and others do not even

mention the book.

[1328] Geschichte Israels, vol. VII. p. 322. Compare his review of

Lagardii Analecta Syriaca in the "G�ttingen Gel. Anzeigen." 1859, p.

261-269. Both Ewald and P. de Lagarde, his successor,

characteristically ignore all previous editions and discussions.

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� 172. The Apologists. Quadratus and Aristides.

On the Apologetic Lit. in general, see � 28, p. 85 sq., and � 37, p.

104.

We now proceed to that series of ecclesiastical authors who, from the

character and name of their chief writings are called Apologists. They

flourished during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus

Aurelius, when Christianity was exposed to the literary as well as

bloody persecution of the heathen world. They refuted the charges and

slanders of Jews and Gentiles, vindicated the truths of the Gospel, and

attacked the errors and vices of idolatry. They were men of more

learning and culture than the Apostolic Fathers. They were mostly

philosophers and rhetoricians, who embraced Christianity in mature age

after earnest investigation, and found peace in it for mind and heart.

Their writings breathe the same heroism, the same enthusiasm for the

faith, which animated the martyrs in their sufferings and death.

The earliest of these Apologists are Quadratus and Aristides who wrote

against the heathen, and Aristo of Pella, who wrote against the Jews,

all in the reign of Hadrian (117-137).

Quadratus ( ) was a disciple of the apostles, and bishop (presbyter) of

Athens. His Apology is lost. All we know of him is a quotation from

Eusebius who says: "Quadratus addressed a discourse to Aelius Hadrian,

as an apology for the religion that we profess; because certain

malicious persons attempted to harass our brethren. The work is still

in the hands of some of the brethren, as also in our own; from which

any one may see evident proof, both of the understanding of the man,

and of his apostolic faith. This writer shows the antiquity of the age

in which he lived, in these passages: 'The deeds of our Saviour,' says

he, 'were always before you, for they were true miracles; those that

were healed, those that were raised from the dead, who were seen, not

only when healed and when raised, but were always present. They

remained living a long time, not only whilst our Lord was on earth, but

likewise when he left the earth. So that some of them have also lived

to our own times.' Such was Quadratus."

Aristides was an eloquent philosopher at Athens who is mentioned by

Eusebius as a contemporary of Quadratus. [1329] 329 His Apology

likewise disappeared long ago, but a fragment of it was recently

recovered in an Armenian translation and published by the Mechitarists

in 1878. [1330] 330 It was addressed to Hadrian, and shows that the

preaching of Paul in Athens had taken root. It sets forth the Christian

idea of God as an infinite and indescribable Being who made all things

and cares for all things, whom we should serve and glorify as the only

God; and the idea of Christ, who is described as "the Son of the most

high God, revealed by the Holy Spirit, descended from heaven, born of a

Hebrew Virgin. His flesh he received from the Virgin, and he revealed

himself in the human nature as the Son of God. In his goodness which

brought the glad tidings, he has won the whole world by his life-giving

preaching. [It was he who according to the flesh was born from the race

of the Hebrews, of the mother of God, the Virgin Mariam.] [1331] 331 He

selected twelve apostles and taught the whole world by his mediatorial,

light-giving truth. And he was crucified, being pierced with nails by

the Jews; and he rose from the dead and ascended to heaven. He sent the

apostles into all the world and instructed all by divine miracles full

of wisdom. Their preaching bears blossoms and fruits to this day, and

calls the whole world to illumination."

A curious feature in this document is the division of mankind into four

parts, Barbarians, Greeks, Jews, and Christians.

Aristo of Pella, a Jewish Christian of the first half of the second

century, was the author of a lost apology of Christianity against

Judaism. [1332] 332

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[1329] Hist. Eccl. IV. 3.

[1330] The discovery has called forth a considerable literature which

is mentioned by Harnack, Texte und Untersuchungen, etc., I., p. 110,

note 23. The first part is the most important. See a French translation

by Gautier, in the "Revue de th�ol. et de philos., " 1879, p. 78-82; a

German translation by Himpel in the "T�bing. Theol. Quartalschrift, "

1880, reprinted by Harnack, pp. 111 and 112. The art. Aristides in the

first vol. of Smith and Wace (p. 160) is behind the times. B�cheler and

Renan doubt the genuineness of the document; Gautier, Baunard, Himpel,

Harnack defend it; but Harnack assumes some interpolation, as the term

theotokos, of the Virgin Mary. The Armenian MS. is dated 981, and the

translation seems to have been made from the Greek in the fifth

century. At the time of Eusebius the work was still well known in the

church. But the second piece, which the Mechitarists also ascribe to

Aristides, is a homily of later date, apparently directed against

Nestorianism.

[1331] The bracketed sentence sounds repetitious and like a post-Nicene

interpolation.

[1332] See above, � 38, p. 107, and l.c. I. 115-130.

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� 173. Justin the Philosopher and Martyr.

Editions of Justin Martyr.

\*Justini Philosophi et Martyris Opera omnia, in the Corpus Apologetarum

Christianorum saeculi secundi, ed. Jo. Car. Th. de Otto, Jen. 1847, 3d

ed. 1876-'81. 5 vols. 8vo. Contains the genuine, the doubtful, and the

spurious works of Justin Martyr with commentary, and Maran's Latin

Version.

Older ed. (mostly incomplete) by Robt. Stephanus, Par., 1551; Sylburg,

Heidelb., 1593; Grabe, Oxon., 1700 (only the Apol. I.); Prudent.

Maranus, Par., 1742 (the Bened. ed.), republ. at Venice, 1747, and in

Migne's Patrol. Gr. Tom. VI. (Paris, 1857), c. 10-800 and 1102-1680,

with additions from Otto. The Apologies were also often published

separately, e.g. by Prof B. L. Gildersleeve, N. Y. 1877, with

introduction and notes.

On the MSS. of Justin see Otto's Proleg., p. xx. sqq., and Harnack,

Texte. Of the genuine works we have only two, and they are corrupt, one

in Paris, the other in Cheltenham, in possession of Rev. F. A. Fenwick

(see Otto, p. xxiv.).

English translation in the Oxford "Library of the Fathers," Lond.,

1861, and another by G. J. Davie in the "Ante-Nicene Library," Edinb.

Vol. II., 1867 (465 pages), containing the Apologies, the Address to

the Greeks, the Exhortation, and the Martyrium, translated by M. Dods;

the Dialogue with Trypho, and On the Sole Government of God, trsl. by

G. Reith; and also the writings of Athenagoras, trsl. by B. P. Pratten.

Older translations by Wm. Reeves, 1709, Henry Brown, 1755, and J.

Chevallier, 1833 (ed. II., 1851). On German and other versions see

Otto, Prol. LX. sqq.

Works on Justin Martyr.

Bp. Kaye: Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr.

Cambr., 1829, 3d ed., 1853.

C. A. Credner: Beitr�ge zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften. Halle,

vol. I., 1832 (92-267); also in Vol. II., 1838 (on the quotations from

the O. T., p. 17-98; 104-133; 157-311). Credner discusses with

exhaustive learning Justin's relation to the Gospels and the Canon of

the N. T., and his quotations from the Septuagint. Comp. also his

Geschichte des N. T Canon, ed. by Volkmar, 1860.

\*C. Semisch: Justin der M�rtyrer. Breslau, 1840 and 1842, 2 vols. Very

thorough and complete up to date of publication. English translation by

Ryland, Edinb., 1844, 2 vols. Comp. Semisch: Die apostol.

Denkw�rdigkeiten des Just. M. (Hamb. and Gotha, 1848), and his article

Justin in the first ed. of Herzog, VII. (1857), 179-186.

Fr. B�hringer: Die Kirchengesch. in Biographien. Vol. I. Z�rich, 1842,

ed. II., 1861, p. 97-270.

Ad. Hilgenfeld: Krit. Untersuchungen ueber die Evangelien Justin's.

Halle, 1850. Also: Die Ap. Gesch. u. der M. Just. in his "Zeitschr. f.

wiss. Theol.," 1872, p. 495-509, and Ketzergesch., 1884, pp. 21 sqq.

\*J. C. Th. Otto: Zur Characteristik des heil. Justinus. Wien, 1852. His

art. Justinus der Apologete, in "Ersch and Gruber's Encyklop." Second

Section, 30th part (1853), pp. 39-76. Comp. also his Prolegomena in the

third ed. of Justin's works. He agrees with Semisch in his general

estimate of Justin.

C. G. Seibert: Justinus, der Vertheidiger des Christenthums vor dem

Thron der Caesaren. Elberf., 1859.

Ch. E. Freppel (R.C. Bp.): Les Apologistes Chr�tiens du II.^esi�cle.

Par., 1860.

L. Schaller: Les deux Apologies de Justin M. au point de vie

dogmatique. Strasb., 1861.

B. Aub�: De l'apologetique Chr�tienne au II.^e si�cle. Par., 1861; and

S. Justin philosophe et martyr, 1875.

E. de Pressens�, in the third vol. of his Histoire des trois premiers

si�cles, or second vol. of the English version (1870), which treats of

Martyrs and Apologists, and his art. in Lichtenberger VII. (1880)

576-583.

Em. Ruggieri: Vita e dottrina di S. Giustino. Rom., 1862.

\*J. Donaldson: Hist. of Ante-Nicene Christian Literature. Lond., vol.

II. (1866), which treats of Justin M., pp. 62-344.

\*C. Weizs�cker: Die Theologie des M�rtyrers Justinus in the "Jahrb�cher

fur Deutsche Theologie. Gotha, 1867 (vol. XII., I. pp. 60-120).

Renan: L'�glise chr�tienne (Par., 1879), ch. XIX., pp. 364-389, and ch.

XXV. 480 sqq.

\*Moritz von Engelhardt (d. 1881): Das Christenthum Justins des

M�rtyrers. Erlangen, 1878. (490 pages, no index.) With an instructive

critical review of the various treatments of Irenaeus and his place in

history (p. 1-70). See also his art. Justin in Herzog2, VII.

G. F. Purves: The Testimony of Justin M. to Early Christianity. New

York. 1888.

Adolf St�helin: Justin der M�rtyrer und sein neuster Beurtheiler.

Leipzig, 1880 (67 pages). A careful review of Engelhardt's monograph.

Henry Scott Holland: Art. Justinus Martyr, in Smith and Wace III.

(1880), 560-587.

Ad. Harnack: Die Werke des Justin, in "Texte und Untersuchungen," etc.

Leipz., 1882. I. 130-195.

The relation of Justin to the Gospels is discussed by Credner, Semisch,

Hilgenfeld, Norton, Sanday, Westcott, Abbot; his relation to the Acts

by Overbeck (1872) and Hilgenfeld; his relation to the Pauline Epistles

by H. D. Tjeenk Willink (1868), Alb. Thoma (1875), and v. Engelhardt

(1878).

The most eminent among the Greek Apologists of the second century is

Flavius Justinus, surnamed "Philosopher and Martyr." [1333] 333 He is

the typical apologist, who devoted his whole life to the defense of

Christianity at a time when it was most assailed, and he sealed his

testimony with his blood. He is also the first Christian philosopher or

the first philosophic theologian. His writings were well known to

Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and Photius, and

the most important of them have been preserved to this day.

I. His Life. Justin was born towards the close of the first century, or

in the beginning of the second, in the Graeco-Roman colony of Flavia

Neapolis, so called after the emperor Flavius Vespasian, and built near

the ruins of Sychem in Samaria (now Nablous). He calls himself a

Samaritan, but was of heathen descent, uncircumcised, and ignorant of

Moses and the prophets before his conversion. Perhaps he belonged to

the Roman colony which Vespasian planted in Samaria after the

destruction of Jerusalem. His grandfather's name was Greek (Bacchius),

his father's (Priscus) and his own, Latin. His education was Hellenic.

To judge from his employment of several teachers and his many journeys,

he must have had some means, though he no doubt lived in great

simplicity and may have been aided by his brethren.

His conversion occurred in his early manhood. He himself tells us the

interesting story. [1334] 334 Thirsting for truth as the greatest

possession, he made the round of the systems of philosophy and knocked

at every gate of ancient wisdom, except the Epicurean which he

despised. He first went to a Stoic, but found him a sort of agnostic

who considered the knowledge of God impossible or unnecessary; then to

a Peripatetic, but he was more anxious for a good fee than for

imparting instruction; next to a celebrated Pythagorean, who seemed to

know something, but demanded too much preliminary knowledge of music,

astronomy and geometry before giving him an insight into the highest

truths. At last he threw himself with great zeal into the arms of

Platonism under the guidance of a distinguished teacher who had

recently come to his city. [1335] 335 He was overpowered by the

perception of immaterial things and the contemplation of eternal ideas

of truth, beauty, and goodness. He thought that he was already near the

promised goal of this philosophy--the vision of God--when, in a

solitary walk not far from the sea-shore, a venerable old Christian of

pleasant countenance and gentle dignity, entered into a conversation

with him, which changed the course of his life. The unknown friend

shook his confidence in all human wisdom, and pointed him to the

writings of the Hebrew prophets who were older than the philosophers

and had seen and spoken the truth, not as reasoners, but as witnesses.

More than this: they had foretold the coming of Christ, and their

prophecies were fulfilled in his life and work. The old man departed,

and Justin saw him no more, but he took his advice and soon found in

the prophets of the Old Testament as illuminated and confirmed by the

Gospels, the true and infallible philosophy which rests upon the firm

ground of revelation. Thus the enthusiastic Platonist became a

believing Christian.

To Tatian also, and Theophilus at Antioch, and Hilary, the Jewish

prophets were in like manner the bridge to the Christian faith. We must

not suppose, however, that the Old Testament alone effected his

conversion; for in the Second Apology, Justin distinctly mentions as a

means the practical working of Christianity. While he was yet a

Platonist, and listened to the calumnies against the Christians, he was

struck with admiration for their fearless courage and steadfastness in

the face of death. [1336] 336

After his conversion Justin sought the society of Christians, and

received from them instruction in the history and doctrine of the

gospel. He now devoted himself wholly to the spread and vindication of

the Christian religion. He was an itinerant evangelist or teaching

missionary, with no fixed abode and no regular office in the church.

[1337] 337 There is no trace of his ordination; he was as far as we

know a lay-preacher, with a commission from the Holy Spirit; yet be

accomplished far more for the good of the church than any known bishop

or presbyter of his day. "Every one," says he, "who can preach the

truth and does not preach it, incurs the judgment of God." Like Paul,

he felt himself a debtor to all men, Jew and Gentile, that he might

show them the way of salvation. And, like Aristides, Athenagoras,

Tertullian, Heraclas, Gregory Thaumaturgus, he retained his

philosopher's cloak, [1338] 338 that he might the more readily

discourse on the highest themes of thought; and when he appeared in

early morning (as he himself tells us), upon a public walk, many came

to him with a "Welcome, philosopher!" [1339] 339 He spent some time in

Rome where he met and combated Marcion. In Ephesus he made an effort to

gain the Jew Trypho and his friends to the Christian faith.

He labored last, for the second time, in Rome. Here, at the instigation

of a Cynic philosopher, Crescens, whom he had convicted of ignorance

about Christianity, Justin, with six other Christians, about the year

166, was scourged and beheaded. Fearlessly and joyfully, as in life, so

also in the face of death, he bore witness to the truth before the

tribunal of Rusticus, the prefect of the city, refused to sacrifice,

and proved by his own example the steadfastness of which he had so

often boasted as a characteristic trait of his believing brethren. When

asked to explain the mystery of Christ, he replied: "I am too little to

say something great of him." His last words were: "We desire nothing

more than to suffer for our Lord Jesus Christ; for this gives us

salvation and joyfulness before his dreadful judgment seat, at which

all the world must appear."

Justin is the first among the fathers who may be called a learned

theologian and Christian thinker. He had acquired considerable

classical and philosophical culture before his conversion, and then

made it subservient to the defense of faith. He was not a man of genius

and accurate scholarship, but of respectable talent, extensive reading,

and enormous memory. He had some original and profound ideas, as that

of the spermatic Logos, and was remarkably liberal in his judgment of

the noble heathen and the milder section of the Jewish Christians. He

lived in times when the profession of Christ was a crime under the

Roman law against secret societies and prohibited religious. He had the

courage of a confessor in life and of a martyr in death. It is

impossible not to admire his fearless devotion to the cause of truth

and the defense of his persecuted brethren. If not a great man, he was

(what is better) an eminently good and useful man, and worthy of an

honored place in "the noble army of martyrs." [1340] 340

II. Writings. To his oral testimony Justin added extensive literary

labors in the field of apologetics and polemics. His pen was

incessantly active against all the enemies of Christian truth, Jews,

Gentiles, and heretics.

(1) His chief works are apologetic, and still remain, namely, his two

Apologies against the heathen, and his Dialogue with the Jew Trypho The

First or larger Apology (68 chapters) is addressed to the Emperor

Antoninus Pius (137-161) and his adopted sons, and was probably written

about a.d. 147, if not earlier; the Second or smaller Apology (25

chapters) is a supplement to the, former, perhaps its conclusion, and

belongs to the same reign (not to that of Marcus Aurelius). [1341] 341

Both are a defense of the Christians and their religion against heathen

calumnies and persecutions. He demands nothing but justice for his

brethren, who were condemned without trial simply as Christians and

suspected criminals. He appeals from the, lower courts and the violence

of the mob to the highest tribunal of law, and feels confident that

such wise and philosophic rulers as he addresses would acquit them

after a fair hearing. He ascribes the persecutions to the instigation

of the demons who tremble for their power and will soon be dethroned.

The Dialogue (142 chapters) is more than twice as large as the two

Apologies, and is a vindication of Christianity from Moses and the

prophets against the objections of the Jews. It was written after the

former (which are referred to in ch. 120), but also in the reign of

Antoninus Pius, i.e., before a.d. 161 probably about a.d. 148. [1342]

342 In the Apologies he speaks like a philosopher to philosophers; in

the Dialogue as a believer in the Old Testament with a son of Abraham.

The disputation lasted two days, in the gymnasium just before a voyage

of Justin, and turned chiefly on two questions, how the Christians

could profess to serve God, and yet break his law, and how they could

believe in a human Saviour who suffered and died. Trypho, whom Eusebius

calls "the most distinguished among the Hebrews of his day," was not a

fanatical Pharisee, but a tolerant and courteous Jew, who evasively

confessed at last to have been much instructed, and asked Justin to

come again, and to remember him as a friend. The book is a storehouse

of early interpretation of the prophetic Scriptures.

The polemic works, Against all Heresies, and Against Marcion, are lost.

The first is mentioned in the First Apology; of the second, Irenaeus

has preserved some fragments; perhaps it was only a part of the former.

[1343] 343 Eusebius mentions also a Psalter of Justin, and a book On

the Soul, which have wholly disappeared.

(2) Doubtful works which bear Justin's name, and may have been written

by him: An address To the Greeks; [1344] 344 a treatise On the Unity of

God; another On the Resurrection.

(3) Spurious works attributed to him: The Epistle to Diognetus probably

of the same date, but by a superior writer, [1345] 345 the Exhortation

to the Greeks, [1346] 346 the Deposition of the True Faith, the epistle

To Zenas and Serenus, the Refutation of some Theses of Aristotle, the

Questions to the Orthodox, the Questions of the Christians to the

Heathens, and the Questions of the Heathens to the Christians. Some of

these belong to the third or later centuries. [1347] 347

The genuine works of Justin are of unusual importance and interest.

They bring vividly before us the time when the church was still a small

sect, despised and persecuted, but bold in faith and joyful in death.

They everywhere attest his honesty and earnestness, his enthusiastic

love for Christianity, and his fearlessness in its defense against all

assaults from without and perversions from within. He gives us the

first reliable account of the public worship and the celebration of the

sacraments. His reasoning is often ingenious and convincing but

sometimes rambling and fanciful, though not more so than that of other

writers of those times. His style is fluent and lively, but diffuse and

careless. He writes under a strong impulse of duty and fresh impression

without strict method or aim at rhetorical finish and artistic effect.

He thinks pen in hand, without looking backward or forward, and uses

his memory more than books. Only occasionally, as in the opening of the

Dialogue, there is a touch of the literary art of Plato, his old

master. [1348] 348 But the lack of careful elaboration is made up by

freshness and truthfulness. If the emperors of Rome had read the books

addressed to them they must have been strongly impressed, at least with

the honesty of the writer and the innocence of the Christians. [1349]

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III. Theology. As to the sources of his religious knowledge, Justin

derived it partly from the Holy Scriptures, partly from the living

church tradition. He cites, most frequently, and generally from memory,

hence often inaccurately, the Old Testament prophets (in the

Septuagint), and the "Memoirs" of Christ, or "Memoirs by the Apostles,"

as he calls the canonical Gospels, without naming the authors. [1350]

350 He says that they were publicly read in the churches with the

prophets of the Old Testament. He only quotes the words and acts of the

Lord. He makes most use of Matthew and Luke, but very freely, and from

John's Prologue (with the aid of Philo whom he never names) he derived

the inspiration of the Logos-doctrine, which is the heart of his

theology. [1351] 351 He expressly mentions the Revelation of John. He

knew no fixed canon of the New Testament, and, like Hernias and Papias,

he nowhere notices Paul; but several allusions to passages of his

Epistles (Romans, First Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, etc.), can

hardly be mistaken, and his controversy with Marcion must have implied

a full knowledge of the ten Epistles which that heretic included in his

canon. Any dogmatical inference from this silence is the less

admissible, since, in the genuine writings of Justin, not one of the

apostles or evangelists is expressly named except John once, and Simon

Peter twice, and "the sons of Zebedee whom Christ called Boanerges,"

but reference is always made directly to Christ and to the prophets and

apostles in general. [1352] 352 The last are to him typified in the

twelve bells on the border of the high priest's garment which sound

through the whole world. But this no more excludes Paul from apostolic

dignity than the names of the twelve apostles on the foundation stones

of the new Jerusalem (Rev. 21:14). They represent the twelve tribes of

Israel, Paul the independent apostolate of the Gentiles.

Justin's exegesis of the Old Testament is apologetic, typological and

allegorical throughout. He finds everywhere references to Christ, and

turned it into a text book of Christian theology. He carried the whole

New Testament into the Old without discrimination, and thus obliterated

the difference. He had no knowledge of Hebrew, [1353] 353 and freely

copied the blunders and interpolations of the Septuagint. He had no

idea of grammatical or historical interpretation. He used also two or

three times the Sibylline Oracles and Hystaspes for genuine prophecies,

and appeals to the Apocryphal Acts of Pilate as an authority. We should

remember, however, that he is no more credulous, inaccurate and

uncritical than his contemporaries and the majority of the fathers.

Justin forms the transition from the apostolic fathers to the church

fathers properly so called. He must not be judged by the standard of a

later orthodoxy, whether Greek, Roman, or Evangelical, nor by the

apostolic conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, or Ebionism

and Gnosticism, which at that time had already separated from the

current of Catholic Christianity. It was a great mistake to charge him

with Ebionism. He was a converted Gentile, and makes a sharp

distinction between the church and the synagogue as two antagonistic

organizations. He belongs to orthodox Catholicism as modified by Greek

philosophy. The Christians to him are the true people of God and heirs

of all the promises. He distinguishes between Jewish Christians who

would impose the yoke of the Mosaic law (the Ebionites), and those who

only observe it themselves, allowing freedom to the Gentiles (the

Nazarenes); the former he does not acknowledge as Christians, the

latter be treats charitably, like Paul in Romans ch. 14 and 15. The

only difference among orthodox Christians which he mentions is the

belief in the millennium which he held, like Barnabas, Irenaeus and

Tertullian, but which many rejected. But, like all the ante-Nicene

writers, be had no clear insight into the distinction between the Old

Testament and the New, between the law and the gospel, nor any proper

conception of the depth of sin and redeeming grace, and the justifying

power of faith. His theology is legalistic and ascetic rather than

evangelical and free. He retained some heathen notions from his former

studies, though he honestly believed them to be in full harmony with

revelation.

Christianity was to Justin, theoretically, the true philosophy, [1354]

354 and, practically, a new law of holy living and dying. [1355] 355

The former is chiefly the position of the Apologies, the latter that of

the Dialogue.

He was not an original philosopher, but a philosophizing eclectic, with

a prevailing love for Plato, whom be quotes more frequently than any

other classical author. He may be called, in a loose sense, a Christian

Platonist. He was also influenced by Stoicism. He thought that the

philosophers of Greece had borrowed their light from Moses and the

prophets. But his relation to Plato after all is merely external, and

based upon fancied resemblances. He illuminated and transformed his

Platonic reminiscences by the prophetic Scriptures, and especially by

the Johannean doctrine of the Logos and the incarnation. This is the

central idea of his philosophical theology. Christianity is the highest

reason. The Logos is the preexistent, absolute, personal Reason, and

Christ is the embodiment of it, the Logos incarnate. Whatever is

rational is Christian, and whatever is Christian is rational. [1356]

356 The Logos endowed all men with reason and freedom, which are not

lost by the fall. He scattered seeds ( ) of truth before his

incarnation, not only among the Jews but also among the Greeks and

barbarians, especially among philosophers and poets, who are the

prophets of the heathen. Those who lived reasonably ( ) and virtuously

in obedience to this preparatory light were Christians in fact, though

not in name; while those who lived unreasonably ( ) were Christless and

enemies of Christ. [1357] 357 Socrates was a Christian as well as

Abraham, though he did not know it. None of the fathers or schoolmen

has so widely thrown open the gates of salvation. He was the broadest

of broad churchmen.

This extremely liberal view of heathenism, however, did not blind him

to the prevailing corruption. The mass of the Gentiles are idolaters,

and idolatry is under the control of the devil and the demons. The Jews

are even worse than the heathen, because they sin against better

knowledge. And worst of all are the heretics, because they corrupt the

Christian truths. Nor did he overlook the difference between Socrates

and Christ, and between the best of heathen and the humblest Christian.

"No one trusted Socrates," he says, "so as to die for his doctrine but

Christ, who was partially known by Socrates, was trusted not only by

philosophers and scholars, but also by artizans and people altogether

unlearned."

The Christian faith of Justin is faith in God the Creator, and in his

Son Jesus Christ the Redeemer, and in the prophetic Spirit. All other

doctrines which are revealed through the prophets and apostles, follow

as a matter of course. Below the deity are good and bad angels; the

former are messengers of God, the latter servants of Satan, who

caricature Bible doctrines in heathen mythology, invent slanders, and

stir up persecutions against Christians, but will be utterly overthrown

at the second coming of Christ. The human soul is a creature, and hence

perishable, but receives immortality from God, eternal happiness as a

reward of piety, eternal fire as a punishment of wickedness. Man has

reason and free will, and is hence responsible for all his actions; he

sins by his own act, and hence deserves punishment. Christ came to

break the power of sin, to secure forgiveness and regeneration to a new

and holy life.

Here comes in the practical or ethical side of this Christian

philosophy. It is wisdom which emanates from God and leads to God. It

is a new law and a new covenant, promised by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and

introduced by Christ. The old law was only for the Jews, the new is for

the whole world; the old was temporary and is abolished, the new is

eternal; the old commands circumcision of the flesh, the new,

circumcision of the heart; the old enjoins the observance of one day,

the new sanctifies all days; the old refers to outward performances,

the new to spiritual repentance and faith, and demands entire

consecration to God.

IV. From the time of Justin Martyr, the Platonic Philosophy continued

to exercise a direct and indirect influence upon Christian theology,

though not so unrestrainedly and naively as in his case. [1358] 358 We

can trace it especially in Clement of Alexandria and Origen, and even

in St. Augustin, who confessed that it kindled in him an incredible

fire. In the scholastic period it gave way to the Aristotelian

philosophy, which was better adapted to clear, logical statements. But

Platonism maintained its influence over Maximus, John of Damascus,

Thomas Aquinas, and other schoolmen, through the pseudo-Dionysian

writings which first appear at Constantinople in 532, and were composed

probably in the fifth century. They sent a whole system of the universe

under the aspect of a double hierarchy, a heavenly and an earthly, each

consisting of three triads.

The Platonic philosophy offered many points of resemblance to

Christianity. It is spiritual and idealistic, maintaining the supremacy

of the spirit over matter, of eternal ideas over all temporary

phenomena, and the pre-existence and immortality of the soul; it is

theistic, making the supreme God above all the secondary deities, the

beginning, middle, and end of all things; it is ethical, looking

towards present and future rewards and punishments; it is religious,

basing ethics, politics, and physics upon the authority of the Lawgiver

and Ruler of the universe; it leads thus to the very threshold of the

revelation of God in Christ, though it knows not this blessed name nor

his saying grace, and obscures its glimpses of truth by serious errors.

Upon the whole the influence of Platonism, especially as represented in

the moral essays of Plutarch, has been and is to this day elevating,

stimulating, and healthy, calling the mind away from the vanities of

earth to the contemplation of eternal truth, beauty, and goodness. To

not a few of the noblest teachers of the church, from Justin the

philosopher to Neander the historian, Plato has been a schoolmaster who

led them to Christ.

Notes.

The theology and philosophy of Justin are learnedly discussed by Maran,

and recently by M�hler and Freppel in the Roman Catholic interest, and

in favor of his full orthodoxy. Among Protestants his orthodoxy was

first doubted by the authors of the "Magdeburg Centuries," who judged

him from the Lutheran standpoint.

Modern Protestant historians viewed him chiefly with reference to the

conflict between Jewish and Gentile Christianity. Credner first

endeavored to prove, by an exhaustive investigation (1832), that Justin

was a Jewish Christian of the Ebionitic type, with the Platonic

Logos-doctrine attached to his low creed as an appendix. He was

followed by the T�bingen critics, Schwegler (1846), Zeller, Hilgenfeld,

and Baur himself (1853). Baur, however, moderated Credner's view, and

put, Justin rather between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, calling him

a Pauline in fact, but not in name ("er ist der Sache nach Pauliner,

aber dem Namen nach will er es nicht sein"). This shaky judgment shows

the unsatisfactory character of the T�bingen construction of Catholic

Christianity as the result of a conflux and compromise between Ebionism

and Paulinism.

Ritschl (in the second ed. of his Entstehung der altkatholischen

Kirche, 1857) broke loose from this scheme and represented ancient

Catholicism as a development of Gentile Christianity, and Justin as the

type of the "katholisch werde de Heidenchristenthum," who was

influenced by Pauline ideas, but unable to comprehend them in their

depth and fulness, and thus degraded the standpoint of freedom to a new

form of legalism. This he calls a "herabgekommemer orabgeschw�chter

Paulinismus." Engelhardt goes a step further, and explains this

degradation of Paulinism from the influences of Hellenic heathenism and

the Platonic and Stoic modes of thought. He says (p. 485): "Justin was

at once a Christian and a heathen. We must acknowledge his Christianity

and his heathenism in order to understand him." Harnack (in a review of

E., 1878) agrees with him, and lays even greater stress on the heathen

element. Against this St�helin (1880) justly protests, and vindicates

his truly Christian character.

Among recent French writers, Aub� represents Justin's theology

superficially as nothing more than popularized heathen philosophy.

Renan (p. 389) calls his philosophy "une sorte d'eclectisme fond� sur

un rationalisme mystic " Freppel returns to Maran's treatment, and

tries to make the philosopher and martyr of the second century even a

Vatican Romanist of the nineteenth.

For the best estimates of his character and merits see Neander,

Semisch, Otto, von Engelhardt, St�helin, Donaldson (II. 147 sqq.), and

Holland (in Smith and Wace).

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[1333] Tertullian (Adv. Valent. 5) first calls him philosophus et

martyr, Hippolytus (Philos. VIII. 16), "Just. Martyr;" Eusebius (H. E.

IV. 12), "a genuine lover of the true philosophy, " who "in the garb of

a philosopher proclaimed the divine word and defended the faith by

writings" (IV. 17).

[1334] Dial.c. Tryph. Jud. c. 2-8. The conversion occurred before the

Bar-Cochba war, from which Tryphon was flying when Justin met him.

Archbishop Trench has reproduced the story in thoughtful poetry (Poems,

Lond. 1865, p. 1-10).

[1335] This city may be Flavia Neapolis, or more probably Ephesus,

where the conversation with Trypho took place, according to Eusebius

(IV. 18). Some have located the scene at Corinth, others at Alexandria.

Mere conjectures.

[1336] Apol. II. 12, 13.

[1337] Tillemont and Maran (in Migne's ed. Col. 114) infer from his

mode of describing baptism (Apol. I. 65) that he baptized himself, and

consequently was a priest. But Justin speaks in the name of the

Christians in that passage ("We after we have thus washed him, " etc.)

and throughout the Apology; besides baptism was no exclusively clerical

act, and could be performed by laymen. Equally inconclusive is the

inference of Maran from the question of the prefect to the associates

of Justin (in the Acts of his martyrdom): "Christianos vos ferit

Justinus?"

[1338] tribon, tribonion, pallium, a threadbare cloak, adopted by

philosophers and afterwards by monks (the cowl) as an emblem of severe

study or austere life, or both.

[1339] thilosophe, Chaire !

[1340] I add the estimate of Pressens� (Martyrs and Apologists, p.

251): "The truth never had a witness more disinterested, more

courageous, more worthy of the hatred of a godless age and of the

approval of Heaven. The largeness of his heart and mind equalled the

fervor of his zeal, and both were based on his Christian charity.

Justin derived all his eloquence from his heart; his natural genius was

not of rare order, but the experiences of his early life, illumined by

revelation, became the source of much fruitful suggestion for himself,

and gave to the Church a heritage of thought which, ripened and

developed at Alexandria, was to become the basis of the great apology

of Christianity. If we except the beautiful doctrine of the Word

germinally present in every man, there was little originality in

Justin's theological ideas. In exegesis he is subtle, and sometimes

puerile; in argument he flags, but where his heart speaks, he stands

forth in all his moral greatness, and his earnest, generous words are

ever quick and telling. Had he remained a pagan he would have lived

unnoted in erudite mediocrity . Christianity fired and fertilized his

genius, and it is the glowing soul which we chiefly love to trace in

all his writings."

[1341] The year of composition cannot be fixed with absolute certainty.

The First Apology is addressed "To the Emperor (autokratori)Titus

Aelius Adrianus Antoninus, Pius, Augustus Caesar; and to Verissimus,

his son, philosopher [i.e. Marcus Aurelius]; and to Lucius, the

philosopher [?]--son by nature of a Caesar [i.e. Caesar Aelius Verus]

and of Pius by adoption and to the sacred Senate;-and to the whole

Roman people, " etc. The address violates the curial style, and is

perhaps (as Mommsen and Volkmar suspect) a later addition, but no one

doubts its general correctness. From the title "Verissimus, " which

Marcus Aurelius ceased to bear after his adoption by Antonine in 138,

and from the absence of the title "Caesar" which he received in 139,

the older critics have inferred that it must have been written shortly

after the death of Hadrian (137), and Eusebius, in the Chronicon,

assigns it to 141. The early date is strengthened by the fact that in

the Dialogue, which was written after the Apologies, the Bar-Cochba war

(132-135) is represented as still going on, or at all events as recent

(phugon ton nun genomenon polemon, ex bello nostra aetate profugus, ch.

I; Comp. ch. 9). But, on the other hand, Marcus Aurelius was not really

associated as co-regent with Antonine till 147, and in the book itself

Tustin seems to imply two regents. Lucius Verus, moreover, was born

130, and could not well be addressed in his eighth year as

"philosopher; " Eusebius, however, reads "Son of the philosopher

Caesar; " and the term philosophos was used in a very wide sense. Of

more weight is the fact that the first Apology was written after the

Syntagma against Marcion, who flourished in Rome between 139-145,

though this chronology, too, is not quite certain. Justin says that he

was writing 150 years after the birth of the Saviour; if this is not

simply a round number, it helps to fix the date. For these reasons

modern critics decide for 147-150 (Volkmar, Baur, Von Engelhardt, Hort,

Donaldson, Holland), or 150 (Lipsius and Renan), or 160 (Keim and

Aub�). The smaller Apology was written likewise under Antoninus Pius

(so Neander, Otto, Volkmar, Hort, contrary to Eusebius, iv. 15, 18, and

the two rulers, but only one autocrat, while after his death there were

two older view, which puts it in the reign of Marcus Aurelius; for it

presupposes " Augusti" or autocrats. See on the chronology Volkmar, Die

Zeit Just. des M., in the " Theol. Jahrb."of T�bingen, 1855 (Nos. 2 and

4); Hort On the Date of Justin M., in the " Journal of Classic and

Sacred Philology, " June 1856; Donaldson, II. 73 sqq.; Engelhardt, l.c.

71-80; Keim, Rom. u. d. Christenth., p. 425; Renan, l.c. p. 367, note,

and Harnack, Texte und Unters., etc. 1. 172 sq.

[1342] Hort puts the Dial. between 142 and 148; Volkmar in 155; Keim

between 160-164; Englehardt in 148 or after.

[1343] On these anti-heretical works see Harnack, Zur Quellenkritik des

Gnosticismus (1873), Lipsius, Die Quellen der �ltesten Letzergeschichte

(1875), and Hilgenfeld, D. Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums (1884, p.

21 sqq.).

[1344] Oratio ad Graecos logos pros Hellenas.

[1345] See above, � 170, p. 702.

[1346] Cohortatio ad Graecos, logos parainetikos pros Hellenas . Based

on Julius Africanus, as proved by Donaldson, and independently by

Sch�rer in the Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch."Bd. II. p. 319.

[1347] On these doubtful and spurious writings see Maranus, Otto,

Semisch, Donaldson, and Harnack (l. c. 190-193).

[1348] On these doubtful and spurious writings see Maranus, Otto,

Semisch, Donaldson, and Harnack (l. c. 190-193).

[1349] Comp, Otto De Justiniana dictione, in the Proleg. LXIII-LXXVI.

Renan's judgment is interesting, but hardly Just. He says (p. 365):

"Justin n'�tait un grand esprit; il manquait � la, fois de philosophie

et de critique; son ex�g�se surtout passerait aujour d' hui pour tr�s

d�fectueuse; mais il fait preuve dun sens g�n�ral assez droit; it avait

cette esp�ce, de cr�dulit� m�diocre qui permet de raissonner sens�ment

sur des pr�misses pu�riles et de s'arr�ter � temps de fa�on � n'�tre

qu'� moiti� absurde." On the next page he says: "Justin �tait un esprit

faible; mais c'�tait un noble et bon coeur." Donaldson justly remarks

(II. 15 sq.) that the faults of style and reasoning attributed to

Justin and other Apologists may be paralleled in Plutarch and all other

contemporaries, and that more learned and able writers could not have

done better than present the same arguments in a more elaborate and

polished form.

[1350] apomnemoneumata ton apostolon, a designation peculiar to Justin,

and occurring in the Apologies and the Dialogue, but nowhere else,

borrowed, no doubt, from Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates. Four times

he calls them simply "Memoirs," four times "Memoirs of (or by) the

Apostles;" once "Memoirs made by the Apostles, " which constitute the

one Gospel (to euangelion, Dial. c. 10), and which "are called Gospels"

(ha kaleitai euangelia, Apol. I.66, a decisive passage), once, quoting

from Mark. "Peter's Memoirs." After long and thorough discussion the

identity of these Memoirs with our canonical Gospels is settled

notwithstanding the doubts of the author of Supernatural Religion. It

is possible, however, that Justin may have used also some kind of

gospel harmony such as his pupil Tatian actually prepared.

[1351] One unquestionable quotation from John (3:3-5) is discussed in

vol. I. 703 sq. If he did not cite the words of John, he evidently

moved in his thoughts.

[1352] See the list of Justin's Scripture quotations or allusions in

Otto's edition, 579-592. The most numerous are from the Pentateuch,

Isaiah, Matthew, and Luke. Of profane authors he quotes Plato, Homer,

Euripides, Xenophon, and Menander.

[1353] Donaldson (II. 148) infers from his Samaritan origin, and his

attempts in one or two cases to give the etymology of Hebrew words

(Apol. I. 33), that he, must have known a little Hebrew, but it must

have been a very little indeed; at all events he never appeals to the

Hebrew text.

[1354] He calls the Christian religion (Dial. c. 8) mone philosophia

asphales te kai sumphoros-i,-isola philosophia tuta atque utilis.

[1355] teleutaios nomos kai diatheke kuriotate pason, novissima lex et

foedus omnium firmissimum. Dial. c. II.

[1356] Very different from the principle of Hegel: All that is rational

is real, and all that is real is rational.

[1357] He calls them achrestoi(useless), Apol. I. 46; with reference to

the frequent confusion of Christos with chrestos, good. Comp. Apol. I.

4: Christianoi heinai kategoroumetha; to de chreston miseisthai ou

dikaion. Justin knew, however, the true derivation of Christos see

Apol. II. 6.

[1358] On the general subject of the relation of Platonism to

Christianity, see Ackermann, Das Christliche im Plato (1835, Engl.

transl. by Asburv, with preface by Shedd, 1861) Baur, Socrates und

Christus (1837, and again ed. by Zeller, 1876); Tayler Lewis, Plato

against the Atheists (1845); Hampden, The Fathers of the Greek

Philosophy (1862); Cocker, Christianity and Greek Philosophy (1870),

Ueberweg's History of Philosophy (Engl. transl. 1872), and an excellent

art. of Prof. W. S. Tyler, of Amherst College in the third vol. of

Schaff-Herzog's Rel. Encycl. (1883, p. 1850-'53). On the relation of

Justin to Platonism and heathenism, see von Engelbardt, l. c. 447-484.

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� 174. The Other Greek Apologists. Tatian.

Lit. on the later Greek Apologists:

Otto: Corpus Apologetarum Christ. Vol. VI. (1861): Tatiani Assyrii

Opera; vol. VII.: Athenagorus; vol. VIII.: Theophilus; Vol. IX.:

Hermias, Quadratus, Aristides, Aristo, Miltiades, Melito, Apollinaris

(Reliquiae) Older ed. by Maranus, 1742, reissued by Migne, 1857, in

Tom. VI. of his "Patrol. Gr." A new ed. by O. v. Gebhardt and E.

Schwartz, begun Leipz. 1888.

The third vol. of Donaldson's Critical History of Christ. Lit. and

Doctr., etc. (Lond. 1866) is devoted to the same Apologists. Comp. also

Keim's Rom und das Christenthum (1881), p. 439-495; and on the MSS. and

early traditions Harnack's Texte, etc. Band I. Heft. 1 and 2 (1882),

and Schwartz in his ed. (1888).

On Tatian see � 131, p. 493-496.

Tatian of Assyria (110-172) was a pupil of Justin Martyr whom he calls

a most admirable man ( ), and like him an itinerant Christian

philosopher; but unlike him he seems to have afterwards wandered to the

borders of heretical Gnosticism, or at least to an extreme type of

asceticism. He is charged with having condemned marriage as a

corruption and denied that Adam was saved, because Paul says: "We all

die in Adam." He was an independent, vigorous and earnest man, but

restless, austere, and sarcastic. [1359] 359 In both respects he

somewhat resembles Tertullian. Before his conversion he had studied

mythology, history, poetry, and chronology, attended the theatre and

athletic games, became disgusted with the world, and was led by the

Hebrew Scriptures to the Christian faith. [1360] 360

We have from him an apologetic work addressed To the Greeks. [1361] 361

It was written in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, probably in Rome, and

shows no traces of heresy. He vindicates Christianity as the

"philosophy of the barbarians," and exposes the contradictions,

absurdities, and immoralities of the Greek mythology from actual

knowledge and with much spirit and acuteness but with vehement contempt

and bitterness. He proves that Moses and the prophets were older and

wiser than the Greek philosophers, and gives much information on the

antiquity of the Jews. Eusebius calls this "the best and most useful of

his writings," and gives many extracts in his Praeparatio Evangelica.

The following specimens show his power of ridicule and his radical

antagonism to Greek mythology and philosophy:

Ch. 21.--Doctrines of the Christians and Greeks respecting God

compared.

We do not act as fools, O Greeks, nor utter idle tales, when we

announce that God was born in the form of a man. (en ). I call on you

who reproach us to compare your mythical accounts with our narrations.

Athene, as they say, took the form of Deiphobus for the sake of Hector,

and the unshorn Phoebus for the sake of Admetus fed the trailing-footed

oxen, and the spouse of Zeus came as an old woman to Sem�l�. But, while

you treat seriously such things, how can you deride us? Your Asclepios

died, and he who ravished fifty virgins in one night at Thespiae, lost

his life by delivering himself to the devouring flame. Prometheus,

fastened to Caucasus, suffered punishment for his good deeds to men.

According to you, Zeus is envious, and hides the dream from men,

wishing their destruction. Wherefore, looking at your own memorials,

vouchsafe us your approval, though it were only as dealing in legends

similar to your own. We, however, do not deal in folly, but your

legends are only idle tales. If you speak of the origin of the gods,

you also declare them to be mortal. For what reason is Hera now never

pregnant? Has she grown old? or is there no one to give you

information? Believe me now, O Greeks, and do not resolve your myths

and gods into allegory. If you attempt to do this, the divine nature as

held by you is overthrown by your own selves; for, if the demons with

you are such as they are said to be, they are worthless as to

character; or, if regarded as symbols of the powers of nature, they are

not what they are called. But I cannot be persuaded to pay religious

homage to the natural elements, nor can I undertake to persuade my

neighbor. And Metrodorus of Lampsacus, in his treatise concerning

Homer, has argued very foolishly, turning everything into allegory. For

he says that neither Hera, nor Athene, nor Zeus are what those persons

suppose who consecrate to them sacred enclosures and groves, but parts

of nature and certain arrangements of the elements. Hector also, and

Achilles, and Agamemnon, and all the Greeks in general, and the

Barbarians with Helen and Paris, being of the same nature, you will of

course say are introduced merely for the sake of the machinery of the

poem, not one of these personages having really existed.

But these things we have put forth only for argument's sake; for it is

not allowable even to compare our notions of God with those who are

wallowing in matter and mud."

Ch. 25.--Boastings and quarrels of the philosophers.

What great and wonderful things have your philosophers effected? They

leave uncovered one of their shoulders; they let their hair grow long;

they cultivate their beards; their nails are like the claws of wild

beasts. Though they say that they want nothing, yet, like Proteus [the

Cynic, Proteus Peregrinus known to us from Lucian], they need a currier

for their wallet, and a weaver for their mantle, and a woodcutter for

their staff, and they need the rich [to invite them to banquets], and a

cook also for their gluttony. O man competing with the dog [cynic

philosopher], you know not God, and so have turned to the imitation of

an irrational animal. You cry out in public with an assumption of

authority, and take upon you to avenge your own self; and if you

receive nothing, you indulge in abuse, for philosophy is with you the

art of getting money. You follow the doctrines of Plato, and a disciple

of Epicurus lifts up his voice to oppose you. Again, you wish to be a

disciple of Aristotle, and a follower of Democritus rails at you.

Pythagoras says that he was Euphorbus, and he is the heir of the

doctrine of Pherecydes, but Aristotle impugns the immortality of the

soul. You who receive from your predecessors doctrines which clash with

one another, you the inharmonious, are fighting against the harmonious.

One of you asserts "that God is body," but I assert that He is without

body; "that the world is indestructible," but I assert that it is to be

destroyed; "that a conflagration will take place at various times," but

I say that it will come to pass once for all; "that Minos and

Rhadamanthus are judges," but I say that God Himself is Judge; "that

the soul alone is endowed with immortality," but I say that the flesh

also is endowed with it. What injury do we inflict upon you, O Greeks?

Why do you hate those who follow the word of God, as if they were the

vilest of mankind? It is not we who eat human flesh--they among you who

assert such a thing have been suborned as false witnesses; it is among

you that Pelops is made a supper for the gods, although beloved by

Poseidon; and Kronos devours his children, and Zeus swallows Metis."

Of great importance for the history of the canon and of exegesis is

Tatian's Diatessaron or Harmony of the Four Gospels, once widely

circulated, then lost, but now measurably recovered. [1362] 362

Theodoret found more than two hundred copies of it in his diocese.

Ephraem the Syrian wrote a commentary on it which was preserved in an

Armenian translation by the Mechitarists at Venice, translated into

Latin by Aucher (1841), and published with a learned introduction by

M�singer (1876). From this commentary Zahn has restored the text

(1881). Since then an Arabic translation of the Diatessaron itself has

been discovered and published by Ciasca (1888). The Diatessaron begins

with the Prologue of John (In principio erat Verbum, etc.), follows his

order of the festivals, assuming a two years' ministry, and makes a

connected account of the life of Christ from the four Evangelists.

There is no heretical tendency, except perhaps in the omission of

Christ's human genealogies in Matthew and Luke, which may have been due

to the influence of a docetic spirit. This Diatessaron conclusively

proves the existence and ecclesiastical use of the four Gospels, no

more and no less, in the middle of the second century.

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[1359] Comp. Donaldson, III. 27 sqq.

[1360] He tells his conversion himself, Ad Gr. c. 29 and 30. The

following passage (29) is striking: "While I was giving my most earnest

attention to the matter [the discovery of the truth], I happened to

meet with certain barbaric writings, too old to be compared with the

opinions of the Greeks, and too divine to be compared with their errors

and I was led to put faith in these by the unpretending cast of the

language, the inartificial character of the writers, the foreknowledge

displayed of future events, the excellent quality of the precepts, and

the declaration of the government of the universe as centred in one

Being. And, my soul being taught of God, I discerned that the former

class of writings lead to condemnation, but that these put an end to

the slavery that is in the world, and rescue us from a multiplicity of

rulers and ten thousand tyrants, while they give us, not indeed what we

had not before received, but what we had received, but were prevented

by error from retaining."

[1361] Pros Hellenas, Oratio ad Graecos. The best critical edition by

Ed. Schwartz, Leipsig, 1888. On the MSS. see also Otto's Proleg., and

Harnack's Texte, etc. Bd. I. Heft. I. p. 1-97. English translation by

B. P. Pratten, in the "Ante-Nicene Library, " III. 1-48; Am. ed. II.,

59 sqq. The specimens below are from this version, compared with the

Greek.

[1362] To dia tessaron. Eusebius, H. E. IV. 29, and Theodoret, Fab.

Haer. I. 20, notice the Diatessaron. Comp. M�singer's introduction to

his ed. of Ephroem's Com. (Venet. 1876), Zahn's Tatian's Diatessaron

(1881), and Ciasca's edition of the Arabic version (1888) noticed p.

493.

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� 175. Athenagoras.

Otto, Vol. VII.; Migne, VI. 890-1023. Am. ed. by W. B. Owen, N. Y.,

1875.

Clarisse: De Athenagorae vita, scriptis doctrina (Lugd. Bat. 1819);

Donaldson, III. 107-178; Harnack, Texte, I. 176 sqq., and his art.

"Athen." in Herzog2 I. 748-750; Spencer Mansel in Smith and Wace, 1.

204-207; Renan, Marc-Aur�le, 382-386.

Athenagoras was "a Christian philosopher of Athens," during the reign

of Marcus Aurelius (A. D., 161-180), but is otherwise entirely unknown

and not even mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome, and Photius. [1363] 363 His

philosophy was Platonic, but modified by the prevailing eclecticism of

his age. He is less original as an apologist than Justin and Tatian,

but more elegant and classical in style.

He addressed an Apology or Intercession in behalf of the Christians to

the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. [1364] 364 He reminds the

rulers that all their subjects are allowed to follow their customs

without hindrance except the Christians who are vexed, plundered and

killed on no other pretence than that they bear the name of their Lord

and Master. We do not object to punishment if we are found guilty, but

we demand a fair trial. A name is neither good nor bad in itself, but

becomes good or bad according to the character and deeds under it. We

are accused of three crimes, atheism, Thyestean banquets (cannibalism),

Oedipodean connections (incest). Then he goes on to refute these

charges, especially that of atheism and incest. He does it calmly,

clearly, eloquently, and conclusively. By a divine law, he says,

wickedness is ever fighting against virtue. Thus Socrates was condemned

to death, and thus are stories invented against us. We are so far from

committing the excesses of which we are accused, that we are not

permitted to lust after a woman in thought. We are so particular on

this point that we either do not marry at all, or we marry for the sake

of children, and only once in the course of our life. Here comes out

his ascetic tendency which he shares with his age. He even condemns

second marriage as "decent adultery." The Christians are more humane

than the heathen, and condemn, as murder, the practices of abortion,

infanticide, and gladiatorial shows.

Another treatise under his name, "On the Resurrection of the Dead, is a

masterly argument drawn from the wisdom, power, and justice of God, as

well as from the destiny of man, for this doctrine which was especially

offensive to the Greek mind. It was a discourse actually delivered

before a philosophical audience. For this reason perhaps he does not

appeal to the Scriptures.

AlI historians put a high estimate on Athenagoras. "He writes," says

Donaldson, "as a man who is determined that the real state of the case

should be exactly known. He introduces similes, he occasionally has an

antithesis, he quotes poetry but always he has his main object

distinctly before his mind, and he neither makes a useless exhibition

of his own powers, nor distracts the reader by digressions. His Apology

is the best defence of the Christians produced in that age." Spencer

Mansel declares him "decidedly superior to most of the Apologists,

elegant, free from superfluity of language, forcible in style, and

rising occasionally into great powers of description, and in his

reasoning remarkable for clearness and cogency."

Tillemont found traces of Montanism in the condemnation of second

marriage and the view of prophetic inspiration, but the former was

common among the Greeks, and the latter was also held by Justin M. and

others. Athenagoras says of the prophets that they were in an ecstatic

condition of mind and that the Spirit of God "used them as if a

flute-player were breathing into his flute." Montanus used the

comparison of the plectrum and the lyre.

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[1363] The account of Philippus Sidetes, deacon of Chrysostom, as

preserved by Nicephorus Callistus, is entirel y unreliable. It makes

Athenagoras the first head of the school of Alexandria under Hadrian,

and the teacher of Clement of Alex.--a palpable chronological

blunder--and states that he addressed hisApology to Hadrian and

Antoninus, which is contradicted by the inscription. But in a fragment

of Methodius, De Resurrectione, there is a quotation from the Apology

of Athenagoras (c. 24) with his name attached.

[1364] Presbeia (embassy) peri Christianon, Legatio (also Supplicatio,

Intercessio)pro Christianis. Some take the title in its usual sense,

and assume that Athenagoras really went as a deputation to the emperor.

The book was often copied in the fifteenth century, and there are

seventeen MSS. extant; the three best contain also the treatise on the

Resurrection. Both were edited by Henry Stephens, 1557, and often

since. The objections against the genuineness are weak and have been

refuted.

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� 176. Theophilus of Antioch.

Otto, Vol. VIII. Migne, VI. Col. 1023-1168.

Donaldson, Critical History, III. 63-106. Renan, Marc-Aur. 386 sqq.

Theod. Zahn: Der Evanqelien-commentar des Theophilus von Antiochien.

Erlangen 1883 (302 pages). The second part of his Forschung zur Gesch.

des neutestam. Kanons und der altkirchlichen Lit. Also his Supplementum

Clementinum, 1884, p. 198-276 (in self-defense against Harnack).

Harnack, Texte, etc. Bd. I., Heft II., 282-298., and Heft. IV. (I 8.,

3), 97-175 (on the Gospel Commentary cf Theoph. against Zahn).

A. Hauck: Zur Theophilusfrage, Leipz. 1844, and in Herzog,2 xv. 544.

W. Bornemann: Zur Theophilusfrage; In "Brieger's Zeitschrift f.

Kirchen-Geschte," 1888, p. 169-283

Theophilus was converted from heathenism by the study of the

Scriptures, and occupied the episcopal see at Antioch, the sixth from

the Apostles, during the later part of the reign of Marcus Aurelius. He

died about a.d. 181. [1365] 365

His principal work, and the only one which has come down to us, is his

three books to Autolycus, an educated heathen friend. [1366] 366 His

main object is to convince him of the falsehood of idolatry, and of the

truth of Christianity. He evinces extensive knowledge of Grecian

literature, considerable philosophical talent, and a power of graphic

and elegant composition. His treatment of the philosophers and poets is

very severe and contrasts unfavorably with the liberality of Justin

Martyr. He admits elements of truth in Socrates and Plato, but charges

them with having stolen the same from the prophets. He thinks that the

Old Testament already contained all the truths which man requires to

know. He was the first to use the term "triad" for the holy Trinity,

and found this mystery already in the words: Let us make man "(Gen.

1:26); for, says he, "God spoke to no other but to his own Reason and

his own Wisdom," that is, to the Logos and the Holy Spirit

hypostatized. [1367] 367 He also first quoted the Gospel of John by

name, [1368] 368 but it was undoubtedly known and used before by

Tatian, Athenagoras, Justin, and by the Gnostics, and can be traced as

far back as 125 within the lifetime of many personal disciples of the

Apostle. Theophilus describes the Christians as having a sound mind,

practising self-restraint, preserving marriage with one, keeping

chastity, expelling injustice, rooting out sin, carrying out

righteousness as a habit, regulating their conduct by law, being ruled

by truth, preserving grace and peace, and obeying God as king. They are

forbidden to visit gladiatorial shows and other public amusements, that

their eyes and ears may not be defiled. They are commanded to obey

authorities and to pray for them, but not to worship them.

The other works of Theophilus, polemical and exegetical, are lost.

Eusebius mentions a book against Hermogenes, in which he used proofs

from the Apocalypse of John, another against Marcion and "certain

catechetical books" ( Gr. ) Jerome mentions in addition commentaries on

the Proverbs, and on the Gospel, but doubts their genuineness. There

exists under his name though only in Latin, a sort of exegetical Gospel

Harmony, which is a later compilation of uncertain date and authorship.

Notes.

Jerome is the only ancient writer who mentions a Commentary or

Commentaries of Theophilus on the Gospel, but adds that they are

inferior to his other books in elegance and style; thereby indicating a

doubt as to their genuineness. De Vir ill. 25: La734 "Legi sub nomine

eius [Theophili] in Evangelium et in Proverbia Salomonis Commentarios,

(qui mihi cum superiorum voluminum [the works Contra Marcionem, Ad

Autolycum, and Contra Hermogenem] elegantia et phrasi non videntur

congruere." He alludes to the Gospel Commentary in two other passages

(in the Pref. to his Com. on Matthew, and Ep. 121 (ad Algasiam), and

quotes from it the exposition of the parable of the unjust steward

(Luke 16:1 sqq.). Eusebius may possibly have included the book in the

katechetika biblia which he ascribes to Theophilus.

A Latin Version of this Commentary was first published (from MSS. not

indicated and since lost) by Marg. de la Bigne in Sacrae, Bibliothecae

Patrum, Paris 1576, Tom. V. Col. 169-196; also by Otto in the Corp.

Apol. VIII. 278-324, and with learned notes by Zahn in the second vol.

of his Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons (1883), p. 31-85. The

Commentary begins with an explanation of the symbolical import of the

four Gospels as follows: "Quatuor evangelia quatuor animalibus figurata

Jesum Christum demonstrant. Matthaeus enim salvatorem nostrum natum

passumque homini comparavit. Marcus leonis gerens figuram a solitudine

incipit dicens: ' Vox clamantis in deserto: parate viam Domini,' sane

qui regnat invictus. Joannes habet similitudinem aquilae, quod ab imis

alta petiverit; ait enim: 'In principio erat Verbum, et verbum erat

apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum; hoc erat in principio apud Deum; vel

quia Christus resurgens volavit ad cOElos. Lucas vituli speciem gestat,

ad instar salvator noster est immolatus, vel quod sacerdotii figurat

officium." The position of Luke as the fourth is very peculiar and

speaks for great antiquity. Then follows a brief exposition of the

genealogy of Christ by Matthew with the remark that Matthew traces the

origin "per reges," Luke "per sacerdotes." The first book of the

Commentary is chiefly devoted to Matthew, the second and third to Luke,

the fourth to John. It concludes with an ingenious allegory

representing Christ as a gardener (who appeared to Mary Magdalene, John

20:15), and the church as his garden full of rich flowers) as follows

(see Zahn, p. 85): "Hortus Domini est ecclesia catholica, in qua sunt

rosae martyrum, lilia virginum, violae viduarum, hedera coniugum; nam

illa, quae aestimabat eum hortulanum esse significabat scilicet eum

plantantem diversis virtutibus credentium vitam. Amen."

Dr. Zahn, in his recent monograph (1883), which abounds in rare

patristic learning, vindicates this Commentary to Theophilus of Antioch

and dates the translation from the third century. If so, we would have

here a work of great apologetic as well as exegetical importance,

especially for the history of the canon and the text; for Theophilus

stood midway between Justin Martyr and Irenaeus and would be the oldest

Christian exegete. But a Nicene or post-Nicene development of theology

and church organization is clearly indicated by the familiar use of

such terms as regnum Christi catholicum, catholica doctrina, catholicum

dogma, sacerdos, peccatum originale, monachi, saeculares, pagani. The

suspicion of a later date is confirmed by the discovery of a MS. of

this commentary in Brussels, with an anonymous preface which declares

it to be a compilation. Harnack, who made this discovery, ably refutes

the conclusions of Zahn, and tries to prove that the commentary

ascribed to Theophilus is a Latin work by an anonymous author of the

fifth or sixth century (470-520). Zahn (1884) defends in part his

former position against Harnack, but admits the weight of the argument

furnished by the Brussels MS. Hauck holds that the commentary was

written after a.d. 200, but was used by Jerome. Bornemann successfully

defends Harnack's view against Zahn and Hauck, and puts the work

between 450 and 700.

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[1365] Eusebius H. E. IV. 20, and in his Chron. ad arm. IX. M. Aurelii.

His supposed predecessors were Peter, Evodius, Ignatius, Heron,

Cornelius, and Eros. Comp. Harnack, Die Zeit des Ignat. und die

Chronologie der Antiochen. Bisch�fe bis Tyrannus (Leipz. 1878 p. 56).

Jerome (De Vir. ill. 25; Ep. ad Algas., andPraef, in Com. Matth.),

Lactantius (Inst. div. 1. 23), and Cennadius of Massila (De Vir. ill.

34) likewise mention Theophilus and his writings, but the later Greeks,

even Photius, seem to have forgotten him. See Harnack, Texte, I. 282

sqq. Renan calls him "un docteur tr�s f�cond, un catechiste don� d'un

grand talent d'exposition, un pol�miste habile selon les id�es du

temps."

[1366] theophilou pros Autolukon, Theophili ad Autolycum. We have three

MSS. of his books Ad Autolycum, the best from the eleventh century,

preserved in Venice. See Otto, and Donaldson, p. 105. The first printed

edition appeared at Z�rich, 1546. Three English translations, by J.

Betty, Oxf. 1722, by W. B Flower, Lond. 1860, and Marcus Dods, Edinb.

1867 (in the " Ante-Nicene Libr."III. 49-133).

[1367] Ad Autol. II. 15 (in Migne VI. 1077), where the first three days

of creation are called tupoi tes triados , tou theou, kai tou logou

autou kai tes sophias autou . Comp. c. 18 (col. 1081), where the

trinity is found in Gen. 1:26. In the Gospel Com. of Th. the word

trinitas occurs five times (see Zahn, l. c. 143). Among Latin writers,

Tertullian is the first who uses the term trinitas (Adv Prax. 4; De

Pud. 21).

[1368] Ad Autol. II. 22: "The Holy Scriptures teach us, and all who

were moved by the Spirit, among whom John says: 'In the beginning was

the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God.'" He then quotes John 1:3.

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� 177. Melito of Sardis.

(I.) Euseb. H. E. IV. 13, 26; V. 25. Hieron.: De Vir. ill. 24. The

remains Of Melito in Routh, Reliq. acr. I. 113-153; more fully in Otto,

Corp. Ap. IX. (1872), 375-478. His second Apology, of doubtful

genuineness, in Cureton, Spicilegium Syriacum, Lond. 1835 (Syriac, with

an English translation), and in Pitra, Spicil. Solesm. II. (with a

Latin translation by Renan, which was revised by Otto, Corp. Ap. vol.

IX.); German transl. by Welte in the T�b." Theol. Quartalschrift" for

1862.

(II) Piper in the Studien und Kritiken for 1838, p. 54 154. Uhlhorn in

"Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol." 1866. Donaldson, III. 221-239 Steitz in

Herzog2 IX. 537-539. Lightfoot in "Contemp. Review," Febr. 1876.

Harnack, Texte, etc., I. 240-278. Salmon in Smith and Wace III.

894-900. Renan, Marc-Aur�le, 172 sqq. (Comp. also the short notice in

L'�glise chr�t., p. 436).

Melito, bishop of Sardis, [1369] 369 the capital of Lydia, was a

shining light among the churches of Asia Minor in the third quarter of

the second century. Polycrates of Ephesus, in his epistle to bishop

Victor of Rome (d. 195), calls him a "eunuch who, in his whole conduct,

was full of the Holy Ghost, and sleeps in Sardis awaiting the

episcopate from heaven (or visitation, ,) on the day of the

resurrection." The term "eunuch" no doubt refers to voluntary celibacy

for the kingdom of God (Matt. 19:12).. [1370] 370 He was also esteemed

as a prophet. He wrote a book on prophecy, probably against the

pseudo-prophecy of the Montanists; but his relation to Montanism is not

clear. He took an active part in the paschal and other controversies

which agitated the churches of Asia Minor. He was among the chief

supporters of the Quartadeciman practice which was afterwards condemned

as schismatic and heretical. This may be a reason why his writings fell

into oblivion. Otherwise he was quite orthodox according to the

standard of his age, and a strong believer in the divinity of Christ,

as is evident from one of the Syrian fragments (see below).

Melito was a man of brilliant mind and a most prolific author.

Tertullian speaks of his elegant and eloquent genius. [1371] 371

Eusebius enumerates no less than eighteen or twenty works from his pen,

covering a great variety of topics, but known to us now only by name.

[1372] 372 He gives three valuable extracts. There must have been an

uncommon literary fertility in Asia Minor after the middle of the

second century. [1373] 373 The Apology of Melito was addressed to

Marcus Aurelius, and written probably at the outbreak of the violent

persecutions in 177, which, however, were of a local or provincial

character, and not sanctioned by the general government. He remarks

that Nero and Domitian were the only imperial persecutors, and

expresses the hope that, Aurelius, if properly informed, would

interfere in behalf of the innocent Christians. In a passage preserved

in the "Paschal Chronicle" he says: "We are not worshipers of senseless

stones, but adore one only God, who is before all and over all, and His

Christ truly God the Word before all ages."

A Syriac Apology bearing his name [1374] 374 was discovered by Tattam,

with other Syrian MSS. in the convents of the Nitrian desert (1843),

and published by Cureton and Pitra (1855). But it contains none of the

passages quoted by Eusebius, and is more an attack upon idolatry than a

defense of Christianity, but may nevertheless be a work of Melito under

an erroneous title.

To Melito we owe the first Christian list of the Hebrew Scriptures. It

agrees with the Jewish and the Protestant canon, and omits the

Apocrypha. The books of Esther and Nehemiah are also omitted, but may

be included in Esdras. The expressions "the Old Books," "the Books of

the Old Covenant," imply that the church at that time had a canon of

the New Covenant. Melito made a visit to Palestine to seek information

on the Jewish canon.

He wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse, and a "Key" ( ), probably to

the Scriptures. [1375] 375

The loss of this and of his books "on the Church" and "on the Lord's

Day" are perhaps to be regretted most.

Among the Syriac fragments of Melito published by Cureton is one from a

work "On Faith," which contains a remarkable christological creed, an

eloquent expansion of the Regula Fidei. [1376] 376 The Lord Jesus

Christ is acknowledged as the perfect Reason, the Word of God; who was

begotten before the light; who was Creator with the Father; who was the

Fashioner of man; who was all things in all; Patriarch among the

patriarchs, Law in the law, Chief Priest among the priests, King among

the kings, Prophet among the prophets, Archangel among the angels; He

piloted Noah, conducted Abraham, was bound with Isaac, exiled with

Jacob, was Captain with Moses; He foretold his own sufferings in David

and the prophets; He was incarnate in the Virgin; worshipped by the

Magi; He healed the lame, gave sight to the blind, was rejected by the

people, condemned by Pilate, hanged upon the tree, buried in the earth,

rose from the dead and appeared to the apostles, ascended to heaven; He

is the Rest of the departed, the Recoverer of the lost, the Light of

the blind, the Refuge of the afflicted, the Bridegroom of the Church,

the Charioteer of the cherubim, the Captain of angels; God who is of

God, the Son of the Father, the King for ever and ever.

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[1369] This is the English spelling. The Germans and French spell

Sardes (Gr. hai Sar'deis, but also Sardis in Herodotus).

[1370] Renan thinks of an act of self-mutilation (in L'�glise chr�t.

436): "Comme plus tard Orig�ne, il voulut que sa chastet� f�t en

quelque sorte mat�riellement constat�e." But St. John, too, is called

spado by Tertullian (De Monog. 17) and eunuchus by Jerome (In Es. c.

56). Athenagoras uses eunouchia for male continence, Leg. c. 33: to en

partheneia kai en eunouchia meinai, in virginitate et eunuchi statu

manere.

[1371] Elegans et declamatorium ingenium, " in his lost book on

Ecstasis, quoted by Jerome, De Vir. ill. 24. Harnack draws a comparison

between Melito and Tertullian; they resembled each other in the variety

of topics on which they wrote, and in eloquence, but not in elegance of

style.

[1372] Eusebius (IV. 26) mentions first his Apology for the faith

addressed to the emperor of the Romans, and then the following: "Two

works On the Passover, and those On the Conduct of Life and the

Prophets (to peri politeias kai propheton, perhaps two separate books,

perhaps kai for ton),one On the Church, and another discourse On the

Lord's Day (peri kuriakes), one also On the Nature (peri phuseos , al.

Faith, pisteos)of Man, and another On his Formation (peri plaseos) a

work On the Subjection of the Senses to Faith [ ho peri hupakoes

pisteos aistheterion, which Rufinus changes into two books 'de

obedientia fidei; de sensibus,' so also Nicephorus]. Besides these, a

treatise On the Soul, the Body, and the Mind. A dissertation also, On

Baptism; one also On Truth and Faith, and [probably another on] the

Generation of Christ. His discourse On Prophecy, and that On

Hospitality. A treatise called The Key (he kleis), his works On the,

Devil, and The Revelation of John. The treatise On God Incarnate (peri

ensomatou theou, comp. ensomatosis =incarnation), and last of all, the

discourse (biblidion) addressed to Antonine."He then add, ; still

another book called Eklogai, and containing extracts from the Old

Testament. Some of these titles may indicate two distinct books, as ta

peri tou diabolou, kai tes apokalupseos Ioannou.. So Rufinus and Jerome

understood this title. See Heinichen's notes. Other works were ascribed

to him by later writers, as On the Incarnation of Christ (peri

sarkoseos Christou ), On the Cross, On Faith, and two decidedly

spurious works, De Passione S. Joannis, and De Transitu b. Mariae.

[1373] Comp. Euseb. IV. 21, 25. Renan says (p. 192): "Jamais peut-�tre

le christianisme n'a plus �crit que durant le IIesi�cle en Asie. La

culture litt�raire �tait extr�mement r�pandue dans cette province;

l'art d'�crire y �tait fort commun, et le christianisme en profitait.

La litt�rature des P�res d l'�glise commencait. Les si�cles suivants ne

d�pass�rent pas ces premiers essais de l'�loquence chr�tienne; mais, au

point de vue de l'orthodoxie, les livres de ces P�res du IIesi�cle

offraient plus d'une pierre el'achoppement. La lecture en devint

suspecte; on les copia de moins en moins, et ainsi presque tons ces

beaux �crits disparurent, pour faire place aux �crivains classiques,

post�rieurs au concile de Nic�e, �crivains plus corrects comme

doctrine, mais, en g�n�ral, bien moins originaux que ceux du Ilesi�cle.

[1374] Under the heading, "The oration of Melito the Philosopher, held

before Antonintus Caesar, and he spoke [?] to Caesar that he might know

God, and he showed him the way of truth, and began to speak as

follows." Ewald (in the "G�tt. Gel. Anz." 1856, p. 655 sqq.) and Renan

(M. Aur. 184, note) suggest that it is no apology, but Melito's tract

peri aletheias as this word very often occurs. Jacobi, Otto, and

Harnack ascribe it to a different author, probably from Syria.

[1375] A Latin work under the title Melitonis Clavis Sanctae Scripturae

was mentioned by Labb� in 1653 as preserved in the library of Clermont

College, and was at last, after much trouble, recovered in Strassburg

and elsewhere, and published by Cardinal Pitra in the Spicilegium

Solesm. 1855 (Tom. II. and III.). But, unfortunately, it turned out to

be no translation of Melito's kleisat all, but a mediaeval glossary of

mystic interpretation of the Scriptures compiled from Gregory I. and

other Latin fathers. This was conclusively proven by Steitz in the "

Studien und Kritiken "for 1857, p. 584-596. Renan assents (p. 181,

note): "L'ouvrage latin que om Pitra a publi� comme �tant la Cle de

Meliton, est une compilation de passages des P�res latins pouvant

servir � l'explication all�gorique des �critures qui figure pour la

premi�re fois dans la Bible de Th�odulphe."

[1376] Spicileg. Solesm. T. II. p. LIX.

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� 178. Apolinarius of Hierapolis. Miltiades.

Claudius Apolinarius, [1377] 377 bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a

successor of Papias, was a very active apologetic and polemic writer

about a.d. 160-180. He took a leading part in the Montanist and Paschal

controversies. Eusebius puts him with Melito of Sardis among the

orthodox writers of the second century, and mentions four of his "many

works" as known to him, but since lost, namely an "Apology" addressed

to Marcus Aurelius (before 174). "Five books against the Greeks" "Two

books on Truth." "Two books against the Jews." He also notices his

later books "Against the heresy of the Phrygians" (the Montanists),

about 172. [1378] 378

Apolinarius opposed the Quartodeciman observance of Easter, which

Melito defended. [1379] 379 Jerome mentions his familiarity with

heathen literature, but numbers him among the Chiliasts. [1380] 380 The

latter is doubtful on account of his opposition to Montanism. Photius

praises his style. He is enrolled among the saints. [1381] 381

Miltiades was another Christian Apologist of the later half of the

second century whose writings are entirely lost. Eusebius mentions

among them an "Apology" addressed to the rulers of the world, a

treatise "against the Greeks," and another "against the Jews;" but be

gives no extracts. [1382] 382 Tertullian places him between Justin

Martyr and Irenaeus. [1383] 383

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[1377] This is the spelling of the ancient Greek authors who refer to

him. Latin writers usually spell his name Apollinaris or Apollinarius.

There are several noted persons of this name: 1) the legendary St.

Apollinaris, bishop of Ravenna (50-78?), who followed St. Peter from

Antioch to Rome, was sent by him to Ravenna, performed miracles, died a

martyr, and gave name to a magnificent basilica built in the sixth

century. See Acta Sanct. Jul. V. 344. 2) Apollinarus the Elder,

presbyter at Laodicea in Syria (not in Phrygia), an able classical

scholar and poet, about the middle of the fourth century. 3)

Apollinaris the Younger, son of the former, and bishop of Laodicea

between 362 and 380, who with his father composed Christian classics to

replace the heathen classics under the reign of Julian, and afterwards

originated the christological heresy which is named after him. See my

article in Smith and Wace I. 134 sq.

[1378] H. E. IV. 27; repeated by Jerome, De Viris ill. 26. Two extracts

of a work not mentioned by Eusebius are preserved in the Chron. Pasch.

Copies of three of his apologetic books, pros Hellenas peri eusebeias,

peri aletheias , are mentioned by Photius. The last two are probably

identical, as they are connected by kai. See the fragments in Routh, I.

159-174. Comp. Donaldson III. 243; Harnack, Texte, I. 232-239, and

Smith and Wace I. 132.

[1379] See above, p. 214 sq., and Chron. Pasch. 1. 13.

[1380] De Vir. ill. 18; Com. in Ezech. c. 36. In the latter place

Jerome mentions Irenaeus as the first, and Apollinaris as the last, of

the Greek Chiliasts (" ut Graecos nominem, et primum extremumque

conjugam, Iren. et Ap."); but this is a palpable error, for Barnabas

and Papias were Chiliasts before Irenaeus; Methodius and Nepos long

after Apolinarius. Perhaps he meant Apollinaris of Laodicea, in Syria.

[1381] Acta Sanct. Febr. II. 4. See Wetzer and Welte2 I. 1086.

[1382] H. E. V. 17. Jerome, De Vir. ill. 39. Comp. Harnack, Texte, I.

278-282, and Salmon, in Smith and Wace III. 916.

[1383] Adv. Valent. 5. Miltiades is here called "ecclesiarum sophista,"

either honorably= rhetor or philosophus (See Otto and Salmon), or with

an implied censure ("mit einem �blen Nebegeschmack, " as Harnack

thinks). The relation of Miltiades to Montanism is quite obscure, but

probably he was an opponent.

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� 179. Hermias.

Ermeiou philosophou Diasurmos ton exo philosophon, Hermiae Philosophi

Gentilium Philosophorum Irrisio, ten chapters. Ed. princeps with Lat.

vers. Base!, 1553, Zurich, 1560. Worth added it to his Tatian, Oxf.

1700. In Otto and Maranus (Migne, vi. Col. 1167-1180).

Donaldson, III. 179-181.

Under the name of the "philosopher" Hermias (Hermeias or Hermias)

otherwise entirely unknown to us, we have a "Mockery of Heathen

Philosophers," which, with the light arms of wit and sarcasm, endeavors

to prove from the history of philosophy, by exposing the contradictions

of the various systems, the truth of Paul's declaration, that the

wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. He derives the false

philosophy from the demons. He first takes up the conflicting heathen

notions about the soul, and then about the origin of the world, and

ridicules them. The following is a specimen from the discussion of the

first topic:

"I confess I am vexed by the reflux of things. For now I am immortal,

and I rejoice; but now again I become mortal, and I weep; but

straightway I am dissolved into atoms. I become water, and I become

air: I become fire: then after a little I am neither air nor fire: one

makes me a wild beast, one makes me a fish. Again, then, I have

dolphins for my brothers. But when I see myself, I fear my body, and I

no longer know how to call it, whether man, or dog, or wolf, or bull,

or bird, or serpent, or dragon, or chimaera. I am changed by the

philosophers into all the wild beasts, into those that live on land and

on water, into those that are winged, many-shaped, wild, tame,

speechless, and gifted with speech, rational and irrational. I swim,

fly, creep, run, sit; and there is Empedocles too, who makes me a

bush."

The work is small and unimportant. [1384] 384 Some put it down to the

third or fourth century; but the writer calls himself a "philosopher"

(though be misrepresents his profession), has in view a situation of

the church like that under Marcus Aurelius, and presents many points of

resemblance with the older Apologists and with Lucian who likewise

ridiculed the philosophers with keen wit, but from the infidel heathen

standpoint. Hence we may well assign him to the later part of the

second century.

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[1384] Hase aptly calls it "eine oberfl�chlich witzige Belustigung �ber

paradoxe Philosopheme."

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� 180. Hegesippus.

(I.) Euseb. H. E. II. 23; III. 11, 16, 19, 20, 32; IV. 8, 22.

Collection of fragments in Grabe, Spicil. II. 203-214; Routh, Reliq. S.

I. 205-219; Hilgenfeld, in his "Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftliche

Theol." 1876 and 1878.

(II.) The Annotationes in Heges. Fragm. by Routh, I. 220-292 (very

valuable). Donaldson: L. c. III. 182-213. N�sgen: Der Kirchl.

Standpunkt des Heg. in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch." 1877

(p. 193-233). Against Hilgenfeld. Zahn: Der griech. Irenaeusund der

ganze Hegesippus im 16^ten Jahr., ibid. p. 288-291. H. Dannreuther: Du

T�moignage d'H�g�sippe sur l'�glise chr�tienne au deux premiers

si�cles. Nancy 1878. See also his art. in Lichtenberger's "Encycl." vi.

126-129. Friedr. Vogel: De Hegesippo, qui dicitur, Josephi interprete.

Erlangen 1881. W. Milligan: Hegesippus, in Smith and Wace II. (1880)

875-878. C. Weizs�cker: Hegesippus, in Herzog2 V. 695-700. Caspari:

Quellen, etc., III. 345-348.

The orthodoxy of Hegesippus has been denied by the T�bingen critics,

Baur, Schwegler, and, more moderately by Hilgenfeld, but defended by

Dorner, Donaldson, N�sgen, Weizs�cker, Caspari and Milligan.

Contemporary with the Apologists, though not of their class, were

Hegesippus (d. about 180), and Dionysius of Corinth (about 170).

Hegesippus was an orthodox Jewish Christian [1385] 385 and lived during

the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius. He travelled

extensively through Syria, Greece, and Italy, and was in Rome during

the episcopate of Anicetus. He collected "Memorials" [1386] 386 of the

apostolic and post-apostolic churches. He used written sources and oral

traditions. Unfortunately this work which still existed in the

sixteenth century, [1387] 387 is lost, but may yet be recovered. It is

usually regarded as a sort of church history, the first written after

the Acts of St. Luke. This would make Hegesippus rather than Eusebius

"the father of church history." But it seems to have been only a

collection of reminiscences of travel without regard to chronological

order (else the account of the martyrdom of James would have been put

in the first instead of the fifth book.) He was an antiquarian rather

than a historian. His chief object was to prove the purity and

catholicity of the church against the Gnostic heretics and sects.

Eusebius has preserved his reports on the martyrdom of St. James the

Just, Simeon of Jerusalem, Domitian's inquiry for the descendants of

David and the relatives of Jesus, the rise of heresies, the episcopal

succession, and the preservation of the orthodox doctrine in Corinth

and Rome. These scraps of history command attention for their

antiquity; but they must be received with critical caution. They reveal

a strongly Jewish type of piety, like that of James, but by no means

Judaizing heresy. He was not an Ebionite, nor even a Nazarene, but

decidedly catholic. There is no trace of his insisting on circumcision

or the observance of the law as necessary to salvation. His use of "the

Gospel according to the Hebrews" implies no heretical bias. He derived

all the heresies and schisms from Judaism. He laid great stress on the

regular apostolic succession of bishops. In ever city he set himself to

inquire for two things: purity of doctrine and the unbroken succession

of teachers from the times of the apostles. The former depended in his

view on the latter. The result of his investigation was satisfactory in

both respects. He found in every apostolic church the faith maintained.

"The church of Corinth," he says, "continued in the true faith, until

Primus was bishop there [the predecessor of Dionysius], with whom I had

familiar intercourse, as I passed many days at Corinth, when I was

about sailing to Rome, during which time we were mutually refreshed in

the true doctrine. After coming to Rome, I stayed with Anicetus, whose

deacon was Eleutherus. After Anicetus, Soter succeeded, and after him

Eleutherus. In every succession, however, and in every city, the

doctrine prevails according to what is announced by the law and the

prophets and the Lord." [1388] 388 He gives an account of the heretical

corruption which proceeded from the unbelieving Jews, from Thebuthis

and Simon Magus and Cleobius and Dositheus, and other unknown or

forgotten names, but "while the sacred choir of the apostles still

lived, the church was undefiled and pure, like a virgin, until the age

of Trajan, when those impious errors which had so long crept in

darkness ventured forth without shame into open daylight." [1389] 389

He felt perfectly at home in the Catholic church of his day which had

descended from, or rather never yet ascended the lofty mountain-height

of apostolic knowledge and freedom. And as Hegesippus was satisfied

with the orthodoxy of the Western churches, so Eusebius was satisfied

with the orthodoxy of Hegesippus, and nowhere intimates a doubt.

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[1385] Eusebius (iv. 22) expressly calls him "a convert from the

Hebrews, " and this is confirmed by the strongly Jewish coloring of his

account of James, quoted in full, vol. I. 276 sq. He was probably from

Palestine.

[1386] Hupomnemata, or Sungammata, in five books.

[1387] In the library of the convent of St. John at Patmos. See Zahn,

l. c.

[1388] Euseb. IV. 22.

[1389] Ibid. III. 32. This passage has been used by Baur and his school

as an argument against the Pastoral and other apostolic epistles which

warn against the Gnostic heresy, but it clearly teaches that its open

manifestation under Trajan was preceded by its secret working as far

back as Simon Magus. Hegesippus, therefore, only confirms the N. T.

allusions, which likewise imply a distinction between present

beginnings and future developments of error.

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� 181. Dionysius of Corinth.

Euseb.: H. E. II. 25; III. 4; IV. 21, 23. Hieron.: De Vir. ill. 27.

Routh: Rel. S. I. 177-184 (the fragments), and 185-201 (the

annotations). Includes Pinytus Cretensis and his Ep. ad Dion. (Eus. IV.

23).

Donaldson III. 214-220. Salmon in Smith and Wace II. 848 sq.

Dionysius was bishop of Corinth (probably the successor of Primus) in

the third quarter of the second century, till about a.d. 170. He was a

famous person in his day, distinguished for zeal, moderation, and a

catholic and peaceful spirit. He wrote a number of pastoral letters to

the congregations of Lacedaemon, Athens, Nicomedia, Rome, Gortyna in

Crete, and other cities. One is addressed to Chrysophora, "a most

faithful sister." They are all lost, with the exception of a summary of

their contents given by Eusebius, and four fragments of the letter to

Soter and the Roman church. They would no doubt shed much light on the

spiritual life of the church. Eusebius says of him that he "imparted

freely not only to his own people, but to others abroad also, the

blessings of his divine (or inspired) industry." [1390] 390 His letters

were read in the churches.

Such active correspondence promoted catholic unity and gave strength

and comfort in persecution from without and heretical corruption

within. The bishop is usually mentioned with honor, but the letters are

addressed to the church; and even the Roman bishop Soter, like his

predecessor Clement, addressed his own letter in the name of the Roman

church to the church of Corinth. Dionysius writes to the Roman

Christians: "To-day we have passed the Lord's holy day, in which we

have read your epistle. [1391] 391 In reading it we shall always have

our minds stored with admonition, as we shall also from that written to

us before by Clement." He speaks very highly of the liberality of the

church of Rome in aiding foreign brethren condemned to the mines, and

sending contributions to every city.

Dionysius is honored as a martyr in the Greek, as a confessor in the

Latin church.

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[1390] entheou philoponias, Euseb. IV. 23.

[1391] humon ten epistolen. Euseb. II. 23.

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� 182. Irenaeus

Editions of his Works.

S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdun. Opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. A. Stieren.

Lips. 1853, 2 vols. The second volume contains the Prolegomena of older

editors, and the disputations of Maffei and Pfaff on the Fragments of

Irenaeus. It really supersedes all older ed., but not the later one of

Harvey.

S. Irenaei libros quinque adversus Haereses edidit W. Wigan Harvey.

Cambr. 1857, in 2 vols. Based upon a new and careful collation of the

Cod. Claromontanus and Arundel, and embodying the original Greek

portions preserved in the Philosoph. of Hippolytus, the newly

discovered Syriac and Armenian fragments, and learned Prolegomena.

Older editions by Erasmus, Basel 1526 (from three Latin MSS. since

lost, repeated 1528, 1534); Gallasius, Gen. 1570 (with the use of the

Gr. text in Epiphan.); Grynaeus, Bas. 1571 (worthless); Fevardentius

(Feuardent), Paris 1575, improved ed. Col. 1596, and often; Grabe, Oxf.

1702; and above all Massuet, Par. 1710, Ven. 1734, 2 vols. fol., and

again in Migne's "Patrol. Graeco-Lat." , Tom. VII. Par. 1857 (the

Bened. ed., the best of the older, based on three MSS., with ample

Proleg. and 3 Dissertations).

English translation by A. Roberts and W. H. Rambaut, 2 vols., in the

"Ante-Nicene Library," Edinb. 1868. Another by John Keble, ed. by Dr.

Pusey, for the Oxford "Library of the Fathers," 1872.

Biographical and Critical.

Ren. Massuet (R.C.): Dissertationes in Irenaei libros (de hereticis, de

Irenaei vita, gestis et scriptis, de Ir. doctrina) prefixed to his

edition of the Opera, and reprinted in Stieren and Migne. Also the

Proleg. of Harvey, on Gnosticism, and the Life and Writings of Iren.

H. Dodwell: Dissert. in Iren. Oxon. 1689.

Tillemont: M�moirs, etc. III. 77-99.

Deyling: Irenaeus, evangelicae veritatis confessor ac testis. Lips.

1721. (Against Massuet.)

Stieren: Art. Irenaeus in "Ersch and Gruber's Encykl." IInd sect. Vol.

xxiii. 357-386.

J. Beaven: Life and Writings of Irenaeus. Lond. 1841.

J. M. Prat (R.C.):Histoire de St. Iren�e. Lyon and Paris 1843.

L. Duncker: Des heil. IrenaeusChristologie. G�tt. 1843. Very, valuable.

K. Graul: Die Christliche Kirche an der Schwelle des Irenaeischen

Zeitalters. Leipz. 1860. (168 pages.) Introduction to a biography which

never appeared.

Ch. E. Freppel (bishop of Angers, since 1869): Saint Ir�n�e et

l'�loquence chr�tienne dans la Gaule aux deux premiers si�cles. Par.

1861.

G. Schneemann: Sancti Irenaei de ecclesiae Romanae principatu

testimonium. Freib. i. Br. 1870.

B�hringer: Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen, vol. II. new ed. 1873.

Heinrich Ziegler: Irenaeusder Bischof von Lyon. Berlin 1871. (320 p.)

R. A. Lipsius: Die Zeit des lrenaeus von Lyon und die Entstehung der

altkatholischen Kirche, in Sybel's "Histor. Zeitschrift." M�nchen 1872,

p. 241 sqq. See his later art. below.

A. Guilloud: St. Iren�e et son temps. Lyon 1876.

Bp. Lightfoot: The Churches of Gaul, in the "Contemporary Review" for

Aug. 1876.

C. J. H. Ropes: Irenaeus of Lyons, in the Andover "Bibliotheca Sacra"

for April 1877, p. 284-334. A learned discussion of the nationality of

Irenaeus (against Harvey).

J. Quarry: Irenaeus; his testimony to early Conceptions of

Christianity. In the "British Quarterly Review" for 1879, July and Oct.

Renan: Marc Aur�le. Paris 1882, p. 336-344.

TH. Zahn: art. Iren. in HerZog2, VII. 129-140 (abridged in

Schaff-Herzog), chiefly chronological; and R. A. Lipsius in Smith and

Wace III. 253-279. Both these articles are very important; that of

Lipsius is fuller.

Comp. also the Ch. Hist. of Neander, and Baur, and the Patrol. of

M�hler, and Alzog.

Special doctrines and relations of Irenaeus have been discussed by

Baur, Dorner, Thiersch, H�fling, Hopfenmiller, K�rber, Ritschl,

Kirchner, Zahn, Harnack, Leimbach, Reville, Hackenschmidt. See the Lit.

in Zahn's art. in Herzog2.

A full and satisfactory monograph of Irenaeus and his age is still a

desideratum.

Almost simultaneously with the apology against false religions without

arose the polemic literature against the heresies, or various forms of

pseudo-Christianity, especially the Gnostic; and upon this was formed

the dogmatic theology of the church. At the head of the old catholic

controversialists stand Irenaeus and his disciple Hippolytus, both of

Greek education, but both belonging, in their ecclesiastical relations

and labors, to the West.

Asia Minor, the scene of the last labors of St. John, produced a

luminous succession of divines and confessors who in the first three

quarters of the second century reflected the light of the setting sun

of the apostolic age, and may be called the pupils of St. John. Among

them were Polycarp of Smyrna, Papias of Hierapolis, Apolinarius of

Hierapolis, Melito of Sardis, and others less known but honorably

mentioned in the letter of Polycrates of Ephesus to bishop Victor of

Rome (A. D. 190).

The last and greatest representative of this school is Irenaeus, the

first among the fathers properly so called, and one of the chief

architects of the Catholic system of doctrine.

I. Life and Character. Little is known of Irenaeus except what we may

infer from his writings. He sprang from Asia Minor, probably from

Smyrna, where he spent his youth. [1392] 392 He was born between a.d.

115 and 125.. [1393] 393 He enjoyed the instruction of the venerable

Polycarp of Smyrna, the pupil of John, and of other "Elders," who were

mediate or immediate disciples of the apostles. The spirit of his

preceptor passed over to him. "What I heard from him" says he, "that

wrote I not on paper, but in my heart, and by the grace of God I

constantly bring it afresh to mind." Perhaps he also accompanied

Polycarp on his journey to Rome in connexion with the Easter

controversy (154). He went as a missionary to Southern Gaul which seems

to have derived her Christianity from Asia Minor. During the

persecution in Lugdunum and Vienne under Marcus Aurelius (177), he was

a presbyter there and witnessed the horrible cruelties which the

infuriated heathen populace practiced upon his brethren. [1394] 394 The

aged and venerable bishop, Pothinus, fell a victim, and the presbyter

took the post of danger, but was spared for important work.

He was sent by the Gallican confessors to the Roman bishop Eleutherus

(who ruled a.d. 177-190), as a mediator in the Montanistic disputes.

[1395] 395

After the martyrdom of Pothinus he was elected bishop of Lyons (178),

and labored there with zeal and success, by tongue and pen, for the

restoration of the heavily visited church, for the spread of

Christianity in Gaul, and for the defence and development of its

doctrines. He thus combined a vast missionary and literary activity. If

we are to trust the account of Gregory of Tours, he converted almost

the whole population of Lyons and sent notable missionaries to other

parts of pagan France.

After the year 190 we lose sight of Irenaeus. Jerome speaks of him as

having flourished in the reign of Commodus, i.e., between 180 and 192.

He is reported by later tradition (since the fourth or fifth century)

to have died a martyr in the persecution under Septimus Severus, a.d.

202, but the silence of Tertullian, Hippolytus, Eusebius, and

Epiphanius makes this point extremely doubtful. He was buried under the

altar of the church of St. John in Lyons. [1396] 396 This city became

again famous in church history in the twelfth century as the birthplace

of the Waldensian martyr church, the Pauperes de Lugduno.

II. His Character and Position. Irenaeus is the leading representative

of catholic Christianity in the last quarter of the second century, the

champion of orthodoxy against Gnostic heresy, and the mediator between

the Eastern and Western churches. He united a learned Greek education

and philosophical penetration with practical wisdom and moderation. He

is neither very original nor brilliant, but eminently sound and

judicious. His individuality is not strongly marked, but almost lost in

his catholicity. He modestly disclaims elegance and eloquence, and says

that he had to struggle in his daily administrations with the barbarous

Celtic dialect of Southern Gaul; but he nevertheless handles the Greek

with great skill on the most abstruse subjects. [1397] 397 He is

familiar with Greek poets (Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles) and

philosophers (Thales, Pythagoras, Plato), whom he occasionally cites.

He is perfectly at home in the Greek Bible and in the early Christian

writers, as Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius, Hermas, Justin

M., and Tatian. [1398] 398 His position gives him additional weight,

for he is linked by two long lives, that of his teacher and

grand-teacher, to the fountain head of Christianity. We plainly trace

in him the influence of the spirit of Polycarp and John. "The true way

to God," says he, in opposition to the false Gnosis, "is love. It is

better to be willing to know nothing but Jesus Christ the crucified,

than to fall into ungodliness through over-curious questions and paltry

subtleties." We may trace in him also the strong influence of the

anthropology and soteriology of Paul. But he makes more account than

either John or Paul of the outward visible church, the episcopal

succession, and the sacraments; and his whole conception of

Christianity is predominantly legalistic. Herein we see the catholic

churchliness which so strongly set in during the second century.

Irenaeus is an enemy of all error and schism, and, on the whole, the

most orthodox of the ante-Nicene fathers. [1399] 399 We must, however,

except his eschatology. Here, with Papias and most of his

contemporaries, be maintains the pre-millennarian views which were

subsequently abandoned as Jewish dreams by the catholic church. While

laboring hard for the spread and defense of the church on earth, he is

still "gazing up into heaven," like the men of Galilee, anxiously

waiting for the return of the Lord and the establishment of his

kingdom. He is also strangely mistaken about the age of Jesus from a

false inference of the question of the Jews, John 8:57.

Irenaeus is the first among patristic writers who makes full use of the

New Testament. The Apostolic Fathers re�cho the oral traditions; the

Apologists are content with quoting the Old Testament prophets and the

Lord's own words in the Gospels as proof of divine revelation; but

Irenaeus showed the unity of the Old and New Testaments in opposition

to the Gnostic separation, and made use of the four Gospels and nearly

all Epistles in opposition to the mutilated canon of Marcion. [1400]

400

With all his zeal for pure and sound doctrine, Irenaeus was liberal

towards subordinate differences, and remonstrated with the bishop of

Rome for his unapostolic efforts to force an outward uniformity in

respect to the time and manner of celebrating Easter. [1401] 401 We may

almost call him a forerunner of Gallicanism in its protest against

ultramontane despotism. "The apostles have ordained," says he in the

third fragment, which appears to refer to that controversy, "that we

make conscience with no one of food and drink, or of particular feasts,

new moons, and sabbaths. Whence, then, controversies; whence schisms?

We keep feasts but with the leaven of wickedness and deceit, rending

asunder the church of God, and we observe the outward, to the neglect

of the higher, faith and love." He showed the same moderation in the

Montanistic troubles. He was true to his name Peaceful ( Gr. ) and to

his spiritual ancestry.

III. His Writings. (1.) The most important work of Irenaeus is his

Refutation of Gnosticism, in five books. [1402] 402 It was composed

during the pontificate of Eleutherus, that is between the years 177 and

190. [1403] 403 It is at once the polemic theological masterpiece of

the ante-Nicene age, and the richest mine of information respecting

Gnosticism and the church doctrine of that age. It contains a complete

system of Christian divinity, but enveloped in polemical smoke, which

makes it very difficult and tedious reading. The work was written at

the request of a friend who wished to be informed of the Valentinian

heresy and to be furnished with arguments against it. Valentinus and

Marcion had taught in Rome about a.d. 140, and their doctrines had

spread to the south of France. The first book contains a minute

exposition of the gorgeous speculations of Valentinus and a general

view of the other Gnostic sects; the second an exposure of the

unreasonableness and contradictions of these heresies; especially the

notions of the Demiurge as distinct from the Creator, of the Aeons, the

Pleroma and Kenoma, the emanations, the fall of Achamoth, the formation

of the lower world of matter, the sufferings of the Sophia, the

difference between the three classes of men, the Somatici, Psychici,

and Pneumatici. The last three books refute Gnosticism from the Holy

Scripture and Christian tradition which teach the same thing; for the

same gospel which was first orally preached and transmitted was

subsequently committed to writing and faithfully preserved in all the

apostolic churches through the regular succession of the bishops and

elders; and this apostolic tradition insures at the same time the

correct interpretation of Scripture against heretical perversion. To

the ever-shifting and contradictory opinions of the heretics Irenaeus

opposes the unchanging faith of the catholic church which is based on

the Scriptures and tradition, and compacted together by the episcopal

organization. It is the same argument which Bellarmin, Bossuet, and

M�hler use against divided and distracted Protestantism, but

Protestantism differs as much from old Gnosticism as the New Testament

from the apocryphal Gospels, and as sound, sober, practical sense

differs from mystical and transcendental nonsense. The fifth book

dwells on the resurrection of the body and the millennial kingdom.

Irenaeus derived his information from the writings of Valentinus and

Marcion and their disciples, and from Justin Martyr's Syntagma. [1404]

404

The interpretation of Scripture is generally sound and sober, and

contrasts favorably with the fantastic distortions of the Gnostics. He

had a glimpse of a theory of inspiration which does justice to the

human factor. He attributes the irregularities of Paul's style to his

rapidity of discourse and the impetus of the Spirit which is in him.

[1405] 405

(2.) The Epistle to Florinus, of which Eusebius has preserved an

interesting and important fragment, treated On the Unity of God, and

the Origin of Evil. [1406] 406 It was written probably after the work

against heresies, and as late as 190. [1407] 407 Florinus was an older

friend and fellow-student of lrenaeus and for some time presbyter in

the church of Rome, but was deposed on account of his apostasy to the

Gnostic heresy. Irenaeus reminded him very touchingly of their common

studies at the feet of the patriarchal Polycarp, when he held some

position at the royal court (probably during Hadrian's sojourn at

Smyrna), and tried to bring him back to the faith of his youth, but we

do not know with what effect.

(3.) On the Ogdoad [1408] 408 against the Valentinian system of Aeons,

in which the number eight figures prominently with a mystic meaning.

Eusebius says that it was written on account of Florinus, and that he

found in it "a most delightful remark," as follows: "I adjure thee,

whoever thou art, that transcribest this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ

and by his gracious appearance, when he shall come to judge the quick

and the dead, to compare what thou hast copied, and to correct it by

this original manuscript, from which thou hast carefully transcribed.

And that thou also copy this adjuration, and insert it in the copy."

The carelessness of transcribers in those days is the chief cause of

the variations in the text of the Greek Testament which abounded

already in the second century. Irenaeus himself mentions a remarkable

difference of reading in the mystic number of Antichrist (666 and 616),

on which the historic interpretation of the book depends (Rev. 13:18).

(4.) A book On Schism, addressed to Blastus who was the head of the

Roman Montanists and also a Quartodeciman. [1409] 409 It referred

probably to the Montanist troubles in a conciliatory spirit.

(5.) Eusebius mentions [1410] 410 several. other treatises which are

entirely lost, as Against the Greeks (or On Knowledge), On Apostolic

Preaching, a Book on Various Disputes, [1411] 411 and on the Wisdom of

Solomon. In the Syriac fragments some other lost works are mentioned.

(6.) Irenaeus is probably the author of that touching account of the

persecution of 177, which the churches of Lyons and Vienne sent to the

churches in Asia Minor and Phrygia, and which Eusebius has in great

part preserved. He was an eyewitness of the cruel scene, yet his name

is not mentioned, which would well agree with his modesty; the document

breathes his mild Christian spirit, reveals his aversion to Gnosticism,

his indulgence for Montanism, his expectation of the near approach of

Antichrist. It is certainly one of the purest and most precious remains

of ante-Nicene literature and fully equal, yea superior to the

"Martyrdom of Polycarp," because free from superstitious relic-worship.

[1412] 412

(7.) Finally, we must mention four more Greek fragments of Irenaeus,

which Pfaff discovered at Turin in 1715, and first published. Their

genuineness has been called in question by some Roman divines, chiefly

for doctrinal reasons. [1413] 413 The first treats of the true

knowledge, [1414] 414 which consists not in the solution of subtle

questions, but in divine wisdom and the imitation of Christ; the second

is on the eucharist; [1415] 415 the third, on the duty of toleration in

subordinate points of difference, with reference to the Paschal

controversies; [1416] 416 the fourth, on the object of the incarnation,

which is stated to be the purging away of sin and the annihilation of

all evil. [1417] 417

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[1392] Harvey derives from the alleged familiarity of Irenaeus with

Hebrew and the Syriac Peshito the conclusion that he was a Syrian, but

Ropes denies the premise and defends the usual view of his Greek

nationality. See also Caspari, Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymb III. 343

sq.

[1393] The change of Polycarp's martyrdom from 166 to 155 necessitates

a corresponding change in the chronology of Irenaeus, his pupil, who

moreover says that the Apocalypse of John was written at the end of

Domitian's reign (d. 96), "almost within our age" (schedon epi tes

hemeteras geneas, Adv. Haer. v. 30, 3). Zahn (in Herzog) decides for

115, Lipsius (in Smith and Wace) for 130 or 125, as the date of his

birth. Dodwell favored the year 97 or 98; Grabe 108, Tillemont and

Lightfoot 120, Leimbach, Hilgenfeld, and Ropes 126, Oscar von Gebhardt

126-130, Harvey 130, Massuet, Dupin, B�hringer, Kling 140 (quite too

late), Ziegler 142-147 (impossible). The late date is derived from a

mistaken understanding of the reference to the old age of Polycarp

(panu geraleosbut this, as Zahn and Lightfoot remark, refers to the

time of his martyrdom, not the time of his acquaintance with Irenaeus),

and from the assumption of the wrong date of his martyrdom (166 instead

of 155 or 156). The term prote helikia, "first age, " which Irenaeus

uses of the time of his acquaintance with Polycarp (III. 3, � 4; comp.

Euseb. H. E. IV. 14), admits of an extension from boyhood to youth and

early manhood; for Irenaeus counts five ages of a man's life (Adv. Haer

I. 22, � 4; 24, � 4--infans, parvullus, puer, juvenis, senior), and

includes the thirtieth year in the youth, by calling Christ a juvenis

at the time of his baptism. Hence Zahn and Lipsius conclude that the

prote helikiaof Irenaeus's connection with Polycarp is not the age of

childhood, but of early young-manhood."Als junger Mann, " says

Zahn."etwa zwischen dem 18. und 35. Lebensjahre, will Ir. sich des

Umqangs mit Pol erfreut haben." Another hint is given in the letter of

Iren. to Florinus, in which be reminds him of their mutual acquaintance

with Polycarp in lower Asia in their youth when Florinus was at "the

royal court" (aule basilike). Lightfoot conjectures that this means by

anticipation the court of Antoninus Pius, when he was proconsul of Asia

Minor, a.d. 136, two years before he ascended the imperial throne

(Waddington, Fastes des provinces Asiatiques, p. 714). But Zahn

reasserts the more natural explanation of Dodwell, that the court of

Emperor Hadrian is meant, who twice visited Asia Minor as emperor

between the years 122 and 130.

[1394] See above, � 20, p. 55 sq.

[1395] Either during, or after the persecution. Euseb. V. S.; Jerome,

De Vir. ill c. 35.

[1396] "The story that his bones were dug up and thrown into the street

by the Calvinists in 1562 has been abundantly refuted." Encycl. Brit.,

ninth ed XIII. 273.

[1397] This is evident from the very passage in which he makes that

apology to his friend (Adv. Haer., Pref. � 3): "Thou wilt not require

from me, who dwell among the Celts (en Keltois), and am accustomed for

the most part to use a barbarous dialect (barbaron dialekton)any skill

in discourse which I have not learned, nor any power of composition

which I have not practised, nor any beauty of style nor persuasiveness

of which I know nothing. But thou wilt accept lovingly what I write

lovingly to thee in simplicity, truthfully, and in my own way (haplos

kai alethos kai idiotikos); whilst thou thyself (as being more

competent than I am) wilt expand those ideas of which I send thee, as

it were, only the seeds and principles (spermata kai archas); and in

the comprehensiveness of thine understanding, wilt develop to their

full extent the points on which I briefly touch, so as to set with

power before thy companions those things which I have uttered in

weakness."Jerome praises the style of Irenaeus as "doctissmus et

eloquentissimus," and Massuet (Diss. II. � 51) adds that his " Greek

text as far as preserved, is elegant, polished, and grave."

[1398] Harvey claims for him also Hebrew and Syriac scholarship; but

this is disputed.

[1399] Bishop Lightfoot ("Contemp. Rev." May, 1875, p. 827) says that

Irenaeus If on all the most important points conforms to the standard

which has satisfied the Christian church ever since."Renan (p. 341)

calls him "le mod�le de l'homme eccl�siastique accompli."

[1400] See the long list of his Scripture quotations in Stieren, I.

996-1005, and the works on the Canon of the N. T.

[1401] Comp. � 62, p. 217 sq.

[1402] Elenchos kai anatrope tes pseudonumou gnoseos (1 Tim. 6:20),

i.e.A Refutation and Subversion of Knowledge falsely so called; cited,

since Jerome, under the simpler title: Adversus Haereses (pros

aireseis).The Greek original of the work, together with the five books

of Hegesippus, was still in existence in the sixteenth century, and may

yet be recovered. See Zahn in Brieger's " Zeitschrift f�r K.

Gesch."1877, p. 288-291. But so far we only have fragments of it

preserved in Hippolytus (Philosophumena), Eusebius, Theodoret, and

especially in Epiphanius (Haer. XXXl.c. 9-33). We have, however, the

entire work in a slavishly literal translation into barbarous Latin,

crowded with Grecisms, but for this very reason very valuable. Three

MSS. of the Latin version survive, the oldest is the Codex

Claromontanus of the tenth or eleventh century. This and the Arundel

MS. are now in England (see a description in Harvey's Preface, i. viii.

sqq. with facsimiles). Besides, we have now fragments of a Syrian

version, derived from the Nitrian MSS. of the British Museum, and

fragments of an Armenian translation, published by Pitra in his

Spicilegium Solesmense vol. I. (1852), both incorporated in Harvey's

edition, vol. II. 431-469. They agree closely with the Latin Version.

An attempt to restore the Greek text from the Latin, for the better

understanding of it, has been made on the first four chapters of the

third book by H. W. J. Thiersch (" Stud. u. Kritiken," 1842). Semler's

objections to the genuineness have been so thoroughly refuted by Chr.

G. F. Walch (De authentia libiorum Irenaei, 1774), that M�hler and

Stieren might have spared themselves the trouble.

[1403] Eleutherus is mentioned, III. 3, 3, as then occupying the see of

Rome. Lipsius fixes the composition between a.d. 180 and 185, Harvey

between 182 and 188 (L.CLVIII).

[1404] On the sources of the history, of heresies see especially the

works of Lipsius, and Harnack, quoted on p. 443, and Harvey's

Preliminary Observations in vol. I.

[1405] Adv. Haer. III. 7, � 2.

[1406] Peri monarchias he peri tou me heinai ton Theon poieten kakon.

Euseb. H. E. V. 20, comp. ch. 15.

[1407] Leimbach and Lightfoot regard the letter as one of the earliest

writings of Irenaeus, but Lipsius (p. 263) puts it down to about a.d.

190 or after, on the ground of the Syriac fragment, from a letter of

Irenaeus to Victor of Rome (190-202) concerning "Florinus, a presbyter

and partisan of the error of Valentinus, who published an abominable

book." See the fragment in Harvey, II. 457. Eusebius makes no mention

of such a letter, but there is no good reason to doubt its genuineness.

[1408] Peri ogdoados. Euseb. V. 20.

[1409] Peri schismatos. Also mentioned by Euseb. l. c. Comp. V. 14;

Pseudo-Tertullian Adv. Haer. 22; and the Syriac fragment in Harvey II.

456; also the critical discussion of the subject and date by Lipsius,

264 sq.

[1410] H E. V. 26.

[1411] biblion dialexeon diaphoron. Harvey and Lipsius make this out to

have been a collection of homilies on various texts of scripture.

[1412] Eusebius H. E. V. I and 2; also in Routh's Reliquiae S. 1. 295

sqq., with notes. It has often been translated. Comp. on this document

the full discussion of Donaldson, III. 250-2S6, and the striking

judgment of Renan (l.c. p. 340), who calls it "un des morceaux les plus

extraordinaires que poss�de aucune litterature," and "la perle de la

litterature chr�tienne au Ilesiecle." He attributes it to Irenaeus;

Harvey denies it to him; Donaldson leaves the authorship in doubt.

[1413] Harvey (I. clxxii) accepts them all as "possessing good external

authority, and far more convincing internal proof of genuineness, than

can alway s be expected in such brief extracts."

[1414] gnosis alethine perhaps the same treatise as the one mentioned

by Eusebius under the title peri tes epistemes

[1415] Discussed in � 69, p. 242.

[1416] This Lipsius (p. 266) considers to be the only one of the four

fragments which is undoubtedly genuine.

[1417] See � 157, p. 609, and Stieren's ed. I. 889.

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� 183. Hippolytus.

(I.) S. Hippolyti episcopi et martyris Opera, Graece et Lat. ed. J.

Afabricius, Hamb. 1716-18, 2 vols. fol.; ed. Gallandi in "Biblioth.

Patrum," Ven. 1760, Vol. II.; Migne: Patr. Gr., vol. x. Col. 583-982.

P. Ant. de Lagarde: Hippolyti Romani quae feruntur omnia Graece, Lips.

et Lond. 1858 (216 pages). Lagarde has also published some Syriac and

Arabic fragments, of Hippol., in his Analecta Syriaca (p. 79-91) and

Appendix, Leipz. and Lond. 1858.

Patristic notices of Hippolytus. Euseb.: H. E. VI. 20, 22; Prudentius

in the 11th of his Martyr Hymns (per'i stephanon) Hieron De Vir. ill.

c. 61; Photius, Cod. 48 and 121. Epiphanius barely mentions Hippol.

(Haer. 31). Theodoret quotes several passages and calls him "holy

Hippol. bishop and martyr" (Haer. Fab. III. 1 and Dial. I., II. and

III.). See Fabricius, Hippol. I. VIII.-XX.

S. Hippolyti EpIs. et Mart. Refutationis omnium haeresium librorum

decem quae supersunt, ed. Duncker et Schneidewin. G�tt. 1859. The first

ed. appeared under the name of Origen: Origenous philosophumena he kata

pason haireeon elenchos. Origenis Philosophumena, sive omnium haeresium

refutatio. E codice Parisino ninc primum ed. Emmanuel Miller. Oxon.

(Clarendon Press), 1851. Another ed. by Abbe Cruice, Par. 1860. An

English translation by J. H. Macmahon, in the "Ante-Nicene Christian

Library, " Edinb. 1868.

A MS. of this important work from the 14th century was discovered at,

Mt. Athos in Greece in 1842, by a learned Greek, Mino�des Mynas (who

had been sent by M. Villemain, minister of public instruction under

Louis Philippe, to Greece in search of MSS.), and deposited in the

national library at Paris. The first book had been long known among the

works of Origen, but had justly been already denied to him by Huet and

De la Rue; the second and third, and beginning of the fourth, are still

wanting; the tenth lacks the conclusion. This work is now universally

ascribed to Hippolytus.

Canones S. Hippolyti Arabice e codicibus Romanis cum versione Latina,

ed. D. B. de Haneberg. Monach. 1870. The canons are very rigoristic,

but "certain evidence as to their authorship is wanting."

O. Bardenhewer: Des heil. Hippolyt von Rom. Commentar zum B. Daniel.

Freib. i. B. 1877,

(II.) E. F. Kimmel: De Hippolyti vita et scriptis. Jen. 1839. M�hler:

Patrol. p. 584 sqq. Both are confined to the older confused sources of

information.

Since the discovery of the Philosophumena the following books and

tracts on Hippolytus have appeared, which present him under a new

light.

Bunsen: Hippolytus and his Age. Lond. 1852. 4 vols. (German in 2 vols.

Leipz. 1855); 2d ed. with much irrelevant and heterogeneous matter

(under the title: Christianity and Mankind). Lond. 1854. 7 vols.

Jacobi in the "Deutsche Zeitschrift," Berl. 1851 and '53; and Art."

Hippolytus" in Herzog's Encykl. VI. 131 sqq. (1856), and in Herzog2 VI.

139-149.

Baur, in the "Theol. Jahrb." T�b. 1853. Volkmar and Ritschl, ibid.

1854,

Gieseler, in the "Stud. u. Krit." for 1853.

D�llinger (R. Cath., but since 1870 an Old Cath.): Hippolytus und

Callistus, oder die r�m. Kirche in der ersten Haelfte des dritten

Jahrh. Regensburg 1853. English translation by Alfred Plummer, Edinb.

1876 (360 pages). The most learned book on the subject. An apology for

Callistus and the Roman see, against Hippolytus the supposed first

anti-Pope.

Chr. Wordsworth (Anglican): St. Hippolytus and the Church of Rome in

the earlier part of the third century. London 1853. Second and greatly

enlarged edition, 1880. With the Greek text and an English version of

the 9th and 10th books. The counter-part of D�llinger. An apology for

Hippolytus against Callistus and the papacy.

L'abb� Cruice (chanoine hon. de Paris): Etudes sur de nouv. doc. hist.

des Philosophumena. Paris 1853 (380 p.)

W. Elfe Tayler: Hippol. and the Christ. Ch. of the third century. Lond.

1853. (245 p.)

Le Normant: Controverse sur les Philos. d' Orig. Paris 1853. In "Le

Correspondant," Tom. 31 p. 509-550. For Origen as author.

G. Volkmar: Hippolytusund die r�m. Zeitgenossen. Z�rich 1855. (174

pages.)

Caspari: Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel.

Christiania, vol. III. 349 sqq. and 374-409. On the writings of H.

Lipsius: Quellen der �ltesten Ketzergesch. Leipzig 1875.

De Smedt (R.C.): De Auctore Philosophumenon. In "Dissertationes

Selectae." Ghent, 1876.

G. Salmon: Hipp. Romanus in Smith and Wace III. 85-105 (very good.)

I. Life Of Hippolytus. This famous person has lived three lives, a real

one in the third century as an opponent of the popes of his day, a

fictitious one in the middle ages as a canonized saint, and a literary

one in the nineteenth century after the discovery of his long lost

works against heresies. He was undoubtedly one of the most learned and

eminent scholars and theologians of his time. The Roman church placed

him in the number of her saints and martyrs, little suspecting that he

would come forward in the nineteenth century as an accuser against her.

But the statements of the ancients respecting him are very obscure and

confused. Certain it is, that he received a thorough Grecian education,

and, as he himself says, in a fragment preserved by Photius, heard the

discourses of Irenaeus (in Lyons or in Rome). His public life falls in

the end of the second century and the first three decennaries of the

third (about 198 to 236), and he belongs to the western church, though

he may have been, like Irenaeus, of Oriental extraction. At all events

he wrote all his books in Greek. [1418] 418

Eusebius is the first who mentions him, and he calls him indefinitely,

bishop, and a contemporary of Origen and Beryl of Bostra; he evidently

did not know where he was bishop, but he gives a list of his works

which he saw (probably in the library of Caesarea). Jerome gives a more

complete list of his writings, but no more definite information as to

his see, although he was well acquainted with Rome and Pope Damasus. He

calls him martyr, and couples him with the Roman senator Apollonius. An

old catalogue of the popes, the Catalogus Liberianus (about a.d. 354),

states that a "presbyter" Hippolytus was banished, together with the

Roman bishop Pontianus, about 235, to the unhealthy island of Sardinia,

and that the bodies of both were deposited on the same day (Aug. 13),

Pontianus in the cemetery of Callistus, Hippolytus on the Via Tiburtina

(where his statue was discovered in 1551). The translation of Pontianus

was effected by Pope Fabianus about 236 or 237. From this statement we

would infer that Hippolytus died in the mines of Sardinia and was thus

counted a martyr, like all those confessors who died in prison. He may,

however, have returned and suffered martyrdom elsewhere. The next

account we have is from the Spanish poet Prudentius who wrote in the

beginning of the fifth century. He represents Hippolytus in poetic

description as a Roman presbyter (therein agreeing with the Liberian

Catalogue) who belonged to the Novatian party [1419] 419(which,

however, arose several years after the death of Hippolytus), but in the

prospect of death regretted the schism exhorted his numerous followers

to return into the bosom of the catholic church, and then, in bitter

allusion to his name and to the mythical Hippolytus, the son of

Theseus, was bound by the feet to a team of wild horses and dragged to

death over stock and stone. He puts into his mouth his last words:

"These steeds drag my limbs after them; drag Thou, O Christ, my soul to

Thyself." [1420] 420 He places the scene of his martyrdom at Ostia or

Portus where the Prefect of Rome happened to be at that time who

condemned him for his Christian profession. Prudentius also saw the

subterranean grave-chapel in Rome and a picture which represented his

martyrdom (perhaps intended originally for the mythological

Hippolytus). [1421] 421 But as no such church is found in the early

lists of Roman churches, it may have been the church of St. Lawrence,

the famous gridiron-martyr, which adjoined the tomb of Hippolytus.

Notwithstanding the chronological error about the Novatian schism and

the extreme improbability of such a horrible death under Roman laws and

customs, there is an important element of truth in this legend, namely

the schismatic position of Hippolytus which suits the Philosophumena,

perhaps also his connection with Portus. The later tradition of the

catholic church (from the middle of the seventh century) makes him

bishop of Portus Romanus (now Porto) which lies at the Northern mouth

of the Tiber, opposite Ostia, about fifteen miles from Rome. [1422] 422

The Greek writers, not strictly distinguishing the city from the

surrounding country, call him usually bishop of Rome. [1423] 423

These are the vague and conflicting traditions, amounting to this that

Hippolytus was an eminent presbyter or bishop in Rome or the vicinity,

in the early part of the third century, that he wrote many learned

works and died a martyr in Sardinia or Ostia. So the matter stood when

a discovery in the sixteenth century shed new light on this mysterious

person.

In the year 1551, a much mutilated marble statue, now in the Lateran

Museum, was exhumed at Rome near the basilica of St. Lawrence on the

Via Tiburtina (the road to Tivoli). This statue is not mentioned indeed

by Prudentius, and was perhaps originally designed for an entirely

different purpose, possibly for a Roman senator; but it is at all

events very ancient, probably from the middle of the third century.

[1424] 424 It represents a venerable man clothed with the Greek pallium

and Roman toga, seated in a bishop's chair. On the back of the cathedra

are engraved in uncial letters the paschal cycle, or easter-table of

Hippolytus for seven series of sixteen years, beginning with the first

year of Alexander Severus (222), and a list of writings, presumably

written by the person whom the statue represents. Among these writings

is named a work On the All, which is mentioned in the tenth book of the

Philosophumena as a product of the writer. [1425] 425 This furnishes

the key to the authorship of that important work.

Much more important is the recent discovery and publication (in 1851)

of one of his works themselves, and that no doubt the most valuable of

them all, viz. the Philosophumena, or Refutation of all Heresies. It is

now almost universally acknowledged that this work comes not from

Origen, who never was a bishop, nor from the antimontanistic and

antichiliastic presbyter Caius, but from Hippolytus; because, among

other reasons, the author, in accordance with the Hippolytus-statue,

himself refers to a work On the All, as his own, and because Hippolytus

is declared by the fathers to have written a work Adversus omnes

Haereses. [1426] 426 The entire matter of the work, too, agrees with

the scattered statements of antiquity respecting his ecclesiastical

position; and at the same time places that position in a much clearer

light, and gives us a better understanding of those statements. [1427]

427 The author of the Philosophumena appears as one of the most

prominent of the clergy in or near Rome in the beginning of the third

century; probably a bishop, since he reckons himself among the

successors of the apostles and the guardians of the doctrine of the

church. He took an active part in all the doctrinal and ritual

controversies of his time, but severely opposed the Roman bishops

Zephyrinus (202-218) and Callistus (218-223), on account of their

Patripassian leanings, and their loose penitential discipline. The

latter especially, who had given public offence by his former mode of

life, he attacked without mercy and not without passion. He was,

therefore, if not exactly a schismatical counter-pope (as D�llinger

supposes), yet the head of a disaffected and schismatic party, orthodox

in doctrine, rigoristic in discipline, and thus very nearly allied to

the Montanists before him, and to the later schism of Novatian. It is

for this reason the more remarkable, that we have no account respecting

the subsequent course of this movement, except the later unreliable

tradition, that Hippolytus finally returned into the bosom of the

catholic church, and expiated his schism by martyrdom, either in the

mines of Sardinia or near Rome (A. D. 235, or rather 236, under the

persecuting emperor Maximinus the Thracian).

II. His Writings. Hippolytus was the most learned divine and the most

voluminous writer of the Roman church in the third century; in fact the

first great scholar of that church, though like his teacher, Irenaeus,

he used the Greek language exclusively. This fact, together with his

polemic attitude to the Roman bishops of his day, accounts for the

early disappearance of his works from the remembrance of that church.

He is not so much an original, productive author, as a learned and

skilful compiler. In the philosophical parts of his Philosophumena he

borrows largely from Sextus Empiricus, word for word, without

acknowledgment; and in the theological part from Irenaeus. In doctrine

he agrees, for the most part, with Irenaeus, even to his chiliasm, but

is not his equal in discernment, depth, and moderation. He repudiates

philosophy, almost with Tertullian's vehemence, as the source of all

heresies; yet he employs it to establish his own views. On the subject

of the trinity he assails Monarchianism, and advocates the hypostasian

theory with a zeal which brought down upon him the charge of ditheism.

His disciplinary principles are rigoristic and ascetic. In this respect

also he is akin to Tertullian, though he places the Montanists, like

the Quartodecimanians, but with only a brief notice, among the

heretics. His style is vigorous, but careless and turgid. Caspari calls

Hippolytus "the Roman Origen." This is true as regards learning and

independence, but Origen had more genius and moderation.

The principal work of Hippolytus is the Philosophumena or Refutation of

all Heresies. It is, next to the treatise of Irenaeus, the most

instructive and important polemical production of the ante-Nicene

church, and sheds much new light, not only upon the ancient heresies,

and the development of the church doctrine, but also upon the history

of philosophy and the condition of the Roman church in the beginning of

the third century. It furthermore affords valuable testimony to the

genuineness of the Gospel of John, both from the mouth of the author

himself, and through his quotations from the much earlier Gnostic

Basilides, who was a later contemporary of John (about a.d. 125). The

composition falls some years after the death of Callistus, between the

years 223 and 235. The first of the ten books gives an outline of the

heathen philosophies which he regards as the sources of all heresies;

hence the title Philosophumena which answers the first four books, but

not the last six. It is not in the Athos-MS., but was formerly known

and incorporated in the works of Origen. The second and third books,

which are wanting, treated probably of the heathen mysteries, and

mathematical and astrological theories. The fourth is occupied likewise

with the heathen astrology and magic, which must have exercised great

influence, particularly in Rome. In the fifth book the author comes to

his proper theme, the refutation of all the heresies from the times of

the apostles to his own. He takes up thirty-two in all, most of which,

however, are merely different branches of Gnosticism and Ebionism. He

simply states the heretical opinions from lost writings, without

introducing his own reflection, and refers them to the Greek

philosophy, mysticism, and magic, thinking them sufficiently refuted by

being traced to those heathen sources. The ninth book, in refuting the

doctrine of the No�tians and Callistians, makes remarkable disclosures

of events in the Roman church. He represents Pope Zephyrinus as a weak

and ignorant man who gave aid and comfort to the Patripassian heresy,

and his successor Callistus, as a shrewd and cunning manager who was

once a slave, then a dishonest banker, and became a bankrupt and

convict, but worked himself into the good graces of Zephyrinus and

after his death obtained the object of his ambition, the papal chair,

taught heresy and ruined the discipline by extreme leniency to

offenders. Here the author shows himself a violent partizan, and must

be used with caution.

The tenth book, made use of by Theodoret, contains a brief

recapitulation and the author's own confession of faith, as a positive

refutation of the heresies. The following is the most important part

relating to Christ:

"This Word (Logos) the Father sent forth in these last days no longer

to speak by a prophet, nor willing that He should be only guessed at

from obscure preaching, but bidding Him be manifested face to face, in

order that the world should reverence Him when it beheld Him, not

giving His commands in the person of a prophet, nor alarming the soul

by an angel, but Himself present who had spoken.

"Him we know to have received a body from the Virgin and to have

refashioned the old man by a new creation, and to have passed in His

life through every age, in order that He might be a law to every age,

and by His presence exhibit His own humanity as a pattern to all men,

[1428] 428 and thus convince man that God made nothing evil, and that

man possesses free will, having in himself the power of volition or

non-volition, and being able to do both. Him we know to have been a man

of the same nature with ourselves.

"For, if He were not of the same nature, He would in vain exhort us to

imitate our Master. For if that man was of another nature, why does He

enjoin the same duties on me who am weak? And how can He be good and

just? But that He might be shown to be the same as we, He underwent

toil and consented to suffer hunger and thirst, and rested in sleep,

and did not refuse His passion, and became obedient unto death, and

manifested His resurrection, having consecrated in all these things His

own humanity, as first fruits, in order that thou when suffering mayest

not despair, acknowledging thyself a man of like nature and waiting for

the appearance of what thou gavest to Him. [1429] 429

"Such is the true doctrine concerning the Deity, O ye Greeks and

Barbarians, Chaldaeans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Africans, Indians

and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye warlike Latins, and all ye inhabitants of

Europe, Asia, and Africa, whom I exhort, being a disciple of the

man-loving Word and myself a lover of men ( ). Come ye and learn from

us, who is the true God, and what is His well-ordered workmanship, not

heeding the sophistry of artificial speeches, nor the vain professions

of plagiarist heretics, but the grave simplicity of unadorned truth. By

this knowledge ye will escape the coming curse of the judgment of fire,

and the dark rayless aspect of Tartarus, never illuminated by the voice

of the Word ....

Therefore, O men, persist not in your enmity, nor hesitate to retrace

your steps. For Christ is the God who is over all ( ,comp. Rom. 9:5),

who commanded men to wash away sin [in baptism], [1430] 430

regenerating the old man, having called him His image from the

beginning, showing by a figure His love to thee. If thou obeyest His

holy commandment and becomest an imitator in goodness of Him who is

good, thou wilt become like Him, being honored by Him. For God has a

need and craving for thee, having made thee divine for His glory."

Hippolytus wrote a large number of other works, exegetical,

chronological, polemical, and homiletical, all in Greek, which are

mostly lost, although considerable fragments remain. He prepared the

first continuous and detailed commentaries on several books of the

Scriptures, as the Hexa�meron (used by Ambrose), on Exodus, Psalms,

Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the larger prophets (especially Daniel),

Zechariah, also on Matthew, Luke, and the Apocalypse. He pursued in

exegesis the allegorical method, like Origen, which suited the taste of

his age.

Among, his polemical works was one Against Thirty-two Heresies,

different from the Philosophumena, and described by Photius as a

"little book," [1431] 431 and as a synopsis of lectures which

Hippolytus heard from Irenaeus. It must have been written in his early

youth. It began with the heresy of Dositheus and ended with that of

No�tus. [1432] 432 His treatise Against No�tus which is still

preserved, presupposes previous sections, and formed probably the

concluding part of that synopsis. [1433] 433 If not, it must have been

the conclusion of a special work against the Monarchian heretics,

[1434] 434 but no such work is mentioned.

The book On the Universe [1435] 435 was directed against Platonism. It

made all things consist of the four elements, earth, air, fire, and

water. Man is formed of all four elements, his soul, of air. But the

most important part of this book is a description of Hades, as an abode

under ground where the souls of the departed are detained until the day

of judgment: the righteous in a place of light and happiness called

Abraham's Bosom; the wicked in a place of darkness and misery; the two

regions being separated by a great gulf. The entrance is guarded by an

archangel. On the judgment day the bodies of the righteous will rise

renewed and glorified, the bodies of the wicked with all the diseases

of their earthly life for everlasting punishment. This description

agrees substantially with the eschatology of Justin Martyr, Irenaeus,

and Tertullian. [1436] 436

The anonymous work called The Little Labyrinth, [1437] 437 mentioned by

Eusebius and Theodoret as directed against the rationalistic heresy of

Artemon, is ascribed by some to Hippolytus, by others to Caius. But The

Labyrinth mentioned by Photius as a work of Caius is different and

identical with the tenth book of the Philosophumena, which begins with

the words, "The labyrinth of heresies." [1438] 438

The lost tract on the Charismata [1439] 439 dealt probably with the

Montanistic claims to continued prophecy. Others make it a collection

of apostolical canons.

The book on Antichrist [1440] 440 which has been almost entirely

recovered by Gudius, represents Antichrist as the complete counterfeit

of Christ, explains Daniel's four kingdoms as the Babylonian, Median,

Grecian, and Roman, and the apocalyptic number of the beast as meaning

, i.e., heathen Rome. This is one of the three interpretations given by

Irenaeus who, however, preferred Teitan.

In a commentary on the Apocalypse [1441] 441 he gives another

interpretation of the number, namely Dantialos (probably because

Antichrist was to descend from the tribe of Dan). The woman in the

twelfth chapter is the church; the sun with which she is clothed, is

our Lord; the moon, John the Baptist; the twelve stars, the twelve

apostles; the two wings on which she was to fly, hope and love.

Armageddon is the valley of Jehoshaphat. The five kings (17:13) are

Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, and his four successors; the

sixth is the Roman empire, the seventh will be Antichrist. In his

commentary on Daniel he fixes the consummation at a.d. 500, or A. M.

6000, on the assumption that Christ appeared in the year of the world

5500, and that a sixth millennium must yet be completed before the

beginning of the millennial Sabbath, which is prefigured by the divine

rest after creation. This view, in connection with his relation to

Irenaeus, and the omission of chiliasm from his list of heresies, makes

it tolerably certain that be was himself a chiliast, although he put

off the millennium to the sixth century after Christ. [1442] 442

We conclude this section with an account of a visit of Pope Alexander

III. to the shrine of St. Hippolytus in the church of St. Denis in

1159, to which his bones were transferred from Rome under Charlemagne.

[1443] 443 "On the threshold of one of the chapels the Pope paused to

ask, whose relics it contained. 'Those of St. Hippolytus,' was the

answer. 'Non credo, non credo,' replied the infallible authority, 'the

bones of St. Hippolytus were never removed from the holy city.' But St.

Hippolytus, whose dry bones apparently had as little reverence for the

spiritual progeny of Zephyrinus and Callistus as the ancient bishop's

tongue and pen had manifested towards these saints themselves, was so

very angry that be rumbled his bones inside the reliquary with a noise

like thunder. To what lengths he might have gone if rattling had not

sufficed we dare not conjecture. But the Pope, falling on his knees,

exclaimed in terror, I believe, O my Lord Hippolytus, I believe, pray

be quiet.' And he built an altar of marble there to appease the

disquieted saint."

Notes.

The questions concerning the literary works of Hippolytus, and

especially his ecclesiastical status are not yet sufficiently solved.

We add a few additional observations.

I. The List of Books on the back of the Hippolytus-statue has been

discussed by Fabricius, Cave, D�llinger, Wordsworth, and Volkmar. See

the three pictures of the statue with the inscriptions on both sides in

Fabricius, I. 36-38, and a facsimile of the book titles in the

frontispiece of Wordsworth's work. It is mutilated and reads--with the

conjectural supplements in brackets and a translation--as follows

[pros tous Iouda ious.

Against the Jews.

[Peri parthe] nias.

On Virginity.

[Or, perhaps, eis paroimias]

[Or, On the Proverbs.]

[eis tous ps] almous.

On the Psalms.

[eis ten e] ngastrimuthon.

On the Ventriloquist [the witch at Endor?]

[apologia] huper tou kata Ioannen

Apology of the Gospel according to John,

euangeliou kai apokalupseos.

and the Apocalypse.

Peri charismaton

On Spiritual Gifts.

apostolike paradosis

Apostolic Tradition.

Chronikon [sc. Biblos]

Chronicles [Book of]

pros Hellenas,

Against the Greeks,

kai pros Platona,

and against Plato,

e kai peri tou pantos

or also On the All.

protreptikos pros sebereinan

A hortatory address to Severina. [Perhaps the Empress Severa, second

wife of Elogabalus]

apodeixis chronon tou pascha

Demonstration of the time of the Pascha

kata 'ta en to pinaki.

according to the order in the table.

odai 'eis pasas tas graphas.

Hymns on all the Scriptures.

Peri th'eou, kai sarkos anastaseos.

Concerning God, and the resurrection of the flesh.

Peri tou agathou, kai pothen to kakon

Concerning the good, and the origin of evil.

Comp. on this list Fabricius I. 79-89; Wordsworth p. 233-240; Volkmar,

p. 2 sqq.

Eusebius and Jerome give also lists of the works of Hippolytus, some

being the same, some different, and among the latter both mention one

Against Heresies, which is probably identical with the Philosophumena.

On the Canon Pasch. of Hippol. see the tables in Fabricius, I. 137-140.

II. Was Hippolytus a bishop, and where?

Hippolytus does not call himself a bishop, nor a "bishop of Rome," but

assumes episcopal authority, and describes himself in the preface to

the first book as "a successor of the Apostles, a partaker with them in

the same grace and principal sacerdocy (archierateia), and doctorship,

and as numbered among the guardians of the church." Such language is

scarcely applicable to a mere presbyter. He also exercised the power of

excommunication on certain followers of the Pope Callistus. But where

was his bishopric? This is to this day a point in dispute.

(1.) He was bishop of Portus, the seaport of Rome. This is the

traditional opinion in the Roman church since the seventh century, and

is advocated by Ruggieri (De Portuensi S. Hippolyti, episcopi et

martyris, Sede, Rom. 1771), Simon de Magistris (Acta Martyrum ad Ostia

Tiberina, etc. Rom. 1795), Baron Bunsen, Dean Milman, and especially by

Bishop Wordsworth. In the oldest accounts, however, he is represented

as a Roman "presbyter." Bunsen combined the two views on the unproved

assumption that already at that early period the Roman suburban

bishops, called cardinales episcopi, were at the same time members of

the Roman presbytery. In opposition to this Dr. D�llinger maintains

that there was no bishop in Portus before the year 313 or 314; that

Hippolytus considered himself the rightful bishop of Rome, and that he

could not be simultaneously a member of the Roman presbytery and bishop

of Portus. But his chief argument is that from silence which bears with

equal force against his own theory. It is true that the first bishop of

Portus on record appears at the Synod of Arles, 314, where he signed

himself Gregorius episcopus de loco qui est in Portu Romano. The

episcopal see of Ostia was older, and its occupant had (according to

St. Augustin) always the privilege of consecrating the bishop of Rome.

But it is quite possible that Ostia and Portus which were only divided

by an island at the mouth of the Tiber formed at first one diocese.

Prudentius locates the martyrdom of Hippolytus at Ostia or Portus (both

are mentioned in his poem). Moreover Portus was a more important place

than D�llinger will admit. The harbor whence the city derived its name

Portus (also Portus Ostien Portus Urbis, Portus Romae) was constructed

by the Emperor Claudius (perhaps Augustus, hence Portus Augusti),

enlarged by Nero and improved by Trajan (hence Portus Trajani), and was

the landing place of Ignatius on his voyage to Rome (Martyr. Ign. c. 6:

tou kaloumenou Portou) where he met Christian brethren. Constantine

surrounded it with strong walls and towers. Ostia may have been much

more important as a commercial emporium and naval station (see Smith's

Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geogr. vol. II 501-504); but Cavalier de Rossi,

in the Bulletino di Archeol., 1866, p. 37 (as quoted by Wordsworth, p.

264, secd ed.), proves from 13 inscriptions that "the site and name of

Portus are celebrated in the records of the primitive [?] church," and

that "the name is more frequently commemorated than that of Ostia." The

close connection of Portus with Rome would easily account for the

residence of Hippolytus at Rome and for his designation as Roman

bishop. In later times the seven suburban bishops of the vicinity of

Rome were the suffragans of the Pope and consecrated him. Finally, as

the harbor of a large metropolis attracts strangers from every nation

and tongue, Hippolytus might with propriety be called "bishop of the

nations" (episkopos hethnon). We conclude then that the

Portus-hypothesis is not impossible, though it cannot be proven.

(2.) He was bishop of the Arabian Portus Romanus, now Aden on the Red

Sea. This was the opinion of Stephen Le Moyne (1685), adopted by Cave,

Tillemont, and Basnage, but now universally given up as a baseless

conjecture, which rests on a misapprehension of Euseb. VI. 20, where

Hippolytus accidentally collocated with Beryllus, bishop of Bostra in

Arabia. Adan is nowhere mentioned as an episcopal see, and our

Hippolytus belonged to the West, although he may have been of eastern

origin, like Irenaeus.

(3.) Rome. Hippolytus was no less than the first Anti-Pope and claimed

to be the legitimate bishop of Rome. This is the theory of D�llinger,

derived from the Philosophumena and defended with much learning and

acumen. The author of the Philosophumena was undoubtedly a resident of

Rome, claims episcopal dignity, never recognized Callistus as bishop,

but treated him merely as the head of a heretical school (didaskaleion)

or sect, calls his adherents "Callistians," some of whom he had

excommunicated, but admits that Callistus had aspired to the episcopal

throne and "imagined himself to have obtained" the object of his

ambition after the death of Zephyrinus, and that his school formed the

majority and claimed to be the catholic church Callistus on his part

charged Hippolytus, on account of his view of the independent

personality of the Logos, with the heresy of ditheism (a charge which

stung him to the quick), and probably proceeded to excommunication. All

this looks towards an open schism. This would explain the fact that

Hippolytus was acknowledged in Rome only as a presbyter, while in the

East he was widely known as bishop, and even as bishop of Rome. Dr.

D�llinger assumes that the schism continued to the pontificate of

Pontianus, the successor of Callistus, was the cause of the banishment

of the two rival bishops to the pestilential island of Sardinia (in

235), and brought to a close by their resignation and reconciliation;

hence their bones were brought back to Rome and solemnly deposited on

the same day. Their death in exile was counted equivalent to martyrdom.

Dr. Caspari of Christiania who has shed much light on the writings of

Hippolytus, likewise believes that the difficulty between Hippolytus

and Callistus resulted in an open schism and mutual excommunication (l.

c. III. 330). Langen (Gesch. der r�m. Kirche, Bonn. 1881, p. 229) is

inclined to accept D�llinger's conclusion as at least probable.

This theory is plausible and almost forced upon us by the

Philosophumena, but without any solid support outside of that polemical

work. History is absolutely silent about an Anti-Pope before

Novatianus, who appeared fifteen years after the death of Hippolytus

and shook the whole church by his schism (251), although he was far

less conspicuous as a scholar and writer. A schism extending through

three pontificates (for Hippolytus opposed Zephyrinus as well as

Callistus) could not be hidden and so soon be forgotten, especially by

Rome which has a long memory of injuries done to the chair of St. Peter

and looks upon rebellion against authority as the greatest sin. The

name of Hippolytus is not found in any list of Popes and Anti-Popes,

Greek or Roman, while that of Callistus occurs in all. Even Jerome who

spent over twenty years from about 350 to 372, and afterwards four more

years in Rome and was intimate with Pope Damasus, knew nothing of the

see of Hippolytus, although he knew some of his writings. It seems

incredible that an Anti-Pope should ever have been canonized by Rome as

a saint and martyr. It is much easier to conceive that the divines of

the distant East were mistaken. The oldest authority which D�llinger

adduces for the designation "bishop of Rome," that of Presbyter

Eustratius of Constantinople about a.d. 582 (see p. 84), is not much

older than the designation of Hippolytus as bishop of Portus, and of no

more critical value.

(4.) Dr. Salmon offers a modification of the D�llinger-hypothesis by

assuming that Hippolytus was a sort of independent bishop of a

Greek-speaking congregation in Rome. He thus explains the enigmatical

expression ethnon episkopos,which Photius applies to Caius, but which

probably belongs to Hippolytus. But history knows nothing of two

independent and legitimate bishops in the city of Rome. Moreover there

still remains the difficulty that Hippolytus notwithstanding his open

resistance rose afterwards to such high honors in the papal church. We

can only offer the following considerations as a partial solution:

first, that he wrote in Greek which died out in Rome, so that his books

became unknown; secondly, that aside from those attacks he did, like

the schismatic Tertullian, eminent service to the church by his

learning and championship of orthodoxy and churchly piety; and lastly,

that be was believed (as we learn from Prudentius) to have repented of

his schism and, like Cyprian, wiped out his sin by his martyrdom.

III. But no matter whether Hippolytus was bishop or presbyter in Rome

or Portus, he stands out an irrefutable witness against the claims of

an infallible papacy which was entirely unknown in the third century.

No wonder that Roman divines of the nineteenth century (with the

exception of D�llinger who seventeen years after he wrote his book on

Hippolytus seceded from Rome in consequence of the Vatican decree of

infallibility) deny his authorship of this to them most obnoxious book.

The Abb� Cruice ascribes it to Caius or Tertullian, the Jesuit

Armellini to Novatian, and de Rossi (1866) hesitatingly to Tertullian,

who, however, was no resident of Rome, but of Carthage. Cardinal Newman

declares it "simply incredible" that a man so singularly honored as St.

Hippolytus should be the author of "that malignant libel on his

contemporary popes," who did not scruple "in set words to call Pope

Zephyrinus a weak and venal dunce, and Pope Callistus a sacrilegious

swindler, an infamous convict, and an heresiarch ex cathedra." (Tracts,

Theological and Ecclesiastical, 1874, p. 222, quoted by Plummer, p.

xiv. and 340.) But he offers no solution, nor can he. Dogma versus

history is as unavailing as the pope's bull against the comet. Nor is

Hippolytus, or whoever wrote that "malignant libel "alone in his

position. The most eminent ante-Nicene fathers, and the very ones who

laid the foundations of the catholic system, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and

Cyprian (not to speak of Origen, and of Novatian, the Anti-Pope),

protested on various grounds against Rome. And it is a remarkable fact

that the learned Dr. D�llinger who, in 1853, so ably defended the Roman

see against the charges of Hippolytus should, in 1870, have assumed a

position not unlike that of Hippolytus, against the error of p

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[1418] Dr. Caspari (III. 351 note 153) thinks it probable that

Hippolytus came from the East to Rome in very early youth, and grew up

there as a member, and afterwards officer of the Greek part of the

Roman congregation. Lipsius (p. 40 sqq.) supposes that Hippolytus was a

native of Asia Minor, and a pupil there of Irenaeus in 170. But this is

refuted by Harnack and Caspari (p. 409)

[1419] He calls it schisma Novati, instead of Novatiani. The two names

are often confounded, especially by Greek writers including Eusebius.

[1420] Ultima vox autdita senis venerabilis haec est. "Hi rapiant

artus, tu rape, Christe, animam."

[1421] No. xi. of the Peristephanon Liber. Plummer, in Append. C. to

D�llinger, p. 345-35l, gives the poem in full (246 lines) from

Dressel's text (1860). Baronius charged Prudentius with confounding

three different Hippolytis and transferring the martyrdom of

Hippolytus, the Roman officer, guard, and disciple of St. Lawrence,

upon the bishop of that name. D�llinger severely analyses the legend of

Prudentius, and derives it from a picture of a martyr torn to pieces by

horses, which may have existed near the church of the martyr St.

Lawrence (p. 58).

[1422] So first the Paschal Chronicle, and Anastasius.

[1423] Salmon says: 'Of the fragments collected in De Lagardes edition

the majority are entitled merely of 'Hippolytus,' or 'of Hippolytus,

bishop and martyr,' but about twenty describe him as 'bishop of Rome,'

and only three place him elsewhere. The earliest author who can be

named as so describing him is Apollinaris in the fourth century ....

Hippol. likewise appears as pope and bishop of Rome in the Greek

menologies, and is also honored with the same title by the Syrian,

Coptic, and Abyssinian churches."See the authorities in D�llinger.

[1424] The reasons for this early age are: (1) The artistic character

of the statue, which ante-dates the decline of art, which began with

Constantine. (2) The paschal cycle, which gives the list of the paschal

full moons accurately for the years 217-223, but for the next eight

years wrongly, so that the table after that date became useless, and

hence must have been written soon after 222. (3) The Greek language of

the inscription, which nearly died out in Rome in the fourth century,

and gave way to the Latin as the language of the Roman church. Dr.

Salmon fixes the date of the erection of the statue at 235, very

shortly after the banishment of Hippolytus. A cast of the

Hippolytus-statue is in the library of the Union Theol. Seminary in New

York, procured from Berlin through Professor Piper.

[1425] Peri tou pantos. See the list of books in the notes.

[1426] On the chair of the statue, it is true, the Philosophumena is

not mentioned, and cannot be concealed under the title Pros Hellenas,

which is connected by kai with the work against Plato. But this silence

is easily accounted for, partly from the greater rarity of the book,

partly from its offensive opposition to two Roman popes.

[1427] The authorship of Hippolytus is proved or conceded by Bunsen,

Gieseler, Jacobi, D�llinger, Duncker, Schneidewin, Caspari, Milman,

Robertson, Wordsworth, Plummer, Salmon. Cardinal Newman denies it on

doctrinal grounds, but offers no solution. The only rival claimants are

Origen (so the first editor, Miller, and Le Normant), and Cajus (so

Baur and Cruice, the latter hesitating between Caius and Tertullian).

Origen is out of the question, because of the difference of style and

theology, and because he was no bishop and no resident at Rome, but

only a transient visitor (under Zephyrinus, about 211). The only claim

of Caius is the remark of Photius, based on a marginal note in his MS.,

but doubted by himself, that Caius wrote a work peri tou pantos and an

anti-heretical work called " The Labyrinth," and that he was " a

presbyter of Rome," and also declared by some " a bishop of the

heathen."But Caius was an anti-Chiliast, and an opponent of Montanism;

while Hippolytus was probably a Chiliast, like Irenaeus, and accepted

the Apocalypse as Johannean, and sympathized with the disciplinary

rigorism of the Montanists, although he mildly opposed them. See

D�llinger, l. c. p. 250 sqq. (Engl. translation), Volkmar, l. c. p.

60-71; and Wordsworth,l.c. p. 16-28. Two other writers have been

proposed as authors of the Philosophumena, but without a shadow of

possibility, namely Tertullian by the Abb� Cruice, and the schismatic

Novatian by the Jesuit Torquati Armellini, in a dissertation De

priscarefutatione haereseon Origenis nomine ac philosophumenon tituto

recens vulgata, Rom.,1862 (quoted by Plummer, p. 354).

[1428] This idea is borrowed from Irenaeus.

[1429] The reading here is disputed.

[1430] The passage is obscure: hos ten hamartian ex anthropon

apoplunein prosetaxe. Wordsworth translates: " who commanded us to wish

away sin from man;" Macmahon: " He has arranged to wash away sin from

human beings."Bunsen changes the reading thus: " For Christ is He whom

the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins of mankind."Hippolytus

probably refers to the command to repent and be baptized for the

forgiveness of sin.

[1431] biblidarion. The more usual diminutive of biblisor biblos is

biblidion.

[1432] Lipsius, in his Quellenkrilik des Epiphanios, has made the

extraordinary achievement of a partial reconstruction of this work from

unacknowledged extracts in the anti-heretical writings of Epiphanius,

Philaster, and Pseudo-Tertullian.

[1433] As suggested by Fabricius (T., 235), Neander (I. 682, Engl.

ed.), and Lipsius. It bears in the MS. the title "Homily of Hippolytus

against the Heresy of one No�tus" homilia Hippol. eis hairesin Noetou

tinos, and was first printed by Vossius in Latin, and then by Fabricius

in Greek from a Vatican MS. (vol. II. 5-20, in Latin, vol. I. 235-244),

and by P. de Lagarde in Greek (Hippol. Opera Gr. p. 43-57). Epiphanius

made a mechanical use of it. It presupposes preceding sections by

beginning: "Certain others are privily introducing another doctrine,

having become disciple, ; of one No�tus." The only objection to the

identification is that Photius describes the entire work against

thirty-two Heresies as a little book (biblidarion). Hence Lipsius

suggests that this was not the suvntagma itself, but only a summary of

its contents, such as was frequently attached to anti-heretical works.

D�llinger (p. 191 sqq.) shows the doctrinal agreement of the treatise

against No�tus with the corresponding section of the Philosophumena,

and finds both heretical on the subject of the Trinity and the

development of the Logos as a subordinate Divine personality called

into existence before the world by an act of the Father's will, which

doctrine afterwards became a main prop of Arianism. D�llinger finds

here the reason for the charge of partial Valentinianism raised against

Hippolytus, as his doctrine of the origination of the Logos was

confounded with the Gnostic emanation theory.

[1434] So Volkmar (l.c. p. 165: "Der Cod. Vatic. 'Contra No�tum' ist

der Schluss nicht jener k�rzeren H�reseologie, sondern einer anderen,

von Epiphanius noch vorgefundenen Schrift desselben Hippolyt, wie es

scheint, gegen alle Monarchianer." Caspari (III. 400 sq.) decides for

the same view.

[1435] Peri tes tou pantos aitias (or ousias, as Hippol. himself gives

the title, Philos. X. 32 ed. D. and Schn.), or Peri tou pantos(on the

Hippolytus-statue). Greek and Latin in Fabricius I. 220-222. Greek in

P. de Lagarde, p. 68-73. The book was a sort of Christian cosmogony and

offset to Plato's Timaeus.

[1436] Comp. D�llinger, p. 330 sqq. He connects the view of Hippolytus

on the intermediate state with his chiliasm, which does not admit that

the souls of the righteous ever can attain to the kingdom of heaven and

the beatific vision before the resurrection. Wordsworth on the other

hand denies that Hippol. believed in a millennium and "the Romish

doctrine of Purgatory," and accepts his view of Hades as agreeing with

the Burial Office of the Church of England, and the sermons of Bishop

Bull on the state of departed souls. Hippol. p. 210-216. He also gives,

in Appendix A, p. 306-308, an addition to the fragment of the book On

the Universe, from a MS. in the Bodleian library.

[1437] SmikrosLaburinthos(Theodoret, Haer. Fa b. II. 5) or spoudasma

kata tes Artemonos haireseos (Euseb. H. E. V. 28).

[1438] Caspari, III. 404 sq., identifies the two books.

[1439] Peri charismaton apostolike paradosis. On the Hippolytus-statue.

[1440] Peri tou soteros hemon Iesou Christou kai peri antichristou , in

Fabricius I. 4-36 (Gr. and Lat.), and in P. de Lagarde, 1-36 (Greek

only).

[1441] Included in Jerome's list, and mentioned by Jacob of Edessa and

by Syncellus. Fragments from an Arabic Catena on the Apocalypse in

Lagarde's Anal. Syr., Append. p. 24-27. See Salmon in Smith and Wace,

III. 105.

[1442] See D�llinger, p. 330 sqq. (Engl. ed.)

[1443] We are indebted for this curious piece of information to Dr.

Salmon, who refers to Benson, in the "Journal of Classical and Sacred

Philology, " I. 190.

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� 184. Caius of Rome.

Euseb.: H. E. II. 25; III. 28, 31; VI. 20. Hieron.: De Vir. ill. 59.

Theodor.: Fa b. Haer. II. 3; III. 2. Photius: Biblioth. Cod. 48.

Perhaps also Martyr. Polyc., c. 22, where a Caius is mentioned as a

pupil or friend of Irenaeus.

Routh: Rel. S. II. 125-158 (Comp. also I. 397-403). Bunsen: Analecta

Ante-Nicaena I. 409 sq. Caspari: Quellen etc., III. 330, 349, 374 sqq.

Harnack in Herzog,2 III. 63 sq. Salmon in Smith and Wace I. 384-386.

Comp. also Heinichen's notes on Euseb. II. 25 (in Comment. III. 63-67),

and the Hippolytus liter., � 183, especially D�llinger. (250 sq.) and

Volkmar. (60-71).

Among the Western divines who, like Irenaeus and Hippolytus, wrote

exclusively in Greek, must be mentioned Caius who flourished during the

episcopate of Zephyrinus in the first quarter of the third century. He

is known to us only from a few Greek fragments as an opponent of

Montanism and Chiliasm. He was probably a Roman presbyter. From his

name, [1444] 444 and from the fact that he did not number Hebrews among

the Pauline Epistles, we may infer that he was a native of Rome or at

least of the West. Eusebius calls him a very learned churchman or

ecclesiastic author at Rome, [1445] 445 and quotes four times his

disputation with Proclus (Gr. ), the leader of one party of the

Montanists. [1446] 446 He preserves from it the notice that Philip and

his four prophetic daughters are buried at Hierapolis in Phrygia, and

an important testimony concerning the monuments or trophies (Gr. ) of

Peter and Paul, the founders of the Roman church, on the Vatican hill

and the Ostian road.

This is nearly all that is certain and interesting about Caius. Jerome,

as usual in his catalogue of illustrious men, merely repeats the,

statements of Eusebius, although from his knowledge of Rome we might

expect some additional information. Photius, on the strength of a

marginal note in the MS. of a supposed work of Caius On the Universe,

says that he was a "presbyter of the Roman church during the episcopate

of Victor and Zephyrinus, and that he was elected bishop of the

Gentiles ( )." He ascribes to him that work and also The Labyrinth, but

hesitatingly. His testimony is too late to be of any value, and rests

on a misunderstanding of Eusebius and a confusion of Caius with

Hippolytus, an error repeated by modern critics. [1447] 447 Both

persons have so much in common--age, residence, title--that they have

been identified (Caius being supposed to be simply the praenomen of

Hippolytus). [1448] 448 But this cannot be proven; Eusebius clearly

distinguishes them, and Hippolytus was no opponent of Chiliasm, and

only a moderate opponent of Montanism; while Caius wrote against the

Chiliastic dreams of Cerinthus; but he did not deny, as has been

wrongly inferred from Eusebius, the Johannean authorship of the

Apocalypse; he probably meant pretended revelations ( ) of that

heretic. He and Hippolytus no doubt agreed with the canon of the Roman

church, which recognized thirteen epistles of Paul (excluding Hebrews)

and the Apocalypse of John.

Caius has been surrounded since Photius with a mythical halo of

authorship, and falsely credited with several works of Hippolytus,

including the recently discovered Philosophumena. The Muratorian

fragment on the canon of the New Testament was also ascribed to him by

the discoverer (Muratori, 1740) and recent writers. But this fragment

is of earlier date (a.d. 170), and written in Latin, though perhaps

originally in Greek. It is as far as we know the oldest Latin church

document of Rome, and of very great importance for the history of the

canon. [1449] 449

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[1444] The name, however, was common, and the New Testament mentions

four Caii (Acts 19:29; 20:4; Rom. 16:24; 1 Cor. 1:14; 3 John 1),

Eusebius five.

[1445] aner ekklesiastikosand logiotatos (II. 25 and VT. 20). The

former term does not necessarily imply an office, but is rendered by

Valesius vir catholicus, by Heinichen (Euseb. Com. III. 64) ein

rechtgl�ubiger Schriftsteller.

[1446] No doubt the same with the "Proculus noster" commended by

Tertullian, Adv. Val. 5. Comp. Jerome (C. 59): "Proculum Montani

sectatorem." His followers were Trinitarians; another party of the

Montanists were Monarchians

[1447] See above � 183, p. 762 sq.

[1448] So Lightfoot in the "Journal of Philology," I. 98. and Salmon,

l. c. p. 386.

[1449] See the document and the discussion about the authorship in

Routh. I. 398 sqq., the article of Salmon in Smith and Wace III. 1000

sqq., and the different works on the Canon. Most of the writers on the

subject, including Salmon, regard the fragment as a translation from a

Greek original, since all other documents of the Roman Church down to

Zephyrinus and Hippolytus are in Greek. Hilgenfeld and P. de Lagarde

have attempted a re-translation. But Hesse (Das Murator. Fragment,

Giessen, 1873, p. 25-39), and Caspari (Quellen, III. 410 sq.)

confidently assert the originality of the Latin for the reason that the

re-translation into the Greek does not clear up the obscurities. The

Latin barbarisms occur also in other Roman writers. Caspari, however,

thinks that it was composed by an African residing in Rome, on the

basis of in older Greek document of the Roman church. He regards it as

the oldest ecclesiastical document in the Latin language ("das �lteste

in lateinischer Sprache geschriebene originale kirchliche

Schriftst�ck").

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� 185. The Alexandrian School of Theology.

J. G. Michaelis: De Scholae Alexandrinae prima origine, progressu, ac

praecpuis doctoribus. Hal. 1739.

H. E. Fr. Guerike: De Schola quae Alexandriae floruit catechetica

commentatio historica et theologica. Hal. 1824 and '25. 2 Parts (pp.

119 and 456). The second Part is chiefly devoted to Clement and Origen.

C. F. W. Hasselbach: De Schola, quae Alex. floruit, catech. Stettin

1826. P. 1. (against Guerike), and De discipulorum ... s. De

Catechumenorum ordinibus, Ibid. 1839.

J. Matter: L'Histoire de l' �cole d'Alexandrie, second ed. Par. 1840. 3

vols.

J. Simon: Histoire de I' �cole d'Alexandrie. Par. 1845.

E. Vacherot: Histoire critique de l' �cole d'Alexandrie. Par. 1851. 3

vols.

Neander: I. 527-557 (Am. ed.); Gieseler I. 208-210 (Am. ed.)

Ritter: Gesch. der christl. Philos. I. 421 sqq.

Ueberweg: History of Philosophy, vol. I. p. 311-319 (Engl. transl.

1875).

Redepenning in his Origenes I. 57-83, and art. in Herzog2 I. 290-292.

Comp. also two arts. on the Jewish, and the New-Platonic schools of

Alexandria, by M. Nicolas in Lichtenberger's "Encyclop�die" I. 159-170.

C. H. Bigg: The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. Lond. 1886.

Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great three hundred and twenty-two

years before Christ, on the mouth of the Nile, within a few hours' sail

from Asia and Europe, was the metropolis of Egypt, the flourishing seat

of commerce, of Grecian and Jewish learning, and of the greatest

library of the ancient world, and was destined to become one of the

great centres of Christianity, the rival of Antioch and Rome. There the

religious life of Palestine and the intellectual culture of Greece

commingled and prepared the way for the first school of theology which

aimed at a philosophic comprehension and vindication of the truths of

revelation. Soon after the founding of the church which tradition

traces to St. Mark, the Evangelist, there arose a "Catechetical school"

under the supervision of the bishop. [1450] 450 It was originally

designed only for the practical purpose of preparing willing heathens

and Jews of all classes for baptism. But in that home of the Philonic

theology, of Gnostic heresy, and of Neo-Platonic philosophy, it soon

very naturally assumed a learned character, and became, at the same

time, a sort of theological seminary, which exercised a powerful

influence on the education of many bishops and church teachers, and on

the development of Christian science. It had at first but a single

teacher, afterwards two or more, but without fixed salary, or special

buildings. The more wealthy pupils paid for tuition, but the offer was

often declined. The teachers gave their instructions in their

dwellings, generally after the style of the ancient philosophers.

The first superintendent of this school known to us was Pantaenus, a

converted Stoic philosopher, about a.d. 180. He afterwards labored as a

missionary in India, and left several commentaries, of which, however,

nothing remains but some scanty fragments. [1451] 451 He was followed

by Clement, to a.d. 202 and Clement, by Origen, to 232, who raised the

school to the summit of its prosperity, and founded a similar one at

Caesarea in Palestine. The institution was afterwards conducted by

Origen's pupils, Heraclas (d. 248), and Dionysius (d. 265), and last by

the blind but learned Didymus (d. 395), until, at the end of the fourth

century, it sank for ever amidst the commotions and dissensions of the

Alexandrian church, which at last prepared the way for the destructive

conquest of the Arabs (640). The city itself gradually sank to a mere

village, and Cairo took its place (since 969). In the present century

it is fast rising again, under European auspices, to great commercial

importance.

From this catechetical school proceeded a peculiar theology, the most

learned and genial representatives of which were Clement and Origen.

This theology is, on the one hand, a regenerated Christian form of the

Alexandrian Jewish religious philosophy of Philo; on the other, a

catholic counterpart, and a positive refutation of the heretical

Gnosis, which reached its height also in Alexandria, but half a century

earlier. The Alexandrian theology aims at a reconciliation of

Christianity with philosophy, or, subjectively speaking, of pistis with

gnosis; but it seeks this union upon the basis of the Bible, and the

doctrine of the church. Its centre, therefore, is the Divine Logos,

viewed as the sum of all reason and all truth, before and after the

incarnation. Clement came from the Hellenic philosophy to the Christian

faith; Origen, conversely, was led by faith to speculation. The former

was an aphoristic thinker, the latter a systematic. The one borrowed

ideas from various systems; the other followed more the track of

Platonism. But both were Christian philosophers and churchly gnostics.

As Philo, long before them, in the same city, had combined Judaism with

Grecian culture, so now they carried the Grecian culture into

Christianity. This, indeed, the apologists and controversialists of the

second century had already done, as far back as Justin the

"philosopher." But the Alexandrians were more learned, and made much

freer use of the Greek philosophy. They saw in it not sheer error, but

in one view a gift of God, and an intellectual schoolmaster for Christ,

like the law in the moral and religious here. Clement compares it to a

wild olive tree, which can be ennobled by faith; Origen (in the

fragment of an epistle to Gregory Thaumaturgus), to the jewels, which

the Israelites took with them out of Egypt, and turned into ornaments

for their sanctuary, though they also wrought them into the golden

calf. Philosophy is not necessarily an enemy to the truth, but may, and

should be its handmaid, and neutralize the attacks against it. The

elements of truth in the heathen philosophy they attributed partly to

the secret operation of the Logos in the world of reason, partly to

acquaintance with the writings of Moses and the prophets.

So with the Gnostic heresy. The Alexandrians did not sweepingly condemn

it, but recognized the desire for deeper religious knowledge, which lay

at its root, and sought to meet this desire with a wholesome supply

from the Bible itself. Their maxim was, in the words of Clement: "No

faith without knowledge, no knowledge without faith;" or: "Unless you

believe, you will not understand." [1452] 452 Faith and knowledge have

the same substance, the saving truth of God, revealed in the Holy

Scriptures, and faithfully handed down by the church; they differ only

in form. Knowledge is our consciousness of the deeper ground and

consistency of faith. The Christian knowledge, however, is also a gift

of grace, and has its condition in a holy life. The ideal of a

Christian gnostic includes perfect love as well as perfect knowledge,

of God. Clement describes him as one "who, growing grey in the study of

the Scriptures, and preserving the orthodoxy of the apostles and the

church, lives strictly according to the gospel."

The Alexandrian theology is intellectual, profound, stirring and full

of fruitful germs of thought, but rather unduly idealistic and

spiritualistic, and, in exegesis, loses itself in arbitrary allegorical

fancies. In its efforts to reconcile revelation and philosophy it took

up, like Philo, many foreign elements, especially of the Platonic

stamp, and wandered into speculative views which a later and more

orthodox, but more narrow-minded and less productive age condemned as

heresies, not appreciating the immortal service of this school to its

own and after times.

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[1450] Eusebius (V. 10; VI. 3, 6) calls it to tes katecheseos

didaskaleion and didaskalei ton hieron logon". Sozomen (III. 15), to

hieron didaskaleion ton hieron mathematon; Jerome (Catal. 38), and

Rufinus (H. E. II. 7), ecclesiastica schola.

[1451] Clemens calls him "the Sicilian bee" (sikelike melitta, perhaps

with reference to his descent from Sicily). Jerome (Catal. 36) says of

him: "Hujus multi quidem in S. Scripturam exstant commentarii sed magis

viva voce ecclesiis profuit." Comp. on him Redepenning; Origenes I.63

sqq., and M�hler in Herzog2 XI. 182. The two brief relies of Pantaenus

are collected and accompanied with learned notes by Routh, Rel. S. I.

375-383.

[1452] Is. 7: 9, according to the LXX: ean me pisteusete, oude me

sunete.

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� 186. Clement of Alexandria.

(I.) Clementis Alex. Opera omnia Gr. et Lat. ed. Potter (bishop of

Oxford). Oxon. 1715. 2 vols. Reprinted Venet. 1757. 2 vols. fol., and

in Migne's "Patr. Gr." vols. VIII. and IX., with various additions and

the comments of Nic. Le Nourry. For an account of the MSS. and editions

of Clement see Fabricius; Biblioth. Graeca, ed. Harles, vol. VII. 109

sqq.

Other edd. by Victorinus (Florence, 1550); Sylburg (Heidel b. 1592)

Heinsius (Graeco-Latin., Leyden, 1616); Klotz (Leipz. 1831-34, 4 vols.,

only in Greek, and very incorrect); W. Dindorf (Oxf. 1868-69, 4 vols.).

English translation by Wm. Wilson in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library,"

vols. IV. and V. Edinb. 1867.

(II.) Eusebius: Hist. Eccl. V. 11; VI. 6, 11, 13. Hieronymus: De Vir.

ill. 38; Photius: Biblioth. 109-111. See the Testimonia Veterum de Cl.

collected in Potter's ed. at the beginning of vol. I. and in Migne's

ed. VIII. 35-50.

(III.) Hofstede De Groot: Dissert. de Clem. Alex. Groning. 1826. A. F.

Daehne: De gnoseiClem Al. Hal. 1831.

F. R. Eylert: Clem. v. Alex. als Philosoph und Dichter. Leipz. 1832.

Bishop Kaye: Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clement of

Alex. Lond. 1835.

Kling: Die Bedeutung des Clem. Alex. f�r die Entstehung der Theol.

("Stud. u. Krit." for 1841, No. 4).

H. J. Reinkens: De Clem. Alex. homine, scriptore, philosopho, theologo.

Wratisl. (Breslau) 1851.

H. Reuter: Clementis Alex. Theol. moralis. Berl. 1853.

Laemmer.: Clem. Al. de Logo doctrina. Lips. 1855.

Abb� Cognat: Clement d'Alexandrie. Paris 1859.

J. H. M�ller: Id�es dogm. de Clement d'Alex. Strasb. 1861.

CH. E. Freppel. (R.C.): Cl�ment d'Alexandrie. Paris, 1866, second ed.

1873.

C. Merk: Clemens v. Alex. in s. Abh�ngigkeit von der griech.

Philosophie. Leipz. 1879.

Fr. Jul. Winter: Die Ethik des Clemens v. Alex. Leipz. 1882 (first part

of Studien zur Gesch. der christl. Ethik).

Jacobi in Herzog2 III. 269-277, and Westcott in Smith and Wace l.

559-567.

Theod. Zahn: Supplementum Clementinum. Third Part of his Forschungen

zur Gesch. des N. T. lichen Kanons. Erlangen 1884.

I. Titus Flavius Clemens [1453] 453 sprang from Greece, probably from

Athens. He was born about 150, and brought up in heathenism. He was

versed in all branches of Hellenic literature and in all the existing

systems of philosophy; but in these he found nothing to satisfy his

thirst for truth. In his adult years, therefore, he embraced the

Christian religion, and by long journeys East and West he sought the

most distinguished teachers, "who preserved the tradition of pure

saving doctrine, and implanted that genuine apostolic seed in the

hearts of their pupils." He was captivated by Pantaenus in Egypt, who,

says he, "like the Sicilian bee, plucked flowers from the apostolic and

prophetic meadow, and filled the souls of his disciples with genuine,

pure knowledge." He became presbyter in the church of Alexandria, and

about a.d. 189 succeeded Pantaenus as president of the catechetical

school of that city. Here he labored benignly some twelve years for the

conversion of heathens and the education of the Christians, until, as

it appears, the persecution under Septimius Severus in 202 compelled

him to flee. After this we find him in Antioch, and last (211) with his

former pupil, the bishop Alexander, in Jerusalem. Whether he returned

thence to Alexandria is unknown. He died before the year 220, about the

same time with Tertullian. He has no place, any more than Origen, among

the saints of the Roman church, though he frequently bore this title of

honor in ancient times. His name is found in early Western

martyrologies, but was omitted in the martyrology issued by Clement

VIII. at the suggestion of Baronius. Benedict XIV. elaborately defended

the omission (1748), on the ground of unsoundness in doctrine.

II. Clement was the father of the Alexandrian Christian philosophy. He

united thorough biblical and Hellenic learning with genius and

speculative thought. He rose, In many points, far above the prejudices

of his age, to more free and spiritual views. His theology, however, is

not a unit, but a confused eclectic mixture of true Christian elements

with many Stoic, Platonic, and Philonic ingredients. His writings are

full of repetition, and quite lacking in clear, fixed method. He throws

out his suggestive and often profound thoughts in fragments, or

purposely veils them, especially in the Stromata, in a mysterious

darkness, to conceal them from the exoteric multitude, and to stimulate

the study of the initiated or philosophical Christians. He shows here

an affinity with the heathen mystery cultus, and the Gnostic arcana.

His extended knowledge of Grecian literature and rich quotations from

the lost works of poets, philosophers, and historians give him

importance also in investigations regarding classical antiquity. He

lived in an age of transition when Christian thought was beginning to

master and to assimilate the whole domain of human knowledge. "And when

it is frankly admitted" (says Dr. Westcott) "that his style is

generally deficient in terseness and elegance; that his method is

desultory; that his learning is undigested: we can still thankfully

admire his richness of information, his breadth of reading, his

largeness of sympathy, his lofty aspirations, his noble conception of

the office and capacities of the Faith."

III. The three leading works which he composed during his residence as

teacher in Alexandria, between the years 190 and 195, represent the

three stages in the discipline of the human race by the divine Logos,

corresponding to the three degrees of knowledge required by the ancient

in mystagogues, [1454] 454 and are related to one another very much as

apologetics, ethics, and dogmatics, or as faith, love, and mystic

vision, or as the, stages of the Christian cultus up to the celebration

of the sacramental mysteries. The "Exhortation to the Greeks," [1455]

455 in three books, with almost a waste of learning, points out the

unreasonableness and immorality, but also the nobler prophetic element,

of heathenism, and seeks to lead the sinner to repentance and faith.

The "Tutor" or "Educator" [1456] 456 unfolds the Christian morality

with constant reference to heathen practices, and exhorts to a holy

walk, the end of which is likeness to God. The Educator is Christ, and

the children whom he trains, are simple, sincere believers. The

"Stromata" or "Miscellanies," [1457] 457 in seven books (the eighth,

containing, an imperfect treatise on logic, is spurious), furnishes a

guide to the deeper knowledge of Christianity, but is without any

methodical arrangement, a heterogeneous mixture of curiosities of

history, beauties of poetry, reveries of philosophy, Christian truths

and heretical errors (hence the name). He compares it to a thick-grown,

shady mountain or garden, where fruitful and barren trees of all kinds,

the cypress, the laurel, the ivy, the apple, the olive, the fig, stand

confusedly grouped together, that many may remain hidden from the eye

of the plunderer without escaping the notice of the laborer, who might

transplant and arrange them in pleasing order. It was, probably, only a

prelude to a more comprehensive theology. At the close the author

portrays the ideal of the true gnostic, that is, the perfect Christian,

assigning to him, among other traits, a stoical elevation above all

sensuous affections. The inspiring thought of Clement is that

Christianity satisfies all the intellectual and moral aspirations and

wants of man.

Besides these principal works we have, from Clement also, an able and

moderately ascetic treatise, on the right use of wealth. [1458] 458 His

ethical principles are those of the Hellenic philosophy, inspired by

the genius of Christianity. He does not run into the excesses of

asceticism, though evidently under its influence. His exegetical works,

[1459] 459 as well as a controversial treatise on prophecy against the

Montanists, and another on the passover, against the Judaizing practice

in Asia Minor, are all lost, except some inconsiderable fragments.

To Clement we owe also the oldest Christian hymn that has come down to

us; an elevated but somewhat turgid song of praise to the Logos, as the

divine educator and leader of the human race. [1460] 460

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[1453] 453 Klemens. It is strange that he, and not his distinguished

Roman namesake, should be called Flavius. Perhaps he was descended from

a freedman of Titus Flavius Clemens, the nephew of the Emperor

Vespasian and Consul in 95, who with his wife Domitilla was suddenly

arrested and condemned on the charge of " atheism," i.e. Christianity,

by his cousin, the emperor Domitian.

[1454] The apokatharsis, and the muesis, and the epoteia, i.e.

purification, initiation, vision.

[1455] Logos protreptikos pros Hellenas, Cohortatio ad Graecos, or ad

Gentes.

[1456] Paidagogos. This part contains the hymn to Christ at the close.

[1457] Stromateis, Stromata, or pieces of tapestry, which, when

curiously woven, and in divers colors present an apt picture of such

miscellaneous composition.

[1458] Tis ho sozomenos plousios, Quis dives salvus orsalvetur? an

excellent commentary on the words of the Lord in Mark 10:17 sqq. A most

practical topic for a rich city like Alexandria, or any other city and

age especially our own, which calls for the largest exercise of

liberality for literary and benevolent objects. See the tract in

Potter's ed. II. 935-961 (with a Latin version). It ends with the

beautiful story of St. John and the young robber, which Eusebius has

inserted in his Church History (III. 23).

[1459] Hupotuposeis, Adumbrationes, Outlines, or a condensed survey of

the contents of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. See the analysis

of the fragments by Westcott, in Smith and Wace, III. 563 sq., and Zahn

l.c. 64-103.

[1460] humnos tou soteros Christou, written in an anapaestic measure.

See � 66, p. 230. The other hymn added to the "Tutor" written in

trimeter iambics, and addressed to the paidagogos is of later date.

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� 187. Origen.

(I.) Origenis Opera omnia Graece et Lat. Ed. Carol. et Vinc. De la Rue.

Par. 1733-'59, 4 vols. fol. The only complete ed., begun by the

Benedictine Charles D. L. R., and after his death completed by his

nephew Vincent. Republ. in Migne's Patrol. Gr. 1857, 8 vols., with

additions from Galland (1781), Cramer (1840-44), and Mai (1854).

Other editions by J. Merlinus (ed. princeps, Par. 1512-'19, 2 vols.

fol., again in Venice 1516, and in Paris 1522; 1530, only the Lat.

text); by Erasmus and Beatus Rhenanus (Bas. 1536, 2 vols. fol.; 1545;

1551; 1557; 1571); by the Benedictine G. Genebrard (Par. 1574; 1604;

1619 in 2 vols. fol., all in Lat.); by Corderius (Antw. 1648, partly in

Greek); by P. D. Huetius, or Huet, afterwards Bp. of Avranges (Rouen,

1668, 2 vols. fol., the Greek writings, with very learned

dissertations, Origeniana; again Paris 1679; Cologne 1685); by

Montfaucon (only the Hexapla, Par. 1713, '14, 2 vols. fol., revised and

improved ed. by Field, Oxf. 1875); by Lommatsch (Berol. 1837-48, 25

vols. oct.).

English translation of select works of Origen by F. Crombie in Clark's

"Ante-Nicene Library," Edinb. 1868, and N. York 1885.

(II.) Eusebius: Hist. Eccles. VI. 1-6 and passim. Hieronymus: De Vir.

ill. 54; Ep. 29, 41, and often. Gregorius Thaumat.: Oratio panegyrica

in Origenem. Pamphilus: Apologia Orig. Rufinus: De Adulteratione

librorum Origenis. All in the last vol. of Delarue's ed.

(III.) P. D. Huetius: Origeniana. Par. 1679, 2 vols. (and in Delarue's

ed. vol. 4th). Very learned, and apologetic for Origen.

G. Thomasius: Origenes. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengesch. N�rnb. 1837.

E. Rud. Redepenning: Origenes. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und

seiner Lehre. Bonn 1841 and '46, in 2 vols. (pp. 461 and 491).

B�hringer: Origenes und sein Lehrer Klemens, oder die Alexandrinische

innerkirchliche Gnosis des Christenthums. Bd. V. of Kirchengesch. in

Biographieen. Second ed. Leipz. 1873.

Ch. E. Freppel, (R.C.): Orig�ne, Paris 1868, second ed. 1875.

Comp. the articles of Schmitz in Smith's "Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr."

III. 46-55; M�ller in Herzog2 Vol. XI. 92-109 Westcott in "Dict. of

Chr. Biogr," IV. 96-142; Farrar, in "Lives of the Fathers," I. 291-330.

Also the respective sections in Bull (Defens. Fid. Nic. ch. IX. in

Delarue, IV. 339-357), Neander, Baur, and Dorner (especially on

Origen's doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation); and on his

Philosophy, Ritter, Huber, Ueberweg.

I. Life And Character. Origenes, [1461] 461 surnamed "Adamantius" on

account of his industry and purity of character [1462] 462 is one of

the most remarkable men in history for genius and learning, for the

influence he exerted on his age, and for the controversies and

discussions to which his opinions gave rise. He was born of Christian

parents at Alexandria, in the year 185, and probably baptized in

childhood, according to Egyptian custom which be traced to apostolic

origin. [1463] 463 Under the direction of his father, Leonides, [1464]

464 who was probably a rhetorician, and of the celebrated Clement at

the catechetical school, he received a pious and learned education.

While yet a boy, be knew whole sections of the Bible by memory, and not

rarely perplexed his father with questions on the deeper sense of

Scripture. The father reproved his curiosity, but thanked God for such

a son, and often, as he slept, reverentially kissed his breast as a

temple of the Holy Spirit. Under the persecution of Septimius Severus

in 202, he wrote to his father in prison, beseeching him not to deny

Christ for the sake of his family, and strongly desired to give himself

up to the heathen authorities, but was prevented by his mother, who hid

his clothes. Leonides died a martyr, and, as his property was

confiscated, he left a helpless widow with seven children. Origen was

for a time assisted by a wealthy matron, and then supported himself by

giving instruction in the Greek language and literature, and by copying

manuscripts.

In the year 203, though then only eighteen years of age, he was

nominated by the bishop Demetrius, afterwards his opponent, president

of the catechetical school of Alexandria, left vacant by the flight of

Clement. To fill this important office, he made himself acquainted with

the various heresies, especially the Gnostic, and with the Grecian

philosophy; he was not even ashamed to study under the heathen Ammonius

Saccas, the celebrated founder of Neo-Platonism. He learned also the

Hebrew language, and made journeys to Rome (211), Arabia, Palestine

(215), and Greece. In Rome he became slightly acquainted with

Hippolytus, the author of the Philosophumena, who was next to himself

the most learned man of his age. D�llinger thinks it all but certain

that he sided with Hippolytus in his controversy with Zephyrinus and

Callistus, for he shared (at least in his earlier period) his

rigoristic principles of discipline, had a dislike for the proud and

overbearing bishops in large cities, and held a subordinatian view of

the Trinity, but he was far superior to his older contemporary in

genius, depth, and penetrating insight. [1465] 465

When his labors and the number of his pupils increased he gave the

lower classes of the catechetical school into the charge of his pupil

Heraclas, and devoted himself wholly to the more advanced students. He

was successful in bringing many eminent heathens and heretics to the

Catholic church; among them a wealthy Gnostic, Ambrosius, who became

his most liberal patron, furnishing him a costly library for his

biblical studies, seven stenographers, and a number of copyists (some

of whom were young Christian women), the former to note down his

dictations, the latter to engross them. His fame spread far and wide

over Egypt. Julia Mammaea, mother of the Emperor Alexander Severus,

brought him to Antioch in 218, to learn from him the doctrines of

Christianity. An Arabian prince honored him with a visit for the same

purpose.

His mode of life during the whole period was strictly ascetic. He made

it a matter of principle, to renounce every earthly thing not

indispensably necessary. He refused the gifts of his pupils, and in

literal obedience to the Saviour's injunction he had but one coat, no

shoes, and took no thought of the morrow. He rarely ate flesh, never

drank wine; devoted the greater part of the night to prayer and study,

and slept on the bare floor. Nay, in his youthful zeal for ascetic

holiness, he even committed the act of self-emasculation, partly to

fulfil literally the mysterious words of Christ, in Matt. 19:12, for

the sake of the kingdom of God, partly to secure himself against all

temptation and calumny which might arise from his intercourse with many

female catechumens. [1466] 466 By this inconsiderate and misdirected

heroism, which he himself repented in his riper years, he incapacitated

himself, according to the canons of the church, for the clerical

office. Nevertheless, a long time afterwards, in 228, he was ordained

presbyter by two friendly bishops, Alexander of Jerusalem, and

Theoctistus of Caesarea in Palestine, who had, even before this, on a

former visit of his, invited him while a layman, to teach publicly in

their churches, and to expound the Scriptures to their people.

But this foreign ordination itself, and the growing reputation of

Origen among heathens and Christians, stirred the jealousy of the

bishop Demetrius of Alexandria, who charged him besides, and that not

wholly without foundation, with corrupting Christianity by foreign

speculations. This bishop held two councils, a.d. 231 and 232, against

the great theologian, and enacted, that he, for his false doctrine, his

self-mutilation, and his violation of the church laws, be deposed from

his offices of presbyter and catechist, and excommunicated. This

unrighteous sentence, in which envy, hierarchical arrogance, and zeal

for orthodoxy joined, was communicated, as the custom was, to other

churches. The Roman church, always ready to anathematize, concurred

without further investigation; while the churches of Palestine, Arabia,

Phoenicia, and Achaia, which were better informed, decidedly

disapproved it.

In this controversy Origen showed a genuine Christian meekness. "We

must pity them," said he of his enemies, "rather than hate them; pray

for them, rather than curse them; for we are made for blessing, and not

for cursing." He betook himself to his friend, the bishop of Caesarea

in Palestine, prosecuted his studies there, opened a new philosophical

and theological school, which soon outshone that of Alexandria, and

labored for the spread of the kingdom of God. The persecution under

Maximinus Thrax (235) drove him for a time to Cappadocia. Thence he

went to Greece, and then back to Palestine. He was called into

consultation in various ecclesiastical disputes, and had an extensive

correspondence, in which were included even the emperor Philip the

Arabian, and his wife. Though thrust out as a heretic from his home, he

reclaimed the erring in foreign lands to the faith of the church. At an

Arabian council, for example, be convinced the bishop Beryllus of his

christological error, and persuaded him to retract (A. D. 244).

At last he received an honorable invitation to return to Alexandria,

where, meantime, his pupil Dionysius had become bishop. But in the

Decian persecution he was cast into prison, cruelly tortured, and

condemned to the stake; and though he regained his liberty by the death

of the emperor, yet he died some time after, at the age of sixty-nine,

in the year 253 or 254, at Tyre, probably in consequence of that

violence. He belongs, therefore, at least among the confessors, if not

among the martyrs. He was buried at Tyre.

It is impossible to deny a respectful sympathy, veneration and

gratitude to this extraordinary man, who, with all his brilliant

talents and a best of enthusiastic friends and admirers, was driven

from his country, stripped of his sacred office, excommunicated from a

part of the church, then thrown into a dungeon, loaded with chains,

racked by torture, doomed to drag his aged frame and dislocated limbs

in pain and poverty, and long after his death to have his memory

branded, his name anathematized, and his salvation denied; [1467] 467

but who nevertheless did more than all his enemies combined to advance

the cause of sacred learning, to refute and convert heathens and

heretics, and to make the church respected in the eyes of the world.

II. His Theology. Origen was the greatest scholar of his age, and the

most gifted, most industrious, and most cultivated of all the

ante-Nicene fathers. Even heathens and heretics admired or feared his

brilliant talent and vast learning. His knowledge embraced all

departments of the philology, philosophy, and theology of his day. With

this he united profound and fertile thought, keen penetration, and

glowing imagination. As a true divine, he consecrated all his studies

by prayer, and turned them, according to his best convictions, to the

service of truth and piety.

He may be called in many respects the Schleiermacher of the Greek

church. He was a guide from the heathen philosophy and the heretical

Gnosis to the Christian faith. He exerted an immeasurable influence in

stimulating the development of the catholic theology and forming the

great Nicene fathers, Athanasius, Basil, the two Gregories, Hilary, and

Ambrose, who consequently, in spite of all his deviations, set great

value on his services. But his best disciples proved unfaithful to many

of his most peculiar views, and adhered far more to the reigning faith

of the church. For--and in this too he is like Schleiermacher--he can

by no means be called orthodox, either in the Catholic or in the

Protestant sense. His leaning to idealism, his predilection for Plato,

and his noble effort to reconcile Christianity with reason, and to

commend it even to educated heathens and Gnostics, led him into many

grand and fascinating errors. Among these are his extremely ascetic and

almost docetistic conception of corporeity, his denial of a material

resurrection, his doctrine of the pre-existence and the pre-temporal

fall of souls (including the pre-existence of the human soul of

Christ), of eternal creation, of the extension of the work of

redemption to the inhabitants of the stars and to all rational

creatures, and of the final restoration of all men and fallen angels.

Also in regard to the dogma of the divinity of Christ, though he

powerfully supported it, and was the first to teach expressly the

eternal generation of the Son, yet he may be almost as justly

considered a forerunner of the Arian heteroousion, or at least of the

semi-Arian homoiousion, as of the Athanasian homoousion.

These and similar views provoked more or less contradiction during his

lifetime, and were afterwards, at a local council in Constantinople in

543, even solemnly condemned as heretical. [1468] 468 But such a man

might in such an age hold erroneous opinions without being a heretic.

For Origen propounded his views always with modesty and from sincere

conviction of their agreement with Scripture, and that in a time when

the church doctrine was as yet very indefinite in many points. For this

reason even learned Roman divines, such as Tillemont and M�hler have

shown Origen the greatest respect and leniency; a fact the more to be

commended, since the Roman church has refused him, as well as Clement

of Alexandria and Tertullian, a place among the saints and the fathers

in the stricter sense.

Origen's greatest service was in exegesis. He is father of the critical

investigation of Scripture, and his commentaries are still useful to

scholars for their suggestiveness. Gregory Thaumaturgus says, he had

"received from God the greatest gift, to be an interpreter of the word

of God to men." For that age this judgment is perfectly just. Origen

remained the exegetical oracle until Chrysostom far surpassed him, not

indeed in originality and vigor of mind and extent of learning, but in

sound, sober tact, in simple, natural analysis, and in practical

application of the text. His great defect is the neglect of the

grammatical and historical sense and his constant desire to find a

hidden mystic meaning. He even goes further in this direction than the

Gnostics, who everywhere saw transcendental, unfathomable mysteries.

His hermeneutical principle assumes a threefold sense--somatic,

psychic, and pneumatic; or literal, moral, and spiritual. His

allegorical interpretation is ingenious, but often runs far away from

the text and degenerates into the merest caprice; while at times it

gives way to the opposite extreme of a carnal literalism, by which he

justifies his ascetic extravagance. [1469] 469

Origen is one of the most important witnesses of the ante-Nicene text

of the Greek Testament, which is older than the received text. He

compared different MSS. and noted textual variations, but did not

attempt a recension or lay down any principles of textual criticism.

The value of his testimony is due to his rare opportunities and

life-long study of the Bible before the time when the traditional

Syrian and Byzantine text was formed.

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[1461] Origenes, Origenes, probably derived from the name of the

Egyptian divinity Or or Horus (as Phoebigena from PhOEbus, Diogenes

from Zeus). See Huetius I. 1, 2; Redepenning. I. 421 sq.

[1462] Adamantios (also Chalkenteros). Jerome understood the epithet to

indicate his unwearied industry, Photius the irrefragable strength of

his arguments. See Redepenning, I. 430.

[1463] So M�ller (l.c. 92) and others. But it is only an inference from

Origen's view. There is no record as far as I know of his baptism.

[1464] Leonides Eus. VI. 1. So Neander and Gieseler. Others spell the

name Leonidas (Redepenning and M�ller).

[1465] See D�llinger, Hippolytus and Callistus, p. 236 sqq. (Plummer's

translation).

[1466] This fact rests on the testimony of Eusebius (vi. 8), who was

very well informed respecting Origen; and it has been defended by

Engelhardt, Redepenning, and Neander, against the unfounded doubts of

Baur and Schnitzer. The comments of Origen on the passage in Matthew

speak for rather than against the fact. See also M�ller (p. 93).

[1467] Stephen Binet, a Jesuit, wrote a little book, De salute

Origenis, Par. 1629, in which the reading writers on the subject debate

the question of the salvation of Origen, and Baronius proposes a

descent to the infernal regions to ascertain the truth at last the

final revision of the heresy-trial is wisely left with the secret

counsel of God. See an account of this book by Bayle, Diction. sub

Origene."Tom. III. 541, note 1). Origen's " gravest errors," says

Westcott (l.c.)" are attempts to solve that which is insoluble."

[1468] Not at the fifth ecumenical council of 553, as has been often,

through confusion, asserted. See Hefele, Conciliengesch. vol. II. 790

sqq. and 859 sqq, M�ller, however, in Herzog2 xi. 113, again defends

the other view of Noris and Ballerini. See the 15 anathematisms in

Mansi, Conc. ix. 534.

[1469] His exegetical method and merits are fully discussed by Huetius,

and by Redepenning (I. 296-324), also by Diestel, Gesch. des A. T in

der christl. Kirche, 1869, p. 36 sq. and 53 sq.

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� 188. The Works of Origen.

Origen was an uncommonly prolific author, but by no means an idle

bookmaker. Jerome says, he wrote more than other men can read.

Epiphanius, an opponent, states the number of his works as six

thousand, which is perhaps not much beyond the mark, if we include all

his short tracts, homilies, and letters, and count them as separate

volumes. Many of them arose without his cooeperation, and sometimes

against his will, from the writing down of his oral lectures by others.

Of his books which remain, some have come down to us only in Latin

translations, and with many alterations in favor of the later

orthodoxy. They extend to all branches of the theology of that day.

1. His biblical works were the most numerous, and may be divided into

critical, exegetical, and hortatory.

Among the critical were the Hexapla [1470] 470 (the Sixfold Bible) and

the shorter Tetrapla (the Fourfold), on which he spent eight-and-twenty

years of the most unwearied labor. The Hexapla was the first polyglott

Bible, but covered only the Old Testament, and was designed not for the

critical restoration of the original text, but merely for the

improvement of the received Septuagint, and the defense of it against

the charge of inaccuracy. It contained, in six columns, the original

text in two forms, in Hebrew and in Greek characters, and the four

Greek versions of the Septuagint, of Aquila, of Symmachus, and of

Theodotion. To these he added, in several books two or three other

anonymous Greek versions. [1471] 471 The order was determined by the

degree of literalness. The Tetrapla [1472] 472 contained only the four

versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion. The

departures from the standard he marked with the critical signs asterisk

(\*) for alterations and additions, and obelos ( ) for proposed

omissions. He also added marginal notes, e.g., explanations of Hebrew

names. The voluminous work was placed in the library at Caesarea, was

still much used in the time of Jerome (who saw it there), but doubtless

never transcribed, except certain portions, most frequently the

Septuagint columns (which were copied, for instance, by Pamphilus and

Eusebius, and regarded as the standard text), and was probably

destroyed by the Saracens in 653. We possess, therefore, only some

fragments of it, which were collected and edited by the learned

Benedictine Montfaucon (1714), and more recentl;y by an equallt learned

Anglican scholar, Dr. Field (1875).1473

His commentaries covered almost all the books of the Old and New

Testaments, and contained a vast wealth of original and profound

suggestions, with the most arbitrary allegorical and mystical fancies.

They were of three kinds: (a) Short notes on single difficult passages

for beginners; [1473] 474 all these are lost, except what has been

gathered from the citations of the fathers (by Delarue under the title

EklogaiSelecta). (b) Extended expositions of whole books, for higher

scientific study; [1474] 475 of, these we have a number of important

fragments in the original, and in the translation of Rufinus. In the

Commentary on John the Gnostic exegeses of Heracleon is much used. (c)

Hortatory or practical applications of Scripture for the congregation

or Homilies. [1475] 476 They were delivered extemporaneously, mostly in

Caesarea and in the latter part of his life, and taken down by

stenographers. They are important also to the history of pulpit

oratory. But we have them only in part, as translated by Jerome and

Rufinus, with many unscrupulous retrenchments and additions, which

perplex and are apt to mislead investigators.

2. Apologetic and polemic works. The refutation of Celsus's attack upon

Christianity, in eight books, written in the last years of his life,

about 248, is preserved complete in the original, and is one of the

ripest and most valuable productions of Origen, and of the whole

ancient apologetic literature. [1476] 477 And yet he did not know who

this Celsus was, whether he lived in the reign of Nero or that of

Hadrian, while modern scholars assign him to the period a.d. 150 to

178. His numerous polemic writings against heretics are all gone.

3. Of his dogmatic writings we have, though only in the inaccurate

Latin translation of Rufinus, his juvenile production, De Principiis,

i.e. on the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, in four

books. [1477] 478 It was written in Alexandria, and became the chief

source of objections to his theology. It was the first attempt at a

complete system of dogmatics, but full of his peculiar Platonizing and

Gnosticizing errors, some of which he retracted in his riper years. In

this work Origen treats in four books, first, of God, of Christ, and of

the Holy Spirit; in the second book, of creation and the incarnation,

the resurrection and the judgment; in the third, of freedom, which he

very strongly sets forth and defends against the Gnostics; in the

fourth, of the Holy Scriptures, their inspiration and authority, and

the interpretation of them; concluding with a recapitulation of the

doctrine of the trinity. His Stromata, in imitation of the work of the

same name by Clemens Alex., seems to have been doctrinal and

exegetical, and is lost with the exception of two or three fragments

quoted in Latin by Jerome. His work on the Resurrection is likewise

lost.

4. Among his practical works may be mentioned a treatise on prayer,

with an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, [1478] 479 and an exhortation

to martyrdom, [1479] 480 written during the persecution of Maximin

(235-238), and addressed to his friend and patron Ambrosius.

5. Of his letters, of which Eusebius collected over eight hundred, we

have, besides a few fragments, only all answer to Julius Africanus on

the authenticity of the history of Susanna.

Among the works of Origen is also usually inserted the Philocalia, or a

collection, in twenty-seven chapters, of extracts from his writings on

various exegetical questions, made by Gregory Nazianzen and Basil the

Great. [1480] 481

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[1470] Ta hexapla, also in the singular form to hexaploun, Hexaplum (in

later writers). Comp. Fritzsche in Herzog2 I. 285.

[1471] Called Quinta (e'), Sexta (s'), and Septima (z'). This would

make nine columns in all, but the name Enneapla never occurs. Octapla

and Heptap!a are used occasionally, but very seldom. The following

passage from Habakkuk 2:4 (quoted Rom. 1:17) is found complete in all

the columns: To Ebraikon To Hebraikon Hellenikoisgrammasin Asal'uk

Summachos Hoi O (LXX) theodotion E' S'. Z'. knvsph v'mvntr vtsdyq

ousadik bemounatho ieie. k`ia.iates'ez uotua ietsip ne soiak`id ho de

dikaios te eautou pistei zesei. ho de dikaios te heautou

pisteosmouzesetai. ho de dikaios te heautou pistei zesei. ho de dikaios

te heautou pistei zesei. ho de dikaios te heautou pistei zesei. ho de

dikaios te heautou pistei zesei.

[1472] ta tetrapla, or tetraploun or to tetraselidon, or, Tetrapla,

Tetraplum.

[1473] Semeioseis, scholia, scholia.

[1474] Tomoi, volumina, also commentarii.

[1475] Homiliai.

[1476] Comp. � 32, p. 89 sqq. A special ed. by W. Selwyn: Origenis

Contra Celsum libri I-IV. Lond. 1877. English version by Crombie, 1868.

The work of Celsus restored from Origen by Keim, Celsus' Wahres Wort,

Z�rich 1873.

[1477] Peri archon. The version of Rufinus with some fragments of a

more exact rival version in Delarue I. 42-195. A special ed. by

Redepenning, Origenes de Princip., Lips. 1836. Comp. also K. F.

Schnitzer, Orig. �ber die Grundlehren des Christenthums, ein

Wiederherstellungsversuch, Stuttgart 1836. Rufinus himself confesses

that he altered or omitted several pages, pretending that it had been

more corrupted by heretics than any other work of Origen. Tillemont

well remarks that Rufinus might have spared himself the trouble of

alteration, as we care much less about his views than those of the

original.

[1478] Peri euches De Oratione. Delarue, I. 195-272. Separate ed. Oxf.

1635, with a Latin version. Origen omits (as do Tertullian and Cyprian)

the doxology of the Lord's Prayer, not finding it in his MSS. This is

one of the strongest negative proofs of its being a later interpolation

from liturgical usage.

[1479] Eis martupion protreptikos logos or Peri marturiou, De Martyrio.

First published by Wetstein, Basel, 1574; in Delarue, I. 273-310, with

Latin version and notes.

[1480] First published in Latin by Genebrardus, Paris 1574, and in

Greek and Latin by Delarue, who, however, omits those extracts, which

are elsewhere given in their appropriate places.

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� 189. Gregory Thaumaturgus.

T. S. Gregorii episcopi Neocaesariensis Opera omnia, ed. G. Vossius,

Mag. 1604; better ed. by Fronto Ducaeus, Par. 1622, fol.; in Gallandi,

Bibl. Vet. Patrum" (1766-77), Tom. III., p. 385-470; and in Migne.

"Patrol. Gr." Tom. X. (1857), 983-1343. Comp. also a Syriac version of

Gregory's kata meros pistis in R. de Lagarde's Analecta Syriaca, Leipz.

1858, pp. 31-67.

II. Gregory Of Nyssa: Bios kai enkomion rhethen eis ton hagion

Gregorion ton thaumatourgon. In the works of Gregory of Nyssa, (Migne,

vol. 46). A eulogy full of incredible miracles, which the author heard

from his grandmother.

English translation by S. D. F. Salmond, in Clark's "Ante-Nicene

Library," vol. xx. (1871), p. 1-156.

C. P. Caspari: Alte und neue Quellen zur Gesc. des Taufsymbols und der

Glaubensregel. Christiania, 1879, p. 1-160.

Victor Ryssel: Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Sein Leben und seine Schriften.

Leipzig, 1880 (160 pp.). On other biograpbical essays of G., see

Ryssel, pp. 59 sqq. Contains a translation of two hitherto unknown

Syriac writings of Gregory.

W. M�ller in Herzog2, V. 404 sq. H. R. Reynolds in Smith & Wace, II.

730-737.

Most of the Greek fathers of the third and fourth centuries stood more

or less under the influence of the spirit and the works of Origen,

without adopting all his peculiar speculative views. The most

distinguished among his disciples are Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius

of Alexandria, surnamed the Great, Heraclas, Hieracas, Pamphilus; in a

wider sense also Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa and other eminent divines

of the Nicene age.

Gregory, surnamed Thaumaturgus, "the wonder-worker," was converted from

heathenism in his youth by Origen at Caesarea, in Palestine, spent

eight years in his society, and then, after a season of contemplative

retreat, labored as bishop of Neo-Caesarea in Pontus from 244 to 270

with extraordinary success. He could thank God on his death-bed, that

he had left to his successor no more unbelievers in his diocese than he

had found Christians in it at his accession; and those were only

seventeen. He must have had great missionary zeal and executive

ability. He attended the Synod of Antioch in 265, which condemned Paul

of Samasota.

Later story represents him as a "second Moses," and attributed

extraordinary miracles to him. But these are not mentioned till a

century after his time, by Gregory of Nyssa and Basil, who made him

also a champion of the Nicene orthodoxy before the Council of Nicaea.

Eusebius knows nothing of them, nor of his trinitarian creed which is

said to have been communicated to him by a special revelation in a

vision. [1481] 482 This creed is almost too Orthodox for an admiring

Pupil Of Origen, and seems to presuppose the Arian controversy

(especially the conclusion). It has probably been enlarged. Another and

fuller creed ascribed to him, is the work of the younger Apollinaris at

the end of the fourth century. [1482] 483

Among his genuine writings is a glowing eulogy on his beloved teacher

Origen, which ranks as a masterpiece of later Grecian eloquence. [1483]

484 Also a simple paraphrase of the book of Ecclesiastes. [1484] 485 To

these must be added two books recently published in a Syriac

translation, one on the co-equality of the Father, Son, and Holy

Spirit, and the other on the impassibility and the possibility of God.

Notes.

I. The Declaration of faith (ekthesis pisteos kata apokalupsin) is said

to have been revealed to Gregory in a night vision by St. John, at the

request of the Virgin Mary, and the autograph of it was, at the time of

Gregory of Nyssa (as he says), in possession of the church of

Neocaesarea. It is certainly a very remarkable document and the most

explicit statement of the doctrine of the Trinity from the ante-Nicene

age. Caspari (in his Alte und neue Quellen, etc., 1879, pp. 25-64),

after an elaborate discussion, comes to the conclusion that the creed

contains nothing inconsistent with a pupil of Origen, and that it was

written by Gregory in opposition to Sabellianism and Paul of Samosata,

and with reference to the controversy between Dionysius of Alexandria

and Dionysius of Rome on the Trinity, between a.d. 260 and 270. But I

think it more probable that it has undergone some enlargement at the

close by a later hand. This is substantially also the view of Neander,

and of Dorner (Entwicklungsgesch. der L. v. d. Pers. Christi, I.

735-737). The creed is at all events a very remarkable production and a

Greek anticipation of the Latin Quicunque which falsely goes under the

name of the "Athanasian Creed." We give the Greek with a translation.

See Mansi, Conc. I. 1030 Patr. Gr. X. col. 983; Caspari, l. c.; comp.

the comparative tables in Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, II. 40 and

41.

Gregory Thaumat. Declaration of Faith.

Eis Theos, Pater logou zontos, sophias huphestoses kai dunameos kai

charakteros aidiou, teleios teleiou gennetor, Pater Huiou monogenou s

There is one God, the Father of the living Word, (who is his)

subsisting Wisdom and Power and eternal Impress (lmage): perfect

Begetter of the Perfect [Begotten], Father of the only begotten Son.

Heis Kurios, monos ek monou, theos ek theou, charakter kai eikon te s

theotetos, logos energos, sophia te s ton holon sustaseos periektike

kai dunamis te s holes ktiseos poietike, Huios alethinos alethinou

Patros, aoratos aoratou kai aphthartos aphthartou kai athanatos

athanatou kai aidios aidiou

There is one Lord, Only of Only, God of God, the Image and Likeness of

the Godhead, the efficient Word, Wisdom comprehensive of the system of

all things, and Power productive of the whole creation; true Son of the

true Father, Invisible of Invisible, and Incorruptible of

Incorruptible, and Immortal of Immortal, and Eternal of Eternal.

Kai hen Pneuma Hagion, ek theou ten huparxin echon, kai di' Uiou

pephenos [delade toi s anthropois], eikon tou Uiou teleiou teleia, zoe,

zonton aitia, pege hagia, hagiotes, hagiasmou choregos; en o

phaneroutai theos ho Pater ho epi panton kai en pasi kai theos o Uios

ho dia panton; trias teleia, doxe kai aidioteti kai basileia me

merizomene mede apallotrioumene.

And there is one Holy Ghost, having his existence from God, and being

manifested (namely, to mankind) by the Son; the perfect Likeness of the

perfect Son: Life, the Cause of the living; sacred Fount; holiness, the

Bestower of sanctification; in whom is revealed God the Father, who is

over all things and in all things, and God the Son, who is through all

things: a perfect Trinity, in glory and eternity and dominion, neither

divided nor alien.

Oute oun ktiston ti e doulon en te triadi, oute epeisakton, hos

proteron men ouch huparchon, husteron de epeiselthon; oute oun enelipe

pote Huios Patri, oute Huio Pneuma alla atreptos kai analloiotos he

aute trias aei.

There is therefore nothing created or subservient in the Trinity, nor

super-induced, as though not before existing, but introduced afterward

Nor has the Son ever been wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the

Son, but there is unvarying and unchangeable the same Trinity forever.

II. The Miracles ascribed to Gregory Thaumaturgus in the fourth

century, one hundred years after his death, by the enlightened and

philosophic Gregory of Nyssa, and defended in the nineteenth century by

Cardinal Newman of England as credible (Two Essays on Bibl. and Eccles.

Miracles. Lond. 3d ed., 1873, p. 261-270), are stupendous and surpass

all that are recorded of the Apostles in the New Testament.

Gregory not only expelled demons, healed the sick, banished idols from

a heathen temple, but he moved large stones by a mere word, altered the

course of the Armenian river Lycus, and, like Moses of old, even dried

up a lake. The last performance is thus related by St. Gregory of

Nyssa: Two young brothers claimed as their patrimony the possession of

a lake. (The name and location are not given.) Instead of dividing it

between them, they referred the dispute to the Wonderworker, who

exhorted them to be reconciled to one another. The young men however,

became exasperated, and resolved upon a murderous duel, when the man of

God, remaining on the banks of the lake, by the power of prayer,

transformed the whole lake into dry land, and thus settled the

conflict.

Deducting all these marvellous features, which the magnifying distance

of one century after the death of the saint created, there remains the

commanding figure of a great and good man who made a most powerful

impression upon his and the subsequent generati

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[1481] The Hekthesis tes pisteos kata apokalupsin is rejected as

spurious by Gieseler and Baur, defended by Hahn, Caspari, and Ryssel.

It is given in Mansi, Conc. I, 1030, in Hahn, Bibl. der Symbole der

alten Kirche, second ed. p. 183, and by Caspari, p. 10-17, in Greek and

in two Latin versions with notes.

[1482] The kata meros pistis(i.e. the faith set forth piece for piece,

or in detail, not in part only) was first published in the Greek

original by Angelo Mai, Scriptorum Vet. Nova Collectio, VII. 170-176. A

Syriac translation in the Analecta Syriaca, ed. by P. de Lagarde, pp.

31-42. See Caspari, l.c. pp. 65-116, who conclusively proves the

Apollinarian origin of the document. A third trinitarian confession

from Gregory, dialexis pros Ailianon, is lost.

[1483] Best separate edition by Bengel, Stuttgart, 1722. It is also

published in the 4th vol. of Delarue's ed . of Origen, and in Migne,

Patr. Gr. X. Col. 1049-1104. English version in Ante-Nic. Lib., XX.,

36-80.

[1484] In Migne, Tom. X. Col. 987-1018.

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� 190. Dionysius the Great.

(I.) S. Dionysii Episcopi Alexandrini quae supersunt Operum et Episto

larum fragmenta, in Migne's "Patrol. Gr." Tom. X. Col. 1237-1344 and

Addenda, Col. 1575-1602. Older collections of the fragments by Simon de

Magistris, Rom. 1796, and Routh, Rel. Sacr., vol. IV. 393-454. Add

Pitra, Spicil. Solesm. I. 15 sqq.--English translation by Salmond in

Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. xx. (1871), p. 161-266.

(II.) Eusebius: H. E. III. 28; VI. 41, 45, 46; VII. 2, 4, 7, 9, 11, 22,

24, 26, 27, 28. Athanasius: De Sent. Dionys. Hieronym.: De Fir. ill.

69.

(III.) Th. F�rster: De Doctrina et Sententiis Dionysii Magni Episcopi

Alex. Berl. 1865. And in the "Zeitschrift f�r hist. Theol." 1871. Dr.

Dittrich (R.C.): Dionysius der Grosse von Alexandrien. Freib. i.

Breisg. 1867 (130 pages). Weizs�cker in Herzog2 III. 61, 5 sq. Westcott

in Smith and Wace I. 850 sqq.

Dionysius Of Alexandria --so distinguished from the contemporary

Dionysius of Rome--surnamed "the Great," [1485] 486 was born about a.d.

190, [1486] 487 of Gentile parents, and brought up to a secular

profession with bright prospects of wealth and renown, but be examined

the claims of Christianity and was won to the faith by Origen, to whom

he ever remained faithful. He disputes with Gregory Thaumaturgus the

honor of being the chief disciple of that great teacher; but while

Gregory was supposed to have anticipated the Nicene dogma of the

trinity, the orthodoxy of Dionysius was disputed. He became Origen's

assistant in the Catechetical School (233), and after the death of

Heraclas bishop of Alexandria (248). During the violent persecution

under Decius (249-251) he fled, and thus exposed himself, like Cyprian,

to the suspicion of cowardice. In the persecution under Valerian (247),

he was brought before the praefect and banished, but he continued to

direct his church from exile. On the accession of Gallienus he was

allowed to return (260). He died in the year 265.

His last years were disturbed by war, famine and pestilence, of which

he gives a lively account in the Easter encyclical of the year 263.

[1487] 488 "The present time," he writes, "does not appear a fit season

for a festival ... All things are filled with tears, all are mourning,

and on account of the multitudes already dead and still dying, groans

are daily heard throughout the city ... There is not a house in which

there is not one dead ... After this, war and famine succeeded which we

endured with the heathen, but we bore alone those miseries with which

they afflicted us ... But we rejoiced in the peace of Christ which he

gave to us alone ... Most of our brethren by their exceeding great love

and affection not sparing themselves and adhering to one another, were

constantly superintending the sick, ministering to their wants without

fear and cessation, and healing them in Christ." The heathen, on the

contrary, repelled the sick or cast them half-dead into the street. The

same self-denying charity in contrast with heathen selfishness

manifested itself at Carthage during the raging of a pestilence, under

the persecuting reign of Gallus (252), as we learn from Cyprian.

Dionysius took an active part in the christological, chiliastic, and

disciplinary controversies of his time, and showed in them moderation,

an amiable spirit of concession, and practical churchly tact, but also

a want of independence and consistency. He opposed Sabellianism, and

ran to the brink of tritheism, but in his correspondence with the more

firm and orthodox Dionysius of Rome he modified his view, and

Athanasius vindicated his orthodoxy against the charge of having sowed

the seeds of Arianism. He wished to adhere to Origen's christology, but

the church pressed towards the Nicene formula. There is nothing,

however, in the narrative of Athanasius which implies a recognition of

Roman supremacy. His last christological utterance was a letter

concerning the heresy of Paul of Samosata; he was prevented from

attending the Synod of Antioch in 264, which condemned and deposed

Paul. He rejected, with Origen, the chiliastic notions, and induced

Nepos and his adherents to abandon them, but he denied the apostolic

origin of the Apocalypse and ascribed it to the "Presbyter John," of

doubtful existence. He held mild views on discipline and urged the

Novatians to deal gently with the lapsed and to preserve the peace of

the church. He also counselled moderation in the controversy between

Stephen and Cyprian on the validity of heretical baptism, though he

sided with the more liberal Roman theory.

Dionysius wrote many letters and treatises on exegetic, polemic, and

ascetic topics, but only short fragments remain, mostly in Eusebius.

The chief books were Commentaries on Ecclesiastes, and Luke; Against

Sabellius (christological); On Nature (philosophical); On the Promises

(against Chiliasm): On Martyrdom. He compared the style of the fourth

Gospel and of the Apocalypse to deny the identity of authorship, but he

saw only the difference and not the underlying unity. [1488] 489 "All

the fragments of Dionysius," says Westcott, "repay careful perusal.

They are uniformly inspired by the sympathy and large-heartedness which

he showed in practice."

Dionysius is commemorated in the Greek church on October 3, in the

Roman on November 17.

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[1485] First by Eusebius in the ProOEem. to Bk. VII: ho megas

Alexandreon episkopos Dionusios. Athanasius (De Seut. Dion. 6) calls

him " teacher of the Catholic church "(tes kathol. ekklesias

didaskalos).

[1486] When invited in 265 to attend the Synod of Antioch, he declined

on account of the infirmities of old age. Eus. VII. 27.

[1487] Preserved by Eusebius VII. 22.

[1488] In Euseb. VII. 25. Dionysius concludes the comparison with

praising the pure Greek of the Gospel and contrasting with it "the

barbarous idioms and solecisms" of the Apocalypse; yet the style of the

Gospel is thoroughly Hebrew in the inspiring soul and mode of

construction. He admits however, that the author of the Apocalypse "saw

a revelation and received knowledge and prophecy," and disclaims the

intention of depreciating the book only he cannot conceive that it is

the product of the same pen as the fourth Gospel. He anticipated the

theory of the Schleiermacher school of critics who defend the Johannean

origin of the Gospel and surrender the Apocalypse; while the T�bingen

critics and Renan reverse the case. See on this subject vol. I. 716 sq.

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� 191. Julius Africanus.

(I.) The fragments in Routh: Rel. Sacr. II. 221-509. Also in Gallandi,

Tom. II., and Migne, "Patr. Gr., " Tom. X. Col. 35-108.

(II.) Eusebius: H. E. VI. 31. Jerome: De Vir. ill. 63. Socrates: H. E.

II. 35. Photius: Bibl. 34.

(III.) Fabricius: "Bibl. Gr." IV. 240 (ed. Harles). G. Salmon in Smith

and Wace I. 53-57. Ad. Harnack in Herzog2 VII. 296-298. Also Pauly's

"Real-Encykl." V. 501 sq.; Nicolai's "Griech. Lit. Gesch." II. 584; and

Smith's "Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biogr." I. 56 sq.

Julius Africanus, [1489] 490 the first Christian chronographer and

universal historian, an older friend of Origen, lived in the first half

of the second century at Emmaus (Nicopolis), in Palestine, [1490] 491

made journeys to Alexandria, where he heard the lectures of Heraclas,

to Edessa, Armenia and Phrygia, and was sent on an embassy to Rome in

behalf of the rebuilding of Emmaus which had been ruined (221). He died

about a.d. 240 in old age. He was not an ecclesiastic, as far as we

know, but a philosopher who pursued his favorite studies after his

conversion and made them useful to the church. He may have been a

presbyter, but certainly not a bishop. [1491] 492 He was the forerunner

of Eusebius, who in his Chronicle has made copious use of his learned

labor and hardly gives him sufficient credit, although he calls his

chronography "a most accurate and labored performance." He was

acquainted with Hebrew. Socrates classes him for learning with Clement

of Alexandria and Origen.

His chief work is his chronography, in five books. It commenced with

the creation (B. C. 5499) and came down to the year 221, the fourth

year of Elagabalus. It is the foundation of the mediaeval

historiography of the world and the church. We have considerable

fragments of it and can restore it in part from the Chronicle of

Eusebius. A satisfactory estimate of its merits requires a fuller

examination of the Byzantine and oriental chronography of the church

than has hitherto been made. Earlier writers were concerned to prove

the antiquity of the Christian religion against the heathen charge of

novelty by tracing it back to Moses and the prophets who were older

than the Greek philosophers and poets. But Africanus made the first

attempt at a systematic chronicle of sacred and profane history. He

used as a fixed point the accession of Cyrus, which he placed Olymp.

55, 1, and then counting backwards in sacred history, he computed 1237

years between the exodus and the end of the seventy years' captivity or

the first year of Cyrus. He followed the Septuagint chronology, placed

the exodus A. M. 3707, and counted 740 years between the exodus and

Solomon. He fixed the Lord's birth in A. M. 5500, and 10 years before

our Dionysian era, but he allows only one year's public ministry and

thus puts the crucifixion A. M. 5531. He makes the 31 years of the

Saviour's life the complement of the 969 years of Methuselah. He

understood the 70 weeks of Daniel to be 490 lunar years, which are

equivalent to 475 Julian years. He treats the darkness at the

crucifixion as miraculous, since an eclipse of the sun could not have

taken place at the full moon.

Another work of Africanus, called Cesti (Kestoi) or Variegated Girdles,

was a sort of universal scrap-book or miscellaneous collection of

information on geography, natural history, medicine, agriculture, war,

and other subjects of a secular character. Only fragments remain. Some

have unnecessarily denied his authorship on account of the secular

contents of the book, which was dedicated to the Emperor Alexander

Severus.

Eusebius mentions two smaller treatises of Africanus, a letter to

Origen, "in which he intimates his doubts on the history of Susanna, in

Daniel, as if it were a spurious and fictitious composition," and "a

letter to Aristides on the supposed discrepancy between the genealogies

of Christ in Matthew and Luke, in which he most clearly establishes the

consistency of the two evangelists, from an account which had been

handed down from his ancestors."

The letter to Origen is still extant and takes a prominent rank among

the few specimens of higher criticism in the literature of the ancient

church. He urges the internal improbabilities of the story of Susanna,

its omission from the Hebrew canon, the difference of style as compared

with the canonical Daniel, and a play on Greek words which shows that

it was originally written in Greek, not in Hebrew. Origen tried at

great length to refute these objections, and one of his arguments is

that it would be degrading to Christians to go begging to the Jews for

the unadulterated Scriptures.

The letter to Aristides on the genealogies solves the difficulty by

assuming that Matthew gives the natural, Luke the legal, descent of our

Lord. It exists in fragments, from which F. Spitta has recently

reconstructed it. [1492] 493

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[1489] Suidas calls him Sextus Africanus. Eusebius calls him simply

Aphrikanos.

[1490] Not the Emmaus known from Luke 24:16, which was only sixty

stadia from Jerusalem, but another Emmaus, 176 stadia (22 Roman miles)

from Jerusalem.

[1491] Two Syrian writers, Barsalibi and Ebedjesu, from the end of the

twelfth century, call him bishop of Edessa; but earlier writers know

nothing of this title, and Origen addresses him as "brother."

[1492] Der Brief des Jul. Africanus an Aristides kritisch untersucht

und hergestellt. Halle 1877.

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� 192. Minor Divines of the Greek Church.

A number of divines of the third century, of great reputation in their

day, mostly of Egypt and of the school of Origen, deserve a brief

mention, although only few fragments of their works have survived the

ravages of time.

I. Heraclas and his brother Plutarch (who afterwards died a martyr)

were the oldest distinguished converts and pupils of Origen, and older

than their teacher. Heraclas had even before him studied the

New-platonic philosophy under Ammonius Saccas. He was appointed

assistant of Origen, and afterwards his successor in the Catechetical

School. After the death of Demetrius, the jealous enemy of Origen,

Heraclas was elected bishop of Alexandria and continued in that high

office sixteen years (A. D. 233-248). We know nothing of his

administration, nor of his writings. He either did not adopt the

speculative opinions of Origen, or prudently concealed them, at least

he did nothing to recall his teacher from exile. He was succeeded by

Dionysius the Great. Eusebius says that he was "devoted to the study of

the Scriptures and a most learned man, not unacquainted with

philosophy," but is silent about his conduct to Origen during and after

his trial for heresy. [1493] 494

II. Among the successors of Heraclas and Dionysius in the Catechetical

School was Theognostus, not mentioned by Eusebius, but by Athanasius

and Photius. We have from him a brief fragment on the blasphemy against

the Holy Ghost, and a few extracts from his Hypotyposeis

(Adumbrations). [1494] 495

III. Pierius probably, succeeded Theognostus while Theonas was bishop

of Alexandria (d. 300), and seems to have outlived the Diocletian

persecution. He was the teacher of Pamphilus, and called "the younger

Origen." [1495] 496

IV. Pamphilus, a great admirer of Origen, a presbyter and theological

teacher at Caesarea in Palestine, and a martyr of the persecution of

Maximinus (309), was not an author himself, but one of the most liberal

and efficient promoters of Christian learning. He did invaluable

service to future generations by founding a theological school and

collecting a large library, from which his pupil and friend Eusebius

(hence called "Eusebius Pampili "), Jerome, and many others, drew or

increased their useful information. Without that library the church

history of Eusebius would be far less instructive than it is now.

Pamphilus transcribed with his own hand useful books, among others the

Septuagint from the Hexapla of Origen. [1496] 497 He aided poor

students, and distributed the Scriptures. While in prison, he wrote a

defense of Origen, which was completed by Eusebius in six books, but

only the first remains in the Latin version of Rufinus, whom Jerome

charges with wilful alterations. It is addressed to the confessors who

were condemned to the mines of Palestine, to assure them of the

orthodoxy of Origen from his own writings, especially on the trinity

and the person of Christ. [1497] 498

V. Peter, pupil and successor of Theonas, was bishop ofAlexandria since

a.d. 300, lived during the terrible times of the Diocletian

persecution, and was beheaded by order of Maximinus in 311. He held

moderate views on the restoration of the lapsed, and got involved in

the Meletian schism which engaged much of the attention of the Council

of Nicaea. Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, taking advantage of Peter's

flight from persecution, introduced himself into his diocese, and

assumed the character of primate of Egypt, but was deposed by Peter in

306 for insubordination. We have from Peter fifteen canons on

discipline, and a few homiletical fragments in which he rejects

Origen's views of the pre-existence and ante-mundane fall of the soul

as heathenish, and contrary to the Scripture account of creation. This

dissent would place him among the enemies of Origen, but Eusebius makes

no allusion to it, and praises him for piety, knowledge of the

Scriptures, and wise administration. [1498] 499

VI. Hieracas (Hierax), from Leontopolis in Egypt, towards the end of

the third century, belongs only in a wider sense to the Alexandrian

school, and perhaps had no connexion with it at all. Epiphanius reckons

him among the Manichaean heretics. He was, at all events, a perfectly

original phenomenon, distinguished for his varied learning, allegorical

exegesis, poetical talent, and still more for his eccentric asceticism.

Nothing is left of the works which he wrote in the Greek and Egyptian

languages. He is said to have denied the historical reality of the fall

and the resurrection of the body, and to have declared celibacy the

only sure way to salvation, or at least to the highest degree of

blessedness. His followers were called Hieracitae. [1499] 500

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[1493] Hist. Eccl. VI. 15, 26, 35; Chron. ad arm. Abr. 2250, 2265.

[1494] In Routh, Reliquiae Sacre III. 407-422. Cave puts Theognostus

after Pierius, about a.d. 228, but Routh corrects him, (p. 408).

[1495] Euseb. VII. 32 towards the close; Hieron. D, Vir. ill. 76;

Praef. in Hos. Photius, Cod. 118, 119. Eusebius knew Pierius

personally, and says that he was greatly celebrated for his voluntary

poverty, his philosophical knowledge, and his skill in expounding the

Scriptures in public assemblies. Jerome calls him "Origenes junior." He

mentions a long treatise of his on the prophecies of Hosea. Photius

calls him Pamphilou tou marturos huphegetesSee Routh, Rel. S. III.

425-431.

[1496] "Jerome says (De Vir. ill. 75): Pamphilus ... tanto bibliothecae

divinae amore flagravit, ut maximam partem Origenis voluminum sua manu

descrpserit, quae usque hodie in Caesriensi bibliotheca habentur. Sed

et in duodecim prophetas viginti quinque exegeseonOrigenis volumina

manu ejus exarata reperi, quae tanto amplector et servo gaudio, ut

Craesi opes habere me credam. Si enim laetitia est, unam epistolam

habere martyris, quanto magis tot millia versuum quae mihi videtur sui

sanguinis signasse vestigiis."

[1497] See Routh's Rel. S. vol. III. 491-512, and vol. IV. 339-392;

also in Delarue's Opera Orig. vol. IV., and in the editions of

Lommatsch and Migne. Eusebius wrote a separate work on the life and

martyrdom of his friend and the school which he founded, but it is

lost. See H. E. VII. 32; comp. VI. 32; VIII. 13, and especially De

Mart. Pal. c. 11, where he gives an account of his martyrdom and the

twelve who suffered with him. The Acta Passionis Pamph. in the Act SS.

Bolland. Junii I. 64.

[1498] H. E. VIII. 13; IX. 6. The fragments in Routh, IV. 23-82. Peter

taught in a sermon on the soul, that soul and body were created

together on the same day, and that the theory of pre-existence is

derived from "the Hellenic philosophy, and is foreign to those who

would lead a godly life in Christ" (Routh, p. 49 sq.).

[1499] 0ur information about Hierax is almost wholly derived from

Epiphanius, Haer. 67, who says that he lived during the Diocletian

persecution. Eusebius knows nothing about him; for the Egyptian bishop

Hierax whom he mentions in two places (VII. 21 and 30), was a

contemporary of Dionysius of Alexandria, to whom he wrote a paschal

letter about 262.

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� 193. Opponents of Origen. Methodius

(I.) Methodiou episkopou kai marturos ta heuriskomena panta. In

Gallandi's "Vet. Patr. Biblioth." Tom. III.; in Migne's "Patrol. Gr."

Tom. XVIII. Col. 9-408; and by A. Jahn (S. Methodii Opera, et S.

Methodius Platonizans, Hal. 1865, 2 pts.). The first ed. was publ. by

Combefis, 1644, and more completely in 1672. English translation in

Clark's "Ante-Nicene Libr.," vol. XIV. (Edinb. 1869.)

(II) Hieronymus: De Viris ill. 83, and in several of his Epp. and

Comment. Epiphanius: Haer. 64. Socrates: H. E. VI. 31. Photius: Bibl.

234-237.

Eusebius is silent about Method., perhaps because of his opposition to

Origen; while Photius, perhaps for the same reason, pays more attention

to him than to Origen, whose De Principiis he pronounces blasphemous,

Bibl 8. Gregory of Nyssa, Arethas, Leontius Byzantius, Maximus, the

Martyrologium Romanum (XIV. Kal. Oct.) and the Menologium Graecum (ad

diem 20 Junii), make honorable mention of him.

(III.) Leo Allatius: Diatribe de Methodiorum Scriptis, in his ed. of

the Convivium in 1656. Fabric." Bibl. Gr.," ed. Harles, VII. 260 sqq.

W. M�ller in Herzog2, IX. 724-726. (He discusses especially the

relation of Methodius to Origen.) G. Salmon in Smith and Wace, III.

909-911.

The opposition of Demetrius to Origen proceeded chiefly from personal

feeling, and had no theological significance. Yet it made a pretext at

least of zeal for orthodoxy, and in subsequent opponents this motive

took the principal place. This was the case, so early as the third

century, with Methodius, who may be called a forerunner of Epiphanius

in his orthodox war against Origen, but with this difference that he

was much more moderate, and that in other respects he seems to have

been an admirer of Plato whom he imitated in the dramatic dress of

composition, and of Origen whom he followed in his allegorical method

of interpretation. He occupied the position of Christian realism

against the speculative idealism of the Alexandrian teacher.

Methodius (also called Eubulius) was bishop first of Olympus and then

of Patara (both in the province of Lycia, Asia Minor on the southern

coast), and died a martyr in 311 or earlier in the Diocletian

persecution. [1500] 501

His principal work is his Symposium or Banquet of Ten Virgins. [1501]

502 It is an eloquent but verbose and extravagant eulogy on the

advantages and blessings of voluntary virginity, which he describes as

"something supernaturally great, wonderful, and glorious," and as "the

best and noblest manner of life." It was unknown before Christ (the

archiparthenos). At first men were allowed to marry sisters, then came

polygamy, the next progress was monogamy, with continence, but the

perfect state is celibacy for the kingdom of Christ, according to his

mysterious hint in Matt. 19:12, the recommendation of Paul, 1 Cor. 7:1,

7, 34, 40, and the passage in Revelation 14:1-4, where "a hundred and

forty-four thousand virgins" are distinguished from the innumerable

multitude of other saints (7:9).

The literary form is interesting. The ten virgins are, of course,

suggested by the parable in the gospel. The conception of the Symposium

and the dialogue are borrowed from Plato, who celebrated the praises of

Eros, as Methodius the praises of virginity. Methodius begins with a

brief dialogue between Eubulios and Eubuloin (i.e. himself) and the

virgin Gregorion who was present at a banquet of the ten virgins in the

gardens of Arete (i.e. personified virtue) and reports to him ten

discourses which these virgins successively delivered in praise of

chastity. At the end of the banquet the victorious Thecla, chief of the

virgins (St. Paul's apocryphal companion), standing on the right hand

of Arete, begins to sing a hymn of chastity to which the virgins

respond with the oft-repeated refrain,

I keep myself pure for Thee, O Bridegroom,

And holding a lighted torch, I go to meet Thee." [1502] 503

Then follows a concluding dialogue between Eubulios and Gregorion on

the question, whether chastity ignorant of lust is preferable to

chastity which feels the power of passion and overcomes it, in other

words, whether a wrestler who has no opponents is better than a

wrestler who has many and strong antagonists and continually contends

against them without being worsted. Both agree in giving the palm to

the latter, and then they betake themselves to "the care of the outward

man," expecting to resume the delicate discussion on the next day.

The taste and morality of virgins discussing at great length the merits

of sexual purity are very questionable, at least from the standpoint of

modern civilization, but the enthusiastic praise of chastity to the

extent of total abstinence was in full accord with the prevailing

asceticism of the fathers, including Origen, who freed himself from

carnal temptation by an act of violence against nature.

The work On the Resurrection, likewise in the form of a dialogue, and

preserved in large extracts by Epiphanius and Photius, was directed

against Origen and his views on creation, pre-existence, and the

immateriality of the resurrection body. The orthodox speakers (Eubulios

and Auxentios) maintain that the soul cannot sin without the body, that

the body is not a fetter of the soul, but its inseparable companion and

an instrument for good as well is evil, and that the earth will not be

destroyed, but purified and transformed into a blessed abode for the

risen saints. In a book On Things Created [1503] 504 he refutes

Origen's view of the eternity of the world, who thought it necessary to

the conception of God as an Almighty Creator and Ruler, and as the

unchangeable Being.

The Dialogue On Free Will [1504] 505 treats of the origin of matter,

and strongly resembles a work on that subject (peri tes hules) of which

Eusebius gives an extract and which he ascribes to Maximus, a writer

from the close of the second century. [1505] 506

Other works of Methodius, mentioned by Jerome, are: Against Porphyry

(10, 000 lines); Commentaries on Genesis and Canticles; De Pythonissa

(on the witch of Endor, against Origen's view that Samuel was laid

under the power of Satan when he evoked her by magical art). A Homily

for Palm Sunday, and a Homily on the Cross are also assigned to him.

But there were several Methodii among the patristic writers.

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[1500] Jerome makes him bishop of Tyre ("Meth. Olympi Lyciae et postea

Tyri episcopus"); but as all other authorities mention Patara as his

second diocese, "Tyre" is probably the error of a transcriber for

"Patara," or for "Myra, " which lies nearly midway between Olympus and

Patara, and probably belonged to the one or the other diocese before it

became an independent see. It is not likely that Tyre in Phoenicia

should have called a bishop from so great a distance. Jerome locates

the martyrdom of Methodius at "Chalcis in Greece" (in EubOEa). But

Sophronius, the Greek translator, substitutes "in the East for " in

Greece."Perhaps (as Salmon suggests, p. 909) Jerome confounded

Methodius of Patara with a Methodius whose name tradition has preserved

as a martyr, it Chalcis in the Decian persecution. This confusion is

all the more probable as he did not know the time of the martyrdom, and

says that some assign it to the Diocletian persecution ("ad extremum

novissimae persecutionis") others to the persecution " sub Decio et

Valeriano."

[1501] Sumposion ton deka parthenon, Symposium, or Convivium Decem

Virginum.

[1502] hagneuo soi, kai lampadas phaesphorous kratousa, Numphie,

hupantaso soi.

[1503] Peri ton geneton, known to us only from extracts in Photius,

Cod. 235. Salmon identifies this book with the Xeno mentioned by

Socrates, H. E. VI. 13, as an attack upon Origen.

[1504] Peri autexousiou, De libero arbitrio. Freedom of the will is

strongly emphasized by Justin Martyr, Origen, and all the Greek

fathers.

[1505] PrOEp. Evang. VII. 22; Comp. H. E. V. 27; and Routh, Rel. S. II.

87. M�ller and Salmon suppose that Methodius borrowed from Maximus, and

merely furnished the rhetorical introduction.

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� 194. Lucian of Antioch.

(I.) Luciani Fragmenta in Routh, Rel. s. IV. 3-17.

(II.) Euseb. H. E. VIII. 13; IX. 6 (and Rufinus's Eus. IX. 6). Hier De

Vir. ill. 77, and in other works. Socrat.: H. E. II. 10. Sozom.: H. E.

III. 5. Epiphan.: Ancoratus, c. 33. Theodor.: H. E. I. 3.

Philostorgius: H. E., II. 14, 15. Chrysostom's Hom. in Lucian, (in

Opera ed. Montfaucon, T. II. 524 sq; Migne, "Patr. Gr." I. 520 sqq.)

Ruinart: Acta Mart., p. 503 sq.

(III.) Acta Sanct. Jan. VII. 357 sq. Baron. Ann. ad Ann. 311. Brief

notices in Tillemont, Cave, Fabricius, Neander, Gieseler, Hefele

(Conciliengesch. vol. I). Harnack: Luc. der M�rt. in Herzog, VIII.

(1881), pp. 767-772. J. T. Stokes, in Smith & Wace, III., 748 and 749.

On his textual labors see the critical Introductions to the Bible.

I. Lucian was an eminent presbyter of Antioch and martyr of the

Diocletian persecution, renewed by Maximin. Very little is known of

him. He was transported from Antioch to Nicomedia, where the emperor

then resided, made a noble confession of his faith before the judge and

died under the tortures in prison (311). His memory was celebrated in

Antioch on the 7th of January. His piety was of the severely ascetic

type.

His memory was obscured by the suspicion of unsoundness in the faith.

Eusebius twice mentions him and his glorious martyrdom, but is silent

about his theological opinions. Alexander of Alexandria, in an

encyclical of 321, associates him with Paul of Samosata and makes him

responsible for the Arian heresy; he also says that he was

excommunicated or kept aloof from the church (aposunagogos emeine)

during the episcopate of Domnus, Timaeus, and Cyrillus; intimating that

his schismatic condition ceased before his death. The charge brought

against him and his followers is that he denied the eternity of the

Logos and the human soul of Christ (the Logos taking the place of the

rational soul). Arius and the Arians speak of him as their teacher. On

the other hand Pseudo-Athanasius calls him a great and holy martyr, and

Chrysostom preached a eulogy on him Jan. 1, 387. Baronius defends his

orthodoxy, other Catholics deny it. [1506] 507 Some distinguished two

Lucians, one orthodox, and one heretical; but this is a groundless

hypothesis.

The contradictory reports are easily reconciled by the assumption that

Lucian was a critical scholar with some peculiar views on the Trinity

and Christology which were not in harmony with the later Nicene

orthodoxy, but that he wiped out all stains by his heroic confession

and martyrdom. [1507] 508

II. The creed which goes by his name and was found after his death, is

quite orthodox as far as it goes, and was laid with three similar

creeds before the Synod of Antioch held a.d. 341, with the intention of

being substituted for the Creed of Nicaea. [1508] 509 It resembles the

creed of Gregorius Thaumaturgus, is strictly trinitarian and

acknowledges Jesus Christ "as the Son of God, the only begotten God,

[1509] 510 through whom all things were made, who was begotten of the

Father before all ages, God of God, Whole of Whole, One of One, Perfect

of Perfect, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the living Word, Wisdom,

Life, True Light, Way, Truth, Resurrection, Shepherd, Door,

unchangeable and unalterable, the immutable Likeness of the Godhead,

both of the substance and will and power and glory of the Father, the

first-born of all creation, [1510] 511 who was in the beginning with

God, the Divine Logos, according to what is said in the Gospel: 'And

the Word was God (John 1:1), through whom all things were made' (ver.

3), and in whom 'all things consist' (Col. 1:17): who in the last days

came down from above, and was born of a Virgin, according to the

Scriptures, and became man, the Mediator between God and man, etc.

[1511] 512

III. Lucianus is known also by his critical revision of the text of the

Septuagint and the Greek Testament. Jerome mentions that copies were

known in his day as "exemplaria Lucianea," but in other places he

speaks rather disparagingly of the texts of Lucian, and of Hesychius, a

bishop of Egypt (who distinguished himself in the same field). In the

absence of definite information it is impossible to decide the merits

of his critical labors. His Hebrew scholarship is uncertain, and hence

we do not know whether his revision of the Septuagint was made from the

original. [1512] 513

As to the New Testament, it is likely that he contributed much towards

the Syrian recension (if we may so call it), which was used by

Chrysostom and the later Greek fathers, and which lies at the basis of

the textus receptus. [1513] 514

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[1506] See Baron. Annal. ad Ann. 311; De Broglie, L'�glise et l'empire,

I. 375 Newman, Arians of the Fourth Century, 414.

[1507] Hefele, Conciliengesch., vol. I., p. 258 sq. (2nd ed.), assumes

to the same effect that Lucian first sympathized with his countryman,

Paul of Samosta, in his humanitarian Christology, and hence was

excommunicated for a while, but afterwards renounced this heresy, was

restored, and acquired great fame by his improvement of the text of the

Septuagint and by his martyrdom.

[1508] This Synod is recognized as legitimate and orthodox, and its

twenty-five canons are accepted, although it confirmed the previous

deposition of Athanasius for violating a canon. See a full acccount in

Hefele, l.c. 1. 502-530.

[1509] ton monogene theon. Comp. the Vatican and Sinaitic reading of

John 1:18, monogenes theos (without the article), instead of ho

monogenes huios . The phrase, monogenes Theoswas widely used in the

Nicene age, not only by the orthodox, but also by Arian writers in the

sense of one who is both theos (divine) and monogenes. See Hort's Two

Dissertations on this subject, Cambr., 1876. In the usual punctuation

of Lucian's creed, ton monogeneis connected with the preceding ton

huion autou, and separated from theon, so as to read "his Son the only

begotten, God, " etc.

[1510] prototokon (not protoktiston, first-created) pases ktiseos, from

Col. 1:17.

[1511] See the creed in full in Athanasius, Ep. de Synodis Arimini et

Seleucidae celebratis, � 23 (Opera ed. Montf. I. ii. 735); Mansi, Conc.

II. 1339-'42; Schaff,Creeds of Christendom, II. 25-28; and Hahn, Bibl.

der Symb., ed. II., p. 1847-'87. Hefele, l. c., gives a German version.

It is not given as a creed of Lucian by Athanasius or Socrates (H. E.

II. 10), or Hilarius (in his Latin version, De Syn. sive de Fide

Orient., � 29); but Sozomenus reports (H. E. III. 5) that the bishops

of the Synod of Antioch ascribed it to him, and also that a Semi-Arian

synod in Caria, 367, adopted it under his name (VI. 12). It is regarded

as genuine by Cave, Bssnage, Bull, Hahn, Dorner, but questioned either

in whole or in part by Routh (I. 16), Hefele, Keim, Harnack, and

Caspari; but the last two acknowledge an authentic basis of Lucian

which was enlarged by the Antiochian synod. The concluding anathema is

no doubt a later addition.

[1512] On his labors in regard to the Sept., see Simeon Metaphrastes

and Suidas, quoted in Routh IV. 3 sq.; Field's ed. of the Hexapla of

Origen; Nestle in the "Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch., " 1878,

465-508; and the prospectus to the proposed ed. of the Sept. by P. de

Lagarde.

[1513] Dr. Hort, Introd. and Append. to Westcott and Hort's Greek Test.

(Lond. and N. York, 1881), p. 138, says of Lucian: "Of known names his

has a better claim than any other to be associated with the early

Syrian revision; and the conjecture derives some little support from a

passage of Jerome . Praetermitto eos codices quos a Luciano et Hesychio

nuncupatos adscrit perversa contentio, " etc. Dr. Scrivener, who denies

such a Syrian recension as an ignis fatuus, barely alludes to Lucian in

his Introduction to the Criticism of the N. Test., 3rd ed., Cambr.,

1883, pp. 515, 517.

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� 195. The Antiochian School.

Kihn (R.C.): Die Bedeutung der antioch. Schule. Weissenburg, 1856.

C. Hornung: Schola Antioch. Neostad. ad S. 1864.

Jos. Hergenr�ther. (Cardinal): Die Antioch. Schule. W�rzb. 1866.

Diestel: Gesch. des A. Test. in, der christl. Kirche. Jena, 1869 (pp.

126-141).

W. M�ller in Herzog,2 I. 454-457.

Lucian is the reputed founder of the Antiochian School of theology,

which was more fully developed in the fourth century. He shares this

honor with his friend Dorotheus, likewise a presbyter of Antioch, who

is highly spoken of by Eusebius as a biblical scholar acquainted with

Hebrew. [1514] 515 But the real founders of that school are Diodorus,

bishop of Tarsus (c. a.d. 379-394), and Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia

(393-428), both formerly presbyters of Antioch.

The Antiochian School was not a regular institution with a continuous

succession of teachers, like the Catechetical School of Alexandria, but

a theological tendency, more particularly a peculiar type of

hermeneutics and exegesis which had its centre in Antioch. The

characteristic features are, attention to the revision of the text, a

close adherence to the plain, natural meaning according to the use of

language and the condition of the writer, and justice to the human

factor. In other words, its exegesis is grammatical and historical, in

distinction from the allegorical method of the Alexandrian School. Yet,

as regards textual criticism, Lucian followed in the steps of Origen.

Nor did the Antiochians disregard the spiritual sense, and the divine

element in the Scriptures. The grammatico-historical exegesis is

undoubtedly the only safe and sound basis for the understanding of the

Scriptures as of any other book; and it is a wholesome check upon the

wild licentiousness of the allegorizing method which often substitutes

imposition for exposition. But it may lead to different results in

different hands, according to the spirit of the interpreter. The Arians

and Nestorians claimed descent from, or affinity with, Lucian and his

school; but from the same school proceeded also the prince of

commentators among the fathers, John Chrysostom, the eulogist of Lucian

and Diodorus, and the friend and fellow student of Theodore of

Mopsuestia. Theodoret followed in the same line.

After the condemnation of Nestorius, the Antiochian theology continued

to be cultivated at Nisibis and Edessa among the Nestorians.

Notes.

Cardinal Newman, when still an Anglican (in his book on Arians of the

Fourth Century, p. 414) made the Syrian School of biblical criticism

responsible for the Arian heresy, and broadly maintained that the

"mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together."

But Cardinal Hergenr�ther, who is as good a Catholic and a better

scholar, makes a proper distinction between use and abuse, and gives

the following fair and discriminating statement of the relation between

the Antiochian and Alexandrian schools, and the critical and mystical

method of interpretation to which a Protestant historian can fully

assent. (Handbuch der allgem. Kirchengeschichte. Freiburg i. B. 2nd ed.

1879, vol. I. p. 281.)

"Die Schule von Antiochien hatte bald den Glanz der Alexandrinischen

erreicht, ja sogar �berstrahlt. Beide konnten sich vielfach erg�nzen,

da jede ihre eigenth�mliche Entwicklung, Haltung und Methode hatte,

konnten aber auch eben wegen iherer Verschiedenheit leicht unter sich

in Kampf und auf Abwege von der Kirchenlehre gerathen. W�hrend bei den

Alexandrinern eine speculativ-intuitive, zum Mystischen sich

hinneigende Richtung hervortrat, war bei den Antiochenern eine

logisch-reflectirende, durchaus n�chterne Verstandesrichtung

vorherrschend. W�hrend jene enge an die platonische Philosophie sich

anschlossen und zwar vorherrschend in der Gestalt, die sie unter dem

hellenistischen Juden Philo gewonnen hatte, waren die Antiochener einem

zum Stoicismus hinneigenden Eklekticismus, dann der Aristotelischen

Schule ergeben, deren scharfe Dialektik ganz ihrem Geiste zusagte.

Demgem�ss wurde in der alexandrinischen Schule, vorzugsweise die

allegorisch-mystische Erkl�rung der heiligen Schrift gepflegt, in der

Antiochenischen dagegen die buchst�bliche, grammatisch-logische und

historische Interpretation, ohne dass desshalb der mystische Sinn und

insbesondere die Typen des Alten Bundes g�nzlich in Abrede gestellt

worden w�ren. Die Origenisten suchen die Unzul�nglichkeit des blossen

buchst�blichen Sinnes und die Nothwendigkeit der allegorischen

Auslegung nachzuweisen, da der Wortlaut vieler biblischen Stellen

Falsches, Widersprechendes, Gottes Unw�rdiges ergebe; sie fehlten hier

durch das Uebermass des Allegorisirens und durch Verwechslung der

fig�rlichen Redeweisen, die dem Literalsinne angeh�ren, mit der

mystischen Deutung; sie verfl�chtigten oft den historischen Gehalt der

biblischen Erz�hlung, hinter deren �usserer Schale sie einen

verborgenen Kern suchen zu m�ssen glaubten. Damit stand ferner in

Verbindung, dass in der alexandrinischen Schule das Moment des

Uebervern�nftigen, Unausprechlichen, Geheimnissvollen in den g�ttlichen

Dingen stark betont wurde, w�hrend die Antiochener vor Allem das

Vernunftgem�sse, dem menschlichen Geiste Entsprechende in den Dogmen

hervorhoben, das Christenthum als eine das menschliche Denken

befriedligende Wahrheit nachzuweisen suchten. Indem sie aber dieses

Streben verfolgten, wollten die hervorragen den Lehrer der

antiochenischen Schule keineswegs den �bernat�rlichen Charakter und die

Mysterien der Kirchenlehre bestreiten, sie erkannten diese in der

Mehrzahl an, wie Chrysotomus und Theodoret; aber einzelne Gelehrte

konnten �ber dem Bem�hen, die Glaubenslehren leicht verst�ndlich und

begreiflich zu machen, ihren Inhalt verunstalten und zerst�ren."

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[1514] Euseb. H. E. VII. 32 (in the beginning) speaks of Dorotheos as

having known him personally. He calls him " a learned man (Logion

andra) who was honored with the rank of presbyter of Antioch" at the

time of bishop Cyrillus, and " a man of fine taste in sacred

literature, much devoted to the study of the Hebrew languages so that

he read the Hebrew Scriptures with great facility."He adds that he "

was of a very liberal mind and not unacquainted with the preparatory

studies pursued among the Greeks, but in other respects a eunuch by

nature, having been such from his birth."

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� 196. Tertullian and the African School.

Comp. the liter. on Montanism, �109, p. 415.

(I.) Tertulliani quae supersunt omnia. Ed. Franc. Oehler. Lips. 1853, 3

vols. The third vol. contains dissertations De Vita et Scriptis Tert.

by Nic. Le Nourry, Mosheim, Noesselt, Semler, Kaye. Earlier editions by

Beatus Rhenanus, Bas. 1521; Pamelius, Antwerp, 1579; Rigaltius

(Rigault), Par. 1634 and Venet. 1744; Semler, Halle, 1770-3. 6 vols.;

Oberth�r, 1780; Leopold, in Gersdorf's "Biblioth. patrum Eccles.

Latinorum selecta"(IV-VII.), Lips. 1839-41; and Migne, Par. I 1884. A

new ed. by Reifferscheid will appear in the Vienna "Corpus Scriptorum

Eccles. Lat."

English transl. by P. Holmes and others in the "Ante-Nicene Christian

Library," Edinb. 1868 sqq. 4 vols. German translation by K. A. H.

Kellner. K�ln, 1882, 2 vols.

(II.) Euseb. H. G. II. 2, 25; III. 20; V. 5. Jerome: De Viris III.c.53.

(III.) Neander: Antignosticus, Geist des Tertullianus u. Einleitung in

dessen Schriften. Berl. 1825, 2d ed. 1849.

J. Kaye: Eccles. Hist. of the second and third Centuries, illustrated

from the Writings of Tertullian. 3d ed. Lond. 1845.

Carl Hesselberg: Tertullian's Lehre aus seinen Schriften entwickelt. 1.

Th. Leben und Schriften. Dorpat 1848 (136 pages).

P. Gottwald: De Montanismo Tertulliani. Breslau, 1863.

Hermann R�nsch: Das Neue Testament Tertullian's. Leipz. 1871 (731

pages.) A reconstruction of the text of the old Latin version of the N.

T. from the writings of Tertullian.

Ad. Ebert: Gesch. der Christl. lat. Lit. Leipz. 1874, sqq. I. 24-41.

A. Hauck: Tertullian's Leben und Schriften, Erlangen, 1877 (410 pages.)

With judicious extracts from all his writings.

(IV.) On the chronology of Tertullian's works see Noesselt: De vera

aetate et doctrina Scriptorum Tertull. (in Oehler's ed. III. 340-619);

Uhlhorn: Fundamenta Chronologica Tertullianeae (G�ttingen 1852);

Bonwetsch: Die Schriften Tertullians nach der Zeit ihrer Abfassung

(Bonn 1879, 89 pages); Harnack: Zur Chronologie der Schriften

Tertullians (Leipz. 1878); Noeldechen: Abfassungszeit der Schriften

Tertullians (Leipz. 1888).

(V.) On special points: oehninger: Tertullianund seine

Auferstehungslehre Augsb. 1878, 34 pp). F. J. Schmidt: De Latinitate

Tertutliani (Erlang. 1877). M. Klussmann: Curarum Tertullianearum,

part. I et II. (Halle 1881). G. R. Hauschild: Tertullian's Psychologie

(Frankf. a. M. 1880, 78 pp.). By the same: Die Grunds�tze u. Mittel der

Wortbildung bei Tertullian(Leipz. 1881, 56 pp); Ludwig.: Tert's Ethik.

(Leipz. 1885). Special treatises on Tertullian, by Hefele, Engelhardt,

Leopold, Schaff (in Herzog), Ebert, Kolberg.

The Western church in this period exhibits no such scientific

productiveness as the Eastern. The apostolic church was predominantly

Jewish, the ante-Nicene church, Greek, the post-Nicene, Roman. The

Roman church itself was first predominantly Greek, and her earliest

writers--Clement, Hermas, Irenaeus, Hippolytus--wrote exclusively in

Greek. Latin Christianity begins to appear in literature at the end of

the second century, and then not in Italy, but in North Africa, not in

Rome, but in Carthage, and very characteristically, not with converted

speculative philosophers, but with practical lawyers and rhetoricians.

This literature does not gradually unfold itself, but appears at once

under a fixed, clear stamp, with a strong realistic tendency. North

Africa also gave to the Western church the fundamental book--the Bible

in its first Latin Version, the so-called Itala, and this was the basis

of Jerome's Vulgata which to this day is the recognized standard Bible

of Rome. There were, however, probably several Latin versions of

portions of the Bible current in the West before Jerome.

I. Life of Tertullian.

Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus is the father of the Latin

theology and church language, and one of the greatest men of Christian

antiquity. We know little of his life but what is derived from his book

and from the brief notice of Jerome in his catalogue of illustrious

men. But few writers have impressed their individuality so strongly in

their books as this African father. In this respect, as well as in

others, he resembles St. Paul, and Martin Luther. He was born about the

year 150, at Carthage, the ancient rival of Rome, where his father was

serving as captain of a Roman legion under the proconsul of Africa. He

received a liberal Graeco-Roman education; his writings manifest an

extensive acquaintance with historical, philosophical, poetic, and

antiquarian literature, and with juridical terminology and all the arts

of an advocate. He seems to have devoted himself to politics and

forensic eloquence, either in Carthage or in Rome. Eusebius calls him

"a man accurately acquainted with the Roman laws," [1515] 516 and many

regard him as identical with the Tertyllus, or Tertullianus, who is the

author of several fragments in the Pandects.

To his thirtieth or fortieth year he lived in heathen blindness and

licentiousness. [1516] 517 Towards the end of the second century be

embraced Christianity, we know not exactly on what occasion, but

evidently from deepest conviction, and with all the fiery energy of his

soul; defended it henceforth with fearless decision against heathens,

Jews, and heretics; and studied the strictest morality of life. His own

words may be applied to himself: "Fiunt, non nascuntur Christiani." He

was married, and gives us a glowing picture of Christian family life,

to which we have before referred; but in his zeal for every form of

self-denial, he set celibacy still higher, and advised his wife, in

case he should die before her to remain a widow, or, at least never to

marry an unbelieving husband; and he afterwards put second marriage

even on a level with adultery. He entered the ministry of the Catholic

church, [1517] 518 first probably in Carthage, perhaps in Rome, where

at all events he spent some time [1518] 519 but, like Clement of

Alexandria and Origen, he never rose above the rank of presbyter.

Some years after, between 199 and 203, he joined the puritanic, though

orthodox, sect of the Montanists. Jerome attributes this change to

personal motives, charging it to the envy and insults of the Roman

clergy, from whom he himself experienced many an indignity. [1519] 520

But Tertullian was inclined to extremes from the first, especially to

moral austerity. He was no doubt attracted by the radical contempt for

the world, the strict asceticism, the severe discipline, the martyr

enthusiasm, and the chiliasm of the Montanists, and was repelled by the

growing conformity to the world in the Roman church, which just at that

period, under Zephyrinus and Callistus, openly took under its

protection a very lax penitential discipline, and at the same time,

though only temporarily, favored the Patripassian error of Praxeas, an

opponent of the Montanists. Of this man Tertullian therefore says, in

his sarcastic way: He has executed in Rome two works of the devil; has

driven out prophecy (the Montanistic) and brought in heresy (the

Patripassian); has turned off the Holy Ghost and crucified the Father.

[1520] 521 Tertullian now fought the catholics, or the psychicals, is

he frequently calls them, with the same inexorable sternness with which

he had combated the heretics. The departures of the Montanists,

however, related more to points of morality and discipline than of

doctrine; and with all his hostility to Rome, Tertullian remained a

zealous advocate of the catholic faith, and wrote, even from his

schismatic position, several of his most effective works against the

heretics, especially the Gnostics. Indeed, as a divine, he stood far

above this fanatical sect, and gave it by his writings an importance

and an influence in the church itself which it certainly would never

otherwise have attained.

He labored in Carthage as a Montanist presbyter and an author, and

died, as Jerome says, in decrepit old age, according to some about the

year 220, according to others not till 240; for the exact time, as well

as the manner of his death, are unknown. His followers in Africa

propagated themselves, under the name of "Tertullianists," down to the

time of Augustin in the fifth century, and took perhaps a middle place

between the proper Montanists and the catholic church. That he ever

returned into the bosom of Catholicism is an entirely groundless

opinion.

Strange that this most powerful defender of old catholic orthodoxy and

the teacher of the high-churchly Cyprian, should have been a schismatic

and all antagonist of Rome. But he had in his constitution the tropical

fervor and acerbity of the Punic character, and that bold spirit of

independence in which his native city of Carthage once resisted,

through more than a hundred years' war, [1521] 522 the rising power of

the seven-hilled city on the Tiber. He truly represents the African

church, in which a similar antagonism continued to reveal itself, not

only among the Donatists, but even among the leading advocates of

Catholicism. Cyprian died at variance with Rome on the question of

heretical baptism; and Augustin, with all his great services to the

catholic system of faith, became at the same time, through the

anti-Peligian doctrines of sin and grace, the father of evangelical

Protestantism and of semi-Protestant Jansenism.

Hippolytus presents several interesting points of contact. He was a

younger contemporary of Tertullian though they never met is far as we

know. Both were champions of catholic orthodoxy against heresy, and yet

both opposed to Rome. Hippolytus charged two popes with heresy as well

as laxity of discipline; and yet in view of his supposed repentance and

martyrdom (as reported by Prudentius nearly two hundred years

afterwards), he canonized in the Roman church; while such honor was

never conferred upon the African, though he was a greater and more

useful man.

II. Character. Tertullian was a rare genius, perfectly original and

fresh, but angular, boisterous and eccentric; full of glowing fantasy,

pointed wit, keen discernment, polemic dexterity, and moral

earnestness, but wanting in clearness, moderation, and symmetrical

development. He resembled a foaming mountain torrent rather than a

calm, transparent river in the valley. His vehement temper was never

fully subdued, although he struggled sincerely against it. [1522] 523

He was a man of strong convictions, and never hesitated to express them

without fear or favor.

Like almost all great men, he combined strange contrarieties of

character. Here we are again reminded of Luther; though the reformer

had nothing of the ascetic gloom and rigor of the African father, and

exhibits instead with all his gigantic energy, a kindly serenity and

childlike simplicity altogether foreign to the latter. Tertullian

dwells enthusiastically on the divine foolishness of the gospel, and

has a sublime contempt for the world, for its science and its art; and

yet his writings are a mine of antiquarian knowledge, and novel,

striking, and fruitful ideas. He calls the Grecian philosophers the

patriarchs of all heresies, and scornfully asks: "What has the academy

to do with the church? what has Christ to do with Plato--Jerusalem with

Athens?" He did not shrink from insulting the greatest natural gift of

God to man by his "Credo quia absurdum est." And yet reason does him

invaluable service against his antagonists. [1523] 524 He vindicates

the principle of church authority and tradition with great force and

ingenuity against all heresy; yet, when a Montanist, he claims for

himself with equal energy the right of private judgment and of

individual protest. [1524] 525 He has a vivid sense of the corruption

of human nature and the absolute need of moral regeneration; yet he

declares the soul to be born Christian, and unable to find rest except

in Christ. "The testimonies of the soul, says he, "are as true as they

are simple; as simple as they are popular; as popular as they are

natural; as natural as they are divine." He is just the opposite of the

genial, less vigorous, but more learned and comprehensive Origen. He

adopts the strictest supranatural principles; and yet he is a most

decided realist, and attributes body, that is, as it were, a corporeal,

tangible substantiality, even to God and to the soul; while the

idealistic Alexandrian cannot speak spiritually enough of God, and can

conceive the human soul without and before the existence of the body.

Tertullian's theology revolves about the great Pauline antithesis of

sin and grace, and breaks the road to the Latin anthropology and

soteriology afterwards developed by his like-minded, but clearer,

calmer, and more considerate countryman, Augustin. For his opponents,

be they heathens, Jews, heretics, or Catholics, he has as little

indulgence and regard as Luther. With the adroitness of a special

pleader he entangles them in self-contradictions, pursues them into

every nook and corner, overwhelms them with arguments, sophisms,

apophthegms, and sarcasms, drives them before him with unmerciful

lashings, and almost always makes them ridiculous and contemptible. His

polemics everywhere leave marks of blood. It is a wonder that he was

not killed by the heathens, or excommunicated by the Catholics.

His style is exceedingly characteristic, and corresponds with his

thought. It is terse, abrupt, laconic, sententious, nervous,

figurative, full of hyperbole, sudden turns, legal technicalities,

African provincialisms, or rather antiquated or vulgar latinisms.

[1525] 526 It abounds in latinized Greek words, and new expressions, in

roughnesses, angles, and obscurities; sometimes, like a grand volcanic

eruption, belching precious stones and dross in strange confusion; or

like the foaming torrent tumbling over the precipice of rocks and

sweeping all before it. His mighty spirit wrestles with the form, and

breaks its way through the primeval forest of nature's thinking. He had

to create the church language of the Latin tongue. [1526] 527

In short, we see in this remarkable man both intellectually and

morally, the fermenting of a new creation, but not yet quite set free

from the bonds of chaotic darkness and brought into clear and beautiful

order.

Notes.

I. Gems from Tertullian's writings.

The philosophy of persecution:

"Semen Est Sanguis Christianorum." (Apol. c. 50.)

The human soul and Christianity (made for Christ, yet requiring a new

birth):

"Testimonium Animae Naturaliter. Christianae." (De Test. Anim. c. 2;

see the passages quoted � 40, p. 120.)

"Fiunt, non, nascuntur Christiani." (Apol. 18. De Test. Anim. 1)

Christ the Truth, not Habit (versus traditionalism):

"Christus Veritas Est, Non Consuetudo." (De Virg. vel 1.)

General priesthood of the laity (versus an exclusive hierarchy):

"Nonne Et Laici Sacerdotes Sumus? "(De Exhort. Cast. 7.)

Religious Liberty, an inalienable right of man (versus compulsion and

persecution:

"Humani Juris Et Naturalis Potestatis Est Unicuique Quod Putaverit

Colere." (Ad Scap. 2; comp. Apol. 14 and the passages quoted � 13, p.

35.)

Dr. Baur (Kirchengesch.I. 428) says: "It is remarkable how already the

oldest Christian Apologists, in vindicating the Christian faith, were

led to assert the Protestant principle of freedom of faith and

conscience "[and we must add, of public worship], "as an inherent

attribute of the conception of religion against their heathen

opponents." Then he quotes Tertullian, as the first who gave clear

expression to this principle.

II. Estimates of Tertullian as a man and an author.

Neander (Ch. Hist. I. 683 sq., Torrey's translation): "Tertullian

presents special claims to attention, both as the first representative

of the theological tendency in the North-African church, and as a

representative of the Montanistic mode of thinking. He was a man of an

ardent and profound spirit, of warm and deep feelings; inclined to give

himself up, with his whole soul and strength, to the object of his

love, and sternly to repel everything that was foreign from this. He

possessed rich and various stores of knowledge; which had been

accumulated, however, at random, and without scientific arrangement.

His profoundness of thought was not united with logical clearness and

sobriety: an ardent, unbridled imagination, moving in a world of

sensuous images, governed him. His fiery and passionate disposition,

and his previous training as an advocate and rhetorician, easily

impelled him, especially in controversy, to rhetorical exaggerations.

When he defends a cause, of whose truth he was convinced, we often see

in him the advocate, whose sole anxiety is to collect together all the

arguments which can help his case, it matters not whether they are true

arguments or only plausible sophisms; and in such cases the very

exuberance of his wit sometimes leads him astray from the simple

feeling of truth. What must render this man a phenomenon presenting

special claims to the attention of the Christian historian is the fact,

that Christianity is the inspiring soul of his life and thoughts; that

out of Christianity an entirely new and rich inner world developed

itself to his mind: but the leaven of Christianity had first to

penetrate through and completely refine that fiery, bold and withal

rugged nature. We find the new wine in an old bottle; and the tang

which it has contracted there, may easily embarrass the inexperienced

judge. Tertullian often had more within him than he was able to

express: the overflowing mind was at a loss for suitable forms of

phraseology. He had to create a language for the new spiritual

matter,--and that out of the rude Punic Latin,--without the aid of a

logical and grammatical education, and as he was hurried along in the

current of thoughts and feelings by his ardent nature. Hence the often

difficult and obscure phraseology; but hence, too, the original and

striking turns in his mode of representation. And hence this great

church-teacher, who unites great gifts with great failings, has been so

often misconceived by those who could form no friendship with the

spirit which dwelt in so ungainly a form."

Hase (Kirchengesch. p. 91, tenth ed.): "Die lateinische Kirche hatte

fast nur �bersetzungen, bis Tertullianus, als Heide Rhetor und

Sachwalter zu Rom, mit reicher griechischer Gelehrsamkeit, die auch der

Kirchenvater gern sehen liess, Presbyter in seiner Vaterstadt Karthago,

ein strenger, d�sterer, feuriger Character, dem Christenthum aus

punischem Latein eine Literatur errang, in welcher geistreiche

Rhetorik, genialer so wie gesuchter Witz, der sinnliches Anfassen des

Idealen, tiefes Gef�hl and juridische Verstandesansicht mit einander

ringen. Er hat der afrikanischen Kirche die Losung angegeben: Christus

sprach: Ich bin die Wahrheit, nicht, das Herkommen. Er hat das

Gottesbewusstsein in den Tiefen der Seele hochgehalten, aber ein Mann

der Auctoritaet hat er die Thorheit des Evangeliums der Weltweisheit

seiner Zeitgenossen, das Unglaubliche der Wunder Gottes dem gemeinen

Weltverstande mit stolzer Ironie entgegengehalten. Seine Schriften,

denen er unbedenklich Fremdes angeeignet und mit dent Gepraege seines

Genius versehen hat, sind theils polemisch mit dem h�chsten

Selbstvertraun der katholischen Gesinnung gegen Heiden, Juden und

Haeretiker, theils erbaulich; so jedoch, dass auch in jenen das

Erbauliche, in diesen das Polemische f�r strenge Sitte und Zucht

vorhanden ist "

Hauck (Tertullian's Leben und Schriften, p. 1) Unter den

Schriftstellern der lateinischen Christenheit ist Tertullianeiner der

bedeutendsten und intressantesten. Er ist der Anf�nger der lateinischen

Theologie, der nicht nur ihrer Sprache seinen Stempel aufgepr�gt hat,

sondern sie auch an die Bahn hinwies, welche sie lange einheilt. Seine

Pers�nlichkeit hat ebensoviel Anziehendes als Abstossendes; denn wer

k�nnte den Ernst seines sittlichen Strebens, den Reichthum und die

Lebhaftigkeit seines Geistes, die Festigkeit seiner Ueberzeugung und

die st�rmische Kraft seiner Beredtsamkeit verkennen? Allein ebensowenig

l�sst sich �bersehen, dass ihm in allen Dingen das Mass fehlte. Seine

Erscheinung hat nichts Edles; er war nicht frei von Bizzarem, ja

Gemeinem. So zeigen ihn seine Schriften, die Denkm�ler seines Lebens Er

war ein Mann, der sich in unaufh�rlichen Streite bewegte: sein ganzes

Wesen tr�gt die Spuren hievon "

Cardinal Hergenr�ther, the first Roman Catholic church historian now

living (for D�llinger was excommunicated in 1870), says of Tertullian

(in his Kirchengesch. I. 168, second ed., 1879): "Strenge und ernst,

oft beissend sarkastisch, in der, Sprache gedr�ngt und dunkel der

heidnischen Philosophie durchaus abgeneigt, mit dem r�mischen Rechte

sehr vertraut, hat er in seinen zahlreichen Schriften Bedeutendes f�r

die Darstellung der Kirchlichen Lehre geleistet, und ungeachtet seines

Uebertritts zu den Montanisten betrachteten ihn die sp�teren

africanischen Schriftsteller, auch Cyprian, als Muster und Lehrer "

Pressens� (Martyrs and Apoloqists, p. 375): "The African nationality

gave to Christianity its most eloquent defender, in whom the intense

vehemence, the untempered ardor of the race, appear purified indeed,

but not subdued. No influence in the early ages could equal that of

Tertullian; and his writings breathe a spirit of such undying power

that they can never grow old, and even now render living, controversies

which have been silent for fifteen centuries. We must seek the man in

his own pages, still aglow with his enthusiasm and quivering with his

passion, for the details of his personal history are very few. The man

is, as it were, absorbed in the writer, and we can well understand it,

for his writings embody his whole soul. Never did a man more fully

infuse his entire moral life into his books, and act through his

words."

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[1515] H. E. II. 2. He adds that Tertullian was "particularly

distinguished among the eminent men of Rome," and quotes a passage from

his Apology, which is also translated into the Greek."

[1516] De Resurr. Carn. c. 59, he confesses: "Ego me scio neque alia

carne adulteria commisisse, neque nunc alia carne ad continentiam

eniti." Comp. also Apolog., c. 18 and 25; De Anima, c. 2; De Paenit.,

c. 4 and 12; Ad Scapul., c. 5.

[1517] This fact, however, rests only on the authority of Jerome, and

does not appear from Tertullian's own writings. Roman Catholic

historians, with their dislike to married priests, have made him a

layman on the insufficient ground of the passage: "Nonne et Laici

sacerdotes sumus? "De Exhort. Cast., c. 7.

[1518] De Cultu Femin., c. 7. Comp. Euseb. II. 2.

[1519] De Vir. illustr., c. 53: "Hic [Tert.] cum usque ad mediam

aetatem presbyter ecclesia epermansisset, invidia et contumeliis

clericorum Romanae ecclesiae ad Montani dogma delapsus in multis libris

novac prophetiae meminit."

[1520] Adv. Prax. c. 1.

[1521] B.C. 264-146,

[1522] Comp. his own painful confession in De Patient. c. 1:

"Miserrimus ego semper aeger caloribus impatientiae."

[1523] In a similar manner Luther, though himself one of the most

original and fruitful thinkers, sometimes unreasonably abuses reason as

the devil's mistress.

[1524] In this apparent contradiction Luther resembles Tertullian: he

fought Romanism with private judgment, and Zwinlianism, Anabaptists,

and all sectarians ("Schwarm - und Rottengeister" as he called them)

with catholic authority; he denounced "the damned heathen Aristotle,"

as the father of Popish scholaisticism, and used scholastic

distinctions in support of the ubiquity of Christ's body against

Zwingli.

[1525] According to Niebuhr, a most competent judge of Latin

antiquities. Provinces and colonies often retain terms and phrases

after they die out in the capital and in the mother country. Renan says

with reference to Tertullian (Marc-Aur�le, p. 456) La 'lingua volgata'

d'Afrigue contribua ainsi dans une large part � la formation de la

langue eccl�siastique de I' Occident, et ainsi elle exer�a une

influence d�cisive sur nos langues modernes. Mais il r�sulta de l� une

autre cons�quence; cest que les textes fondamentaux de la litt�rature

latine ch�tienne furent �crits dans une langue que lettr�s d'Italie

trouv�rent barbare et corrompue, ce qui plus tard donna occasion de la

part des rh�teurs � des objections et � des �pigrammes sans fin."Comp.

the works of R�nsch, Vercellone, Kaulen, Ranke, and Ziegler on the

Itala and Vulgata.

[1526] Ruhnken calls Tertullian "Latinitatis pessimum auctorem" and

Bishop Kaye the harshest and most obscure of writers," but Niebuhr,

(Lectures on Ancient History, vol. II. p. 54), Oehler (Op. III. 720),

and Holmes (the translator of Tert. against Marcion, p. ix.) judge more

favorably of his style, which is mostly " the terse and vigorous

expression of terse and vigorous thought."Renan (Marc Aur�le, p. 456)

calls Tertullian the strangest literary phenomenon "un m�lange inou� de

talent, de fausset� d'esprit, d'�loquence et de mauvais go�t grand

�crivain, si l'on admet que sacrifier toute grammaire et toute

correction � l' effet sois bien �crire."Cardinal Newman calls him " the

most powerful writer of the early centuries "(Tracts, Theol. and

Eccles., p. 219).

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� 197. The Writings of Tertullian.

Tertullian developed an extraordinary literary activity in two

languages between about 190 and 220. His earlier books in the Greek

language, and some in the Latin, are lost. Those which remain are

mostly short; but they are numerous, and touch nearly all departments

of religious life. They present a graphic picture of the church of his

day. Most of his works, according to internal evidence, fill in the

first quarter of the third century, in the Montanistic period of his

life, and among these many of his ablest writings against the heretics;

while, on the other hand, the gloomy moral austerity, which predisposed

him to Montanism, comes out quite strongly even in his earliest

productions. [1527] 528

His works may be grouped in three classes: apologetic; polemic or

anti-heretical; and ethic or practical; to which may be added as a

fourth class the expressly Montanistic tracts against the Catholics. We

can here only mention the most important:

1. In the Apologetic works against heathens and Jews, he pleads the

cause of all Christendom, and deserves the thanks of all Christendom.

Pre�minent among them is the Apologeticus (or Apologeticum). [1528] 529

It was composed in the reign of Septimius Severus, between 197 and 200.

It is unquestionably one of the most beautiful monuments of the heroic

age of the church. In this work, Tertullian enthusiastically and

triumphantly repels the attacks of the heathens upon the new religion,

and demands for it legal toleration and equal rights with the other

sects of the Roman empire. It is the first plea for religious liberty,

as an inalienable right which God has given to every man, and which the

civil government in its own interest should not only tolerate but

respect and protect. He claims no support, no favor, but simply

justice. The church was in the first three centuries a self-supporting

and self-governing society (as it ought always to be), and no burden,

but a blessing to the state, and furnished to it the most peaceful and

useful citizens. The cause of truth and justice never found a more

eloquent and fearless defender in the very face of despotic power, and

the blazing fires of persecution, than the author of this book. It

breathes from first to last the assurance of victory in apparent

defeat.

"We conquer," are his concluding words to the prefects and judges of

the Roman empire, "We conquer in dying; we go forth victorious at the

very time we are subdued .... Many of your writers exhort to the

courageous bearing of pain and death, as Cicero in the Tusculans, as

Seneca in his Chances, as Diogenes, Pyrrhus, Callinicus. And yet their

words do not find so many disciples as Christians do, teachers not by

words, but by their deeds. That very obstinacy you rail against is the

preceptress. For who that contemplates it is not excited to inquire

what is at the bottom of it? Who, after inquiry, does not embrace our

doctrines? And, when he has embraced them, desires not to suffer that

he may become partaker of the fulness of God's grace, that he may

obtain from God complete forgiveness, by giving in exchange his blood?

For that secures the remission of all offences. On this account it is

that we return thanks on the very spot for your sentences. As the

divine and human are ever opposed to each other, when we are condemned

by you, we are acquitted by the Highest."

The relation of the Apologeticus to the Octavius of Minucius Felix will

be discussed in the next section. But even if Tertullian should have

borrowed from that author (as he undoubtedly borrowed, without

acknowledgment, much matter from Irenaeus, in his book against the

Valentinians), he remains one of the most original and vigorous

writers. [1529] 530 Moreover the plan is different; Minucius Felix

pleads for Christianity as a philosopher before philosophers, to

convince the intellect; Tertullian as a lawyer and advocate before

judges, to induce them to give fair play to the Christians, who were

refused even a hearing in the courts.

The beautiful little tract "On the Testimony of the Soul," (6 chapters)

is a supplement to the Apologeticus, and furnishes one of the strongest

positive arguments for Christianity. Here the human soul is called to

bear witness to the one true God: it springs from God, it longs for

God; its purer and nobler instincts and aspirations, if not diverted

and perverted by selfish and sinful passions, tend upwards and

heavenwards, and find rest and peace only in God. There is, we may say,

a pre-established harmony between the soul and the Christian religion;

they are made for each other; the human soul is constitutionally

Christian. And this testimony is universal, for as God is everywhere,

so the human soul is everywhere. But its testimony turns against itself

if not heeded.

"Every soul," he concludes, "is a culprit as well as a witness: in the

measure that it testifies for truth, the guilt of error lies on it; and

on the day of judgment it will stand before the court of God, without a

word to say. Thou proclaimedst God, O soul, but thou didst not seek to

know Him; evil spirits were detested by thee, and yet they were the

objects of thy adoration; the punishments of hell were foreseen by

thee, but no care was taken to avoid them; thou hadst a savor of

Christianity, and withal wert the persecutor of Christians."

2. His polemic works are occupied chiefly with the refutation of the

Gnostics. Here belongs first of all his thoroughly catholic tract." On

the Prescription of Heretics." [1530] 531 It is of a general character

and lays down the fundamental principle of the church in dealing with

heresy. Tertullian cuts off all errors and neologies at the outset from

the right of legal contest and appeal to the holy Scriptures, because

these belong only to the catholic church as the legitimate heir and

guardian of Christianity. Irenaeus had used the same argument, but

Tertullian gave it a legal or forensic form. The same argument,

however, turns also against his own secession; for the difference

between heretics and schismatics is really only relative, at least in

Cyprian's view. Tertullian afterwards asserted, in contradiction with

this book, that in religious matters not custom nor long possession,

but truth alone, was to be consulted.

Among the heretics, he attacked chiefly the Valentinian Gnostics, and

Marcion. The work against Marcion (A. D. 208) is his largest, and the

only one in which he indicates the date of composition, namely the 15th

year of the reign of Septimius Severus (A. D. 208). [1531] 532 He wrote

three works against this famous heretic; the first he set aside as

imperfect, the second was stolen from him and published with many

blunders before it was finished. In the new work (in five books), he

elaborately defends the unity of God, the Creator of all, the integrity

of the Scriptures, and the harmony of the Old and New Testaments. He

displays all his power of solid argument, subtle sophistry, ridicule

and sarcasm, and exhausts his vocabulary of vituperation. He is more

severe upon heretics than Jews or Gentiles. He begins with a graphic

description of all the physical abnormities of Pontus, the native

province of Marcion, and the gloomy temper, wild passions, and

ferocious habits of its people, and then goes on to say:

"Nothing in Pontus is so barbarous and sad as the fact that Marcion was

born there, fouler than any Scythian, more roving than the Sarmatian,

more inhuman than the Massagete, more audacious than an Amazon, darker

than the cloud of the Euxine, colder than its winter, more brittle than

its ice, more deceitful than the Ister, more craggy than Caucasus. Nay,

more, the true Prometheus, Almighty God, is mangled by Marcion's

blasphemies. Marcion is more savage than even the beasts of that

barbarous region. For what beaver was ever a greater emasculator than

he who has abolished the nuptial bond? What Pontic mouse ever had such

gnawing powers as he who has gnawed the Gospel to pieces? Verily, O

Euxine, thou hast produced a monster more credible to philosophers than

to Christians. For the cynic Diogenes used to go about, lantern in

hand, at mid-day, to find a man; whereas Marcion has quenched the light

of his faith, and so lost the God whom he had found."

The tracts "On Baptism" "On the Soul," "On the Flesh of Christ," "On

the Resurrection of the Flesh" "Against Hermogenes," "Against Praxeas,"

are concerned with particular errors, and are important to the doctrine

of baptism, to Christian psychology, to eschatology, and christology.

3. His numerous Practical or Ascetic treatises throw much light on the

moral life of the early church, as contrasted with the immorality of

the heathen world. Among these belong the books "On Prayer" "On

Penance" "On Patience,"--a virtue, which he extols with honest

confession of his own natural impatience and passionate temper, and

which he urges upon himself as well as others,--the consolation of the

confessors in prison (Ad Martyres), and the admonition against visiting

theatres (De Spectaculis), which he classes with the pomp of the devil,

and against all share, direct or indirect, in the worship of idols (De

Idololatria).

4. His strictly Montanistic or anti-catholic writings, in which the

peculiarities of this sect are not only incidentally touched, as in

many of the works named above, but vindicated expressly and at large,

are likewise of a practical nature, and contend, in fanatical rigor,

against the restoration of the lapsed (De Pudicitia), flight in

persecutions, second marriage (De Monogamia, and De Exhortatione

Castitatis), display of dress in females (De Cultu Feminarum), and

other customs of the "Psychicals," as he commonly calls the Catholics

in distinction from the sectarian Pneumatics. His plea, also, for

excessive fasting (De Jejuniis), and his justification of a Christian

soldier, who was discharged for refusing to crown his head (De Corona

Militis), belong here. Tertullian considers it unbecoming the followers

of Christ, who, when on earth, wore a crown of thorns for us, to adorn

their heads with laurel, myrtle, olive, or with flowers or gems. We may

imagine what he would have said to the tiara of the pope in his

mediaeval splendor.

Notes.

The chronological order of Tertullian's work can be approximately

determined by the frequent allusions to the contemporaneous history of

the Roman empire, and by their relation to Montanism. See especially

Uhlhorn, Hauck, Bonwetsch, and also Bp. Kaye (in Oehler's ed. of the

Opera III. 709-718.) We divide the works into three classes, according

to their relation to Montanism.

(1) Those books which belong to the author's catholic period before

a.d. 200; viz.: Apologeticus or Apologeticum (in the autumn of 197,

according to Bonwetsch; 198, Ebert; 199, Hesselberg; 200, Uhlhorn); Ad

Martyres (197); Ad Nationes (probably soon after Apol.); De Testimonio

Animae; De Poenitentia; De Oratione; De Baptismo (which according to

cap. 15, was preceded by a Greek work against the validity of Heretical

Baptism); Ad Uxorem; De Patientia; Adv. Judaeos; De Praescriptione

Haereticorum; De Spectaculis (and a lost work on the same subject in

the Greek language).

Kaye puts De Spectaculis in the Montanistic period. De Praescriptione

is also placed by some in the Montanistic period before or after Adv.

Marcionem. But Bonwetsch (p. 46) puts it between 199 and 206, probably

in 199. Hauck makes it almost simultaneous with De Baptismo. He also

places De Idololatria in this period.

(2) Those which were certainly not composed till after his transition

to Montanism, between a.d. 200 and 220; viz.: Adv. Marcionem (5 books,

composed in part at least in the 15th year of the Emperor Septimius

Severus, i.e. a.d. 207 or 208; comp. I. 15); De Anima; De Carne

Christi; De Resurrectione Carnis; Adv. Praxean; Scorpiace (i.e.

antidote against the poison of the Gnostic heresy); De Corona Militis;

De Virginibus ve!andis; De Exhortatione Castitatis; De Pallio (208 or

209); De Fuga in persecutione; De Monogamia; De Jejuniis; De Pudicitia;

Ad Scapulam (212); De Ecstasi (lost); De Spe Fidelium (likewise lost).

Kellner (1870) assigns De Pudicitia, De Monogamia, De Jejunio, and Adv.

Praxean to the period between 218 and 222.

(3) Those which probably belong to the Montanistic period; viz.: Adv.

Valentinianos; De cultu Feminarum (2 libri); Adv. Hermogenem.

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[1527] On the chronological order see Notes.

[1528] Comp. H. A. Woodham: Tert. Liber Apologeticus with English Notes

and an Introduction to the Study of Patristical and Ecclesiastical

Latinity, Cambridge, 1850. Am. ed. of Select Works of Tert., by F. A.

March, New York, 1876. p. 26-46.

[1529] Ebert, who was the first to assert the priority of Octavius,

nevertheless admits (Gesch. der christl. lat. Lit. I. 32)

"Tertullianist einer der genialsten, originallsten und fruchtbarstem

unter den christlich-lateinischen Autoren."

[1530] Praescriptio, in legal terminology, means an exception made

before the merits of a case are discussed, showing in limine that the

plaintiff ought not to be heard. This book has been most admired by R.

Catholics as a masterly vindication of the catholic rule of faith

against heretical assailants; but its force is weakened by Tertullian's

Montanism.

[1531] English translation by Peter Holmes, in the "Ante-Nicene Libr.,

" vol. VII., 1868 (478 pages).

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� 198.s Minucius Felix.

(I.) M. Minucii Felicis Octavius, best ed. by Car. Halm, Vienna 1867

(in vol. II. of the "Corpus Scriptorum Eccles. Latin."), and Bernh.

Dombart, with German translation and critical notes, 2d ed. Erlangen

1881. Halm has compared the only MS. of this book, ormerly in the

Vatican library now in Paris, very carefully ("tanta diligentia ut de

nullo jam loco dubitari possit quid in codice uno scriptum inveniatur

").

Ed. princeps by Faustus Sabaeus (Rom. 1543, as the eighth book of

Arnobius Adv. Gent); then by Francis Balduin (Heidelb. 1560, as an

independent work). Many edd. since, by Ursinus (1583), Meursius (1598),

Wowerus (1603), Rigaltius (1643), Gronovius (1709, 1743), Davis (1712),

Lindner (1760, 1773), Russwurm (1824), L�bkert (1836), Muralt (1836),

Migne (1844, in "Patrol." III. Col. 193 sqq.), Fr Oehler (1847, in

Gersdorf's "Biblioth. Patr. ecelesiast. selecta," vol. XIII). Kayser

(1863), Cornelissen (Lugd. Bat. 1882), etc.

English translations by H. A. Holden (Cambridge 1853), and R. E. Wallis

in Clark's "Ante-Nic. Libr." vol. XIII. p. 451-517.

(II.) Jerome: De Vir. ill. c. 58, and Ep. 48 ad Pammach., and Ep. 70 ad

Magn. Lactant.: Inst. Div. V. 1, 22.

(III.) Monographs, dissertations and prolegomena to the different

editions of M. Fel., by van Hoven (1766, also in Lindner's ed. II.

1773); Meier (Turin, 1824,) Nic. Le Nourry, and Lumper (in Migne,

"Patr. Lat." III. 194-231; 371-652); R�ren (Minuciania,) Bedburg,

1859); Behr (on the relation of M. F. to Cicero, Gera 1870); R�nsch (in

Das N. T Tertull.'s, 1871, P. 25 sqq.); Paul P. de Felice (�tudes sur

l'Octavius, Blois, 1880); Keim (in his Celsus, 1873, 151-168, and in

Rom. und das Christenthum, 1881, 383 sq., and 468-486); Ad. Ebert

(1874, in Gesch. der christlich-latein. Lit. I. 24-31); G. Loesche (On

the relation of M. F. to Athanagoras, in the "Jahr b. f�r Prot. Theol."

1882, p. l68-178); RENAN (Marc-Aur�le, 1882, p. 389-404); Richard Kuhn:

Der Octavius des Minucius Felix. Eine heidnisch philosophische

Auffassung vom Christenthum. Leipz. 1882 (71 pages). See also the art.

of Mangold in Herzog2 X. 12-17 (abridged in Schaff-Herzog); G. Salmon

in Smith and Wace III. 920-924.

(IV.) On the relation of Minuc. Fel. to Tertullian: Ad. Ebert:

Tertullian's Verh�ltniss zu Minucius Felix, nebst einem Anhang �ber

Commodian's Carmen apoloqeticum (1868, in the 5th vol. of the

"Abhandlungen der philol. histor. Classe der K. s�chs. Ges. der

Wissenschaften"); W. Hartel (in Zeitschrift f�r d. �ester. Gymnas.

1869, p. 348-368, against Ebert); E. Klusmann ("Jenaer Lit. Zeitg,"

1878) Bonwetsch (in Die Schriften Tert., 1878, p. 21;) V. Schultze (in

"Jahr b. f�r Prot. Theol." 1881, p. 485-506; P. Schwenke (Uber die Zeit

des Min. Fel. in "Jahr b. f�r Prot. Theol.' " 1883, p. 263-294).

In close connection with Tertullian, either shortly before, or shortly

after him, stands the Latin Apologist Minucius Felix. [1532] 533

Converts are always the most zealous, and often the most effective

promoters of the system or sect which they have deliberately chosen

from honest and earnest conviction. The Christian Apologists of the

second century were educated heathen philosophers or rhetoricians

before their conversion, and used their secular learning and culture

for the refutation of idolatry and the vindication of the truths of

revelation. In like manner the Apostles were Jews by birth and

training, and made their knowledge of the Old Testament Scriptures

subservient to the gospel. The Reformers of the sixteenth century came

out of the bosom of mediaeval Catholicism, and were thus best qualified

to oppose its corruptions and to emancipate the church from the bondage

of the papacy. [1533] 534

I. Marcus Minucius Felix belongs to that class of converts, who brought

the rich stores of classical culture to the service of Christianity. He

worthily opens the series of Latin writers of the Roman church which

had before spoken to the world only in the Greek tongue. He shares with

Lactantius the honor of being the Christian Cicero. [1534] 535 He did

not become a clergyman, but apparently continued in his legal

profession. We know nothing of his life except that he was an advocate

in Rome, but probably of North African descent. [1535] 536

II. We have from him an apology of Christianity, in the form of a

dialogue under the title Octavius. [1536] 537 The author makes with his

friend Octavius Januarius, who had, like himself, been converted from

heathen error to the Christian truth an excursion from Rome to the

sea-bath at Ostia. There they meet on a promenade along the beach with

Caecilius Natalis, another friend of Minucius, but still a heathen,

and, as appears from his reasoning, a philosopher of the sceptical

school of the New Academy. Sitting down on the large stones which were

placed there for the protection of the baths, the two friends in full

view of the ocean and inhaling the gentle sea breeze, begin, at the

suggestion of Caecilius, to discuss the religious question of the day.

Minucius sitting between them is to act as umpire (chaps. 1-4).

Caecilius speaks first (chs. 5-15), in defence of the heathen, and in

opposition to the Christian, religion. He begins like a sceptic or

agnostic concerning the existence of a God as being doubtful, but he

soon shifts his ground, and on the principle of expediency and utility

he urges the duty of worshipping the ancestral gods. It is best to

adhere to what the experience of all nations has found to be salutary.

Every nation has its peculiar god or gods; the Roman nation, the most

religious of all, allows the worship of all gods, and thus attained to

the highest power and prosperity. He charges the Christians with

presumption for claiming a certain knowledge of the highest problems

which lie beyond human ken; with want of patriotism for forsaking the

ancestral traditions; with low breeding (as Celsus did). He ridicules

their worship of a crucified malefactor and the instrument of his

crucifixion, and even an ass's head. He repeats the lies of secret

crimes, as promiscuous incest, and the murder of innocent children, and

quotes for these slanders the authority of the celebrated orator

Fronto. He objects to their religion that it has no temples, nor

altars, nor images. He attacks their doctrines of one God, of the

destruction of the present world, the resurrection and judgment, as

irrational and absurd. He pities them for their austere habits and

their aversion to the theatre, banquets, and other innocent enjoyments.

He concludes with the re-assertion of human ignorance of things which

are above us, and an exhortation to leave those uncertain things alone,

and to adhere to the religion of their fathers, "lest either a childish

superstition should be introduced, or all religion should be

overthrown."

In the second part (ch. 16-38), Octavius refutes these charges, and

attacks idolatry; meeting each point in proper order. He vindicates the

existence and unity of the Godhead, the doctrine of creation and

providence, as truly rational, and quotes in confirmation the opinions

of various philosophers (from Cicero). He exposes the absurdity of the

heathen mythology, the worship of idols made of wood and stone, the

immoralities of the gods, and the cruelties and obscene rites connected

with their worship. The Romans have not acquired their power by their

religion, but by rapacity and acts of violence. The charge of

worshipping a criminal and his cross, rests on the ignorance of his

innocence and divine character. The Christians have no temples, because

they will not limit the infinite God, and no images, because man is

God's image, and a holy life the best sacrifice. The slanderous charges

of immorality are traced to the demons who invented and spread them

among the people, who inspire oracles, work false miracles and try in

every way to draw men into their ruin. It is the heathen who practice

such infamies, who cruelly expose their new-born children or kill them

by abortion. The Christians avoid and abhor the immoral amusements of

the theatre and circus where madness, adultery, and murder are

exhibited and practiced, even in the name of the gods. They find their

true pleasure and happiness in God, his knowledge and worship.

At the close of the dialogue (chs. 39-40), Caecilius confesses himself

convinced of his error, and resolves to embrace Christianity, and

desires further instruction on the next day. Minucius expresses his

satisfaction at this result, which made a decision on his part

unnecessary. Joyful and thankful for the joint victory over error, the

friends return from the sea-shore to Ostia. [1537] 538

III. The apologetic value of this work is considerable, but its

doctrinal value is very insignificant. It gives us a lively idea of the

great controversy between the old and the new religion among the higher

and cultivated classes of Roman society, and allows fair play and full

force to the arguments on both sides. It is an able and eloquent

defense of monotheism against polytheism, and of Christian morality

against heathen immorality. But this is about all. The exposition of

the truths of Christianity is meagre, superficial, and defective. The

unity of the Godhead, his all-ruling providence, the resurrection of

the body, and future retribution make up the whole creed of Octavius.

The Scriptures, the prophets and apostles are ignored, [1538] 539 the

doctrines of sin and grace, Christ and redemption, the Holy Spirit and

his operations are left out of sight, and the name of Christ is not

even mentioned; though we may reasonably infer from the manner in which

the author repels the charge of worshipping "a crucified malefactor,"

that he regarded Christ as more than a mere man (ch. 29). He leads only

to the outer court of the temple. His object was purely apologetic, and

he gained his point. [1539] 540 Further instruction is not excluded,

but is solicited by the converted Caecilius at the close, "as being

necessary to a perfect training." [1540] 541 We have therefore no right

to infer from this silence that the author was ignorant of the deeper

mysteries of faith. [1541] 542

His philosophic stand-point is eclectic with a preference for Cicero,

Seneca, and Plato. Christianity is to him both theoretically and

practically the true philosophy which teaches the only true God, and

leads to true virtue and piety. In this respect he resembles Justin

Martyr. [1542] 543

IV. The literary form of Octavius is very pleasing and elegant. The

diction is more classical than that of any contemporary Latin writer

heathen or Christian. The book bears a strong resemblance to Cicero's

De Natura Deorum, in many ideas, in style, and the urbanity, or

gentlemanly tone. Dean Milman says that it "reminds us of the golden

days of Latin prose." Renan calls it "the pearl of the apologetic

literature of the last years of Marcus Aurelius." But the date is under

dispute, and depends in part on its relation to Tertullian.

V. Time of composition. Octavius closely resembles Tertullian's

Apologeticus, both in argument and language, so that one book

presupposes the other; although the aim is different, the former being

the plea of a philosopher and refined gentleman, the other the plea of

a lawyer and ardent Christian. The older opinion (with some exceptions

[1543] 544) maintained the priority of Apologeticus, and consequently

put Octavius after a.d. 197 or 200 when the former was written. Ebert

reversed the order and tried to prove, by a careful critical

comparison, the originality of Octavius. [1544] 545 His conclusion is

adopted by the majority of recent German writers, [1545] 546 but has

also met with opposition. [1546] 547 If Tertullian used Minucius, he

expanded his suggestions; if Minucius used Tertullian, he did it by way

of abridgement.

It is certain that Minucius borrowed from Cicero (also from Seneca,

and, perhaps, from Athenagoras), [1547] 548 and Tertullian (in his Adv.

Valent.) from Irenaeus; though both make excellent use of their

material, reproducing rather than copying it; but Tertullian is beyond

question a far more original, vigorous, and important writer. Moreover

the Roman divines used the Greek language from Clement down to

Hippolytus towards the middle of the third century, with the only

exception, perhaps, of Victor (190-202). So far the probability is for

the later age of Minucius.

But a close comparison of the parallel passages seems to favor his

priority; yet the argument is not conclusive. [1548] 549 The priority

of Minucius has been inferred also from the fact that he twice mentions

Fronto (the teacher and friend of Marcus Aurelius), apparently as a

recent celebrity, and Fronto died about 168. Keim and Renan find

allusions to the persecutions under Marcus Aurelius (177), and to the

attack of Celsus (178), and hence put Octavius between 178 and 180.

[1549] 550 But these assumptions are unfounded, and they would lead

rather to the conclusion that the book was not written before 200; for

about twenty years elapsed (as Keim himself supposes) before the

Dialogue actually was recorded on paper.

An unexpected argument for the later age of Minucius is furnished by

the recent French discovery of the name of Marcus Caecilius Quinti F.

Natalis, as the chief magistrate of Cirta (Constantine) n Algeria, in

several inscriptions from the years 210 to 217. [1550] 551 The heathen

speaker Caecilius Natalis of our Dialogue hailed from that very city

(chs. 9 and 31). The identity of the two persons can indeed not be

proven, but is at least very probable.

Considering these conflicting possibilities and probabilities, we

conclude that Octavius was written in the first quarter of the third

century, probably during the peaceful reign of Alexander Severus (A. D.

222-235). The last possible date is the year 250, because Cyprian's

book De Idolorum Vanitate, written about that time is largely based

upon it. [1551] 552

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[1532] Jerome puts him after Tertullian (and Cyprian), Lactantius

beforeTertullian.

[1533] We may, also refer to more recent analogies: the ablest

champions of Romanism-as Hurter, Newman, Manning, Brown, owe their

intellectual and moral equipment to Protestantism; while the Old

Catholic leaders of the opposition to Vatican Romanism--as D�llinger,

Friedrich, Reinkens, Reusch, Langen, von Schulte--were formerly eminent

teachers in the Roman church.

[1534] Jerome decribes him as "in signis causidicis Romani fori," but

he depended on Lactantius, who may have derived this simply from the

introduction to the book, where the author speaks of taking advantage

of the court holidays for an excursion to Ostia. The gens Minucia was

famous in Rome, and an inscription (Gruter, p. 918) mentions one with

the cognomen Felix

[1535] From Cirta (now Constantine). This we must infer from the fact

that he call Corn. Fronto "Cirtensis noster, " Octav. c. 9; comp. c.

31, "tuus Fronto."

[1536] In 40 (al. 41) short chapters which, in Halm's edition, cover 54

pages, oct. The book was written several years after the Dialogue and

after the death of Octavius (c. 1: "discedens or decedens vir eximius

et sanctus immensum sui deside rium nobis reliquit, " etc.).

[1537] "Post haec laeti hilaresque discessimus, Caecilius quod

crediderit, Octavius gaudere [ad gaudendum] quod vicerit, ego [Minuc.

Fel.] et quod hic crediderit et hie vicerit."

[1538] The only traces are in chs. 29 and 34, which perhaps allude to

Jer. 17:5 and I Cor. 15:36, 42.

[1539] Keim supposes that he intended to refute Celsus (but he is

nowhere mentioned); De F�lice, that he aimed at Fronto (who is twice

mentioned); K�hn better: public opinion, the ignorant prejudice of the

higher classes against Christianity.

[1540] C. 40: "Etiam nunc tamen aliqua consubsidunt non obstrepentia

veritati, sed perfectae institutioni necessaria, de quibus crastino,

quod iam sol occasu declivis est, ut de toto (oret die

toto)congruentius, promptius requiremus."

[1541] Renan (p. 402) takes a different view, namely that Minucius was

a liberal Christian of the Deistic stamp, a man of the world "qui

n'emp�che ni la gaiet�, ni le talent, ni le go�t aimable de la vie, ni

la recherche, de l'�l�gance du style. Que nous sommes loin de

l'�bionite ou m�me du juif de Galil�e! Octavius, c'est Cic�ron, ou

mieux Fronton, devenu chr�tien. En r�alit�, c'est par la culture

intellectuelle qu'il arrive au d�isme. Il aime la nature, il se pla�t a

la conversation des gens biens �lev�s. Des hommes faits sur ce mod�le

n'auraient cr�� ni l'�vangile ni l'Apocalypse; mais, r�ciproquement,

sans de tels adh�rents, l'�vangile, l'Apocalypse, les �pItres de Paul

fussent rest�s les �scrits secrets d'une secte ferm��, qui, comme les

ess�ens ou les th�apeutes, eut finlement disparu." K�hn, also,

represents Minucius as a philosopher rather than a Christian, and seems

to explain his silence on the specific doctrines of Christianity from

ignorance. But no educated Christian could be ignorant of Christ and

His work, nor of the prophets and apostles who were regularly read in

public worship.

[1542] On the philosophy of Minucius, see the analysis of K�hn, p. 21

sqq.; 58 sqq.

[1543] Blondel (1641), Daill� (1660), R�sler (1777), Russwurm (1824),

doubted the priority of Tertullian. See K�hn, l.c., p. v.

[1544] In his essay on the subject (1866), Ebert put Octavius between

160 and the close of the second century; in his more recent work on the

History of Christ. Lat. Lit. (1874), vol. I., p. 25, be assigns it more

definitely to between 179 and 185 (" Anfang oder Mitte der achtziger

Jahre des 2. Jahrh."). He assumes that Minucius used Athenagoras who

wrote 177.

[1545] Ueberweg (1866), R�nsch (Das n. T. Tertull. 1871), Keim (1873),

Caspari (1875, III. 411), Herzog (1876), Hauck (1877), Bonwetsch

(1878), Mangold (in Herzog2 1882), K�hn (1882), Renan (1882), Schwenke

(1883). The last (pp. 292 and 294) puts the oral dialogue even so far

back as Hadrian (before 137), and the composition before the death of

Antoninus Pius (160).

[1546] Hartel (1869), Jeep (1869), Klussmann (1878), Schultze (1881),

and Salmon (1883). Hartel, while denying that Tertullian borrowed from

Minucius, leaves the way open for an independent use of an older book

by both. Schultze puts Minucius down to the reign of Domitian

(300-303), which is much too late.

[1547] Renan (p. 390) calls Minucius (although he puts him before

Tertullian) a habitual plagiarist who often copies from Cicero without

acknowledgment. Dombart (p. 135 sqq.), and Schwenke (p. 273 sqq.) prove

his dependence on Seneca.

[1548] The crucial test of relative priority applied by Ebert is the

relation of the two books to Cicero. Minucius wrote with Cicero open

before him; Tertullian shows no fresh reading of Cicero; consequently

if the parallel passages contain traces of Cicero, Tertullian must have

borrowed them from Minucius. But these traces in Tertullian are very

few, and the inference is disputable. The application of this test has

led Hartel and Salmon (in Smith and Wace, III. 92) to the opposite

conclusion. And Schultze proves 1) that Minucius used other works of

Tertullian besides the Apologeticus, and 2) that Minucius, in copying

from Cicero, makes the same kind of verbal changes in copying from

Tertullian.

[1549] Chs. 29, 33, 37. I can find in these passages no proof of any

particular violent persecution. Tortures are spoken of in ch. 37, but

to these the Christians were always exposed. Upon the whole the

situation of the church appears in the introductory chapters, and

throughout the Dialogue, is a comparatively quiet one, such as we know

it to have been at intervals between the imperial persecutions. This is

also the impression of Schultze and Schwenke. Minucius is silent about

the argument so current under Marcus Aurelius, that the Christians are

responsible for all the public calamities.

[1550] Mommsen, Corp. Lat. Inscript. VIII. 6996 and 7094-7098; Recueil

de Constantine, 1869, p. 695. See an article by Dessau in "Hermes, "

1880, t. xv., p. 471-74; Salmon, l.c., p. 924; and Renan, l.c., p.'090

sq. Renan admits the possible identity of this Caecilius with the

friend of Minucius, but suggests in the interest of his hypothesis that

he was the son.

[1551] V. Schultze denies Cyprian's authorship; but the book is

attester by Jerome and Augustin.

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� 199. Cyprian.

Comp. � � 22, 47 and 53.

(I.) S. Cypriani Opera omnia. Best critical ed. by W. Hartel, Vindob.

1868-'71, 3 vols. oct. (in the Vienna "Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiast.

Latinorum "); based upon the examination of 40 MSS.

Other edd. by Sweynheym and Pannartz, Rom. 1471 (ed. princeps), again

Venice 1477; by Erasmus, Bas. 1520 (first critical ed., often

reprinted); by Paul Manutius, Rom. 1563; by Morell, Par. 1564; by

Rigault (Rigaltius), Par. 1648; John Fell, Bp. of Oxford, Oxon. 1682

(very good, with Bishop Pearson's Annales Cyprianici), again Amst. 1700

and since; the Benedictine ed. begun by Baluzius and completed by Prud.

Maranus, Par. 1726, 1 vol. fol. (a magnificent ed., with textual

emendations to satisfy the Roman curia), reprinted in Venice, 1758, and

in Migne's "Patrol. Lat." (vol. IV. Par. 18, and part of vol. V. 9-80,

with sundry additions); a convenient manual ed. by Gersdorf, Lips. 1838

sq. (in Gersdorf's "Biblioth. Patrum Lat." Pars II. and III.)

English translations by N. Marshall, Lond., 1717; in the Oxf. "Library

of the Fathers," Oxf. 1840 and by R. G. Wallis in "Ante-Nicene Lib."

Edinb. 1868, 2 vols. N. York ed. vol. V. (1885).

(II.) Vita Cypriani by Pontius, and the Acta Proconsularia Martyrii

Cypr., both in Ruinart's Acta Mart. II., and the former in most ed. of

his works.

(III.) J. Pearson: Annales Cyprianici. Oxon. 1682, in the ed. of Fell.

A work of great learning and acumen, determining the chronological

order of many Epp. and correcting innumerable mistakes.

H. Dodwell: Dissertationes Cyprianicae tres. Oxon. 1684; Amst. 1700;

also in Tom. V of Migne's "Patr. Lat." col. 9-80.

A. F. Gervaise: Vie de St. Cyprien. Par. 1717.

F. W. Rettberg: Cyprianus nach seinem Leben u. Wirken. G�tt. 1831.

G. A. Poole: Life and Times of Cyprian. Oxf. 1840 (419 pages).

High-church Episcop. and anti-papal,

Aem. Blampignon: Vie de Cyprien. Par. 1861.

Ch. E. Freppel (Ultramontane): Saint Cyprien et l'�glise d' Afrique an

troisi�me si�cle. Paris, 1865, 2d ed. 1873.

Ad. Ebert: Geschichte der christl. latein. Literatur. Leipz. 1874, vol.

I. 54-61.

J. Peters (R.C.):Der heil. Cyprian. Leben u. Wirken. Regensb. 1877.

B. Fechtrup: Der h. Cyprian, Leben u. Lehre, vol. I. M�nster, 1878.

Otto Ritschl: Cyprianvom Karthago und die Verfassung der Kirche.

G�ttingen 1885.

Articles on special topics connected with Cyprian by J. W. Nevin and

Varien (both in "Mercerburg Review" for 1852 and '53); Peters

(Ultramontane: Cyprian's doctrine on Unity of the Church in opposition

to the schisms of Carthage and Rome, Luxemb 1870); Jos. Hub. Reinkens

(Old Cath. Bp.: Cypr's. Doctr. on the Unity of the Church. W�rzburg,

1873).

I. Life of Cyprian.

Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, bishop and martyr, and the impersonation

of the catholic church of the middle of the third century, sprang from

a noble and wealthy heathen family of Carthage, where he was born about

the year 200, or earlier. His deacon and biographer, Pontius, considers

his earlier life not worthy of notice in comparison with his subsequent

greatness in the church. Jerome tells us, that he stood in high repute

as a teacher of rhetoric. [1552] 553 He was, at all events, a man of

commanding literary, rhetorical, and legal culture, and of eminent

administrative ability which afterwards proved of great service to him

in the episcopal office. He lived in worldly splendor to mature age,

nor was he free from the common vices of heathenism, as we must infer

from his own confessions. But the story, that he practised arts of

magic arises perhaps from some confusion, and is at any rate

unattested. Yet, after he became a Christian he believed, like

Tertullian and others, in visions and dreams, and had some only a short

time before his martyrdom.

A worthy presbyter, Caecilius, who lived in Cyprian's house, and

afterwards at his death committed his wife and children to him, first

made him acquainted with the doctrines of the Christian religion, and

moved him to read the Bible. After long resistance Cyprian forsook the

world, entered the class of catechumens, sold his estates for the

benefit of the poor, [1553] 554 took a vow of chastity, and in 245 or

246 received baptism, adopting, out of gratitude to his spiritual

father, the name of Caecilius.

He himself, in a tract soon afterwards written to a friend, [1554] 555

gives us the following oratorical description of his conversion: While

I languished in darkness and deep night, tossing upon the sea of a

troubled world, ignorant of my destination, and far from truth and

light, I thought it, according to my then habits, altogether a

difficult and hard thing that a man could be born anew, and that, being

quickened to new life by the bath of saving water, he might put off the

past, and, while preserving the identity of the body, might transform

the man in mind and heart. How, said I, is such a change possible? How

can one at once divest himself of all that was either innate or

acquired and grown upon him?... Whence does he learn frugality, who was

accustomed to sumptuous feasts? And how shall he who shone in costly

apparel, in gold and purple, come down to common and simple dress? He

who has lived in honor and station, cannot bear to be private and

obscure .... But when, by the aid of the regenerating water, [1555] 556

the stain of my former life was washed away, a serene and pure light

poured from above into my purified breast. So soon as I drank the

spirit from above and was transformed by a second birth into a new man,

then the wavering mind became wonderfully firm; what had been closed

opened; the dark became light; strength came for that which had seemed

difficult; what I had thought impossible became practicable."

Cyprian now devoted himself zealously, in ascetic retirement, to the

study of the Scriptures and the church teachers, especially Tertullian,

whom be called for daily with the words: "Hand me the master!" [1556]

557 The influence of Tertullian on his theological formation is

unmistakable, and appears at once, for example, on comparing the tracts

of the two on prayer and on patience, or the work of the one on the

vanity of idols with the apology of the other. It is therefore rather

strange that in his own writings we find no acknowledgment of his

indebtedness, and, as far as I recollect, no express allusion whatever

to Tertullian and the Montanists. But he could derive no aid and

comfort from him in his conflict with schism.

Such a man could not long remain concealed. Only two years after his

baptism, in spite of his earnest remonstrance, Cyprian was raised to

the bishopric of Carthage by the acclamations of the people, and was

thus at the same time placed at the head of the whole North African

clergy. This election of a neophyte was contrary to the letter of the

ecclesiastical laws (comp. 1 Tim. 3:6), and led afterwards to the

schism of the party of Novatus. But the result proved, that here, as in

the similar elevation of Ambrose, Augustin, and other eminent bishops

of the ancient church, the voice of the people was the voice of God.

For the space of ten years, ending with his triumphant martyrdom,

Cyprian administered the episcopal office in Carthage with exemplary

energy, wisdom, and fidelity, and that in a most stormy time, amidst

persecutions from without and schismatic agitations within. The

persecution under Valerian brought his active labors to a close. He was

sent into exile for eleven months, then tried before the Proconsul, and

condemned to be beheaded. When the sentence was pronounced, he said:

"Thanks be to God," knelt in prayer, tied the bandage over his eyes

with his own hand, gave to the executioner a gold piece, and died with

the dignity and composure of a hero. His friends removed and buried his

body by night. Two chapels were erected on the spots of his death and

burial. The anniversary of his death was long observed; and five

sermons of Augustin still remain in memory of Cyprian's martyrdom,

Sept. 14, 258.

II. Character and Position.

As Origen was the ablest scholar, and Tertullian the strongest writer,

so Cyprian was the greatest bishop, of the third century. He was born

to be a prince in the church. In executive talent, he even surpassed

all the Roman bishops of his time; and he bore himself towards them,

also, as "frater" and "collega," in the spirit of full equality.

Augustin calls him by, eminence, "the catholic bishop and catholic

martyr;" and Vincentius of Lirinum, "the light of all saints, all

martyrs, and all bishops." His stamp of character was more that of

Peter than either of Paul or John.

His peculiar importance falls not so much in the field of theology,

where he lacks originality and depth, as in church organization and

discipline. While Tertullian dealt mainly with heretics, Cyprian

directed his polemics against schismatics, among whom he had to

condemn, though he never does in fact, his venerated teacher, who died

a Montanist. Yet his own conduct was not perfectly consistent with his

position; for in the controversy on heretical baptism he himself

exhibited his master's spirit of opposition to Rome. He set a limit to

his own exclusive catholic principle of tradition by the truly

Protestant maxims: "Consuetudo sine veritate vetustas erroris est, and,

Non est de consuetudine praescribendum, sed ratione vincendum." In him

the idea of the old catholic hierarchy and episcopal autocracy, both in

its affinity and in its conflict with the idea of the papacy, was

personally embodied, so to speak, and became flesh and blood. The unity

of the church, as the vehicle and medium of all salvation, was the

thought of his life and the passion of his heart. But he contended with

the same zeal for an independent episcopate as for a Roman primacy; and

the authority of his name has been therefore as often employed against

the papacy as in its favor. On both sides he was the faithful organ of

the churchly spirit of the age.

It were great injustice to attribute his high churchly principle to

pride and ambition, though temptations to this spirit unquestionably

beset a prominent position like his. Such principles are, entirely

compatible with sincere personal humility before God. It was the deep

conviction of the divine authority, and the heavy responsibility of the

episcopate, which lay it the bottom both of his first "nolo episcopari,

" and of subsequent hierarchical feeling. He was as conscientious in

discharging the duties, as he was jealous in maintaining the rights, of

his office. Notwithstanding his high conception of the dignity of a

bishop, he took counsel of his presbyters in everything, and respected

the rights of his people. He knew how to combine strictness and

moderation, dignity and gentleness, and to inspire love and confidence

as well as esteem and veneration. He took upon himself, like a father,

the care of the widows and orphans, the poor and sick. During the great

pestilence of 252 he showed the most self-sacrificing fidelity to his

flock, and love for his enemies. He forsook his congregation, indeed,

in the Decian persecution, but only, as he expressly assured them, in

pursuance of a divine admonition, and in order to direct them during

his fourteen months of exile by pastoral epistles. His conduct exposed

him to the charge of cowardice. In the Valerian persecution he

completely washed away the stain of that flight with the blood of his

calm and cheerful martyrdom.

He exercised first rigid discipline, but at a later period--not in

perfect consistency--he moderated his disciplinary principles in

prudent accommodation to the exigencies of the times. With Tertullian

he prohibited all display of female dress, which only deformed the work

of the Creator; and he warmly opposed all participation in heathen

amusements,--even refusing a converted play-actor permission to give

instruction in declamation and pantomime. He lived in a simple, ascetic

way, under a sense of the perishableness of all earthly things, and in

view of the solemn eternity, in which alone also the questions and

strifes of the church militant would be perfectly settled. "Only

above," says he in his tract De Mortalitate, which be composed during

the pestilence, "only above are true peace, sure repose, constant,

firm, and eternal security; there is our dwelling, there our home. Who

would not fain hasten to reach it? There a great multitude of beloved

awaits us; the numerous host of fathers, brethren, and children. There

is a glorious choir of apostles there the number of exulting prophets;

there the countless multitude of martyrs, crowned with victory after

warfare and suffering; there triumphing virgins; there the merciful

enjoying their reward. Thither let us hasten with longing desire; let

us wish to be soon with them, soon with Christ. After the earthly comes

the heavenly; after the small follows the great after perishableness,

eternity."

III. His writings.

As an author, Cyprian is far less original, fertile and vigorous than

Tertullian, but is clearer, more moderate, and more elegant and

rhetorical in his style. He wrote independently only on the doctrines

of the church, the priesthood, and sacrifice.

(1.) His most important works relate to practical questions on church

government and discipline. Among these is his tract on the Unity of the

Church (A. D. 251), that "magna charta" of the old catholic high-church

spirit, the commanding importance of which we have already considered.

Then eighty-one Epistles, [1557] 558 some very long, to various

bishops, to the clergy and the churches of Africa and of Rome, to the

confessors, to the lapsed, &c.; comprising also some letters from

others in reply, as from Cornelius of Rome and Firmilian of Caesarea.

They give us a very graphic picture of his pastoral labors, and of the

whole church life of that day. To the same class belongs also his

treatise: De Lapsis (A. D. 250) against loose penitential discipline.

(2.) Besides these he wrote a series of moral works, On the Grace of

God (246); On the Lord's Prayer (252); On Mortality (252); against

worldly-mindedness and pride of dress in consecrated virgins (De Habitu

Virginum); a glowing call to Martyrdom; an exhortation to liberality

(De Opere el Eleemosynis, between 254 and 256), with a touch of the

"opus operatum" doctrine; and two beautiful tracts written during his

controversy with pope Stephanus: De Bono Patienti, and De Zelo et

Livore (about 256), in which he exhorts the excited minds to patience

and moderation.

(3.) Least important are his two apologetic works, the product of his

Christian pupilage. One is directed against heathenism (de Idolorum

Vanitate), and is borrowed in great part, often verbally, from

Tertullian and Minucius Felix. The other, against Judaism (Testimonia

adversus Judaeos), also contains no new thoughts, but furnishes a

careful collection of Scriptural proofs of the Messiahship and divinity

of Jesus.

Note.--Among the pseudo-Cyprianic writings is a homily against

dice-playing and all games of chance (Adversus Aleatores, in Hartel's

ed. III. 92-103), which has been recently vindicated for Bishop Victor

of Rome (190-202), an African by birth and an exclusive high churchman.

It is written in the tone of a papal encyclical and in rustic Latin.

See Harnack: Der pseudo-cyprian. Tractat De Aleatoribus, Leipzig 1888.

Ph. Schaff: The Oldest Papal Encyclical, in The Independent, N. York,

Feb. 28, 1889.

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[1552] Catal. c. 67: "Cyprianus Afer primum gloriose rhetoricam

docuit."

[1553] Pontius, in his Vita, a very unsatisfactory sketch, prefixed to

the editions of the works of Cyprian, places this act of renunciation

(MaTt. 19:21) before his baptism."inter fidei prima rudimenta."

Cyprian's gardens, however, together with a villa, were afterwards

restored to him, "Dei indulgentia," that is, very probably, through the

liberality of his Christian friends.

[1554] De Gratia Dei, ad Donatum, c. 3, 4.

[1555] "Undae genitalis auxilio," which refers of course to baptism.

[1556] "Da magistrum!" So Jerome relates in his notice on Tertullian,

Cat. c. 53, on the testimony of an old man, who had heard it in his

youth from the "notarius beati Cypriani." As to the time, Cyprian might

have personally known Tertullian, who lived at least till the year 220

or 230.

[1557] The order of them varies in different editions occasioning

frequent confusion in citation.

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� 200. Novatian.

Comp. �58, p. 196 sq. and �183, p. 773.

(I.) Novatiani, Presbyteri Romani, Opera quae exstant omnia. Ed. by

Gagnaeus (Par. 1545, in the works of Tertullian); Gelenius (Bas. 1550

and 1562); Pamelius (Par. 1598); Gallandi (Tom III.); Edw. Welchman

(Oxf. 1724); J. Jackson (Lond. 1728, the best ed.); Migne (in "Patrol.

Lat." Tom. III. col. 861-970). Migne's ed. includes the dissertation of

Lumper and the Commentary of Gallandi.

English translation by R. E. Wallis in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library,"

vol. II. (1869), p. 297-395; Comp. vol. I. 85 sqq.

(II.) Euseb.: H. E. VI. 43, 44, 45. Hieron.: De Vir. ill. 66 and 70;

Ep. 36 ad Damas.; Apol. adv. Ruf. II. 19. Socrates: H. E. IV. 28. The

Epistles Of Cyprian and Cornelius referring to the schism of Novatian

(Cypr. Ep. 44, 45, 49, 52, 55, 59, 60, 68, 69, 73). Epiphanius: Haer.

59; Socrates: H. E IV. 28. Theodor.: Haer. Fab. III. 5. Photius

Biblioth. 182, 208, 280.

(III.) Walch: Ketzerhistorie II. 185-288. Schoenemann: Biblioth. Hist.

Lit. Patr. Latinorum, I. 135-142. Lumper: Dissert. de Vita, Scriptis,

et doctrina Nov., in Migne's ed. III. 861-884. Neander, I. 237-248, and

687 (Am ed.) Caspari: Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols, III. 428-430,

437-439. Jos. Langen (Old Cath.): Gesch. der r�m. Kirche (Bonn 1881),

p. 289-314. Harnack; Novatian in Herzog2 X. (1882), p. 652-670. Also

the works on Cyprian, especially Fechtrup. See Lit. � 199. On

Novatian's doctrine of the trinity and the person of Christ see

Dorner's Entwicklungsgesch. der L. v. d. Pers. Christi (1851), I.

601-604. (Dem Tertulliannahe stehend, von ihm abh�ngig, aber auch ihn

verflachend ist Novatian.")

Novatian, the second Roman anti-Pope (Hippolytus being probably the

first), orthodox in doctrine, but schismatic in discipline, and in both

respects closely resembling Hippolytus and Tertullian, flourished in

the middle of the third century and became the founder of a sect called

after his name. [1558] 559 He was a man of unblemished, though austere

character, considerable biblical and philosophical learning,

speculative talent, and eloquence. [1559] 560 He is moreover, next to

Victor and Minucius Felix, the first Roman divine who used the Latin

Language, and used it with skill. We may infer that at his time the

Latin had become or was fast becoming the ruling language of the Roman

church, especially in correspondence with North Africa and the West;

yet both Novatian and his rival Cornelius addressed the Eastern bishops

in Greek. The epitaphs of five Roman bishops of the third century,

Urbanus, Anteros, Fabianus, Lucius, and Eutychianus (between 223 and

283), in the cemetery of Callistus are Greek, but the epitaph of

Cornelius (251-253) who probably belonged to the noble Roman family of

that name, is Latin ("Cornelius Martyr E. R. X.") [1560] 561

At, that time the Roman congregation numbered forty presbyters, seven

deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, besides exorcists,

readers and janitors, and an "innumerable multitude of the people,"

which may have amounted perhaps to about 50,000 members. [1561] 562

We know nothing of the time and place of the birth and death of

Novatian. He was probably an Italian. The later account of his Phrygian

origin deserves no credit, and may have arisen from the fact that he

had many followers in Phrygia, where they united with the Montanists.

He was converted in adult age, and received only clinical baptism by

sprinkling on the sick bed without subsequent episcopal confirmation,

but was nevertheless ordained to the priesthood and rose to the highest

rank in the Roman clergy. He conducted the official correspondence of

the Roman see during the vacancy from the martyrdom of Fabian, January

21, 250, till the election of Cornelius, March, 251. In his letter to

Cyprian, written in the name of "the presbyters and deacons abiding at

Rome," [1562] 563 he refers the question of the restoration of the

lapsed to a future council, but shows his own preference for a strict

discipline, as most necessary in peace and in persecution, and as "the

rudder of safety in the tempest." [1563] 564

He may have aspired to the papal chair to which he seemed to have the

best claim. But after the Decian persecution had ceased his rival

Cornelius, unknown before, was elected by a majority of the clergy and

favored the lenient discipline towards the Fallen which his

predecessors Callistus and Zephyrinus had exercised, and against which

Hippolytus had so strongly protested twenty or thirty years before.

Novatian was elected anti-Pope by a minority and consecrated by three

Italian bishops. [1564] 565 He was excommunicated by a Roman council,

and Cornelius denounced him in official letters as "a deceitful,

cunning and savage beast." Both parties appealed to foreign churches.

Fabian of Antioch sympathized with Novatian, but Dionysius of

Alexandria, and especially Cyprian who in the mean time had relaxed his

former rigor and who hated schism like the very pest, supported

Cornelius, and the lax and more charitable system of discipline,

together with worldly conformity triumphed in the Catholic church.

Nevertheless the Novatian schism spread East and West and maintained

its severe discipline and orthodox creed in spite of imperial

persecution down to the sixth century. Novatian died a martyr according

to the tradition of his followers. The controversy turned on the extent

of the power of the Keys and the claims of justice to the purity of the

church and of mercy towards the fallen. The charitable view prevailed

by the aid of the principle that out of the church there is no

salvation.

Novatian was a fruitful author. Jerome ascribes to him works On the

Passover; On the Sabbath; On Circumcision; On the Priest (De

Sacerdote); On Prayer; On the Jewish Meats; On Perseverance; [1565] 566

On Attilus (a martyr of Pergamus); and "On the Trinity."

Two of these books are preserved. The most important is his Liber de

Trinitate (31 chs.), composed a.d. 256. It has sometimes been ascribed

to Tertullian or Cyprian. Jerome calls it a "great work," and an

extract from an unknown work of Tertullian on the same subject.

Novatian agrees essentially with Tertullian's subordination

trinitarianism. He ably vindicates the divinity of Christ and of the

Holy Spirit, strives to reconcile the divine threeness with unity, and

refutes the Monarchians, especially the Sabellians by biblical and

philosophical arguments.

In his Epistola de Cibus Judaicis (7 chapters) written to his flock

from a place of retirement during persecution, he tries to prove by

allegorical interpretation, that the Mosaic laws on food are no longer

binding upon Christians, and that Christ has substituted temperance and

abstinence for the prohibition of unclean animals, with the exception

of meat offered to idols, which is forbidden by the Apostolic council

(Acts 15).

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[1558] Novatiani, in the East also Katharoi, which is equivalent to

Puritans.

[1559] Jerome calls him and Tertullian eloquentissimi viri (Ad Dam. Ep.

36). Eusebius speaks unfavorably of him on account of bis severe

discipline, which seemed to deny mercy to poor sinners.

[1560] On the subject of the official language of the Roman Church, see

especially the learned and conclusive investigations of Caspari,l.c.

III. 430 sqq., and the inscriptions in De Rossi, Rom. sotter. I. 277

sqq., 293, and II. 76 sqq. Also Harnack: D. Pseudo-Cyprian. Tractat D

Aleatoribus, 1888. Cornelius was not buried officially by the Roman

Church, but by private members of the same.

[1561] See the letter of Cornelius to Fabius, preserved by Euseb. VI.

33.

[1562] Ep. XXX. of Cyprian (Oxf. and Hartel's edd.). English version in

"Ante-Nic. Libr., " Cyprian's works, I. 85-92. That this letter was

written by Novatian, appears from Cyprian's Ep. LV. (ad Antonianum)

cap. 4, where Cyprian quotes a passage from the same, and then adds

"Additum est etiam Novatiano tunc scribente," etc.

[1563] Ch. 2. Comp. also ch. 3, where he says: "Far be it from the

Roman Church to slacken her vigor with so profane a facility, and to

loosen the nerves of her severity by overthrowing the majesty of faith;

so that when the wrecks of your ruined brethren are not only lying, but

are falling around, remedies of a too hasty kind, and certainly not

likely to avail, should be afforded for Communion; and by a false

mercy, new wounds should be impressed on the old wounds of their

transgression; so that even repentance should be snatched from there

wretched beings, to their greater overthrow." And in ch. 7: "Whosoever

shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father and

before his angels. For God, as He is merciful, so He exacts obedience

to his precepts, and indeed carefully exacts it; and as be invites to

the banquet, so the man that hath not a wedding garment be binds hands

and feet, and casts him out beyond the assembly of the saints. He has

prepared heaven but he has also prepared hell. He has prepared places

of refreshment, but he has also prepared eternal punishment. He has

prepared the light that none can approach unto, but he has also

prepared the vast and eternal gloom of perpetual night." At the close

be favors an exception in case of impending death of the penitent

lapsed, to whom cautious help should be administered, "that neither

ungodly men should praise our smooth facility, nor truly penitent men

accuse our severity as cruel." This letter relieves Novatian of the

reproach of being chiefly influenced in his schism by personal motives,

as Pope Cornelius (Euseb. VI. 43), and Roman historians maintain (also

Harnack, in Herzog X. 661).

[1564] "Ex exigna et vilissima Italiae parte." See Jaff� Regesta

Pontif. Rom. p. 7. Cornelius, in his letter to Fabian (Euseb. VI. 43),

describes these three bishops as contemptible ignoramuses, who were

intoxicated when they ordained Novatian "by a shadowy and empty

imposition of hands."

[1565] De Instantia, probably in persecution, not in prayer. See

Caspari, p. 428, note 284 versus Lardner and Lumper, who explain it of

Perseverance in prayer: but this was no doubt treated in De Oratione,

for which, however, the Vatican Cod. reads De Ordinatione.

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� 201. Commodian.

(I.) Commodianus: Instructiones adversus Gentium Deos pro Christiana

Disciplina, and Carmen Apologeticum adversus Judaeos et Gentes. The

Instructiones were discovered by Sirmond, and first edited by Rigault

at Toul, 1650; more recently by Fr. Oehler in Gersdorf's "Biblioth. P.

Lat.," vol. XVIII., Lips. 1847 (p. 133-194,) and by Migne." Patrol."

vol. V. col. 201-262.

The second work was discovered and published by Card. Pitra in the

"Spicilegium Solesmense," Tom. I. Par. 1852, p. 21-49 and Excurs.

537-543, and with new emendations of the corrupt text in Tom. IV.

(1858), p. 222-224; and better by R�nsch in the "Zeitschrift f�r hist.

Theol." for 1872.

Both poems were edited together by E. Ludwig: Commodiani Carmina, Lips.

1877 and 1878; and by B. Dombart, Vienna.

English translation of the first poem (but in prose) by R. E. Wallis in

Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library," vol. III. (1870, pp. 434-474.

(II.) Dodwell: Dissert. de aetate Commod. Prolegg. in Migne, V.

189-200. Alzog: Patrol. 340-342. J. L. Jacobi in Schneider's

"Zeitschrift f�r christl. Wissenschaft und christl. Leben" for 1853,

pp. 203-209. Ad. Ebert, in an appendix to his essay on Tertullian's

relation to Minucius Felix, Leipz. 1868, pp. 69-102; in his Gesch. er

christl. lat. Lit., I. 86-93; also his art. in Herzog2 III. 325 sq.

Leimbach, in an Easter Programme on Commodian's Carmen apol. adv.

Gentes et Judaeos, Schmalkalden, 1871 (he clears up many points).

Hermann R�nsch, in the "Zeitschrift f�r historische Theologie" for

1872, No. 2, pp. 163-302 (he presents a revised Latin text with

philological explanations). Young in Smith and Wace, I. 610-611.

Commodian was probably a clergyman in North Africa. [1566] 567 He was

converted from heathenism by the study of the Scriptures, especially of

the Old Testament. [1567] 568 He wrote about the middle of the third

century two works in the style of vulgar African latinity, in uncouth

versification and barbarian hexameter, without regard to quantity and

hiatus. They are poetically and theologically worthless, but not

unimportant for the history of practical Christianity, and reveal under

a rude dress with many superstitious notions, an humble and fervent

Christian heart. Commodian was a Patripassian in christology and a

Chiliast in eschatology. Hence he is assigned by Pope Gelasius to the

apocryphal writers. His vulgar African latinity is a landmark in the

history of the Latin language and poetry in the transition to the

Romance literature of the middle ages.

The first poem is entitled "Instructions for the Christian Life,"

written about a.d. 240 or earlier. [1568] 569 It is intended to convert

heathens and Jews, and gives also exhortations to catechumens,

believers, and penitents. The poem has over twelve hundred verses and

is divided into eighty strophes, each of which is an acrostic, the

initial letters of the lines composing the title or subject of the

section. The first 45 strophes are apologetic, and aimed at the

heathen, the remaining 35 are parenetic and addressed to Christians.

The first part exhorts unbelievers to repent in view of the impending

end of the world, and gives prominence to chiliastic ideas about

Antichrist, the return of the Twelve Tribes, the first resurrection,

the millennium, and the last judgment. The second part exhorts

catechumens and various classes of Christians. The last acrostic which

again reminds the reader of the end of the world, is entitled "Nomen

Gazaei," [1569] 570 and, if read backwards, gives the name of the

author: Commodianus mendicus Christi. [1570] 571

2. The second work which was only brought to light in 1852, is an

"Apologetic Poem against Jews and Gentiles," and was written about 249.

It exhorts them (like the first part of the "Instructions" to repent

without delay in view of the approaching end of the world. It is

likewise written in uncouth hexameters and discusses in 47 sections the

doctrine of God, of man, and of the Redeemer (vers. 89-275); the

meaning of the names of Son and Father in the economy of salvation

(276-573); the obstacles to the progress of Christianity(574-611); it

warns Jews and Gentiles to forsake their religion (612-783), and gives

a description of the last things (784-1053).

The most interesting part of this second poem is the conclusion. It

contains a fuller description of Antichrist than the first poem. The

author expects that the end of the world will soon come with the

seventh persecution; the Goths will conquer Rome and redeem the

Christians; but then Nero will appear as the heathen Antichrist,

reconquer Rome, and rage against the Christians three years and a-half;

he will be conquered in turn by the Jewish and real Antichrist from the

east, who after the defeat of Nero and the burning of Rome will return

to Judaea, perform false miracles, and be worshipped by the Jews. At

last Christ appears, that is God himself (from the Monarchian

standpoint of the author), with the lost Twelve Tribes as his army,

which had lived beyond Persia in happy simplicity and virtue; under

astounding phenomena of nature he will conquer Antichrist and his host,

convert all nations and take possession of the holy city of Jerusalem.

The concluding description of the judgment is preserved only in broken

fragments. The idea of a double Antichrist is derived from the two

beasts of the Apocalypse, and combines the Jewish conception of the

Antimessiah, and the heathen Nero-legend. But the remarkable feature is

that the second Antichrist is represented as a Jew and as defeating the

heathen Nero, as he will be defeated by Christ. The same idea of a

double antichrist appears in Lactantius. [1571] 572

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[1566] In the MSS. of the second poem be is called a bishop. Commodian

gives no indication of his clerical status, but it may be fairly

inferred from his learning. In the last section of his second poem lie

calls himself Gazaeus. Ebert understands this geographically, from the

city of Gaza in Syria. But in this case he would have written in Greek

or in Syriac. The older interpretation is preferable, from Gaza (gaza),

treasure, or gazophylacium (gazophulakion)treasury, which indicates

either his possession of the treasure of saving truth or his dependence

for support on the treasury of the church.

[1567] Ebert suggests that he was a Jewish proselyte; but in the

introduction to the first poem he says that he formerly worshipped the

gods (deos vanos), which he believed to be demons, like most of the

patristic writers.

[1568] The author upbraids the Gentiles for persevering in unbelief

after Christianity had existed for 200 years (VI. 2). Ebert dates the

Instructions back as far as 239. Alzog puts it down much later.

[1569] See above p. 854. Note 1

[1570] The last five lines are (see Migne V. Col. 261, 262):

"ostenduntur illis, et legunt gesta de coelo memoria prisca debito et

merita digno. merces in perpetuo secundum facta tyranno. omnia non

possum comprehendere parvo libello. curiositas docti inveniet nomenin

isto.

[1571] Inst. Div. VII. 16 sqq.

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� 202. Arnobius.

(I.) Arnobii (oratoris) adversus Nationes (or Gentes) libri septem.

Best ed. by Reifferscheid, Vindob. 1875. (vol. IV. of the "Corpus

Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum," issued by the Academy of

Vienna.)

Other editions: by Faustus Sabaeus, Florence 1543 (ed. princeps); Bas.

(Frobenius) 1546; Paris 1580, 1666, 1715; Antw. 1582; Rom. 1583; Genev.

1597; Lugd. Bat. 1598, 165l; by Orelli, Lips. 1816; Hildebrand, Halle,

1844; Migne, "Patrol. Lat." v. 1844, col. 350 sqq. Fr. Oehler (in

Gersdorf's "Bibl. Patr. Lat."), Lips. 1846. On the text see the Prolegg

of Oehler and Reifferscheid.

English Version by A. Hamilton Bryce and Hugh Campbell, in Clark's

"Ante-Nic. Libr." vol. XIX. (Edinb. 1871). German transl. by Benard

(1842), and Alleker (1858).

(II.) Hieronymus: De Vir. ill. 79; Chron. ad ann. 325 (xx.

Constantini); Ep. 46, and 58, ad Paulinum.

(III) The learned Dissertatio praevia of the Benedictine Le Nourry in

Migne's ed. v. 365-714. Neander: I. 687-689. M�hler (R.C.): Patrol. I.

906-916. Alzog (R.C.): Patrologie (3d ed), p. 205-210. Zink: Zur Kritik

und Erkl�rung des Arnob., Bamb. 1873. Ebert, Gesch. der christl. lat.

Lit. I 61-70. Herzog in Herzog2 I. 692 sq. Moule in Smith and Wace I.

167-169.

Arnobius, a successful teacher of rhetoric with many pupils (Lactantius

being one of them), was first an enemy, then an advocate of

Christianity. He lived in Sicca, an important city on the Numidian

border to the Southwest of Carthage, in the latter part of the third

and the beginning of the fourth century . He was converted to Christ in

adult age, like his more distinguished fellow-Africans, Tertullian and

Cyprian. "O blindness," he says, in describing the great change, "only

a short time ago I was worshipping images just taken from the forge,

gods shaped upon the anvil and by the hammer .... When I saw a stone

made smooth and smeared with oil, I prayed to it and addressed it as if

a living power dwelt in it, and implored blessings from the senseless

stock. And I offered grievious insult even to the gods, whom I took to

be such, in that I considered them wood, stone, and bone, or fancied

that they dwelt in the stuff of such things. Now that I have been led

by so great a teacher into the way of truth, I know what all that is, I

think worthily of the Worthy, offer no insult to the Godhead, and give

every one his due .... Is Christ, then, not to be regarded as God? And

is He who in other respects may be deemed the very greatest, not to be

honored with divine worship, from whom we have received while alive so

great gifts, and from whom, when the day comes we expect greater

gifts?" [1572] 573

The contrast was very startling indeed, if we remember that Sicca bore

the epithet "Veneria," as the seat of the vile worship of the goddess

of lust in whose temple the maidens sacrificed their chastity, like the

Corinthian priestesses of Aphrodite. He is therefore especially severe

in his exposure of the sexual immoralities of the heathen gods, among

whom Jupiter himself takes the lead in all forms of vice. [1573] 574

We know nothing of his subsequent life and death. Jerome, the only

ancient writer who mentions him, adds some doubtful particulars, namely

that he was converted by visions or dreams, that he was first refused

admission to the Church by the bishop of Sicca, and hastily wrote his

apology in proof of his sincerity. But this book, though written soon

after his conversion, is rather the result of an inward impulse and

strong conviction than outward occasion.

We have from him an Apology of Christianity in seven books of unequal

length, addressed to the Gentiles. It was written a.d. 303, [1574] 575

at the outbreak of the Diocletian persecution; for he alludes to the

tortures, the burning of the sacred Scriptures and the destruction of

the meeting houses, which were the prominent features of that

persecution. [1575] 576 It is preserved in only one manuscript (of the

ninth or tenth century), which contains also the "Octavius" of Minucius

Felix. [1576] 577 The first two books are apologetic, the other five

chiefly polemic. Arnobius shows great familiarity with Greek and Roman

mythology and literature, and quotes freely from Homer, Plato, Cicero,

and Varro. He ably refutes the objections to Christianity, beginning

with the popular charge that it brought the wrath of the gods and the

many public calamities upon the Roman empire. He exposes at length the

absurdities and immoralities of the heathen mythology. He regards the

gods as real, but evil beings.

The positive part is meagre and unsatisfactory. Arnobius seems as

ignorant about the Bible as Minucius Felix. He never quotes the Old

Testament, and the New Testament only once. [1577] 578 He knows nothing

of the history of the Jews, and the Mosaic worship, and confounds the

Pharisees and Sadducees. Yet be is tolerably familiar, whether from the

Gospels or from tradition, with the history of Christ. He often refers

in growing language to his incarnation, crucifixion, and exaltation. He

represents him as the supreme teacher who revealed God to man, the

giver of eternal life, yea, as God, though born a man, as God on high,

God in his inmost nature, as the Saviour God, and the object of

worship. [1578] 579 Only his followers can be saved, but he offers

salvation even to his enemies. His divine mission is proved by his

miracles, and these are attested by their unique character, their

simplicity, publicity and beneficence. He healed at once a hundred or

more afflicted with various diseases, he stilled the raging tempest, he

walked over the sea with unwet foot, he astonished the very waves, he

fed five thousand with five loaves, and filled twelve baskets with the

fragments that remained, he called the dead from the tomb. He revealed

himself after the resurrection "in open day to countless numbers of

men;" "he appears even now to righteous men of unpolluted mind who love

him, not in any dreams, but in a form of pure simplicity." [1579] 580

His doctrine of God is Scriptural, and strikingly contrasts with the

absurd mythology. God is the author and ruler of all things, unborn,

infinite, spiritual, omnipresent, without passion, dwelling in light,

the giver of all good, the sender of the Saviour.

As to man, Arnobius asserts his free will, but also his ignorance and

sin, and denies his immortality. The soul outlives the body but depends

solely on God for the gift of eternal duration. The wicked go to the

fire of Gehenna, and will ultimately be consumed or annihilated. He

teaches the resurrection of the flesh, but in obscure terms.

Arnobius does not come up to the standard of Catholic orthodoxy, even

of the ante-Nicene age. Considering his apparent ignorance of the

Bible, and his late conversion, we need not be surprised at this.

Jerome now praises, now censures him, as unequal, prolix, and confused

in style, method, and doctrine. Pope Gelasius in the fifth century

banished his book to the apocryphal index, and since that time it was

almost forgotten, till it was brought to light again in the sixteenth

century. Modern critics agree in the verdict that he is more successful

in the refutation of error than in the defense of truth.

But the honesty, courage, and enthusiasm of the convert for his new

faith are as obvious as the defects of his theology. If be did not know

or clearly understand the doctrines of the Bible, be seized its moral

tone. [1580] 581 "We have learned," he says, "from Christ's teaching

and his laws, that evil ought not to be requited with evil (comp. Matt.

5:39), that it is better to suffer wrong than to inflict it, that we

should rather shed our own blood than stain our hands and our

conscience with that of another. An ungrateful world is now for a long

period enjoying the benefit of Christ; for by his influence the rage of

savage ferocity has been softened, and restrained from the blood of a

fellow-creature. If all would lend an ear to his salutary and peaceful

laws, the world would turn the use of steel to occupations of peace,

and live in blessed harmony, maintaining inviolate the sanctity of

treaties." [1581] 582 He indignantly asks the heathen, "Why have our

writings deserved to be given to the flames, and our meetings to be

cruelly broken up? In them prayer is offered to the supreme God, peace

and pardon are invoked upon all in authority, upon soldiers, kings,

friends, enemies, upon those still in life, and those released from the

bondage of the flesh. In them all that is said tends to make men

humane, gentle, modest, virtuous, chaste, generous in dealing with

their substance, and inseparably united to all that are embraced in our

brotherhood." [1582] 583 He uttered his testimony boldly in the face of

the last and most cruel persecution, and it is not unlikely that he

himself was one of its victims.

The work of Arnobius is a rich store of antiquarian and mythological

knowledge, and of African latinity.

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[1572] Adv. Nat. 1, 39, ed. Reifferscheid, p. 26.

[1573] In book V. 22 he details the crimes of Jupiter who robbed Ceres,

Leda, Danae, Europa, Alcmena, Electra, Latona, Laodamia, and "a

thousand other virgins and a thousand matrons, and with them the boy

Catamitus of their honor and chastity," and who was made a collection

of "all impurities of the stage."

[1574] He says that Christianity had then existed three hundred years

(I. 13), and that the city of Rome was one thousand and fifty years old

(II. 71). The last date leaves a choice between a.d. 296 or 303,

according as we reckon by the Varronian or the Fabian era.

[1575] IV. 36; comp. I. 26; II. 77; III. 36, etc. Comp. Euseb. H. E.

VIII. 2.

[1576] In the Nation. Libr. of Paris, No. 1661. The copy in Brussels is

merely a transcript. The MS., though well written, is very corrupt, and

leaves room for many conjectures. Reifferscheid has carefully compared

it at Paris in 1867.

[1577] "Has that well-known word (illud vulgatum) never struck your

ears, that the wisdom of man is foolishness with God?" II. 6; comp. 1

Cor. 3:19.

[1578] The strongest passages for the divinity of Christ are I. 37, 39,

42 and 53. In the last passage he says (Reifferscheid, p. 36): "Deus

ille sublimis fuit [Christus], deus radice ab intima, deus ab

incognitis regnis et ab omnium principe deo sospitator est missus"

[1579] "per purae speciem simplicitatis, " I.46. This passage speaks

against the story, that Arnobius was converted by a dream.

[1580] I must differ from Ebert (p 69), who says that Christianity

produced no moral change in His heart."In seinem Stil ist Arnobius

durchaus Heide, und auch dies ist ein Zeugniss f�r die Art seines

Christenthums, das eben eine innere Umwandlung nicht bewirkt hatte. Das

Gem�th hat an seinem Ausdruck nirgends einen Antheil."

[1581] I. 9.

[1582] IV. 36.

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� 203. Victorinus of Petau.

(I.) Opera in the "Max. Biblioth. vet. Patrum." Lugd. Tom. III., in

Gallandi's "Bibl. PP.," Tom. IV.; and in Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," V.

281-344 (De Fabrica Mundi, and Scholia in Apoc. Joannis).

English translation by R. E. Wallis, in Clark's "Ante-Nicene Library,"

Vol. III., 388-433; N. York ed. VII. (1886).

(II.) Jerome: De. Vir. ill., 74. Cassiodor: Justit. Div. Lit., c. 9.

Cave: Hist. Lit., I., 147 sq. Lumper's Proleg., in Migne's ed., V.

281-302, Routh: Reliq., S. I., 65; III., 455-481.

Victorinus, probably of Greek extraction, was first a rhetorician by

profession, and became bishop of Petavium, or Petabio, [1583] 584 in

ancient Panonia (Petau, in the present Austrian Styria). He died a

martyr in the Diocletian persecution (303). We have only fragments of

his writings, and they are not of much importance, except for the age

to which they belong. Jerome says that he understood Greek better than

Latin, and that his works are excellent for the sense, but mean as to

the style. He counts him among the Chiliasts, and ascribes to him

commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk,

Canticles, the Apocalypse, a book Against all Heresies, "et multa

alia." Several poems are also credited to him, but without good reason.

[1584] 585

1. The fragment on the Creation of the World is a series of notes on

the account of creation, probably a part of the commentary on Genesis

mentioned by Jerome. The days are taken liberally. The creation of

angels and archangels preceded the creation of man, as light was made

before the sky and the earth. The seven days typify seven millennia;

the seventh is the millennial sabbath, when Christ will reign on earth

with his elect. It is the same chiliastic notion which we found in the

Epistle of Barnabas, with the same opposition to Jewish sabbatarianism.

Victorinus compares the seven days with the seven eyes of the Lord

(Zech. 4:10), the seven heavens (comp. Ps. 33:6), the seven spirits

that dwelt in Christ (Isa. 11:2, 3), and the seven stages of his

humanity: his nativity, infancy, boyhood, youth, young-manhood, mature

age, death. This is a fair specimen of these allegorical plays of a

pious imagination.

2. The scholia on the Apocalypse of John are not without interest for

the history of the interpretation of this mysterious book. [1585] 586

But they are not free from later interpolations of the fifth or sixth

century. The author assigns the Apocalypse to the reign of Domitian

(herein agreeing with Irenaeus), and combines the historical and

allegorical methods of interpretation. He also regards the visions in

part as synchronous rather than successive. He comments only on the

more difficult passages. [1586] 587 We select the most striking points.

The woman in ch. 12 is the ancient church of the prophets and apostles;

the dragon is the devil. The woman sitting on the seven hills (in ch.

17), is the city of Rome. The beast from the abyss is the Roman empire;

Domitian is counted as the sixth, Nerva as the seventh, and Nero

revived as the eighth Roman King. [1587] 588 The number 666 (13:18)

means in Greek Teitan [1588] 589 (this is the explanation preferred by

Irenaeus), in Latin Diclux. Both names signify Antichrist, according to

the numerical value of the Greek and Roman letters. But Diclux has this

meaning by contrast, for Antichrist, "although he is cut off from the

supernal light, yet transforms himself into an angel of light, daring

to call himself light." [1589] 590 To this curious explanation is

added, evidently by a much later hand, an application of the mystic

number to the Vandal king Genseric (genserikos) who in the fifth

century laid waste the Catholic church of North Africa and sacked the

city of Rome.

The exposition of ch. 20:1-6 is not so strongly chiliastic, as the

corresponding passage in the Commentary on Genesis, and hence some have

denied the identity of authorship. The first resurrection is explained

spiritually with reference to Col. 3:1, and the author leaves it

optional to understand the thousand years as endless or as limited.

Then he goes on to allegorize about the numbers: ten signifies the

decalogue, and hundred the crown of virginity; for he who keeps the vow

of virginity completely, and fulfils the precepts of the decalogue, and

destroys the impure thoughts within the retirement of his own heart, is

the true priest of Christ, and reigns with him; and "truly in his case

the devil is bound." At the close of the notes on ch. 22, the author

rejects the crude and sensual chiliasm of the heretic Cerinthus. "For

the kingdom of Christ," he says, "is now eternal in the saints,

although the glory of the saints shall be manifested after the

resurrection." [1590] 591 This looks like a later addition, and

intimates the change which Constantine's reign produced in the mind of

the church as regards the millennium. Henceforth it was dated from the

incarnation of Christ. [1591] 592

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[1583] Vict. Petavionensis orPetabionensis; notPictaviensis (from

Poictiers), as in the Rom. Martyrologium and Baronius. John Launoy (d.

1678) is said to have first corrected this error.

[1584] Carmina de Jesu Christo Deo et homine; Lignum Vitae; also the

hymns DeCruce or De Paschate, in Tertullian's and Cyprian's works.

Routh, III. 483, denies the genuineness; so also Lumper in Migne V.

294.

[1585] Comp. L�ke, Einleitung in die Offen b. Joh, pp. 972-982 (2nd

ed.); and Bleek, Vorlesungen �ber die Apok., p. 34 sq. L�cke and Bleek

agree in regarding this commentary as a work of Victorinus, but with

later interpolations. Bleek assumes that it was originally more

pronounced in its chiliasm.

[1586] As Cassiodorus remarks: "Difficillima quaedam loca breviter

tractavit.';

[1587] This explanation of 17:10, 11 rests on the expectation of the

return of Nero as Antichrist, and was afterwards justly abandoned by

Andreas and Arethas, but has been revived again, though with a

different counting of the emperors, by the modern champions of the

Nero-hypothesis. See the discussion in vol. I, 864 sqq.

[1588] T=300; E="5"; I=10; T=300: A=l; N=50; in all 666. Dropping the

final n, we get Teita=616, which was the other reading in 13:18,

mentioned by Irenaeus. Titus was the destroyer of Jerusalem, but in

unconconsious fulfilment of Christ's prophecy; he was no persecutor of

the church, and was one of the best among the Roman emperors.

[1589] D=500; I="1"; C=100; L=50; V=5; X=10; in all=666. "Id est quod

Graece sonat teitan id quod Latine dicitur diclux, quo nomine per

antiphrasin expresso intelligimus antichrstum, qui cum a luce superna

abscissus sit et ea privatus, transfigurat tamen se in angelum lucis

audens sese dicere lucem. Item invenimus in quodom codice, Graeco

antemos . " The last name is perhaps a corruption for Anteimos, which

occurs on coins of Moesia for a ruling dynasty, or may be meant for a

designation of character: honori contrarius. See Migne, V. 339, and

L�cke, p. 978.

[1590] "Nam regnum Christi nunc est sempiternum in sanctis, cum fuerit

gloria post resurrectionem manifestata sanctorum." (Migne V. 344.)

[1591] Comp. � 188, p. 612 sqq.

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� 204. Eusebius, Lactantius, Hosius.

On Eusebius see vol. III. 871-879--Add to Lit. the exhaustive article

of Bp. Lightfoot in Smith and Wace, II. (1880), p. 308-348; Dr. Salmon,

on the Chron. of Eus. ibid. 354-355; and Semisch in Herzog2 IV.

390-398.

On Lactantius see vol. III. 955-959.--Add to Lit. Ebert: Gesch. der

christl. lat. Lit. I. (1874), p. 70-86; and his art. in Herzog2 VIII.

364-366; and E. S. Ffoulkes in Smith and Wace III. 613-617.

On Hosius, see � 55 p. 179 sqq.; and vol. III. 627, 635, 636.--Add to

Lit. P. Bonif. Gams (R.C.): Kirchengesch. v. Spanien, Regensb. 1862

sqq, , Bd II. 137-309 (the greater part of the second vol. is given to

Hosius); W. M�ller in Herzog2 VI. 326-328; and T. D. C. Morse in Smith

and Wace III. 162-174.

At the close of our period we meet with three representative divines,

in close connection with the first Christian emperor who effected the

politico-ecclesiastical revolution known as the union of church and

state. Their public life and labors belong to the next period, but must

at least be briefly foreshadowed here.

Eusebius, the historian, Lactantius, the rhetorician, and Hosius, the

statesman, form the connecting links between the ante-Nicene and Nicene

ages; their long lives--two died octogenarians, Hosius a

centenarian--are almost equally divided between the two; and they

reflect the lights and shades of both. [1592] 593 Eusebius was bishop

of Caesarea and a man of extensive and useful learning, and a liberal

theologian; Lactantius, a professor of eloquence in Nicomedia, and a

man of elegant culture; Hosius, bishop of Cordova and a man of counsel

and action. [1593] 594 They thus respectively represented the Holy

Land, Asia Minor, and Spain; we may add Italy and North Africa, for

Lactantius was probably a native Italian and a pupil of Arnobius of

Sicca, and Hosius acted to some extent for the whole western church in

Eastern Councils. With him Spain first emerges from the twilight of

legend to the daylight of church history; it was the border land of the

west which Paul perhaps had visited, which had given the philosopher

Seneca and the emperor Trajan to heathen Rome, and was to furnish in

Theodosius the Great the strong defender of the Nicene faith.

Eusebius, Lactantius, and Hosius were witnesses of the cruelties of the

Diocletian persecution, and hailed the reign of imperial patronage.

They carried the moral forces of the age of martyrdom into the age of

victory. Eusebius with his literary industry saved for us the

invaluable monuments of the first three centuries down to the Nicene

Council; Lactantius bequeathed to posterity, in Ciceronian Latin, an

exposition and vindication of the Christian religion against the waning

idolatry of Greece and Rome, and the tragic memories of the imperial

persecutors; Hosius was the presiding genius of the synods of Elvira

(306), Nicaea (325), and Sardica (347), the friend of Athanasius in the

defense of orthodoxy and in exile.

All three were intimately associated with Constantine the Great,

Eusebius as his friend and eulogist, Lactantius as the tutor of his

eldest son, Hosius as his trusted counsellor who probably suggested to

him the idea of convening the first OEcumenical synod; he was we may

say for a few years his ecclesiastical prime minister. They were, each

in his way, the emperor's chief advisers and helpers in that great

change which gave to the religion of the cross the moral control over

the vast empire of Rome. The victory was well deserved by three hundred

years of unjust persecution and heroic endurance, but it was fraught

with trials and temptations no less dangerous to the purity and peace

of the church than fire and sword.

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[1592] Eusebius died a.d. 340; Lactantius between 320 and 330; Hosius

between 357 and 360.

[1593] Hosius left no literary work. The only document we have from his

pen is his letter to the Arian Emperor Constantius, preserved by

Athanasius (Hist. Arian. 44). See Gains, l.c. II. 215 sqq. It begins

with this noble sentence: "I was a confessor of the faith long before

your grandfather Maximian persecuted the church. If you persecute me, I

am ready to suffer all rather than to shed innocent blood and to betray

the truth." Unfortunately, in his extreme old age he yielded under the

infliction of physical violence, and subscribed an Arian creed, but

bitterly repented before his death. Athanasius expressly says (l. c.

45), that "at the approach of death, as it were by his last testament,

he abjured the Arian heresy, and gave strict charge that no one should

receive it." It is a disputed point whether he died at Sirmium in 357,

or was permitted to return to Spain, and died there about 359 or 360.

We are only informed that he was over a hundred years old, and over

sixty years a bishop. Athan. l.c.; Sulpicius Severus, Hist. II. 55.

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\* [1077]Stephanus I

\* [1078]Stephen

\* [1079]Symeon

\* [1080]Tacitus

\* [1081]Tatian

\* [1082]Tatian of Assyria

\* [1083]Telesphorus (Martyr)

\* [1084]Tertullian

\* [1085]Theognostus

\* [1086]Theophilus

\* [1087]Tiberius

\* [1088]Titus

\* [1089]Titus Flavius Clemens

\* [1090]Trajan

\* [1091]Urbanus I

\* [1092]Valentinus

\* [1093]Valerian

\* [1094]Victor

\* [1095]Victor I

\* [1096]Victorinus of Petau

\* [1097]Vitellius

\* [1098]Volusian

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\* [1100]Xystus (Sixtus) II

\* [1101]Zephyrinus

\* [1102]cyprian

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\* [1105]'psaltes

\* [1106]E

\* [1107]rize

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\* [1117]angelon stratou

\* [1118]adelphen gunaika

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\* [1120]aei genna ho Pater ton Huion

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\* [1122]akroasis

\* [1123]aleipsas ... kai ebaptisen autous ... anelthonton de auton ek

ton hudaton labon arton kai poterion eulogesen eipon...

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\* [1127]aner ekklesiastikos

\* [1128]aner ta panta hoti malista logiotatos kai tes graphes eudemon

\* [1129]aner idiotes kai aischrokerdes .

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\* [1133]anakephalaiosis,

\* [1134]anakephalaioun, anakephalaiosis

\* [1135]antilegomena

\* [1136]antilegomena, gnorima d' homos tois pollois,

\* [1137]antitassesthai

\* [1138]anotate dunamis ,

\* [1139]apo Gitthon

\* [1140]apodeixis chronon tou pascha

\* [1141]aporroia homoousios

\* [1142]apostoloi

\* [1143]apoleto

\* [1144]apokatharsis,

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\* [1146]apologia

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\* [1148]apostolike paradosis

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\* [1150]arretos, akatonomastos .

\* [1151]arche

\* [1152]archai

\* [1153]archierateia

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\* [1158]asketes

\* [1159]asketai

\* [1160]atragodos

\* [1161]aphesin hamartion

\* [1162]hagian ekklesian

\* [1163]hagneuo soi, kai lampadas phaesphorous kratousa, Numphie,

hupantaso soi

\* [1164]hamartia

\* [1165]haplos kai alethos kai idiotikos

\* [1166]athroisma ton eklekton

\* [1167]angeloi

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\* [1169]angelos

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\* [1175]ater

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\* [1180]Abrasax

\* [1181]Adamantios

\* [1182]Adelphai

\* [1183]Athanatou patros ouraniou.

\* [1184]Akroomenoi

\* [1185]Alexamenos sebet

\* [1186]Alethes logos

\* [1187]Amutheton plethos apokruphon kai nothon graphon, ha`s autoi

eplasan, pareispherousin eis kataplexin ton anoeton kai ta tes

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\* [1188]Anadochoi

\* [1189]Anankaion estin, hosper poieite, aneu tou episkopou meden

prassein humas ktl.

\* [1190]Anagnorismoi

\* [1191]Anakephalaiosasthai tas delotheisas tes kaines diathekes

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\* [1192]Antiocheias Euodios men hup' emou Petrou, Hignatios de hupo

Paulou kecheirotonetai

\* [1193]Apophasis megale.

\* [1194]Apokritikos e Monogenes

\* [1195]Apolinarios

\* [1196]Apostolon genomenos mathetes

\* [1197]Apotassomai to Satana kai tois ergois autou kai tais pompais

autou, kai tais latreiais autou, kai pasi tois hup' auton

\* [1198]Ardesianes

\* [1199]Asal'uk

\* [1200]Asketerion

\* [1201]Asketai

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\* [1203]Hag.

\* [1204]Halethes historia

\* [1205]Hanagnoseis

\* [1206]Akoluthoi

\* [1207]Ambon

\* [1208]Anagnostai

\* [1209]Anteimos

\* [1210]Askesis

\* [1211]ean gnosthe pleon tou episkopou,

\* [1212]enkrateia askeitai, monogamia tereitai.

\* [1213]ethelei

\* [1214]ethnon episkopos,

\* [1215]eklekton eklektoteroi

\* [1216]ektos tes entoles tou theou

\* [1217]en

\* [1218]en arche

\* [1219]en hagneia

\* [1220]en homologoumenois

\* [1221]en Keltois

\* [1222]en aionio puri

\* [1223]en haimati theou

\* [1224]en deutera chora.

\* [1225]en eirene

\* [1226]en lex.

\* [1227]en pasais tais epistolais

\* [1228]en pleistais ekklesiais

\* [1229]en sapki genomenos Theos.

\* [1230]en sarki genomenos theos

\* [1231]en to paradeiso

\* [1232]en tois nothois ... he pheromene Barnaba epistole

\* [1233]en trite taxei

\* [1234]energeia hedrastike kai steristike

\* [1235]energeia meristike kai dioristike

\* [1236]entheou philoponias

\* [1237]ennato

\* [1238]ennato etei

\* [1239]ensomatosis

\* [1240]ex anankes ,

\* [1241]ex arches humin ethos esti touto, pantas men adelphous

poikilos euergetein, ekklesiais te pollais tais mata pasan polin

ephodia pempein

\* [1242]exegesis

\* [1243]exegeseon

\* [1244]exegetika

\* [1245]exothoumenoi

\* [1246]epi pollais hamartiais

\* [1247]epi testou soteriou pascha eortes

\* [1248]episkopos

\* [1249]episkopoi

\* [1250]episkopos hethnon

\* [1251]episkopos, epimelites

\* [1252]epoteia,

\* [1253]ep' aristera-i -i

\* [1254]epibolen

\* [1255]epidomen

\* [1256]epidochen

\* [1257]epilogen, epinomian, epistolen, epitagen, eti nomon

\* [1258]epimonen) edokan, hopos , ean koimethosin, diadexontai

heteroi dedokimasmenoi andres ten leitourgian auton.

\* [1259]epimonen

\* [1260]epinomen

\* [1261]epinomen,

\* [1262]epinomis ,

\* [1263]episkopeo

\* [1264]episkophobia

\* [1265]epistole tou makariou Paulou

\* [1266]epitropen

\* [1267]esti

\* [1268]etolmesen

\* [1269]henos andros gune,

\* [1270]hexousian

\* [1271]hermeneus

\* [1272]hetairai

\* [1273]hetairia

\* [1274]hetaireia

\* [1275]hetirotes tes ousias

\* [1276]ean me pisteusete, oude me sunete.

\* [1277]edoxe to hagio pneumati kai hemin

\* [1278]ekthesis pisteos kata apokalupsin

\* [1279]eklechtoi, teleioi

\* [1280]ektroma

\* [1281]ennoia

\* [1282]enosis sarkos kai pneumatos.

\* [1283]exarchoi

\* [1284]estin pharmakon athanisias , antidotos tou me apothanein,

alla zen hen Iesou Christo dia pantos .

\* [1285]ephe ton theon ex hules sunchronou kai agennetou panta

pepoiekenai.

\* [1286]ephthartai

\* [1287]echontas parthenous suneisaktous

\* [1288]echontes

\* [1289]hektasis,

\* [1290]Ean gnosthe plen tou episkopou

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\* [1297]En akauchesia meneto

\* [1298]Ex hes

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\* [1301]Episkopos episkopon

\* [1302]Episkopos eis topon theou prokathemenos,

\* [1303]Epiginosko ton prototokon tou Satana

\* [1304]Epistolas

\* [1305]Eucharistountas ainein to mono Patri kai Huio

\* [1306]Hebdomas megale

\* [1307]Helkesaitai

\* [1308]Hepistole Barnaba.

\* [1309]Hermias

\* [1310]Hermeias

\* [1311]Hekthesis tes pisteos kata apokalupsin

\* [1312]Eklogai

\* [1313]Elenchos kai anatrope tes pseudonumou gnoseos

\* [1314]Exorkistai,

\* [1315]eos

\* [1316]he aletheia

\* [1317]he ano dunamis ,

\* [1318]he ekklesia

\* [1319]he epiphaneia, ta epiphania, he theophaneia, hemera ton

photon

\* [1320]he hemera kuriake

\* [1321]he Dunamis tou theou he Megale

\* [1322]he hairesis he katholike, he hagiotate hairesis

\* [1323]he graphe, hai graphai

\* [1324]he zoe

\* [1325]he kakia

\* [1326]he kleis

\* [1327]he mia

\* [1328]he monas platuntheisa gegone trias

\* [1329]he paraskeue

\* [1330]he patrike theotes.

\* [1331]he sige

\* [1332]he ton praxeon ton apostolon graphe

\* [1333]hegoumenoi

\* [1334]hemera

\* [1335]hemera staurou, paraskeue megale

\* [1336]hemera tou heliou,

\* [1337]hemas

\* [1338]hemas tauta

\* [1339]hemas ,

\* [1340]hemin

\* [1341]hemeis

\* [1342]e Matthaios, e tis heteros ton tou kuriou matheton, ha te

Aristion kai ho presbuteros Ioannes, hoi tou kuriou

\* [1343]e ti Philippos e ti thomas e Iakobos e ti Ioannes

\* [1344]e kai peri tou pantos

\* [1345]hen tines athetousin

\* [1346]hethos pikron, skuthroton

\* [1347]Elchassai

\* [1348]He ekklesia tou theou, he paroikousa Rhomen te ekklesia tou

theou, te paroikouse Korinthon.

\* [1349]He kato sophia, Achamoth

\* [1350]Hemera genethlios, genethlia

\* [1351]Ede de kai nekroi egerthsan kai paremeinon sun hemin hikanois

hetesi

\* [1352]idia theotes

\* [1353]idia ousias perigraphe

\* [1354]idou, ho anthropos hosei lura, kago ephiptamai hosei

plektron, ho anthropos koimatai, kago gregoro, idou, kurios estin

ho existanon kardias anthropon kai didous kardian anthropois .

\* [1355]ichthun

\* [1356]ichthus

\* [1357]hiera tetraktus

\* [1358]hiereus

\* [1359]Iasonos kai Papiskou antilogia peri Ch ristou.

\* [1360]IChthUS

\* [1361]Ignatios ho kai theophoros

\* [1362]Iesous

\* [1363]Ichthuos a

\* [1364]Ioannou men akoustes, Polukarpou de hetairos

\* [1365]I-esous Ch-ristos Th-eou U-hios S-oter.

\* [1366]Hiasonos kai Papiskou antilogia peri Christou

\* [1367]IChThPsS

\* [1368]onomata, prosopa

\* [1369]onolatreia

\* [1370]opsarion

\* [1371]opsarion kai arton

\* [1372]ho a'no Christos.

\* [1373]ho anthropos

\* [1374]ho ano Christos

\* [1375]ho epi to stethos tou kuriou anapeson

\* [1376]ho entos thusiasteion on katharos estin ho de ektos

thusiasteriou on ou katharos estin; toutestin, ho choris episkopou

kai presbuteriou kai diakonou prasson ti, outos ou katharos estin

te suneidesei.

\* [1377]ho Epiphanes

\* [1378]ho Hephelos

\* [1379]ho Iakobsonios

\* [1380]ho Hilgempheldos

\* [1381]ho Giselerios

\* [1382]ho Gittenos

\* [1383]ho Dresselios

\* [1384]ho Neandros

\* [1385]ho Oulchornios en te

\* [1386]ho Reithmauros

\* [1387]ho Slimannos

\* [1388]ho Souegleros

\* [1389]ho Sroikchios

\* [1390]ho gar Theos hemon Iesous ho Christos ekuophorethe hupo

Marias

\* [1391]ho de dikaios te heautou pistei zesei.

\* [1392]ho de dikaios te heautou pistei zesei.

\* [1393]ho de dikaios te heautou pisteosmouzesetai.

\* [1394]ho de dikaios te eautou pistei zesei.

\* [1395]ho theirsios

\* [1396]ho theos eis esti

\* [1397]ho theos

\* [1398]ho kato Christos

\* [1399]ho kurios Ies. Christos

\* [1400]ho kainos nomos dia pantos

\* [1401]ho kainos nomos tou Kuriou hemon I.Ch., aneu

\* [1402]ho logos

\* [1403]ho laikos anthropos tois laikois prostagmasin dedetai

\* [1404]ho megas Alexandreon episkopos Dionusios

\* [1405]ho monogenes huios .

\* [1406]ho monogenes

\* [1407]ho nous

\* [1408]ho ouk hon theos.

\* [1409]ho pater

\* [1410]ho peri hupakoes pisteos aistheterion

\* [1411]ho presbuteros

\* [1412]ho presbuteros Ioannes

\* [1413]ho toioutos, rhuparos genomenos, eis to pur to asbeston

choresei-i.-i

\* [1414]ho philos tou numphiou

\* [1415]hoia ten hikanoteran archaioteta

\* [1416]homilia Hippol. eis hairesin Noetou tinos

\* [1417]homologoumena

\* [1418]homoousion to Patri

\* [1419]homoousios

\* [1420]homoousia

\* [1421]hos ten hamartian ex anthropon apoplunein prosetaxe

\* [1422]holos,

\* [1423]ophis

\* [1424]opson

\* [1425]hothen er'chetai krinein zontas kai nekrous

\* [1426]hopou an e Christos Iesous , ekei he katholike ekklesia

\* [1427]hopos apophene ten thusian tauten kai ton arton soma tou

Christou, kai to poterion to haima tou Chr., hina oi metalabontes

touton ton antitupon, tes apheseos ton hamartion kai zoes aioniou

tuchosin.

\* [1428]horos

\* [1429]hos kai endoxos emarturese

\* [1430]hotihotan teleuto, baptizomai, hina me hamarteso kai rhupano

to baptisma

\* [1431]Oligoi kata kairous kai sphodra euarithmetoi tethnekasi.

\* [1432]Ho Poimen

\* [1433]Ho deuteros gamos euprepes esti moiseia

\* [1434]Ho theos archen te kai teleuten kai mesa ton onton hapanton

echon.

\* [1435]Ho proestos

\* [1436]Ho timon episkopon hupo theou tetimetai; ho lathra episkopou

ti prasson to diabolo latreuei.

\* [1437]Homilia eis ten hairesin Noetou tinos

\* [1438]Homiliai.

\* [1439]Homologesis,

\* [1440]Homologetai

\* [1441]Hophianoi

\* [1442]Opou an phane ho episkopos, ekei to plethos esto, hosper a?`n

e Christos Iesous , ekei he katholike ekklesia.

\* [1443]Ho esti stratioton tagma

\* [1444]Hos

\* [1445]Hose dunamis auto

\* [1446]uraniou hag

\* [1447]humon ten epistolen

\* [1448]huper pasan hamartian anomoterous,

\* [1449]huper tou kata Ioannen

\* [1450]hupo aponoias , hos hoi Gal

\* [1451]hupo ethous

\* [1452]hupoptosis

\* [1453]hupostasis .

\* [1454]huperetai

\* [1455]hupo manias

\* [1456]hupopiptontes ,

\* [1457]hupsele kritike

\* [1458]hule

\* [1459]hule ton charismaton

\* [1460]humnos heaperinos

\* [1461]humnos heothinos

\* [1462]humnos tou luchnikou

\* [1463]humnos tou soteros Christou

\* [1464]Hupodiakonoi,

\* [1465]Hupomnemata

\* [1466]Hupomnemata ton ekklesiastikon praxeon

\* [1467]Hupotuposeis

\* [1468]Humnos tou Soteros christou.

\* [1469]hos dia puros

\* [1470]hos paronti apotassesthe Satana

\* [1471]hosek paradoseosarchaioteras

\* [1472]Okeanos anthropois aperantos kai hoi met' auton kosmoi tais

autais tagais tou despotou dieuthunontai

\* [1473]Origenes

\* [1474]Origenous philosophumena he kata pason haireeon elenchos.

\* [1475]aponomen

\* [1476]enas .

\* [1477]hades skotioteros

\* [1478]odai 'eis pasas tas graphas

\* [1479]ho he doxa, sun Patri kai hagio Pneumati, eis tous aionas ton

aionon.

\* [1480];Ton eis heauton Biblia ib

\* [1481]Aima Chr., poterion zoes

\* [1482]Biblos

\* [1483]Bios kai enkomion rhethen eis ton hagion Gregorion ton

thaumatourgon

\* [1484]Balentinos

\* [1485]Bardesanes

\* [1486]Basileides

\* [1487]Buthos

\* [1488]Gittai

\* [1489]Gonuklinontes,

\* [1490]Grammata tetupomena

\* [1491]Doketis, phantasma

\* [1492]Doxa en hupsistois theo

\* [1493]Dunamis kekallumene

\* [1494]Daimonizomenoi, energoumenoi

\* [1495]Dei katachresthai te sarki

\* [1496]Demiourgos

\* [1497]Dialogos pros Truphona Ioudaion. .

\* [1498]Diatagai ton hagion Apostolon dia Klemnetos

\* [1499]Didaskalia anatolike

\* [1500]Didache ton dodeka apostolon

\* [1501]Dorotheos

\* [1502]Eis Theos, Pater logou zontos, sophias huphestoses kai

dunameos kai charakteros aidiou, teleios teleiou gennetor, Pater

Huiou monogenou s

\* [1503]Eis martupion protreptikos logos

\* [1504]Heis Kurios, monos ek monou, theos ek theou, charakter kai

eikon te s theotetos, logos energos, sophia te s ton holon

sustaseos periektike kai dunamis te s holes ktiseos poietike, Huios

alethinos alethinou Patros, aoratos aoratou kai aphthartos

aphthartou kai athanatos athanatou kai aidios aidiou

\* [1505]Eugeneis

\* [1506]Euchas pempomen

\* [1507]Euche kai anagnosis

\* [1508]Eucharistethentos artou

\* [1509]Ekeinon te

\* [1510]Ermeiou philosophou Diasurmos ton exo philosophon

\* [1511]IOUSTINOU TOPs philosophou kai marturos Epistole pros

Diogneton, kai Logos pros Hellenas

\* [1512]Kerinthos

\* [1513]Kition

\* [1514]Kai exaposteilon eph' hemas kai epi ta proskeimena dora tauta

to Pneuma sou to panagion, to kurion kai zoopoion ... hina ...

agiase kai poiese ton men arton touton soma hagion tou Christou

sou, kai to poterion touto aima timion tou Chr. sou, hina genetai

pasi tois ex hauton metalambanousin eis haphesin hamartion kai eis

zoen aionion, eis hagiasmon psuchon kai somaton, eis kartophorian

ergon agathon

\* [1515]Kai hen Pneuma Hagion, ek theou ten huparxin echon, kai di'

Uiou pephenos [delade toi s anthropois], eikon tou Uiou teleiou

teleia, zoe, zonton aitia, pege hagia, hagiotes, hagiasmou

choregos; en o phaneroutai theos ho Pater ho epi panton kai en pasi

kai theos o Uios ho dia panton; trias teleia, doxe kai aidioteti

kai basileia me merizomene mede apallotrioumene.

\* [1516]Kai eis Hagion Pneuma

\* [1517]Kai eis Christon Iesoun, ton huion autou ton monogene, ton

kurion hemon,

\* [1518]Katharoi

\* [1519]Kanones ekklesiastikoi ton hag. Apostolon

\* [1520]Karchedon

\* [1521]Kata Kelsou

\* [1522]Kata Christianon logoi

\* [1523]Katecheseis

\* [1524]Katecheseis photizomenon

\* [1525]Katechetai

\* [1526]Katechoumenoi, akroatai

\* [1527]Kaianistai

\* [1528]Kaianoi

\* [1529]Kainoi

\* [1530]Kestoi

\* [1531]Kerugmata Petrou

\* [1532]Klementos ton Petrou epidemion kerugmaton epitome

\* [1533]Klementos ton Petrou epidemion kerugmaton epitome

\* [1534]Klemens

\* [1535]Klem. episk. Rhomes peri ton praxeon epidemion te kai

kerugmaton Petrou epitome

\* [1536]Kleros,

\* [1537]Koimeteria

\* [1538]Koinos artos

\* [1539]Koinonia ton eleutheron

\* [1540]Korinthia kore

\* [1541]Kurillos

\* [1542]Kuriake kuriou

\* [1543]Konstan'tinos ho Tisendorphios

\* [1544]Logion andra

\* [1545]Logoi philaletheis pros Christianous

\* [1546]Logos asarkos .

\* [1547]Logos endiathetos

\* [1548]Logos gnoseos , logos sophias ,

\* [1549]Logos pros Hellenas

\* [1550]Logos protreptikos pros Hellenas

\* [1551]Logos prophorikos .

\* [1552]Laos, laikoi

\* [1553]Leitourgia ton katechoumenon

\* [1554]Leitourgia ton piston

\* [1555]Leonides

\* [1556]Logion kuriskon exegesis,

\* [1557]Manes, Mantos Manichaios,

\* [1558]Markou Antoninou tou autokratoros ton eis heauton biblia ib'

\* [1559]Martures,

\* [1560]Mechris enchorei

\* [1561]Me kata psilen parataxin, hos hoi Christianoi, halla

lelogismenos kai semnos kai, hoste kai allon p eisai atragodos

\* [1562]Me tis ton katechoumenon, me tis ton akroomenon, me tis

apiston, me tis heterodoxon

\* [1563]Muetoi

\* [1564]Makarioi hoi enkrateis, hoti autois lalesei ho theos makarioi

hoi echontes gunaikas hos me hechontes, hoti autoi kleronomesousi

ton theon makaria ta somata ton parthenon, hoti auta euarestesousin

to Theo kai ouk apolesousin ton misthon tes hagneias auton

\* [1565]Marturrion tou hagiou hieromarturos Ignatiou tou theophorou

\* [1566]Megala stoicheia

\* [1567]Methodiou episkopou kai marturos ta heuriskomena panta

\* [1568]Muriobiblion, he bibliotheke

\* [1569]Nous, logos , sophia, dunamis, aletheia, zoe

\* [1570]Noouatos

\* [1571]Noouatianos

\* [1572]Xerophagiai

\* [1573]Oidipodeioi mixeis

\* [1574]Hoi O

\* [1575]Hoi apostoloi hemon egnosan dia tou kuriouhemon Iesou

Christou hoti eris estai epi tou onomatos tes episkopes . Dia

tauten ou'n ten aitian prognosin eilephotes teleian katestesan tous

proeiremenous kai metaxu epinomen

\* [1576]Hoi polloi

\* [1577]Ou dunasai aph' hemon anachoresai Meth' hemon koimethese hos

adelphos , kai ouch' hos aner hemeteros gar adelphos ei; Kai tou

loipou mellomen meta sou katoikein, lian gar se agapomen

\* [1578]Oualentinos

\* [1579]Oute oun ktiston ti e doulon en te triadi, oute epeisakton,

hos proteron men ouch huparchon, husteron de epeiselthon; oute oun

enelipe pote Huios Patri, oute Huio Pneuma alla atreptos kai

analloiotos he aute trias aei.

\* [1580]Houtos sunermostai to episkopo. hos chordai kithara

\* [1581]Panther

\* [1582]Pantes hoi theoi ton ethnon daimonia

\* [1583]Paroikoi, parepidemoi

\* [1584]Paroikos

\* [1585]Patekios

\* [1586]Pothen to kakon,

\* [1587]Pur katharsion

\* [1588]Paidagogos

\* [1589]Pamphilou tou marturos huphegetes

\* [1590]Panarion

\* [1591]Pannuchides,

\* [1592]Pentekoste

\* [1593]Peri archon

\* [1594]Peri ogdoados

\* [1595]Peri autexousiou

\* [1596]Peri heimarmenes

\* [1597]Peri euches

\* [1598]Peri th'eou, kai sarkos anastaseos

\* [1599]Peri kuriakes logos

\* [1600]Peri marturiou

\* [1601]Peri monarchias he peri tou me heinai ton Theon poieten

kakon.

\* [1602]Peri parthe

\* [1603]Peri schismatos

\* [1604]Peri tes ek logion philosophias.

\* [1605]Peri tes Peregrinou teleutes

\* [1606]Peri tes sarkoseos tou theou logou,

\* [1607]Peri tes tou pantos aitias

\* [1608]Peri ton geneton

\* [1609]Peri tou agathou, kai pothen to kakon

\* [1610]Peri tou pantos

\* [1611]Peri tou soteros hemon Iesou Christou kai peri antichristou

\* [1612]Peri charismaton

\* [1613]Peri charismaton apostolike paradosis

\* [1614]Periodoi Petrou dia Klementos,

\* [1615]Peumatikoi.

\* [1616]Pisteuo eis theon pantakratora

\* [1617]Ploutarchou tou Chaironeos ta Ethika

\* [1618]Pneuma

\* [1619]Pneuma ... to lalesan dia ton propheton,

\* [1620]Poikilon ti kai polupathes kakon tameion thesaurisma, hos

phesi Demokritos

\* [1621]Poimen horasis

\* [1622]Politika parangelmata

\* [1623]Pros tous gnostikous

\* [1624]Pros Hellenas

\* [1625]Pros tauten gar ten ekklesian dia ten hikanoteran proteian

sumbainein

\* [1626]Prosklausis

\* [1627]Presbuteroi epi tes metanoias,

\* [1628]Presbeia

\* [1629]Probole

\* [1630]Prokathemene tes agapes ,

\* [1631]Prosklaiontes

\* [1632]Prosphora, thusia

\* [1633]Prosphora.

\* [1634]S

\* [1635]Sardis

\* [1636]Simona men tina Samarea, ton apo komes legomenes Gitton

\* [1637]Sueudokases tes ekklesias pases ,

\* [1638]Summachos

\* [1639]Soma Christou

\* [1640]Sampsaioi

\* [1641]Semeioseis, scholia

\* [1642]SmikrosLaburinthos

\* [1643]Sophia

\* [1644]Stomion polon adaon

\* [1645]Stromateis,

\* [1646]Sungammata

\* [1647]Sumposion ton deka parthenon

\* [1648]Sunodikon

\* [1649]Sunistamenoi,

\* [1650]Sphragis, chrisma

\* [1651]Somatikoi, phusikoi, sarkikoi, hulikoi

\* [1652]Ta antitupa musteria tou timiou somatos autou kai haimatos

\* [1653]Ta hexapla

\* [1654]Ta Klementia

\* [1655]Tas kakotechnias pheuge,

\* [1656]Taphos, desmos

\* [1657]Ten de tou heliou hemeran koine pantes ten suneleusin

poioumetha, epeide prote estin hemera, en he ho theos to skotos kai

ten hulen trepsas , kosmon epoiese, kai Iesous Christos ho

hemeteros soter te aute hemera ek nekron aneste. k.t.l.

\* [1658]Ten theian triada eis hena hosper eis koruphen tina

\* [1659]Ten nouthesian kai paraklesin.

\* [1660]Timios ho gamos en pasi, kai koite amiantos

\* [1661]Tis ho sozomenos plousios

\* [1662]Tis ho sozomenos plousios.

\* [1663]To Hebraikon Hellenikoisgrammasin

\* [1664]To Ebraikon

\* [1665]To dia tessaron

\* [1666]To mega sabbaton, to hagion sabbaton

\* [1667]To soma mikron kai duseides kai agenes e'n

\* [1668]Ton oun episkopon delon hoti hos auton ton kurion dei

problepein.

\* [1669]Tomoi

\* [1670]Topos,

\* [1671]Tapeinos. tapeinophron,tapeinotes, tapeinophrosune

\* [1672]Tessareskaidekatitai

\* [1673]Tou en hagiois patros hemon Klementos episkopou Rhomes ai duo

pros Karinthious epistolai

\* [1674]Trapeza

\* [1675]Phos hilaron hagias doches

\* [1676]Chariti este sesosmenoi ouk ex ergon, alla thelemati theou,

dia Iesou Christou,

\* [1677]Chalkenteros

\* [1678]Cheirotonesate heautois episkopous kai diakonous

\* [1679]Christos

\* [1680]Christianoi heinai kategoroumetha; to de chreston miseisthai

ou dikaion

\* [1681]Christophoroi, theophoroi

\* [1682]Chronikon

\* [1683]Pshion

\* [1684]Psaltai

\* [1685]Pseudonumos gnosis

\* [1686]Psuchikoi.

\* [1687]a

\* [1688]aionios

\* [1689]hai Sar'deis

\* [1690]haireomai

\* [1691]haireseis apoleias

\* [1692]haireo

\* [1693]hairetikos anthropos

\* [1694]aithrion

\* [1695]hairesis

\* [1696]haima kai sarkes kata metabolen trephontai hemon,

\* [1697]aule basilike

\* [1698]aule

\* [1699]autotheos

\* [1700]autokratori

\* [1701]autosophia, autoaletheia, autodikaiosune, autodunamis,

autologos

\* [1702]aionian kolasin

\* [1703]ai

\* [1704]almous

\* [1705]archisunagogos

\* [1706]b

\* [1707]baptisma dia puros

\* [1708]barbaron dialekton

\* [1709]biblos

\* [1710]bema

\* [1711]basileios oikos

\* [1712]bdeluria

\* [1713]bebaiotaten kai archaian

\* [1714]biblia

\* [1715]biblidion

\* [1716]biblion dialexeon diaphoron

\* [1717]biblis

\* [1718]biblidarion

\* [1719]blepete tous kunas ... tes katatomes

\* [1720]blasphemon diaballei ten demiourgian

\* [1721]buthos,

\* [1722]gaza

\* [1723]genos

\* [1724]gonu klinon

\* [1725]gazophulakion

\* [1726]ngastrimuthon

\* [1727]gegonenai theon ex anthropou

\* [1728]gennan, gennasthai-i.-i

\* [1729]genom

\* [1730]genomenas

\* [1731]genserikos

\* [1732]ginomenas,

\* [1733]gnome

\* [1734]gnosei

\* [1735]gnois

\* [1736]gnomai Sextou

\* [1737]gnosis

\* [1738]gnosis alethine

\* [1739]gonuklinontes

\* [1740]grammata tetupomena

\* [1741]graphas

\* [1742]gunaika

\* [1743]gunaikes suneisaktoi,

\* [1744]ditheoi

\* [1745]doxan perissoteran

\* [1746]dunamis

\* [1747]dunamis asarkos

\* [1748]duo en Epheso genesthai mnemata, kai ekateron Ioannou eti nun

legesthai

\* [1749]deuterai diataxeis

\* [1750]deuterai ton apostolon diataxeis

\* [1751]deuteros theos-i, -i

\* [1752]dei

\* [1753]dekato ennato hetei

\* [1754]demiourgos dikaios

\* [1755]di hou

\* [1756]dia logou

\* [1757]dia ten hemeteran soterian

\* [1758]dia to emphuton panti genei anthropon sperma tou logou

\* [1759]dialexis

\* [1760]dialexis pros Ailianon

\* [1761]di' epistoles hemon

\* [1762]di' autou panta ektise

\* [1763]diatheke

\* [1764]diakonian

\* [1765]dialegesthai

\* [1766]diatribai

\* [1767]didaxanta

\* [1768]didaxanta hemas

\* [1769]didaskaloi

\* [1770]didaskalia

\* [1771]didaskaliai daimonion

\* [1772]didaskalei ton hieron logon

\* [1773]didaskaleion

\* [1774]didache ton dodeka apostolon

\* [1775]doxazon ton Christon

\* [1776]e

\* [1777]ei phaneie

\* [1778]eikonas kataskeuazousi tou Christou legontes hupo Pilatou to

kairo ekeino genesthai

\* [1779]eirene

\* [1780]eis

\* [1781]eis hadou,

\* [1782]eis haden

\* [1783]eis hadou

\* [1784]eis paroimias

\* [1785]eis tas exo poleis

\* [1786]eis ten e

\* [1787]eis ten proten parousian tou Christou, en e kai atimos kai

aeides kai thnetos phanesesthai kekerugmenos estin

\* [1788]eis to apokatallaxai to panta

\* [1789]eis to katargesai pan to kakon

\* [1790]eis topon theou

\* [1791]eis tous ps

\* [1792]eis Rhomen

\* [1793]eige phaneie

\* [1794]eipen he graphe he legousa

\* [1795]euangeliou kai apokalupseos

\* [1796]eunouchia

\* [1797]eucharistias ,

\* [1798]eucharistia, koinonia

\* [1799]eis topon sunedriou ton apostolon

\* [1800]ekklesia

\* [1801]z

\* [1802]ze ho theos kai ze ho kurios Iesous Christos kai to pneuma

hagion, he te pistis kai he elpis ton eklekton

\* [1803]zugou anankes on

\* [1804]zoen aionion

\* [1805]zoen tou mellontos aionos

\* [1806]thorubus egeneto en pleromati

\* [1807]theanthropos

\* [1808]theon

\* [1809]theon monon proskunoumen

\* [1810]theos

\* [1811]theos agathos

\* [1812]theos agnostos

\* [1813]theos ek tes parthenou

\* [1814]theos lalon

\* [1815]theos siopon

\* [1816]theos Iesous

\* [1817]theon

\* [1818]theos

\* [1819]theos, Logos

\* [1820]theophoros

\* [1821]theion

\* [1822]theogenesis

\* [1823]theodotion

\* [1824]theopoiesis ek prokopes

\* [1825]theophilou pros Autolukon

\* [1826]theophoros-i,-i

\* [1827]thesauros atimos

\* [1828]thilosophe, Chaire

\* [1829]thronoi

\* [1830]thuesteia deipna,

\* [1831]thuroroi, puloroi

\* [1832]thusiasterion

\* [1833]id '

\* [1834]ion

\* [1835]kathedra thronos tou episkopou

\* [1836]katoikos

\* [1837]kato Christos,

\* [1838]kenoma

\* [1839]kerugma Petrou

\* [1840]kumbe

\* [1841]kai emeina

\* [1842]kai homoios ten Petrou epistolen

\* [1843]kai Pneumati hagio doxa kai nun kai eis tous mellontas aionas

\* [1844]kai kathemenon en dexia tou patros,

\* [1845]kai peri hallon tinon mikra schontes

\* [1846]kai pros Platona

\* [1847]kai ton par' autou Huion elthonta kai didaxanta hemas tauta

kai ton ton allon hepomenon kai exomoioumenon agathon angelon

straton, Pneuma te to prophetikon sebometha kai proskunoumen.

\* [1848]kai te trite hemera anastanta ek ton nekron,

\* [1849]kai

\* [1850]kathos phesin

\* [1851]katharisas autous to so loutro kai aleipsas autous to so

eleio apo tes periechouses autous planes

\* [1852]kainourgein

\* [1853]kakotechnous

\* [1854]kakotechnias .

\* [1855]kanon tes pisteos,

\* [1856]kanon tes pisteos

\* [1857]kata 'ta en to pinaki

\* [1858]kata Kelsou

\* [1859]kata dunamin

\* [1860]kata meros pistis

\* [1861]kata ten paradosin hen parelabete par' hemon

\* [1862]kata tou Paulou tou Samosateos,

\* [1863]kata

\* [1864]katebesan oun met' auton eis to hudor kai palin anebesan

\* [1865]kat' autous

\* [1866]katabaino, katakeimai, katapempo

\* [1867]katakumbion

\* [1868]kategnomenos

\* [1869]katecheo

\* [1870]katechethes

\* [1871]katechemenos

\* [1872]katechetika biblia

\* [1873]keraunophoros

\* [1874]kl'ine

\* [1875]kleroi

\* [1876]kleis

\* [1877]klerikoi

\* [1878]kleronomia

\* [1879]klinikoi

\* [1880]koimao

\* [1881]koimatai en eirene

\* [1882]koimethosin

\* [1883]koimeteria

\* [1884]koimeterion

\* [1885]koinonika

\* [1886]kratistos

\* [1887]ktiseis, archai, dunameis , exousiai

\* [1888]ktisma

\* [1889]kumbion

\* [1890]kuroo

\* [1891]kuriake, kuriakon

\* [1892]kurieuein

\* [1893]kuroteon

\* [1894]logia

\* [1895]logos asarkos

\* [1896]logos endiathetos

\* [1897]logos ensarkos .

\* [1898]logos kata Areiou k. Sabelliou

\* [1899]logos parainetikos pros Hellenas .

\* [1900]logos peri tes enanthropeseos tou logou.

\* [1901]logos pros Hellenas.

\* [1902]logos prophorikos .

\* [1903]logos,

\* [1904]logos.

\* [1905]lukoi bareis

\* [1906]laikos anthropos

\* [1907]leitourgia

\* [1908]litourgia

\* [1909]logiotatos

\* [1910]logikoteron

\* [1911]loutron palingenesias ,

\* [1912]mele

\* [1913]me on

\* [1914]me terein

\* [1915]me me basanises .

\* [1916]mia sabbaton,

\* [1917]mone philosophia asphales te kai sumphoros-i,-i

\* [1918]muesis

\* [1919]mathetai, legousin

\* [1920]met' auton ten nukta kai ekoimethen para ton purgon. Estrosan

de ai parthenoi tous linous chitonas eauton chamai, kai eme

aneklinan eis to meson auton, kai ouden holos epoioun ei me

proseuchonto; Kago met auton adialeiptos proseuchomen

\* [1921]metabole'

\* [1922]metropolites Serron

\* [1923]metropoleis

\* [1924]metropolitai

\* [1925]mias gunaikos andris

\* [1926]mikron laburinthon

\* [1927]mimetes ei'nai tou pathos tou Theou mou,

\* [1928]mimetike

\* [1929]mneseo Pektoriou

\* [1930]moicheir

\* [1931]monarchia

\* [1932]monogenes Theos

\* [1933]monogenes theos

\* [1934]monogenes

\* [1935]monotrias , monas en tradi

\* [1936]morphai, schemata

\* [1937]mocheia

\* [1938]musterion, sumbolon, muesis, mustagogein, katharsis ,

teleiosis, photismos

\* [1939]mustagogia

\* [1940]nemo

\* [1941]nias

\* [1942]notha

\* [1943]nomos

\* [1944]nekroi

\* [1945]nous, logos , phronesis, sophia, dunamis , dikaiosune,

\* [1946]x

\* [1947]xontes

\* [1948]xz '

\* [1949]oikonomia

\* [1950]oikonomias

\* [1951]hoi adelphoi t. Kuriou

\* [1952]hoi ek paidon ematheteuthesan to Christo

\* [1953]hoi loipoi ap.

\* [1954]hoi meta Logou biosantes Christianoi eisi, kan atheoi

enomisthesan, oion en Hellesi Sokrates kai Herakleitos kai hoi

homoioi autois

\* [1955]ouk estin athanatos he psuche kath' heauten, thnete de

\* [1956]ousia

\* [1957]ousia amorphos kai akataskeuastos .

\* [1958]ousias

\* [1959]ousia, phusis

\* [1960]ouch hos didaskalos , all' hos heis ex humon

\* [1961]ousadik bemounatho ieie.

\* [1962]palin alle arche

\* [1963]panta ex ouk onton epoisen

\* [1964]panton ton hupo tou Patros dia Christou gegennemenon

\* [1965]panu geraleos

\* [1966]pases ktiseos

\* [1967]pascha

\* [1968]pascha staurosimou

\* [1969]paschein

\* [1970]pente hupomnemata

\* [1971]pente sungrammata

\* [1972]pisteos

\* [1973]pornai.

\* [1974]pan theron

\* [1975]pasan ten ekklesian

\* [1976]pur katharsion

\* [1977]pos estai Kerinthou ta kata Kerinthou legonta

\* [1978]pathetos kai atimos kai aeides

\* [1979]paidagogos

\* [1980]panspermia

\* [1981]para zoses phones kai menouses

\* [1982]para ton presbuteron

\* [1983]paradosis

\* [1984]paradosis apostolike

\* [1985]parthenoi

\* [1986]paroikia

\* [1987]par. apostolike, kanon ekklesiastikos , to archaion tes

ekklesias , sustema

\* [1988]patera

\* [1989]patrike theotos

\* [1990]per'i stephanon

\* [1991]perao,

\* [1992]peri aletheias

\* [1993]peri ensomatou theou

\* [1994]peri Christianon

\* [1995]peri biou theoretikou

\* [1996]peri kuriakes

\* [1997]peri plaseos

\* [1998]peri sarkoseos Christou

\* [1999]peri sturaka

\* [2000]peri tes epistemes

\* [2001]peri tes hules

\* [2002]peri tou me dein propheten en ekstasei lalein

\* [2003]peri tou pascha

\* [2004]peri tou pantos

\* [2005]peri phuseos ,

\* [2006]peri` sterna

\* [2007]periptera aimatos

\* [2008]peristera

\* [2009]perichoresis

\* [2010]peumatikoi

\* [2011]pege

\* [2012]pege, rhiza tes theotetos

\* [2013]pistoi

\* [2014]pleon

\* [2015]plen

\* [2016]pleroma

\* [2017]platutmos

\* [2018]pleonexia

\* [2019]pneuma hagion

\* [2020]poiema tou theou

\* [2021]poimne

\* [2022]poimenes kai didaskaloi

\* [2023]polla thelon graphein, ouch hos didaskalos .

\* [2024]poterion eulogias

\* [2025]propulon

\* [2026]pros allelous

\* [2027]pros Hellenas

\* [2028]pros Manichaious

\* [2029]pros aireseis

\* [2030]pros tous Iouda ious

\* [2031]pros Hellenas peri eusebeias, peri aletheias ,

\* [2032]prosopa

\* [2033]prosopon

\* [2034]prote helikia

\* [2035]prote helikia,

\* [2036]prote te anthropoteri paradotheisa soterios threskeia

\* [2037]proton gennema

\* [2038]presbuteroi

\* [2039]presbuteroi.

\* [2040]presbuteros

\* [2041]proerchesthai

\* [2042]proagouses

\* [2043]proballo

\* [2044]probole

\* [2045]proegoumenoi

\* [2046]propator

\* [2047]propator, proarche, autopator

\* [2048]prosechomen mepote, hos gegraptai, polloi kletoi, oligoi de

eklektoi heurethomen

\* [2049]proskunoumen

\* [2050]prospheretai

\* [2051]prospherontai thusiai

\* [2052]protera

\* [2053]protreptikos pros sebereinan

\* [2054]protoktiston

\* [2055]prototokon

\* [2056]prototokos tou theou

\* [2057]proteia

\* [2058]proteuei

\* [2059]p. anastasimou

\* [2060]r

\* [2061]rxth '

\* [2062]s

\* [2063]sun kai to hagio Pneumati

\* [2064]sun klauthmo pleioni tas euchas huper tes basileos psuches

apedidosan to theo.

\* [2065]sunchusis archike

\* [2066]suzugoi.

\* [2067]suzugos

\* [2068]sunodos

\* [2069]sustasis

\* [2070]sabbatizein

\* [2071]sabbatizein humas

\* [2072]sarkos anastasin 'zoen aionion`

\* [2073]sarkike

\* [2074]sebometha

\* [2075]sikelike melitta

\* [2076]skleron

\* [2077]soi

\* [2078]sperma

\* [2079]spermata kai archas

\* [2080]spinther

\* [2081]spoudasma kata tes Artemonos haireseos

\* [2082]stasiazein dokei, kat' autous, ta euangelia

\* [2083]stauros

\* [2084]stereoma

\* [2085]straton

\* [2086]strategon

\* [2087]sun auto

\* [2088]sunerchesthai

\* [2089]suneisaktos

\* [2090]sunetribe auton he diatheke, hina he tou egapemenou Iesou

enkatasphragisthe? eis ten kardian hemon en elpidi tes pisteos

autou.

\* [2091]sunkephalaiousthai te kai sunagesthai pasa ananke

\* [2092]sustole.

\* [2093]sphodra smikros ton noun

\* [2094]sphragis,

\* [2095]schedon epi tes hemeteras geneas,

\* [2096]soter

\* [2097]soteres

\* [2098]ta Epiphaneia

\* [2099]ta euangelika kai ta apostolika,

\* [2100]ta ourania stoicheia

\* [2101]ta peri tou

\* [2102]ta peri tou diabolou, kai tes apokalupseos Ioannou.

\* [2103]ta ton kaloumenon koimeterion apolambanein epitrepon choria

\* [2104]ta tetrapla,

\* [2105]tas allas

\* [2106]tas epistolas Ignatiou, tas pemphtheisas hemin hup' autou kai

allas... epempsamen humin

\* [2107]tas loipas

\* [2108]taxis

\* [2109]terma tes duseos

\* [2110]tetarton etos

\* [2111]ten apokalupsin Ioannou

\* [2112]ten hulen ton charism. parechon

\* [2113]ten eucharistian sarka einai tou soteros hemon L.Chr., k.t.l.

\* [2114]ten pheromenen Ioannou proteran

\* [2115]ti Andreas e ti Petros eipen

\* [2116]ti oun kakon poio

\* [2117]to en partheneia kai en eunouchia meinai

\* [2118]to hexaploun,

\* [2119]to hieron didaskaleion ton hieron mathematon

\* [2120]to Pneuma prophetikon

\* [2121]to autexousion

\* [2122]to baptisma tes eis theon anagenneseos

\* [2123]to euangelion kai ho apostolos?

\* [2124]to euangelion

\* [2125]to musterion

\* [2126]to petalon

\* [2127]to peri politeias kai propheton

\* [2128]to pneuma hagion

\* [2129]to probaton ephage

\* [2130]to terma tes duseos

\* [2131]to tes katecheseos didaskaleion

\* [2132]to tetraselidon

\* [2133]ton angelon straton

\* [2134]ton epi Pontiou Pilatou staurothenta kai taphenta

\* [2135]ton basilea mou ton sosanta me

\* [2136]ton gennethenta ek Pneumatos hagiou kai Marias te s

parthenou,

\* [2137]ton theon ton holon, ton pantokratora lego

\* [2138]ton logon tou theou ton Christon humnousi theologountes

\* [2139]ton monogene

\* [2140]ton monogene theon

\* [2141]ton huion autou

\* [2142]to pneuma to hagion... ho theos tou theou estin

\* [2143]tumbos

\* [2144]tupoi tes triados , tou theou, kai tou logou autou kai tes

sophias autou .

\* [2145]tupos

\* [2146]tes aletheias , paradosis ton apostolon

\* [2147]tes kathol. ekklesias didaskalos

\* [2148]te tou Heliou legomene hemera

\* [2149]to presbuterio

\* [2150]ton

\* [2151]ton apostolon

\* [2152]ton pneumaton ... orthodoxon

\* [2153]toOrigenei ta tes kata Christon didaskalias ek progonon

esozeto

\* [2154]tauta

\* [2155]tauta hemas

\* [2156]tachugraphoi,

\* [2157]teitan

\* [2158]teleutaios nomos kai diatheke kuriotate pason

\* [2159]tetraktun

\* [2160]tetraploun

\* [2161]terein

\* [2162]timioteron

\* [2163]tois homologoumenois

\* [2164]tou hupokeimenou

\* [2165]tou Panagiou Taphou

\* [2166]tou de Paulou prodeloi kai sapheis hai dekatessares

\* [2167]tou kaloumenou Portou

\* [2168]tou pascha

\* [2169]tom. B '. sel

\* [2170]toutestin

\* [2171]tribon, tribonion

\* [2172]treis hupostaseis

\* [2173]treis hupostaseis , tria prosopa

\* [2174]trias

\* [2175]trophes

\* [2176]huiotes

\* [2177]huiotes trimeres

\* [2178]phesi

\* [2179]philotheos pallake

\* [2180]philopatris

\* [2181]philosophos

\* [2182]philoteknos on

\* [2183]philarguria

\* [2184]phugon ton nun genomenon polemon

\* [2185]photizomenoi

\* [2186]photismos

\* [2187]photismos , photisma

\* [2188]charis

\* [2189]chilia ete

\* [2190]charis

\* [2191]cheimazontes

\* [2192]chiliontaete periodon

\* [2193]chresmoi sibulliakoi

\* [2194]chrestos

\* [2195]chorepiskopoi

\* [2196]pseudonumos gnosis

\* [2197]psuchikoi

\* [2198]o

\* [2199]. hartos

\* [2200]. Hen Konstantinopolei

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Hebrew Words and Phrases

\* [2201]'l

\* [2202]'vyrn

\* [2203]'kymvt

\* [2204]'hsk

\* [2205]v'mvntr vtsdyq

\* [2206]gvl

\* [2207]hchkmrt

\* [2208]chkmh

\* [2209]chsk

\* [2210]chsk

\* [2211]yshy vn pndyr'

\* [2212]ysk lych

\* [2213]ydsh l'

\* [2214]knvsph

\* [2215]l'sh

\* [2216]l?sh

\* [2217]lk

\* [2218]lv'sh

\* [2219]lvq

\* [2220]syshchkl'

\* [2221]rvv-tbdy

\* [2222]tvhb 'dly

\* [2223]?br'

\* [2224]shchn

\* [2225]shmsh

\* [2226],

\* [2227], product of chaos.

\* [2228], sun.

\* [2229]=apostatae

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Latin Words and Phrases

\* [2230]Credo

\* [2231]Et in

\* [2232]Sanctam Ecclesiam;

\* [2233][hujus] carnis resurrectionem.

\* [2234][passus] sub Pontio Pilato, cruicifixus, [mortuus], et

seupultus;

\* [2235]ascendit in cOElus

\* [2236]ascendit in coelos;

\* [2237]cruicifixus sub Pontio Pilato, et sepultus

\* [2238]inde venturus est judicare vivos et mortuos.

\* [2239]qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria Virgine;

\* [2240]remissionem peccatorum;

\* [2241]sedet ad dexteram Patris

\* [2242]tertia die resurrexit a mortuis

\* [2243]tertia die resurrexit a mortuis;

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of German Words and Phrases

\* [2244]" Anfang oder Mitte der achtziger Jahre des 2. Jahrh.

\* [2245]" Die potior principalitas bezeichnet den Vorrang

\* [2246]"Alter FIuch und Segen, alles Todeselend und alle

Lebensherrlichkeit, die durch dir vorchristliche Menschheit

ausgebreitet gewesen, erscheinen in dem Kreuze auf Golgatha

conrentrirt zum wundervollsten Gebilde, der religi�s sittlichen

Entwicklung unseres Geschlechtes.

\* [2247]"Der deutscheit Muse sch�nstes Distichon.

\* [2248]"Die Schule von Antiochien hatte bald den Glanz der

Alexandrinischen erreicht, ja sogar �berstrahlt. Beide konnten sich

vielfach erg�nzen, da jede ihre eigenth�mliche Entwicklung, Haltung

und Methode hatte, konnten aber auch eben wegen iherer

Verschiedenheit leicht unter sich in Kampf und auf Abwege von der

Kirchenlehre gerathen. W�hrend bei den Alexandrinern eine

speculativ-intuitive, zum Mystischen sich hinneigende Richtung

hervortrat, war bei den Antiochenern eine logisch-reflectirende,

durchaus n�chterne Verstandesrichtung vorherrschend. W�hrend jene

enge an die platonische Philosophie sich anschlossen und zwar

vorherrschend in der Gestalt, die sie unter dem hellenistischen

Juden Philo gewonnen hatte, waren die Antiochener einem zum

Stoicismus hinneigenden Eklekticismus, dann der Aristotelischen

Schule ergeben, deren scharfe Dialektik ganz ihrem Geiste zusagte.

Demgem�ss wurde in der alexandrinischen Schule, vorzugsweise die

allegorisch-mystische Erkl�rung der heiligen Schrift gepflegt, in

der Antiochenischen dagegen die buchst�bliche, grammatisch-logische

und historische Interpretation, ohne dass desshalb der mystische

Sinn und insbesondere die Typen des Alten Bundes g�nzlich in Abrede

gestellt worden w�ren. Die

\* [2249]"Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol.

\* [2250]�ber den Chronographen vom Jahr

\* [2251]'s

\* [2252]'s Leben und Schriften, Erlangen,

\* [2253]'s Leben und Schriften, p.

\* [2254]'s Lehre aus seinen Schriften entwickelt.

\* [2255]'s Lehre von der Einheit der Kirche.

\* [2256]'s Schriften

\* [2257]'s.

\* [2258]("das �lteste in lateinischer Sprache geschriebene originale

kirchliche Schriftst�ck"

\* [2259], Die Liturgie der 3 ersten Jahrh.,

\* [2260], Leben u. Lehre,

\* [2261], als Muster und Lehrer

\* [2262], wo den gest�rzten Eroberern die �usserste Tiefe

\* [2263],"

\* [2264]. Leben u. Wirken

\* [2265]. Tractat De Aleatoribus,

\* [2266]. Ueber den christl. Bilderkreis

\* [2267]1. Th. Leben und Schriften.

\* [2268]: Altchristliche Kirchen.

\* [2269]: Conciliengeschichte

\* [2270]: Conciliengeschichte,

\* [2271]: Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas, auf's Neue

untersucht und erkl�rt

\* [2272]: Denkw�rdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christlichen Lebens

\* [2273]: Der Ursprung des Gnosticismus.

\* [2274]: Die 3 �chten u. die

\* [2275]: Die Einheit der Kirche oder das Princip des Katholicismus.

\* [2276]: Die Verfolgungen der ersten christlichen Kirche.

\* [2277]: Die altkirchliche P�dagogik dargestelit

\* [2278]: Erste Liebe, d. i. Wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen nach

ihrem lebendigen Glauben und heil. Leben.

\* [2279]: Geschichte der Christlichen Sitte.

\* [2280]: Kirche im Apost. Zeitalter.

\* [2281]Abfassungszeit der Schriften

\* [2282]Alexander und Peregrinus

\* [2283]Als junger Mann,

\* [2284]Alte und neue Quellen zur Gesc. des Taufsymbols und der

Glaubensregel.

\* [2285]Alte und neue Quellen,

\* [2286]Anf�nge der christl. Kirche.

\* [2287]Anthologie christl. Ges�nge,

\* [2288]Antignosticus oder Geist aus

\* [2289]Antignosticus, Geist des

\* [2290]Antitrinitarier

\* [2291]Antoninus als Freund und Zeitgenosse les Rabbi Jehuda ha-Nasi

\* [2292]Apollonius von Tyana u. Christus

\* [2293]Archaeologische Studien ueber altchristliche Monumente. Mit

26 Holzschnitten

\* [2294]Auferstehungsgedanken

\* [2295]Auferstehungshoffnungen

\* [2296]Aus dem Urchristenthum

\* [2297]Bardesanes, der letzte Gnostiker.

\* [2298]Bei den Griechen tritt das Laster der Paederastie mit allen

symptomen einer grossen nationalen Krankheit, gleichsam eines

ethischen Miasma auf; es zeigt. sich als ein Gef�hl, das st�rker

and heftiger wirkte, als die Weiberliebe bei andern V�lkern,

massloser, leidenschaftlicher in seinem Ausbr�chen war ... In der

ganzen Literatur der vorchristlichen Periode ist kaum ein

Schriftsteller zu finden, der sich entschieden dagegen erkl�rt

h�tte. Vielmehr war die ganze Gesellschaft davon angesteckt, und

man athmete das Miama, so zu sagen, mit der Luft ein

\* [2299]Beitr�ge zur Einleitung in die bibl. Schriften.

\* [2300]Beitr�ge zur Kirchengesch.

\* [2301]Beleuchtung der

\* [2302]Bibl. der Symb.,

\* [2303]Bibl. der Symbole der alten Kirche,

\* [2304]Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literatur der

Griechen,

\* [2305]Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der

apostolischkatholischen

\* [2306]Biblische Eschatologie des Alten Testaments

\* [2307]Bisch�fe bis Tyrannus

\* [2308]Blutampullen,

\* [2309]Bonner Zeitschrift f�r Philos. und kath. Theol.

\* [2310]Celsus und seine Schriften gegen die Christen

\* [2311]Cerdon und Marcion

\* [2312]Charakteristik Lucians

\* [2313]Christenthum Justins des M�rt

\* [2314]Christenverfolgungen

\* [2315]Christi

\* [2316]Christi Person und Werk im Hirten des Hermas.

\* [2317]Christl. Kunstsymbolik u. Ikonographie

\* [2318]Christologie

\* [2319]Christologie,

\* [2320]Christologie.

\* [2321]Chronologie der Aegypter

\* [2322]Chronologie der R�m. Bisch�fe bis zur Mitte des 4ten Jahrh.

\* [2323]Chronologie der R�m. Bisch�fe,

\* [2324]Chronologie der r�m. Bisch�fe,

\* [2325]Clem. v. Alex. als Philosoph und Dichter.

\* [2326]Clemens v. Alex. in s. Abh�ngigkeit von der griech.

Philosophie.

\* [2327]Compendium der christl. Dogmengeschichte

\* [2328]Conciliengesch

\* [2329]Conciliengesch,

\* [2330]Conciliengesch.

\* [2331]Conciliengesch.,

\* [2332]Conciliengeschichte

\* [2333]Conciliengeschichte,

\* [2334]Constantin der Gr. als Religionspolitiker.

\* [2335]Constantin der Grosse und die Kirche.

\* [2336]D. Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums

\* [2337]Das Apost. u. nachapost. Zeitalter.

\* [2338]Das Basilidianische System.

\* [2339]Das Christenthum Justins

\* [2340]Das Christenthum Justins d. M

\* [2341]Das Christenthum Justins des M�rt.

\* [2342]Das Christenthum Justins des M�rtyrers.

\* [2343]Das Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrh

\* [2344]Das Christenthum der 3 ersten Jahrh.

\* [2345]Das Christliche im Plato

\* [2346]Das Evangelium Marcions, Text und Kritik

\* [2347]Das Kirchenjahr

\* [2348]Das Kreuz Christi. Religionshistorische und kirchlich

archaeologische Untersuchungen.

\* [2349]Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung, Eine antiquarische

Untersuchung.

\* [2350]Das M�nchthum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte.

\* [2351]Das Manichaeische Religionssystem nach den Quellen neu

untersucht und entwickelt.

\* [2352]Das Martyrium Polykarp's und dessen Chronologie

\* [2353]Das Martyrium des Polyk

\* [2354]Das Murator. Fragment

\* [2355]Das N. Test. um das jahr 200

\* [2356]Das Neue Testament

\* [2357]Das Papiasfragment,

\* [2358]Das Papiasfragment, 1875

\* [2359]Das Spott-Crucifix der r�mischen Kaiserpal�ste aus dem Anfang

des dritten Jahrh

\* [2360]Das Symbol d. Fisches u. d. Fischdemkm�ler

\* [2361]Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei alten Nationen und die Entstehung

des Kreuzsymbols der christlichen Kirche.

\* [2362]Das System des Manich�isimus und sein Verh. zum Buddhismus.

\* [2363]Das Todesjahr des

\* [2364]Das Verh�ltniss der Moral des classischen Alterthums zur

christlichen, beleuchtet durch vergleichende Er�rterung der Lehre

von der Feindesliebe

\* [2365]Das Verh�ltniss der syrischen Recension der Ignatian. Br. zu

der k�rzeren griechischen.

\* [2366]Das Wesen des

\* [2367]Das Wesen des Montanismus nach den neusten Forschungen

\* [2368]Das christl. Kirchenjahr

\* [2369]Das christl. M�rtyrerthum

\* [2370]Das christl. M�rtyrerthum in den ersten Jahrhunderten

\* [2371]Das ersten Concil von Arles

\* [2372]Das evangel. Kirchenjahr

\* [2373]Das n. T. Tertull.

\* [2374]Das nacha postolische Zeitalter,

\* [2375]Das tausendj�hrige Reich.

\* [2376]Dasein

\* [2377]De Hippolyti vita et scriptis

\* [2378]Dem

\* [2379]Denkschrift zur Aufhebunq des C�libats.

\* [2380]Denkw�rdigkeiten,

\* [2381]Der Act wird durch Untertauchen vollzogen

\* [2382]Der Apostel Barnabas. Sein Leben und der ihm beigelegte Brief

wissenschaftlich gew�rdigt

\* [2383]Der Barnabasbrief kritisch untersucht

\* [2384]Der Brief an Diognet.

\* [2385]Der Brief an Diognetos

\* [2386]Der Brief des Jul. Africanus an Aristides kritisch untersucht

und hergestellt.

\* [2387]Der Brief des r�m. Clemens an die Kor.,

\* [2388]Der C�libatszwang und, lessen Aufhebung.

\* [2389]Der Chiliasmus. Eine historisch exeget. Studie

\* [2390]Der Christliche Cultus

\* [2391]Der Cod. Vatic. 'Contra No�tum' ist der Schluss nicht jener

k�rzeren H�reseologie, sondern einer anderen, von Epiphanius noch

vorgefundenen Schrift desselben Hippolyt, wie es scheint, gegen

alle Monarchianer

\* [2392]Der Evanqelien-commentar des Theophilus von Antiochien.

\* [2393]Der Fall des Heidenthums

\* [2394]Der Glaube der Kirche der drei ersten Jahrh. in Betreff der

Trinitaet,

\* [2395]Der Gnosticismus, sein Wesen, Ursprung und Entwicklungsgang.

\* [2396]Der Hirt des Hermas.

\* [2397]Der Hirt des Hermas. Nach Ursprung und Inhalt untersucht.

\* [2398]Der Hirte der Hermas.

\* [2399]Der Hirte des Hermas.

\* [2400]Der Judische Krieg unter Trajan u. Hadrian

\* [2401]Der Kaiser Diocletian.

\* [2402]Der Kampf des Christenthums mit dem Heidenthum

\* [2403]Der Kampf mit dem Heidthum.

\* [2404]Der Kern der Sage ist niches als ein vollst�ndig ausgef�hrtes

Zerrbild des Heidenapostels, dessen Z�ge bis in's einzelne hinein

die Person, die Lehre, und die Lebenschicksale des Paulus

persifliren sollen

\* [2405]Der Kirchl. Standpunkt des Heg

\* [2406]Der Logos ist vorweltlich, aber nicht ewig.

\* [2407]Der Montanismus und die christl. Kirche des

\* [2408]Der Paschastreit der alten Kirche nach seiner Bedeutung f�r

die Kirchengesch. und f�r die Evangelienforschung urkundlich

dargestellt.

\* [2409]Der Paschastreit und das Evang. Johannis

\* [2410]Der Primal Des Papstes in allen Christlichen Jahrhunderten,

\* [2411]Der Uebertritt Constantins des Gr. zum Christenthum.

\* [2412]Der Unsterblichkeitsglaube

\* [2413]Der Ursprung des Briefes an Diognet

\* [2414]Der Verfasser der Schrift., welche d. Titel "Hirt" f�hrt.

\* [2415]Der griech.

\* [2416]Der griechische Text ist als das Original zu betrachten;

griechisch wurde das Symbol zu Rom eine lange Zeit hindurch

ausschliesslich tradirt. Dann trat der lateinisch �bersetzte Text

als Parallelform hinzu

\* [2417]Der h.

\* [2418]Der heil.

\* [2419]Der pseudo-

\* [2420]Der theolog. Ertrag der Katakombenforschung

\* [2421]Des heil.

\* [2422]Des heil. Hippolyt von Rom. Commentar zum B. Daniel

\* [2423]Deutsche Jahrb�cher f�r Wissenschaft und Kunst

\* [2424]Deutsche Mythol.

\* [2425]Die Acta Archelai et Manetis untersucht,

\* [2426]Die Acta Archelai und das Diatessaron

\* [2427]Die Akten, des Karpus, des Papylus und der Agathonike,

untersucht von

\* [2428]Die Anf�nge der christl. Kirche.

\* [2429]Die Ansichten der Alten �ber Leben, Tod und Unsterblichkeit

\* [2430]Die Antioch. Schule

\* [2431]Die Ap. Gesch. u. der M. Just.

\* [2432]Die Ap. V�ter,

\* [2433]Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden

\* [2434]Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostelligenden

\* [2435]Die Apost. V�ter.

\* [2436]Die Apostellehre und die j�dischen beiden Wege,

\* [2437]Die B�cke, auf welcher di urspr�nglich monarchianisch

gesinnten r�mischen Crhisten, dem Zuge der Zeit und der

kirchtichen,WIssenschaft folgend, zur Anerkennung der Hypostasen-

Christologie �bergegangen sind.

\* [2438]Die Bedeutung der antioch. Schule

\* [2439]Die Bedeutung des Clem. Alex. f�r die Entstehung der Theol.

\* [2440]Die Blutampullen der R�m

\* [2441]Die Briefe des heil. Ign. und sein Martyrium

\* [2442]Die Bussdisciplin der Kirche bis

\* [2443]Die Christen im heidnischen Hause vor Constantin

\* [2444]Die Christenverfolgungen der C�saren, Hist. und chronol.

untersucht.

\* [2445]Die Christenverfolgungen der Caesaren

\* [2446]Die Christl. Passafeier der drei ersten Jahrh.

\* [2447]Die Christliche Kirche an der Schwelle des Irenaeischen

Zeitalters.

\* [2448]Die Christologie des

\* [2449]Die Christologie des heil.

\* [2450]Die Clementinen nebst den verwandten Schriften, u. der

Ebionitismus.

\* [2451]Die Clementinen u. der Ebionitismus,

\* [2452]Die Clementinen und ihr Verh. z. Unfehlbarkeitsdogma

\* [2453]Die Clementinischen Recognitionem n. Homilien nach ihrem

Urspr�ng n. Inhalt.

\* [2454]Die Clementinischen Schriften mit besonderer R�cksicht auf

ihr liter. Verh�ltniss.

\* [2455]Die Colarbasus-Gnosis,

\* [2456]Die Darstellung Jesu Christi unter dem Bilde des Fisches auf

den Monumenten der Kirche der Katakomben, erl�utert

\* [2457]Die Echtheit der Ignatianischen Briefe.

\* [2458]Die Einf�hrung der erzwungenen Ehelosigkeit bei den

Geistlichen u. ihre Folgen.

\* [2459]Die Einheit des Pastor Hermae.

\* [2460]Die Einwendungen, die qeqen den Bericht, vorgebracht wurden,

sind v�llig nichtig

\* [2461]Die Entstehung der alt-katholischen Kirche

\* [2462]Die Entstehung der altkath. Kirche

\* [2463]Die Eschatol. d.

\* [2464]Die Ethik des Clemens v. Alex.

\* [2465]Die Geschichte des Montanismus

\* [2466]Die Glossolalie in der alten Kirche

\* [2467]Die Gnosis nach ihrer Tendenz und Organisation. Breslau,

\* [2468]Die Grunds�tze u. Mittel der Wortbildung bei

\* [2469]Die Heldenzeiten des Christenthums.

\* [2470]Die Homilien n. Recognitionem des Clemens Romanus.

\* [2471]Die Ignatianischen Briefe u. ihr neuster Kritiker.

\* [2472]Die Inschriften der r�mischen C�meterien

\* [2473]Die K. G. der 3 ersten Jahrh.

\* [2474]Die Katacomben

\* [2475]Die Katacomben,

\* [2476]Die Katak.

\* [2477]Die Katak.,

\* [2478]Die Katakomben

\* [2479]Die Katakomben von San Gennaro dei Poveri in Neapel

\* [2480]Die Katechumenats-classen des christl. Alterthums

\* [2481]Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums

\* [2482]Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen, oder die K. G. in

Biographien.

\* [2483]Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen,

\* [2484]Die Kirchengesch. in Biographien.

\* [2485]Die Kirchengeschichte von Spanien

\* [2486]Die Kirchl. Lehre von d. Tradition u. heil. Schrift in ihrer

Entwicketung dargestellt.

\* [2487]Die Lehre der �ltesten Kirche vom Opfer im Leben und Cultus

der Christen.

\* [2488]Die Lehre der Kirche vom Tode Jesu in den drei ersten Jahrh

\* [2489]Die Lehre der Zw�lf Apostel.

\* [2490]Die Lehre des heil.

\* [2491]Die Lehre vom heil. Geiste

\* [2492]Die Lehre von der Trinitaet in ihrer Hist. Entwicklung.

\* [2493]Die Marienbilder der altchristl. Kunst,

\* [2494]Die Marienverehrung

\* [2495]Die Oratio des

\* [2496]Die Paschastreitigkeiten des 2ten

\* [2497]Die Ph�nizier

\* [2498]Die Philosophie der Kirchenv�ter

\* [2499]Die Philosophie des Plotin

\* [2500]Die Philosophumena und die Peraten,

\* [2501]Die Predigt Jesu Christi in ihrem Verh�ltniss zum Altem

Testament und zum Judenthum

\* [2502]Die Quellen der �Itesten Ketzergeschichte.

\* [2503]Die Quellen der �ltesten Ketzergeschichte

\* [2504]Die Quellen der �ltesten Letzergeschichte

\* [2505]Die Quellen der r�mischen Petrus-Sage kritish untersucht.

\* [2506]Die R�m. Katakomben

\* [2507]Die Schlange ist mit EinemWort der durch die Gegens�tze

dialectisch sich hindurchwindende Weltentwicklungsprocess relbst.

\* [2508]Die Schriften

\* [2509]Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollst�ndig gesammelt,

mitkritischem Commentare und metrischer �bersetzung.

\* [2510]Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus.

\* [2511]Die Taufdarstellungen vorkonstantinischer Zeit, deren Zahl

sich auf drei bel�uft, zeigen s�mmtlich erwachsene T�uflinge, in

zvei F�lIen Knabent von etwa zw�lf Jahren, im dritten Falle einen

J�ngling

\* [2512]Die Theologie der apost. V�ter.

\* [2513]Die Theologie der apostolischen V�ter,

\* [2514]Die Theologie des M�rt. Justinus,

\* [2515]Die Theologie des M�rtyrers Justinus

\* [2516]Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der

Askese.

\* [2517]Die Toleranzedicte des Kaisers Gallienus,

\* [2518]Die Ueberlieferung der Griechischen Apologeten des zweiten

Jahrhunderts in der alten Kirche und im Mittelalter

\* [2519]Die Urtheile heidnischer und j�discher Schriftsteller der

vier ersten Jahrh. ueber Jesus und die ersten Christen

\* [2520]Die Valentinianische Gnosis und die heilige Schrift.

\* [2521]Die Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode nach apokryphen,

Talmud, und Kirchenv�tern

\* [2522]Die Wand-und Deckengem�lde der r�m. Katakomben

\* [2523]Die Wassertaufe stand bei den Manichaeern ebenso wie bei den

meisten �lteren gnostichen Secten un Uebung.

\* [2524]Die Werke des Justin,

\* [2525]Die Zeit Constantins des Gr.

\* [2526]Die Zeit Just. des

\* [2527]Die Zeit des

\* [2528]Die Zeit des Ign

\* [2529]Die Zeit des Ignat

\* [2530]Die Zeit des lrenaeus von Lyon und die Entstehung der

altkatholischen Kirche,

\* [2531]Die Zw�lf M�rtyrer von Smyrna und der Tod des Bishops

Polykarp,

\* [2532]Die altchristlichen Grabst�tten

\* [2533]Die angebliche Christenverfolgung zur Zeit der Kaiser

Numerianus und Carinus,

\* [2534]Die apostol. Denkw�rdigkeiten des Just. M.

\* [2535]Die apostolischen V�ter.

\* [2536]Die beiden Briefe des Clemens v. Rom.,

\* [2537]Die bildliche Darstellung des Kreuzes und der Kreuzigung

historisch entwickelt.

\* [2538]Die christl. Kunst

\* [2539]Die christl. Kunst in ihren fr�hesten Anf�ngen

\* [2540]Die christl. Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit u. Menschwerdung

Gottes in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.

\* [2541]Die christl. Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Vers�hnung

\* [2542]Die christl. Lehre von der Vers�hnung in ihrer geschichtl.

Entw. von der aeltesten Zeit bis auf die neueste

\* [2543]Die christliche Gnosis in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung.

\* [2544]Die christliche Liebesth�tigkeit in der alten Kirche.

\* [2545]Die heil. Zeiten u. Feste nach ihrer Gesch. u. Feier in der

kath. Kirche

\* [2546]Die homerische Theologie in ihrem Zusammenhang dargestellt

\* [2547]Die lateinische Kirche hatte fast nur �bersetzungen, bis

\* [2548]Die nachhomerische Theologie des griechischen Volksglaubens

bis auf Alexander

\* [2549]Die ophitische Gnosis,

\* [2550]Die r�m. Katakomben und die Sakramente der kath. Kirche

\* [2551]Die r�mischen Toleranzedicte f�r das Christenthum

\* [2552]Die sogen. Blutgl�ser der R�m. Kat.

\* [2553]Dies Irae

\* [2554]Diokletian in s. Verh�ltnisse zu den Christen.

\* [2555]Dionysius der Grosse von Alexandrien.

\* [2556]Dogmengesch.

\* [2557]Dogmengesch. der vornicaen.

\* [2558]Dogmengeschichte

\* [2559]Dogmengeschichte der patristischen Zeit.

\* [2560]Dogmengeschichte der vornic�nischen Zeit

\* [2561]Dogmengeschichte der vornic�nischen Zeit.

\* [2562]Dogmengeschichte, I.

\* [2563]Dogmengeschichte, Part

\* [2564]Drei Abhandlungen zur Gesch. der alten Philosophie U. ihres

Verh. zum Christenthum

\* [2565]Ein theologischer Fund,

\* [2566]Ein' feste Burg.

\* [2567]Einflusz des Christentums auf Porphyrius

\* [2568]Einleitung in die Offen b. Joh,

\* [2569]Einleitung in die monumentale Theologie

\* [2570]Entleiblichung

\* [2571]Entstehung der altkath. Kirche,

\* [2572]Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche

\* [2573]Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche,

\* [2574]Entstehunq und Fortgang der Arkandisciplin,

\* [2575]Entwetlichung

\* [2576]Entwicklungsgesch. der L. v. d. Pers

\* [2577]Entwicklungsgesch. der L. v. d. Pers. Christi,

\* [2578]Entwicklungsgesch. etc.

\* [2579]Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi

\* [2580]Entwicklungsgeschichte der Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem

Tode.

\* [2581]Epistola, ad Diogn.

\* [2582]Er wareben so wenig ein Feind des Christenthums, als er ein

Feind des Heidenthums war: was wie religi�ser Fanatismus aussah

\* [2583]Eranische Alterthumskunde,

\* [2584]Erkl�rung des Barnabasbriefes.

\* [2585]Es fehlt bei

\* [2586]Es ist eine tiefe Idee des Vatentinianischen Systems,

\* [2587]Folge dessen der Sammelplats von Christen aller Art.

\* [2588]Forschung zur Gesch. des neutestam. Kanons und der

altkirchlichen Lit.

\* [2589]Forschungen zur Gesch. des N. T. lichen Kanons. Erlangen

1884.

\* [2590]Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons

\* [2591]Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutestamntl. Kanons

\* [2592]Fundamenta chronologiae

\* [2593]Fundst�tte allerersten Ranges.

\* [2594]Genet. Entwicktlung der gnost. Systeme.

\* [2595]Ges�nge christl. Vorzeit

\* [2596]Gesch. Hadrians und seiner Zeit

\* [2597]Gesch. d. N. T

\* [2598]Gesch. d. Volkes Israel,

\* [2599]Gesch. der Apol

\* [2600]Gesch. der Christl. Kirche,

\* [2601]Gesch. der Christl. lat. Lit.

\* [2602]Gesch. der Juden.

\* [2603]Gesch. der Kosmologie,

\* [2604]Gesch. der Philos

\* [2605]Gesch. der Untersuch. ueber den Gnostic.;

\* [2606]Gesch. der christl. Philos

\* [2607]Gesch. der christl. lat

\* [2608]Gesch. der christl. lat. Lit.

\* [2609]Gesch. der heil. Zeiten in der abendl�nd. Kirche

\* [2610]Gesch. der kirchlichen Armenpflege.

\* [2611]Gesch. der r�m

\* [2612]Gesch. der r�m. Kirche

\* [2613]Gesch. der r�m. Kirche,

\* [2614]Gesch. des A. T in der christl. Kirche,

\* [2615]Gesch. des A. Test. in, der christl. Kirche. Jena

\* [2616]Gesch. des Dogmas von der Gottheit Christi in den ersten vier

Jahrh

\* [2617]Gesch. des Kirchenrechts.

\* [2618]Gesch. des Mont.

\* [2619]Gesch. des Osterfestes

\* [2620]Gesch. des Volkes Israel

\* [2621]Gesch. des Volkes Israel,

\* [2622]Gesch. er christl. lat. Lit.,

\* [2623]Geschichte Israels,

\* [2624]Geschichte Jesu von Nazara

\* [2625]Geschichte Trajan's.

\* [2626]Geschichte der Apologetik

\* [2627]Geschichte der Carthager

\* [2628]Geschichte der Denk u. Glaubensfreiheit im ersten Jahrhundert

der Kaiserherrschaft und des Christenthums.

\* [2629]Geschichte der Karthager

\* [2630]Geschichte der Kosmologie.

\* [2631]Geschichte der Philosophie der patristischen Zeit.

\* [2632]Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters

\* [2633]Geschichte der Schlangenbr�der.

\* [2634]Geschichte der apologetischen und polemischen Literatur der

christl. Theologie.

\* [2635]Geschichte der christl Philosophie

\* [2636]Geschichte der christl. latein. Literatur.

\* [2637]Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur von ihren

Anf�ngen bis zum Zeitalter Karls des Grossen

\* [2638]Geschichte der christlichen Ethik.

\* [2639]Geschichte der politischen Het�rien in Athen

\* [2640]Geschichte der r�mischen Kirche bis zum Pontificate Leo's

\* [2641]Geschichte der r�mischen Literatur.

\* [2642]Geschichte des C�libats

\* [2643]Geschichte des Glaubens an Unsterblichkeit, Auferstchung,

Gericht und Vergeltung.

\* [2644]Geschichte des Katechumenats, and der Katechese,

\* [2645]Geschichte des Kirchlateins.

\* [2646]Geschichte des M�nchthums in der Zeit seiner ersten

Entstehung u. ersten Ausbildung,

\* [2647]Geschichte des Montanismus

\* [2648]Geschichte des N. T Canon

\* [2649]Geschichte des Untergangs des griech-r�mischen

\* [2650]Geschichte des Volkes Israel,

\* [2651]Geschichte u. Lehrbegriff der Unitarier vor der nicaenischen

Synode.

\* [2652]Geschirhte des, Kosmologie in der griechischen Kirche bis auf

\* [2653]Gesetze der r�m. Kaiser gegen die Christen,

\* [2654]Gregorius Thaumaturgus. Sein Leben und seine Schriften.

\* [2655]Grundriss der Patrologie oder der �lteren christl.

Liter�rgeschichte.

\* [2656]Handbuch der Christl. Archaeol.

\* [2657]Handbuch der allgem. Kirchengeschichte.

\* [2658]Handbuch der christl. Kirchl. Alterth�mer

\* [2659]Handbuch der kirchl. Geographie u. Statistik

\* [2660]Handbuch der r�mischen Alterth�mer

\* [2661]Hefele, Conciliengesch.

\* [2662]Heidenthum und Judenthum

\* [2663]Hellenismus und Christenthum oder die geistige Reaction des

antiken Heidenthums gegen das Christenthum

\* [2664]Hermas ist ein Glied der damaligen orthodoxen Kirche, und

seine Auffassung der christlichen Lehre die eines einfachen

Gemeindegliedes one be stimmte Auspr�gung irgend eines

Parteicharakters.

\* [2665]Hippol. und Callistus,

\* [2666]Historish-kritische Aufkl�rung der Streitigkeiten der Aloger

�ber die Apokalypsis

\* [2667]Hoffnung besserer Zeiten

\* [2668]Hypostasirung

\* [2669]Ihre Geschichte und ihre Monumente

\* [2670]In der ganzen r�mischen Literatur begegnen wir kaum einer

Aeusserung des Abscheus, den die heutige Welt gegen diese

unmenschlichen Lustbarkeiten empfindet. In der Regel werden die

Fechterspiele mit der gr�ssten Gleichgiltigkeit erw�hnt. Die Kinder

spielen Gladiatoren wie jetzt in Andalusien Stier und Matador."

\* [2671]In seinem Stil ist Arnobius durchaus Heide, und auch dies ist

ein Zeugniss f�r die Art seines Christenthums, das eben eine innere

Umwandlung nicht bewirkt hatte. Das Gem�th hat an seinem Ausdruck

nirgends einen Antheil.

\* [2672]Iren.der B. v. Lyon

\* [2673]Jahrh

\* [2674]Judenhetze

\* [2675]Justin der M�rt

\* [2676]Justin der M�rtyrer und sein neuster Beurtheiler.

\* [2677]Justin der M�rtyrer, 11.

\* [2678]Justin der M�rtyrer.

\* [2679]Justin der M�rt

\* [2680]Justinus der Apologete,

\* [2681]Justinus, der Vertheidiger des Christenthums vor dem Thron

der Caesaren.

\* [2682]Kaiser Alex. Severus und das Christenthum

\* [2683]Kaiser Diocletian und seine Zeit.

\* [2684]Kaisergesch.

\* [2685]Kampf gegen die zweite Ehe,

\* [2686]Kanon u. Tradition,

\* [2687]Kanones der Ap.

\* [2688]Katakomben

\* [2689]Ketzergesch.

\* [2690]Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums,

\* [2691]Ketzergesch.,

\* [2692]Ketzerhistorie

\* [2693]Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie.

\* [2694]Kirchengesch

\* [2695]Kirchengesch.

\* [2696]Kirchengesch. v. Spanien,

\* [2697]Kirchengesch. von Spanien

\* [2698]Kirchengeschichte,

\* [2699]Kirchliche Disciplin,

\* [2700]Kleinod des christl. Alterthums, welchem in Geist und Fassung

kaum ein zweites Schriftwerk der nachapostolishen Zeit gleichsteht.

\* [2701]Krit. Untersuchungen ueber die Evangelien Justin's.

\* [2702]Kritik der N. Tlichen Schriften.

\* [2703]Kritische Geschichte der Askese.

\* [2704]Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus.

\* [2705]Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes.

\* [2706]Leben und Lehre Simon des Magiers,

\* [2707]Lehrbuch der Patrologie und Patristik.

\* [2708]Lehre v. der Person Christi,

\* [2709]Lehre vom tausendj�hrigen Reich in den 3 ersten Jahrh.

\* [2710]Leipzig,

\* [2711]Leitfaden zum Studium der Patrologie.

\* [2712]Lucian und die Cyniker

\* [2713]Lukian u. das Christenthum

\* [2714]M�n� oder Beitr�ge zur Kenntniss der Religionsmischung im

Semitismus.

\* [2715]M�ni und die Manich�er,

\* [2716]Mand�ische Grammatik

\* [2717]Mit wahrer Sicherheit,

\* [2718]Montanismus ist

\* [2719]Mythologie u. Symbolik der christl. Kunst

\* [2720]Mythologie und Symbolik der christl. Kunst

\* [2721]N. T. Zeitgesch.

\* [2722]Nazar�er u. Ebioniten

\* [2723]Neben den gewaltigen Aufregungen, die Circus und Arena boten,

konnte die B�hne ihre Anziehungskraft, f�r die Massen nur durch

unedle Mittel behaupten durch rohe Belustigung und raffinirten

Sinnenkitzel: und so hat sie, statt dem verderblichen Einfluss

jener anderen Schauspiele die Wage zu halten, zur Corruption und

Verwilderung Roms nicht am wenigsten beigetragcn."

\* [2724]Neue Studien zur Papstchronologie,

\* [2725]Neue Untesuchungen �ber die Constitut. u

\* [2726]Neuplatonismus u. Christenthum

\* [2727]Neutestam. Zeitgeschichte

\* [2728]Neutestamentl. Zeitgeschichte

\* [2729]Nicht der Gedanke an die Auferstehung des Fleisches f�r sich,

sondern die christliche Hoffnung �berhaupt, wie sie aus der

sicheren Lebensgemeinschaft mit Christus erbl�ht und Leben wie

Sterben des Gl�ubigen beherrscht, bedingt die Wahl der religi�s

bedeutsamen Bilder. Sie sind nicht Symbole der einstigen

Auferstehung, sondern des unverlierbaren Heilsbesitzes in Christus.

\* [2730]Nichts ist sein,

\* [2731]Noch ein Wort �ber den Passahstreit

\* [2732]Orig. �ber die Grundlehren des Christenthums, ein

Wiederherstellungsversuch

\* [2733]Ostara

\* [2734]Ostern

\* [2735]Papias und Johannes,

\* [2736]Philosophie der Griechen

\* [2737]Porphyrius und sein Verh�ltniss zum Christenthum

\* [2738]Quellen der �ltesten Ketzergesch

\* [2739]Quellen der �ltesten Ketzergeschichte

\* [2740]Quellen der r�m. Petrus-Sage

\* [2741]Quellen zur Gesch. des Tauf, symbols und der Glaubensregel.

\* [2742]Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymb

\* [2743]Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols

\* [2744]Quellen zur Gesch. des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel

\* [2745]Quellenforschung

\* [2746]Quellenkrilik des Epiphanios,

\* [2747]Quellenkritik

\* [2748]R�m. Geschichte

\* [2749]R�mische Staatsverwaltung

\* [2750]R. Encykl. der Christl. Alterth�mer

\* [2751]Real=Encykl. der christl. Alterth�mer,

\* [2752]Realencyklop. der Alterthumswissenschaft

\* [2753]Regierung und Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Diocletianus und

seiner Nachfolger.

\* [2754]Religion des Kreuzes, nur du verkn�pfest in Einem Kranze Der

Demuth und Kraft doppelte Palme zugleich

\* [2755]Rom und das Christenthum

\* [2756]Rom und das Christenthum,

\* [2757]Rom und das Christenthum.

\* [2758]Rom und das Christhum

\* [2759]Rom's christliche Katakomben

\* [2760]Rom. u. d. Christenth.,

\* [2761]Schwarm - und Rottengeister"

\* [2762]Sein ist Nichts,

\* [2763]Sinnbilder u. Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.

\* [2764]Sittengeschichte Roms

\* [2765]Sittengeschichte Roms,

\* [2766]Sittengeschichte,

\* [2767]So zeigen ihn seine Schriften, die Denkm�ler seines Lebens Er

war ein Mann

\* [2768]Socrates und Christus

\* [2769]Staat und Kirche unter Alex. Severus

\* [2770]Strenge und ernst, oft beissend sarkastisch, in der, Sprache

gedr�ngt und dunkel der heidnischen Philosophie durchaus abgeneigt,

mit dem r�mischen Rechte sehr vertraut, hat er in seinen

zahlreichen Schriften Bedeutendes f�r die Darstellung der

Kirchlichen Lehre geleistet, und ungeachtet seines Uebertritts zu

den Montanisten betrachteten ihn die sp�teren africanischen

Schriftsteller, auch

\* [2771]Studien u. Kritiken

\* [2772]Studien und Kritiken

\* [2773]Studien zur Gesch. der alten Kirche,

\* [2774]Studien zur Gesch. der christl. Ethik

\* [2775]Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche

\* [2776]Symbolik aller christl. Confessionen.

\* [2777]Syrische Lieder gnostischen Ursprungs,

\* [2778]Syst. der altsynag. Pol�st. Theologie,

\* [2779]System der Altsynagogalen Palaestinischen Theologie aus

Targum, Midrasch und Talmud.

\* [2780]System der christl. Kirchl. Katechetik.

\* [2781]System der christl. kirchlichen Katechetik.

\* [2782]T�b. Theol. Quartalschrift"

\* [2783]Texte und Unters

\* [2784]Texte und Untersuchungen

\* [2785]Texte und Untersuchungen zur Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur

\* [2786]Texte und Untersuchungen,

\* [2787]Theol. Jahrb�cher

\* [2788]Theol. Schriften

\* [2789]UEber die verschiedenen Texte des Liber Pontificalis,

\* [2790]Ueber Essaeer und Ebioniten und einen theitweisen

Zusammenhang derselben

\* [2791]Ueber Kanon, Kritik, und Exegese der Manich�er.

\* [2792]Ueber das neunte Buch in der zweiten Enneade des Plotinus

\* [2793]Ueber das ophitische System.

\* [2794]Ueber den Gegensatz der sabellianischen u. athanasianischen

Vorstellung von der Trinitaet

\* [2795]Ueber den Ursprung des M�nchthums im nach-Konstantinischen

Zeittalter.

\* [2796]Ueber den Ursprung des ersten Clemensbriefs und des Hirten

des Hermas.

\* [2797]Ueber den Ursprung u. den Inhalt der Apost. Constitutionen

des Clemens Romanus

\* [2798]Ueber den gegenw. Stand der Frage nach dem Inhalt und der

Bedeutung der r�m

\* [2799]Ueber den kirchenhistorischen Gewinn aus Inschriften,

\* [2800]Ueber den pseudo-justinischen Brief an Diognet

\* [2801]Ueber die Aechtheit der syr. Recens. der Ignat. Br.

\* [2802]Ueber die Aechtheit des bisherigen Textes der Ignatian.

Briefe.

\* [2803]Ueber die Gemmen der Alten mit dem Abraxasbilde

\* [2804]Ueber die Religion des Plutarch.

\* [2805]Ueber die Secte der Elkesaiten

\* [2806]Ueber die Ursachen des Kunsthasses in den drei ersten

Jahrhunderten

\* [2807]Umst�ndlicher Beweis dass die Apok. ein untergeschobenes Buch

sei

\* [2808]Unsterblichkeits-und Vergeltungslehre des alttestamentlichen

Hebraismus

\* [2809]Unter den Schriftstellern der lateinischen Christenheit ist

\* [2810]Untersuchungen zur Genesis des manich. Rel. systems.

\* [2811]Untersuchungen zur r�m

\* [2812]Ursprung des Episcopats

\* [2813]Verteufelung der Natur

\* [2814]Vollst�ndige Sammlung der C�libatsgesetze.

\* [2815]Von der Jungfraugeburt bis zum Jammer des Todes bei Essig und

Galle

\* [2816]Von einem Unterschied des Looses der im Todtenreich

Befindlichen ist im Alten Test. nirgends deutlich geredet. Wie

vielmehr dort Alles gleich werde, schildert Hiob.

\* [2817]Vorlesungen �ber die Apok

\* [2818]Vorsteherin des Liebesbundes

\* [2819]Vorstellungen der Griechen �ber das Fortleben nach dem Tode

\* [2820]Werden,

\* [2821]Werke zur Theol.

\* [2822]Wie die Gnosis denAnfangspunkt ins Auge fasst, von welchem

alles ausgeht, die absoluten Principien, durch welche der

Selbstoffenbarungsprocess Gottes und der Gang der Weltentwicklung

bedingt ist, so ist im Montanismus der Hauptpunkt um welchen sich

alles bewegt, das Ende der Dinge, die Katastrophe, welcher der

Weltertlauf entgegengeht.

\* [2823]Wissenschaftl. Verein

\* [2824]Zeischrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theologie

\* [2825]Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch

\* [2826]Zeitschrift f�r christl. Wissenschaft und christl. Leben

\* [2827]Zeitschrift f�r hist. Theologie

\* [2828]Zeitschrift f�r historische Theologie

\* [2829]Zeitschrift f�r wissensch. Theol

\* [2830]Zeitschrift f�r wissenschaftl. Theol.

\* [2831]Zink: Zur Kritik und Erkl�rung des Arnob.,

\* [2832]Zur �ltesten Geschichte des Primates in der Kirche.

\* [2833]Zur Characteristik des heil. Justinus.

\* [2834]Zur Chronologie

\* [2835]Zur Chronologie der Schriften

\* [2836]Zur Deutung der Bildwerke altchristlicher Grabst�tten,

\* [2837]Zur Enttehungsgeschichte des Kreuzes,

\* [2838]Zur Erkl�runq des Papiasfragments,

\* [2839]Zur Quellen-Kritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus.

\* [2840]Zur Quellen-Kritik des Epiphanios.

\* [2841]Zur Quellenkritik des Epiphanios

\* [2842]Zur Quellenkritik des Gnosticismus

\* [2843]Zur Theophilusfrage

\* [2844]Zur Theophilusfrage,

\* [2845]abgeschw�chter Paulinismus

\* [2846]angewiesen wird, kann mann die Andeutung verschiedener

Abstufungen des Todtenreichs finden, etwa in dem Sinn, wie

\* [2847]auch jede leiseste Spur davon, dass er noch aus apostolischem

Mund die Predigt geh�rt habe.

\* [2848]badischen

\* [2849]bis zu den Wundern des Todes und der Auferstehung hat er

unsere Evangelien verfolgt, und anderen Quellen,welche zum Theil

heute noch fliessen, hat er den Glauben an die Hasslichkeit Jesu

und an die S�ndhaftigkeit seiner J�nger abgewonnen

\* [2850]collegialisch, nicht monarchisch

\* [2851]das lieblichste, ja ein fast zauberhaftes Wort des zweiten

Jahrhunders.

\* [2852]dass, wie alles Dasein in der Selbstbeschr�nkung des Bythos

seinen Grund hat, so das Dasein alter geschaffenen Wesen auf

Beschr�nkung beruht.

\* [2853]den Selbstm�rdern einen

\* [2854]der Apologet

\* [2855]der Bischof von Lyon.

\* [2856]der Gr.

\* [2857]der alten] Kirche.

\* [2858]der sich in unaufh�rlichen Streite bewegte: sein ganzes Wesen

tr�gt die Spuren hievon

\* [2859]die reine, klassische Sprache, den sch�nen, korrekten

Satzbau, die rhetorische Frische, die schlagenden Antithesen, den

geistreichen Ausdruck, die logische Abrundung ... die unmittelbare,

liebswarme, begeisterte, wenn schon mit Bildung durchs�ttigte

Fr�mmigkeit.

\* [2860]die werdende Pers�nlichkeit, die gewordene Pers�nlichkeit,

die erscheinende Pers�nlichkeit

\* [2861]diesen das Polemische f�r strenge Sitte und Zucht vorhanden

ist

\* [2862]eae,

\* [2863]ein anscheinend nicht sehr gl�cklicher Advocat, ist

\* [2864]ein g�nzlich unkritischer Abdruck von Quellen

\* [2865]ein rechtgl�ubiger Schriftsteller.

\* [2866]eine Reaktion angesichts der nahen Parusie gegen

Verweltlichung der Kirche.

\* [2867]eine grosse Unfreundlichkeit.

\* [2868]eine oberfl�chlich witzige Belustigung �ber paradoxe

Philosopheme

\* [2869]einer der bedeutendsten und intressantesten. Er ist der

Anf�nger der lateinischen Theologie, der nicht nur ihrer Sprache

seinen Stempel aufgepr�gt hat

\* [2870]er ist der Sache nach Pauliner, aber dem Namen nach will er

es nicht sein

\* [2871]ernste Studien ins Literatenthum �bergegangen; unwissend und

leichtfertig tr�gt er lediglich eine nihilistische Oede in Bezuq

auf alle religi�sen und metaphysischen Fraqen zur Schau und reisst

alle als verkehrt und l�cherlich herunter.

\* [2872]ersten Jahrhunderten.

\* [2873]ersten sechs Jahrh.

\* [2874]es und sein Lehrer Klemens, oder die Alexandrinische

innerkirchliche Gnosis des Christenthums.

\* [2875]es,

\* [2876]es. Ein Beitrag zur Dogmengesch.

\* [2877]es. Eine Darstellung seines Lebens und seiner Lehre.

\* [2878]es. Mit specialuntersuchungen ueber die gnostischen Systeme.

\* [2879]etwa zwischen dem 18. und 35. Lebensjahre, will Ir. sich des

Umqangs mit Pol erfreut haben

\* [2880]gelangen wir in der Geschichte des Papsthums nicht �ber das

7te Jahrhundert hinauf.

\* [2881]gl�hend pr�chtiges Natur- und Weltgedicht

\* [2882]herabgekommemer

\* [2883]in Aussicht stellt. Sonst ist nur von einer Sonderung nach

V�lkern und Geschlechtern die Rede, nicht von einer Sonderung der

Gerechten und Ungerechten."

\* [2884]in den

\* [2885]ist einer der genialsten, originallsten und fruchtbarstem

unter den christlich-lateinischen Autoren

\* [2886]isten suchen die Unzul�nglichkeit des blossen buchst�blichen

Sinnes und die Nothwendigkeit der allegorischen Auslegung

nachzuweisen, da der Wortlaut vieler biblischen Stellen Falsches,

Widersprechendes, Gottes Unw�rdiges ergebe; sie fehlten hier durch

das Uebermass des Allegorisirens und durch Verwechslung der

fig�rlichen Redeweisen, die dem Literalsinne angeh�ren, mit der

mystischen Deutung; sie verfl�chtigten oft den historischen Gehalt

der biblischen Erz�hlung, hinter deren �usserer Schale sie einen

verborgenen Kern suchen zu m�ssen glaubten. Damit stand ferner in

Verbindung, dass in der alexandrinischen Schule das Moment des

Uebervern�nftigen, Unausprechlichen, Geheimnissvollen in den

g�ttlichen Dingen stark betont wurde, w�hrend die Antiochener vor

Allem das Vernunftgem�sse, dem menschlichen Geiste Entsprechende in

den Dogmen hervorhoben, das Christenthum als eine das menschliche

Denken befriedligende Wahrheit nachzuweisen suchten. Indem sie aber

dieses Streben verfolgten, wollten die hervorragen den Lehrer der

antiochenischen Schule keineswegs den �bernat�rlichen Charakter und

die Mysterien der Kirchenlehre bestreiten, sie erkannten diese in

der Mehrzahl an, wie Chrysotomus und Theodoret; aber einzelne

Gelehrte konnten �ber dem Bem�hen, die Glaubenslehren leicht

verst�ndlich und begreiflich zu machen, ihren Inhalt verunstalten

und zerst�ren.

\* [2887]katholisch werde de Heidenchristenthum

\* [2888]kirchlich-wissenschaftliches Gegenbild der gnostischen

Weltanschauung.

\* [2889]mit denselben ehelich leben

\* [2890]mit einem �blen Nebegeschmack

\* [2891]mit reicher griechischer Gelehrsamkeit, die auch der

Kirchenvater gern sehen liess, Presbyter in seiner Vaterstadt

Karthago, ein strenger, d�sterer, feuriger Character, dem

Christenthum aus punischem Latein eine Literatur errang, in welcher

geistreiche Rhetorik, genialer so wie gesuchter Witz, der

sinnliches Anfassen des Idealen, tiefes Gef�hl and juridische

Verstandesansicht mit einander ringen. Er hat der afrikanischen

Kirche die Losung angegeben: Christus sprach: Ich bin die Wahrheit,

nicht, das Herkommen. Er hat das Gottesbewusstsein in den Tiefen

der Seele hochgehalten, aber ein Mann der Auctoritaet hat er die

Thorheit des Evangeliums der Weltweisheit seiner Zeitgenossen, das

Unglaubliche der Wunder Gottes dem gemeinen Weltverstande mit

stolzer Ironie entgegengehalten. Seine Schriften, denen er

unbedenklich Fremdes angeeignet und mit dent Gepraege seines Genius

versehen hat, sind theils polemisch mit dem h�chsten Selbstvertraun

der katholischen Gesinnung gegen Heiden, Juden und Haeretiker,

theils erbaulich; so jedoch, dass auch in jenen das Erbauliche,

\* [2892]nahe stehend, von ihm abh�ngig, aber auch ihn verflachend ist

\* [2893]nebst einer Einleitung �ber die Zeit dieses Apologeten, in

\* [2894]s

\* [2895]s nach der Zeit ihrer Abfassung

\* [2896]s,

\* [2897]sondern sie auch an die Bahn hinwies, welche sie lange

einheilt. Seine Pers�nlichkeit hat ebensoviel Anziehendes als

Abstossendes; denn wer k�nnte den Ernst seines sittlichen Strebens,

den Reichthum und die Lebhaftigkeit seines Geistes, die Festigkeit

seiner Ueberzeugung und die st�rmische Kraft seiner Beredtsamkeit

verkennen? Allein ebensowenig l�sst sich �bersehen, dass ihm in

allen Dingen das Mass fehlte. Seine Erscheinung hat nichts Edles;

er war nicht frei von Bizzarem, ja Gemeinem

\* [2898]ten

\* [2899]testamentarische Verf�gung

\* [2900]u. seine Zeit.,

\* [2901]ueber den sogen. Barnabasbrief

\* [2902]un�chten Briefe des

\* [2903]und Katechese der ersten sechs Jahrh.

\* [2904]und der ganze Hegesippus im 16ten

\* [2905]und die Chronologie der Antiochen

\* [2906]und die Chronologie der Antiochenischen Bisch�fe bis Tyrannus

\* [2907]und die Chronologie der antiochenischen Bisch�fe bis Tyrannus

\* [2908]und die r�m. Zeitgenossen

\* [2909]und seine Auferstehungslehre

\* [2910]us nach seinem Leben u. Wirken

\* [2911]us u. Einleitung in dessen Schriften.

\* [2912]us, als Heide Rhetor und Sachwalter zu Rom

\* [2913]v. A. und die drei oriental. Feldz�ge des Kaisers Trajan

\* [2914]vanissimi isti Monarchiani

\* [2915]vom Karthago und die Verfassung der Kirche.

\* [2916]von Ant. Hergestellter u. verqleichender Text mit Anmerkk.

\* [2917]von Ant. u. seine Zeit. 7 Sendschreiben an Dr. Neander.

\* [2918]von der Einheit der Kirche gegen�ber den beiden Schismen in

Carthago und Rom

\* [2919]von der Einheit er Kirche.

\* [2920]war in Wahrheit nur politischer Conservatismus

\* [2921]welchen die Kirche der Hauptptstadt als solche vor alten

�brigen Kirchen besass ... die Hauptstadt war das Centrum des

damaligen Weltverkehrs

\* [2922]werden

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of French Words and Phrases

\* [2923]"le christianisme qui s'envisageait

\* [2924]�tude sur le Liber Pontificalis.

\* [2925]�tudes historiques sur l'influence de la charit� durant les

Premiers si�cles chr�t.

\* [2926]� l'histoire eccl�s.

\* [2927]�tant la

\* [2928]. Le Liber Pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire

\* [2929]1856 (in "R�vue de Th�ologie ").

\* [2930]: �tudes sur la religion des Soubbas on Sab�ens, leurs

dogmes, leurs m�urs.

\* [2931]: Architecture civile et relig. du I

\* [2932]: Conferences d'Angleterre. Rome et le christianisme.

\* [2933]: Histoire des theories et des id�es morales dans

l'antiquit�.

\* [2934]: L'�glise chr�t.

\* [2935]: L'�glise chr�tienne

\* [2936]: La question de la P�que, in

\* [2937]: Les �vangiles.

\* [2938]Abb� Duchesne

\* [2939]Acad�mie

\* [2940]Acad�mie des inscriptions et belles-letters

\* [2941]Acad�mie des sciences morales et politiques,

\* [2942]Adamantius Cora�s

\* [2943]Ap. de T., sa vie, ses voyages, ses prodiges

\* [2944]Avec lui, la philosophie a r�gn�. Un moment, gr�ce � lui, le

monde a �t� gouvern� par l'homme le meilleur et le plus grand de

son si�cle.

\* [2945]Catacombes de Rome

\* [2946]Ce sont l� les calomnies ordinaires, qui ne manquent jamais

sous la plume des �crivains orthodoxes, quand il s'agit de noircir

les dissidents.

\* [2947]Celse et Lucien

\* [2948]Charit� chr�t

\* [2949]Cl�ment d'Alexandrie.

\* [2950]Cle de Meliton, est une compilation de passages des P�res

latins pouvant servir � l'explication all�gorique des �critures qui

figure pour la premi�re fois dans la Bible de Th�odulphe.

\* [2951]Clement d'Alexandrie.

\* [2952]Comme les peintures chr�tiennes, ils ne s'�cartent gu�re,

sauf pour le sujet, des habitudes de l'art pa�en du m�me temps.

\* [2953]Comme plus tard Orig�ne, il voulut que sa chastet� f�t en

quelque sorte mat�riellement constat�e.

\* [2954]Conf�rences d'Angleterre

\* [2955]Controverse sur les Philos. d' Orig

\* [2956]De Justiniana dictione

\* [2957]De Vog��

\* [2958]De l' Apolog�tique chr�tienne au IIe

\* [2959]De l'apologetique Chr�tienne

\* [2960]De l'authenticit� de la lettre de Pline au sujet des

Chr�tiens,

\* [2961]De la legatit� du Christianisme dans l'empire Romain au Ier

si�cle

\* [2962]De la moralit� de Plutarque

\* [2963]De salute

\* [2964]Diction. des Antiquit�s Chr�tiennes

\* [2965]Du T�moignage d'H�g�sippe sur l'�glise chr�tienne au deux

premiers si�cles.

\* [2966]E'glise chr�tienne

\* [2967]Essai historique sur la soci�t� dans le monde Romain, et

\* [2968]Essai sur le Montanisme

\* [2969]Etudes sur de nouv. doc. hist. des Philosophumena

\* [2970]Fastes des provinces Asiatiques

\* [2971]Glorie �ternelle et unique, qui doit faire oublier bien des

folies et des violence! Les Juifs sont les r�volutionnaires du

\* [2972]Hist. de la destruct. du paganisme,

\* [2973]Histoire Romaine � Rome

\* [2974]Histoire crit. de Manich�e et du Manich�isme.

\* [2975]Histoire critique de l' �cole d'Alexandrie

\* [2976]Histoire critique du Gnosticisme et de son influence sur les

sectes religieuses el philosophiques des six premiers si�cles

\* [2977]Histoire de I' �cole d'Alexandrie

\* [2978]Histoire de St. Iren�e.

\* [2979]Histoire de l'esclavage

\* [2980]Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquit�

\* [2981]Histoire de la Palestine depuis Cyrus jusqu'� Adrien

\* [2982]Histoire de la destruction du paganisme dans I' empire d'

Orient

\* [2983]Histoire de la destruction du paganisme en Occident

\* [2984]Histoire de la philosophie morale et politique.

\* [2985]Histoire de trois premiers si�cles de l'�glise chr�tienne.

\* [2986]Histoire des Empereurs;

\* [2987]Histoire des Persecutions de l'�glise

\* [2988]Histoire des pers�cutions de l'�glise jusqu' � la fin des

Antonins

\* [2989]Histoire des pers�cutions de l'�glise, La pol�mique pa�enne �

la fin du II. si�cle

\* [2990]Histoire des trois premiers si�cles,

\* [2991]Histoire g�n�rale des auteurs sacr�s et ecclesiastiques.

\* [2992]Historie des Origines du Christianisme

\* [2993]Horrible d�ception pourles gens de bien! Tant de vertu, tant

d'amour n'aboutissant qu'� mettre le monde entre les mains d'un

�quarrisseur de b�tes, d'un gladiateur ! Apr�s cette belle

apparition d'un monde �lys�en sur la terre, retomber dans l'enfer

des C�sars, qu'on croyaitferm� pour toujours ! La foi dans le bien

fut alors perdue. Apr�s Caligula, apr�s N�ron, apr�s Domitien, on

avait pu esp�rer encore. Les exp�riences n' avaient pas �t�

d�cisives. Maintenant, c'est apr�s le plus grand effort de

rationalisme gouvernemental, opr�s quatre-ving quatre ans d'un

r�gime excellent, apr�s Nerva, Trajan, Adrien, Antonin.,

Marc-Aur�le, que le r�gne du mal recommence, pire que jamais.

Adieu, verta; adieu, raison. Puisque Marc-Aur�le n'a pas pu sauver

le monde, qui le sauvera

\* [2994]I' �glise Chr�tienne

\* [2995]Id�es dogm. de Clement d'Alex.

\* [2996]Inscriptions chr�tiennes de la Gaule anterieures au VIIIme

\* [2997]Jamais peut-�tre le christianisme n'a plus �crit que durant

le II

\* [2998]Johanneschristen, Chr�tiens de Saint Jean.

\* [2999]Journal des savants,

\* [3000]Justin �tait un esprit faible; mais c'�tait un noble et bon

coeur

\* [3001]Justin n'�tait un grand esprit; il manquait � la, fois de

philosophie et de critique; son ex�g�se surtout passerait aujour d'

hui pour tr�s d�fectueuse; mais il fait preuve dun sens g�n�ral

assez droit; it avait cette esp�ce, de cr�dulit� m�diocre qui

permet de raissonner sens�ment sur des pr�misses pu�riles et de

s'arr�ter � temps de fa�on � n'�tre qu'� moiti� absurde.

\* [3002]L' �glise chr�tienne

\* [3003]L' Histoire des origines du Christianisme

\* [3004]L'�glise et l'Empire

\* [3005]L'�gl. Chr�t.,

\* [3006]L'�gl. chr�t,

\* [3007]L'�glise chr�t. 436

\* [3008]L'�glise chr�t.,

\* [3009]L'�glise chr�tienne

\* [3010]L'�glise chret.,

\* [3011]L'�glise et L'�tat dans la seconde moiti� du IIIe

\* [3012]L'�glise et l'empire

\* [3013]L'E'glise, chr�tienne

\* [3014]L'Eglise chr�tienne

\* [3015]L'Histoire de l' �cole d'Alexandrie

\* [3016]L'Univers religeux

\* [3017]L'egl. chr�t.

\* [3018]L'englise chr�t.,

\* [3019]L'ouvrage latin que om Pitra a publi� comme

\* [3020]La 'lingua volgata' d'Afrigue contribua ainsi dans une large

part � la formation de la langue eccl�siastique de I' Occident, et

ainsi elle exer�a une influence d�cisive sur nos langues modernes.

Mais il r�sulta de l� une autre cons�quence; cest que les textes

fondamentaux de la litt�rature latine ch�tienne furent �crits dans

une langue que lettr�s d'Italie trouv�rent barbare et corrompue, ce

qui plus tard donna occasion de la part des rh�teurs � des

objections et � des �pigrammes sans fin

\* [3021]La Lettre � Diogn�te

\* [3022]La Phrygie �tait un des pays de l'antiquit� les plus port�s

aux r�veries religieuses. Les Phrygiens passaient, en g�n�ral pour

niais et simple. Le christianisme eut chez eux, d�s l'origine un

charact�re essentiellement mystique et asc�tique. D�j�, dans

l'�pitre aux Colossiens,, Paul combat des erreurs o� les signes

pr�citrseurs du, gnosticisme et les exc�s d'un as�tisme mal entendu

semblent se m�ler. Presque partout ailleurs,

\* [3023]La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins.

\* [3024]La date et les recensions du Liber Pontificalis.

\* [3025]La pol�mique pa�enne � la fin du IIe

\* [3026]La religion � Rome sous les S�v�res

\* [3027]Le Catacombe Romane descritte

\* [3028]Le Symbole des ap�tres. Essai historie.

\* [3029]Le reclus du Serapeum

\* [3030]Le, Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme.

\* [3031]Les �vang.

\* [3032]Les �vangiles

\* [3033]Les �vangiles,

\* [3034]Les Actes de cette Dispute sont �videmment une fiction

pareille � celle de cet imposteur, qui a pris le nom de Cl�ment

Romain, et qui a introduit S. Pierre disputant contre Simon le

Magicien

\* [3035]Les Acts des martyrs depuis l'origine de l'�glise Chr�tienne

jusqu'� nos temps. Traduits et publi�s par les R. R. P. P

b�n�dictins de la congreg. de France

\* [3036]Les Antonins

\* [3037]Les Apologistes Chr�tiens du II

\* [3038]Les Catacombes

\* [3039]Les Catacombes de Rome. Histoire de l'art et des croyances

religieuses pendant les premiers si�cles du Christianisme

\* [3040]Les Chr�stiens dans l'empire romain, de la fin des Antonins

au milieu du IIIe si�cle

\* [3041]Les Courtisanes saintes

\* [3042]Les Moralistes sous l'Empire romain.

\* [3043]Les P�res Apostoliques et leur epoque

\* [3044]Les catacombes de Rome

\* [3045]Les deux Apologies de Justin M. au point de vie dogmatique.

\* [3046]Les inscriptions chr�tiennes des catacombes ne remontent qu'

au commencement du III

\* [3047]Les juifs ensevelissaient dans le roc. A Rome ils ont creus�

de grandes catacombes presque identique � celles des chr�tiens.

Ceux-ci ont �t� leurs imitateurs. Les Etrusques se servaient aussi

de grottes; mais ils ne les reliaient point par des galeries

illimit�es.

\* [3048]Les martyrs ou le triomphe de la rel. chr�t

\* [3049]Les populations se pr�cipit�rent, par une sorte du mouvement

instinctif, dans une secte qui satisfaisait leur aspirations les

plus intimes et ouvrait des �sperances infinies

\* [3050]Les premiers si�cles de la charit�.

\* [3051]Les sarcophages sculpt�s, repr�sentant des sc�nes sacr�es,

apparaissent vers la fin du

\* [3052]M�m. de l' Acad: des inscript. et belles letters

\* [3053]M�moire sur l' inscription d' Autun

\* [3054]M�moire sur la chronologie de la vie du rh�teur Aelius

Aristide

\* [3055]M�moire sur le S�rapeum de Memphis,

\* [3056]M�moirs,

\* [3057]Manuel d'Epigraphie chr�tienne

\* [3058]Marc Aur�le

\* [3059]Marc-Aur�le

\* [3060]Marc-Aur�le et la fin du monde antique

\* [3061]Marc-Aur�le et la fin du monde antique.

\* [3062]Memoirs pour servir

\* [3063]Minutius F�lix, Tertullien et tous ceux communaut� de,

nature, cette communaut� de patrie dans la r�publique du monde, en

un language familier � la philosophie, mais qui trouvait parmi les

chr�tiens avec une sanction plus haute et un sens plus complet, une

application plus s�rieuse. Devant cc droit commun des hommes, fond�

sur le droit divin, le pr�tendu droit des gens n'�tait plus qu' une

monstrueuse injustice

\* [3064]Monuments d' epigraphie ancienne,

\* [3065]Nouveaux essais sur l'infl. du Christianisme dans le monde

Grec et Latin.

\* [3066]Nouvelle Biblioth�que des auteurs ecclesiastiques, contenant

l'histoire de leur vie,

\* [3067]Nouvelles apologies

\* [3068]Peu d' �crits sontaussi authentiques.

\* [3069]Progr�s de l'�piscopat;

\* [3070]Recherches critiques sur les lettres d'gnace d'Antioche.

\* [3071]Renan

\* [3072]Revue des deux mondes

\* [3073]Saint Cyprien et l'�glise d' Afrique an troisi�me si�cle.

\* [3074]Saint Ir�n�e et l'�loquence chr�tienne dans la Gaule aux deux

premiers si�cles.

\* [3075]Si Jesus

\* [3076]Singulier document, moiti� insolent, moiti� suppliant, qui

commence par insulter chr�tiens et finit par leur demander de prier

leur ma� tre pour lui

\* [3077]Sklaverei und Christenthum

\* [3078]Sklaverei und Christenthum In Der Alten Welt

\* [3079]St. Iren�e et son temps.

\* [3080]Statistique et extension g�ographique du Christianisme

\* [3081]Symbole des ap�tres.

\* [3082]Tertullien et le Montanisme

\* [3083]Trait� de la cr�ance des P�res touchnt l'�tat des ames apr�s

cette vie

\* [3084]Verh. d. alten Kirche zur Sclaverei im r�m. Reiche

\* [3085]Vie de Cyprien.

\* [3086]Vie de St. Cyprien.

\* [3087]au II.

\* [3088]au Vll

\* [3089]ce fut une religion de ourgades et de campagnards.

\* [3090]comme dans

\* [3091]del� du Jourdain

\* [3092]e

\* [3093]e si�cle de notre �re

\* [3094]er

\* [3095]er et du

\* [3096]is,

\* [3097]la Syrie au

\* [3098]la perle de la litterature chr�tienne au Il

\* [3099]la transformation par le Christianisme.

\* [3100]le christianisme fut une

\* [3101]le christianisme qui s'envisageait comme la destruction du

judaisme

\* [3102]le fouilleur le mieux qualifi� fervent catholique, mais

critique s�rieux

\* [3103]le g�nie, le caract�re individuel

\* [3104]le livre le plus purement humain qu'il y ait. Il ne tranche

aucune question controvers�e. En th�ologie, Marc Aur�le flotte

entre le d�isme pur, le polyth�isme enterpr�t� dans un sens

physique, � la fa�on des sto�ciens, et une sorte de panth�isme

cosmique.

\* [3105]le mod�le de l'homme eccl�siastique accompli

\* [3106]ne fut pas seulement un personnage r�el, ce fut un personnage

de premier ordre, un vrai chef d'�glise, un �v�que, avant que

l'�piscopat f�t nettement constitu� j' oserais presque dire un

pape, si ce mot ne faisait ici un trop fort anachronisme. Son

autorit� passa pour la plus grande de toutes en Italie, en Gr�ce,

en Mac�donie, durant les dix derni�res ann�es du I

\* [3107]ne nous avait �t� connu que par des textes de ce genre, on

aurait pu douter s'il avaitvraiment exist�, ous'il n' �tait pas une

fiction,

\* [3108]or

\* [3109]paque

\* [3110]paques

\* [3111]qui n'emp�che ni la gaiet�, ni le talent, ni le go�t aimable

de la vie, ni la recherche, de l'�l�gance du style. Que nous sommes

loin de l'�bionite ou m�me du juif de Galil�e! Octavius, c'est

Cic�ron, ou mieux Fronton, devenu chr�tien. En r�alit�, c'est par

la culture intellectuelle qu'il arrive au d�isme. Il aime la

nature, il se pla�t a la conversation des gens biens �lev�s. Des

hommes faits sur ce mod�le n'auraient cr�� ni l'�vangile ni

l'Apocalypse; mais, r�ciproquement, sans de tels adh�rents,

l'�vangile, l'Apocalypse, les �pItres de Paul fussent rest�s les

�scrits secrets d'une secte ferm��, qui, comme les ess�ens ou les

th�apeutes, eut finlement disparu.

\* [3112]religion de grander villes; ici,

\* [3113]rieur spirituel, un Lucian couronn� prenat le monde comme un

jeu frivole

\* [3114]si�

\* [3115]si�cle

\* [3116]si�cle.

\* [3117]si�cle. A la limite de l' �ge apostolique, il fut comme

unap�tre, un �pigone de la grande g�n�ration des disciples de

J�sus, une des colonnes de cette Eglise de Rome, qui, depuis la

destruction de J�rusalem, devenait de plus en plus le centre du

christianisme

\* [3118]si�cle. Paris,

\* [3119]si�cle en Asie. La culture litt�raire �tait extr�mement

r�pandue dans cette province; l'art d'�crire y �tait fort commun,

et le christianisme en profitait. La litt�rature des P�res d

l'�glise commencait. Les si�cles suivants ne d�pass�rent pas ces

premiers essais de l'�loquence chr�tienne; mais, au point de vue de

l'orthodoxie, les livres de ces P�res du II

\* [3120]si�cle offraient plus d'une pierre el'achoppement. La lecture

en devint suspecte; on les copia de moins en moins, et ainsi

presque tons ces beaux �crits disparurent, pour faire place aux

�crivains classiques, post�rieurs au concile de Nic�e, �crivains

plus corrects comme doctrine, mais, en g�n�ral, bien moins

originaux que ceux du Il

\* [3121]siecle.

\* [3122]son expressio la plus exalt�e

\* [3123]suite du judaisme

\* [3124]sur

\* [3125]un beau morceau neutre, dont les disciples de Pierre et ceux

de Paul durent se contenter �galement. Ilest probale qu'il fut un

des agents les plus �nergetiques de la grande OEuvre qu� etait en

train de s' accomplir, je veux dire, de la r�conciliation posthume

de Pierre et de Paul de la fusior des deux partis, sans l'union

desquels l'OEuvre du Christ ne pouvait que p�rir.

\* [3126]un des morceaux les plus extraordinaires que poss�de aucune

litterature,"

\* [3127]un docteur tr�s f�cond, un catechiste don� d'un grand talent

d'exposition, un pol�miste habile selon les id�es du temps.

\* [3128]un m�lange inou� de talent, de fausset� d'esprit, d'�loquence

et de mauvais go�t grand �crivain, si l'on admet que sacrifier

toute grammaire et toute correction � l' effet sois bien �crire

\* [3129]une sorte d'eclectisme fond� sur un rationalisme mystic

\* [3130]unsyst�me d'illusions consolantes.

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178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p11.3

179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p27.1

180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p48.1

181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p10.3

182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p48.1

183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xi-p20.4

184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xi-p20.3

185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p7.4

186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlv-p10.1

187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p10.4

188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xi-p11.3

189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xi-p20.7

190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.vi-p7.1

191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.1

192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iv-p4.1

193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p26.1

194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p18.1

195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.18

196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.9

197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p18.1

198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.9

199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xvi-p17.11

200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p15.3

201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p43.4

202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.1

203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.1

204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p29.2

205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p19.1

206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.ix-p9.1

207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliv-p26.3

208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.1

209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iii-p12.5

210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p21.1

211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p28.1

212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.6

213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.6

214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p20.3

215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p22.5

216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.5

217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p39.5

218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p12.1

219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p16.1

220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p28.1

221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p25.1

222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p22.2

223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p21.5

224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p22.3

225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p34.1

226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p11.1

227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p28.8

228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p46.4

229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.8

230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.8

231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p23.1

232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p22.2

233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p21.1

234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p47.5

235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p28.11

236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p12.3

237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p12.3

238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p30.1

239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p3.1

240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p17.3

241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p7.5

242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxix-p23.1

243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p12.4

244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p10.3

245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p16.1

246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iii-p4.1

247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xvi-p17.2

248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.iii-p21.1

249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p39.2

250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p20.1

251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.i-p15.1

252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p3.1

253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p3.4

254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p45.2

255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p12.3

256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p26.2

257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p21.1

258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p21.1

259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p18.1

260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p11.6

261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p38.1

262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p19.2

263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p15.7

264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iv-p8.1

265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p72.2

266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p22.1

267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.ix-p9.2

268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p20.1

269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p18.2

270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.3

271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p22.3

272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p5.1

273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p26.1

274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p13.1

275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p54.1

276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p54.1

277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p54.1

278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.9

279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.9

280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.9

281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.9

282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p26.1

283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p11.2

284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p31.2

285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xvi-p17.4

286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p78.5

287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p21.2

288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.4

289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p5.2

290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.1

291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p33.2

292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p16.2

293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p6.4

294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p14.1

295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.8

296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p24.1

297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.7

298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p54.2

299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p7.2

300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xvi-p17.3

301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p18.2

302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p33.4

303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p16.2

304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p15.1

305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p20.3

306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p12.1

307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p50.4

308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p50.4

309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p20.2

310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p21.1

311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p21.1

312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p38.2

313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p17.1

314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.2

315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.2

316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p3.5

317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p14.3

318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p36.8

319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p20.1

320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p25.1

321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p13.1

322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p20.2

323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.5

324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxiii-p9.1

325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p63.2

326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p26.5

327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p22.7

328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p16.6

329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p17.2

330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p22.1

331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.vi-p12.3

332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p15.1

333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p16.1

334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p17.6

335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p16.1

336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p17.6

337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p16.1

338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p17.6

339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p32.1

340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p16.1

341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p23.1

342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p22.4

343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p10.2

344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.2

345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p16.1

346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p33.1

347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p31.2

348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p7.2

349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p5.1

350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p13.4

351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xii-p26.5

352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.iv-p4.1

353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p7.5

354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.13

355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.13

356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.16

357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p24.2

358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p20.2

359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p15.5

360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.viii-p6.3

361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p14.2

362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p15.4

363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p14.4

364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p8.1

365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p52.4

366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iii-p25.1

367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p40.3

368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p14.1

369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiii-p38.1

370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p6.5

371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p18.3

372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p20.3

373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p82.1

374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p6.6

375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p14.1

376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p38.1

377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iv-p10.1

378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p21.1

379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p21.3

380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.3

381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.6

382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.12

383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.14

384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p21.3

385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p48.3

386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p20.7

387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p33.3

388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p42.1

389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p20.7

390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p36.5

391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p43.2

392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p13.2

393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p19.3

394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p18.4

395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.4

396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xi-p5.3

397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.4

398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.4

399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p6.1

400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.x-p3.1

401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.x-p13.2

402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p26.1

403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p19.1

404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p16.10

405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p10.1

406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p50.1

407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p50.1

408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p12.1

409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p24.1

410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.4

411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p17.1

412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p17.1

413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p17.1

414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p17.1

415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p16.1

416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p17.1

417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p22.4

418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p14.2

419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p6.5

420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p54.3

421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.3

422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvi-p7.1

423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.7

424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p40.1

425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p40.1

426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p27.5

427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.5

428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p20.1

429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p20.1

430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p23.2

431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.4

432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.4

433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.4

434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.4

435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p5.4

436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p5.4

437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p7.5

438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.v-p8.1

439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xi-p13.1

440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xi-p13.1

441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p69.1

442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiii-p27.3

443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.5

444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p11.3

445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p34.8

446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p43.4

447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xii-p32.2

448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p18.8

449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p18.8

450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p31.1

451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ii-p6.1

452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p38.3

453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p8.3

454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p51.1

455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xi-p21.2

456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p19.4

457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p12.1

458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p6.2

459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iii-p12.4

460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.2

461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.2

462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.2

463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p40.2

464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p7.3

465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p5.2

466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p46.3

467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.ix-p11.1

468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p37.3

469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p37.3

470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p61.2

471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p12.1

472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvi-p7.2

473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p36.4

474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xli-p6.1

475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xl-p4.1

476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xli-p6.2

477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliv-p4.1

478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p25.3

479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vii-p6.2

480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p9.4

481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p5.2

482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p18.1

483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p7.2

484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p5.4

485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p5.2

486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p143.1

487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p4.1

488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p143.2

489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxii-p3.3

490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p13.4

491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.i-p11.2

492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p8.2

493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p18.4

494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xx-p3.7

495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p38.5

496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.5

497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iii-p27.1

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499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p29.3

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503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p20.2

504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p20.2

505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p42.3

506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p42.3

507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iii-p12.1

508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xv-p17.1

509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p21.1

510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p21.1

511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliv-p19.1

512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p43.1

513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p18.1

514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p27.2

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527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xii-p24.1

528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xii-p24.1

529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.ix-p4.1

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535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iv-p11.1

536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p18.9

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538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p12.5

539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.v-p7.1

540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p20.2

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542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p33.3

543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xii-p12.2

544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p17.6

545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.6

546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p28.10

547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p20.3

548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.v-p5.2

549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p6.3

550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p26.5

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552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p43.5

553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.3

554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p20.4

555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p50.4

556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p11.4

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558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p23.7

559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p39.4

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562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xl-p24.2

563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.8

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566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.v-p9.2

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569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p10.2

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571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.9

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574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p12.3

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578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p12.2

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584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiv-p16.2

585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p28.1

586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p45.1

587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.5

588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.6

589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p34.6

590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p11.6

591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p7.4

592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p21.3

593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p11.1

594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p31.2

595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p43.4

596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p31.2

597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p43.4

598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p24.2

599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.v-p14.1

600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p45.1

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602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p38.1

603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.vii-p12.1

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614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p46.5

615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p46.5

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623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p11.3

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626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxix-p6.2

627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p20.5

628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p20.1

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644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiv-p22.2

645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p7.4

646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p34.1

647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.vii-p6.1

648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p7.4

649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p60.1

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656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p7.4

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658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p39.2

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666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvi-p3.14

667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvi-p3.14

668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p11.6

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672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p25.2

673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p72.1

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677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p12.2

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683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p19.2

684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p22.1

685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p20.4

686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p33.1

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691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.vi-p12.4

692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p16.4

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706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p26.4

707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p48.2

708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p3.2

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727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.viii-p4.1

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776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iv-p6.1

777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.3

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784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.3

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786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p22.1

787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p43.3

788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p13.1

789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p12.4

790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p43.3

791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p43.3

792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p20.1

793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p78.7

794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p43.3

795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.1

796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p33.4

797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p16.2

798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.2

799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p7.1

800. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p12.3

801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p7.1

802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p24.3

803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ii-p6.4

804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p8.5

805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p44.4

806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p36.7

807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p13.3

808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p50.4

809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p19.1

810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p19.1

811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p20.1

812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p23.4

813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p40.5

814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p40.5

815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p9.1

816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.vii-p4.1

817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.iii-p12.2

818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p48.3

819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p12.5

820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p79.1

821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iii-p27.2

822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p23.7

823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p21.5

824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p48.4

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826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iii-p12.2

827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvii-p14.3

828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p5.5

829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p22.1

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831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p27.12

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833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p24.8

834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p11.1

835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiii-p4.5

836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p27.13

837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p17.1

838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvi-p7.4

839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p21.6

840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.ix-p16.2

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842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p29.2

843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iii-p42.3

844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.10

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846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p20.1

847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xi-p5.1

848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xi-p5.1

849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.vi-p12.6

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852. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iv-p5.1

853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.8

854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.8

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856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlv-p15.2

857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p12.6

858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p3.3

859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p3.6

860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p17.5

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872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p29.1

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888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliv-p9.1

889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlvi-p11.3

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916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p53.1

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918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxviii-p27.2

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926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlvi-p13.1

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932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p72.7

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934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xi-p7.1

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986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p33.5

987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxi-p5.2

988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xl-p28.1

989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlvi-p8.2

990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p27.1

991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p71.5

992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.x-p13.1

993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p254.1

994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xi-p19.6

995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p33.1

996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xi-p21.1

997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vi-p8.1

998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p1.1

999. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xi-p12.3

1000. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p169.1

1001. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p122.1

1002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.iv-p18.2

1003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p25.2

1004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p25.1

1005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p25.3

1006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p229.1

1007. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p253.1

1008. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p7.1

1009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p11.1

1010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xl-p40.1

1011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p262.1

1012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p226.1

1013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p258.1

1014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p142.1

1015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p242.1

1016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p146.2

1017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xviii-p24.2

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1019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p1.1

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1022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xl-p10.2

1023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p30.1

1024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p54.1

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1027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p23.5

1028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p165.1

1029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p218.1

1030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xli-p35.1

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1032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxiv-p10.1

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1034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p7.1

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1043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxiv-p8.1

1044. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xii-p81.1

1045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p33.2

1046. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p33.8

1047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxiv-p4.2

1048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p73.3

1049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p60.4

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1052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p35.1

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1055. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.ix-p16.1

1056. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p5.1

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1058. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iii-p23.3

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1107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p46.2

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1163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p15.1

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1166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.i-p20.2

1167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p20.3

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1181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxix-p17.1

1182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p20.1

1183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p22.1

1184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p19.1

1185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iii-p58.1

1186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p7.1

1187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p10.1

1188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p27.1

1189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.v-p18.1

1190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iii-p6.2

1191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.3

1192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p49.1

1193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.x-p19.1

1194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vii-p7.2

1195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p45.2

1196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p39.1

1197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p10.2

1198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p5.6

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1203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p15.2

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1206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iii-p9.1

1207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.i-p15.1

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1239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p11.12

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1383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.5

1384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.2

1385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.14

1386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.13

1387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.12

1388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.11

1389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.10

1390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p34.2

1391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p23.1

1392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p26.1

1393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p22.1

1394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p21.1

1395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.9

1396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p78.6

1397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p26.8

1398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xii-p10.3

1399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p17.6

1400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p18.3

1401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p34.1

1402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p22.10

1403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p17.1

1404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxii-p8.2

1405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.4

1406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p22.3

1407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p21.3

1408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p18.1

1409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p22.1

1410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p11.9

1411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p24.4

1412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p25.2

1413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p14.1

1414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p31.1

1415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p46.9

1416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p57.2

1417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.2

1418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p208.2

1419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p31.1

1420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p26.3

1421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p52.1

1422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xiii-p16.1

1423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p11.2

1424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p20.10

1425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p53.2

1426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p12.2

1427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p18.1

1428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p23.6

1429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p71.2

1430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p9.1

1431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p31.1

1432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p26.1

1433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xii-p26.1

1434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p11.2

1435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.vii-p12.1

1436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.v-p23.1

1437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p10.1

1438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p32.1

1439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p11.1

1440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p22.1

1441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p11.1

1442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.v-p20.1

1443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p52.1

1444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p13.2

1445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.vii-p16.1

1446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p60.6

1447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiii-p10.1

1448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p47.1

1449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p96.2

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1451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iv-p18.4

1452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p30.3

1453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p8.2

1454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iii-p5.2

1455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.iv-p18.1

1456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p26.2

1457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.18

1458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p12.3

1459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p19.1

1460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p20.1

1461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p17.1

1462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p20.2

1463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p34.1

1464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iii-p5.1

1465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxii-p10.1

1466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p21.1

1467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p32.1

1468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p37.1

1469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p42.4

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1478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p129.1

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1482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p108.2

1483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxi-p4.1

1484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p9.2

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1504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxi-p28.1

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1513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.x-p11.1

1514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p15.5

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1517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p21.2

1518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p11.2

1519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvi-p8.1

1520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.viii-p14.1

1521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p7.3

1522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vii-p6.1

1523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p3.7

1524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p5.3

1525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p15.1

1526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p16.1

1527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p25.2

1528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p25.3

1529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p25.1

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1538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p17.1

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1565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p17.1

1566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p62.1

1567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p3.1

1568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p24.1

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1579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxi-p34.1

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1581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.v-p8.1

1582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xii-p12.1

1583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p24.1

1584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p33.2

1585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p27.2

1586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p5.1

1587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iii-p34.1

1588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p28.1

1589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxiv-p9.3

1590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p25.1

1591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p20.1

1592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.v-p4.1

1593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p36.1

1594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p67.1

1595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p22.1

1596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p19.1

1597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p38.1

1598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p132.1

1599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p21.1

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1601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p64.1

1602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p84.1

1603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p69.1

1604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.viii-p8.1

1605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p8.1

1606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvii-p29.2

1607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p60.1

1608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxv-p20.1

1609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p135.1

1610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p60.3

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1612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p102.1

1613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p66.1

1614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iii-p42.1

1615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p28.1

1616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p16.2

1617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.vi-p3.1

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1621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p5.5

1622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.ii-p15.3

1623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iv-p8.2

1624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p40.1

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1626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p30.1

1627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p31.1

1628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xvii-p9.1

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1631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p22.1

1632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p32.1

1633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p13.1

1634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p15.1

1635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p7.2

1636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.x-p10.1

1637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p32.1

1638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p11.1

1639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p18.1

1640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.ii-p30.6

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1642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p63.1

1643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p21.3

1644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p37.2

1645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p29.1

1646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxii-p10.2

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1657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p19.1

1658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p32.1

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1666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p19.1

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1676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p31.1

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1694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.i-p22.4

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1706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p29.2

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1709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p55.3

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1714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p11.4

1715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p55.4

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1717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p55.2

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1721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p17.1

1722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliii-p10.1

1723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p60.9

1724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p19.6

1725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliii-p10.2

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1738. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p77.1

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1776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p7.1

1777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p34.2

1778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xix-p7.1

1779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p23.2

1780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p38.3

1781. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p36.6

1782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p36.2

1783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p36.1

1784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p87.1

1785. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p70.1

1786. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p93.1

1787. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p6.1

1788. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p23.5

1789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p23.4

1790. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.v-p15.4

1791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p90.1

1792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p38.2

1793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.10

1794. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p78.1

1795. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p99.1

1796. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p8.5

1797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p33.2

1798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.x-p4.1

1799. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.v-p15.5

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1801. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p7.3

1802. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p18.1

1803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p34.3

1804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p277.1

1805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p278.1

1806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p29.2

1807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.x-p17.1

1808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.10

1809. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p14.14

1810. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.6

1811. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p12.2

1812. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xviii-p7.2

1813. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p30.1

1814. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvi-p16.1

1815. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvi-p17.1

1816. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p22.3

1817. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iii-p58.3

1818. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p26.6

1819. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p21.1

1820. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p47.3

1821. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p60.8

1822. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p4.4

1823. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p13.1

1824. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p29.1

1825. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p13.1

1826. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p47.1

1827. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p54.1

1828. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p45.1

1829. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.i-p22.8

1830. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.iv-p5.2

1831. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iii-p16.1

1832. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p13.2

1833. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p28.1

1834. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p60.7

1835. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.viii-p5.2

1836. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p33.3

1837. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p32.6

1838. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p22.3

1839. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p78.8

1840. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.9

1841. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p21.2

1842. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.9

1843. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p17.5

1844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p48.2

1845. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p39.1

1846. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p114.1

1847. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p14.3

1848. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p40.2

1849. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p40.2

1850. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p39.3

1851. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxv-p21.2

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1853. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p73.2

1854. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p73.3

1855. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p22.1

1856. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iii-p9.1

1857. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p126.1

1858. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.x-p5.5

1859. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p20.2

1860. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxi-p14.1

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1862. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p33.2

1863. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.8

1864. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p50.1

1865. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p33.5

1866. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.3

1867. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.1

1868. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iii-p28.2

1869. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.8

1870. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.2

1871. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p14.4

1872. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p20.5

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1878. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p9.4

1879. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p17.1

1880. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.6

1881. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p13.1

1882. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p35.1

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1884. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.7

1885. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xiii-p18.2

1886. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p30.2

1887. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p27.1

1888. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p11.3

1889. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.10

1890. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.7

1891. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.i-p18.2

1892. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p9.2

1893. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.6

1894. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p12.3

1895. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p34.1

1896. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p32.1

1897. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p34.2

1898. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvi-p3.17

1899. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p60.1

1900. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvii-p29.1

1901. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p57.1

1902. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p32.2

1903. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p19.2

1904. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xv-p25.5

1905. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p27.4

1906. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p16.3

1907. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p10.5

1908. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p10.6

1909. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvi-p8.2

1910. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p10.1

1911. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p4.2

1912. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p29.6

1913. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p22.5

1914. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p40.1

1915. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vii-p33.2

1916. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ii-p6.2

1917. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p73.1

1918. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p26.2

1919. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p25.7

1920. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.iv-p21.3

1921. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p15.1

1922. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.1

1923. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ix-p7.1

1924. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ix-p7.3

1925. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p18.3

1926. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p25.2

1927. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p34.7

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1929. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p60.10

1930. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.v-p9.1

1931. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p12.5

1932. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.5

1933. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.3

1934. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p15.7

1935. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p7.3

1936. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xvi-p14.2

1937. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xi-p15.3

1938. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p22.1

1939. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p4.8

1940. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p34.3

1941. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p84.2

1942. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p39.1

1943. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p34.4

1944. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p50.2

1945. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p23.1

1946. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p29.5

1947. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p50.3

1948. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p28.17

1949. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p27.1

1950. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p27.2

1951. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p19.5

1952. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xv-p12.1

1953. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p19.4

1954. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p26.1

1955. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p20.2

1956. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p14.2

1957. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p28.1

1958. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p60.2

1959. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p8.1

1960. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p30.1

1961. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p19.1

1962. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p37.1

1963. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p78.3

1964. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xii-p21.2

1965. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p41.5

1966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p16.3

1967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p16.1

1968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p21.1

1969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p16.2

1970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p21.2

1971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p21.3

1972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p11.7

1973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.xi-p7.2

1974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.v-p9.2

1975. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p46.5

1976. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xx-p42.1

1977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p20.1

1978. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.vi-p6.2

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1991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p22.1

1992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p14.1

1993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p11.11

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2019. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p32.3

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2023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p30.2

2024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p33.1

2025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.i-p22.3

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2038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p75.1

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2105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p10.2

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2122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xv-p14.2

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2136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p26.2

2137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p32.2

2138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p29.1

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2143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p6.4

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2153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xv-p16.2

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2157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlv-p17.1

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2159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ii-p32.4

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2170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p15.2

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2172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiii-p12.1

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2175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p15.3

2176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p30.3

2177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p22.1

2178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p33.4

2179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.ix-p22.1

2180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vi-p3.1

2181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p51.8

2182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p43.1

2183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p26.2

2184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p51.5

2185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p19.7

2186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p7.3

2187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiii-p4.5

2188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p21.5

2189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p13.1

2190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p17.7

2191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvii-p22.2

2192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p16.3

2193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.xiii-p5.4

2194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p77.3

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2196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.i-p27.6

2197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.ii-p7.2

2198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iii-p42.2

2199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xi-p13.3

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2203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p23.3

2204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p16.4

2205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p18.1

2206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.x-p18.1

2207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.vi-p23.2

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2210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p16.5

2211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.v-p8.2

2212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.ii-p31.2

2213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.ii-p31.4

2214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxx-p17.1

2215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p50.2

2216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p50.3

2217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p14.2

2218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p50.1

2219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p14.1

2220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.ii-p31.5

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2224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p12.1

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2235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p45.1

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2243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.v-p41.2

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2265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xli-p45.4

2266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.i-p8.3

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2294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.vi-p15.2

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2317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.i-p7.1

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2374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iii-p12.2

2375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p7.2

2376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p16.5

2377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p9.1

2378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p8.9

2379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p8.4

2380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p3.5

2381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xii-p13.7

2382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p20.2

2383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p23.2

2384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p7.2

2385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p19.3

2386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxiii-p16.1

2387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p11.1

2388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.v-p13.2

2389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p6.2

2390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p10.2

2391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p58.1

2392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p5.1

2393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p30.2

2394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p8.5

2395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iv-p24.2

2396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p16.1

2397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p21.1

2398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.x-p14.2

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2571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p25.1

2572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.i-p21.1

2573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p89.1

2574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.ix-p5.2

2575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.ii-p8.1

2576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlii-p8.7

2577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxi-p21.4

2578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.ix-p6.2

2579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.viii-p12.2

2580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p6.1

2581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p8.2

2582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.ix-p11.2

2583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p16.1

2584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p11.2

2585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p50.1

2586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiv-p24.1

2587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.x-p46.12

2588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p5.2

2589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p20.1

2590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p21.2

2591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xx-p7.2

2592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.i-p6.5

2593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p5.2

2594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iv-p16.1

2595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.viii-p27.3

2596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.vii-p3.2

2597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p55.1

2598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.ix-p55.3

2599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.x-p8.2

2600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.i-p19.2

2601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxviii-p13.1

2602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.iii-p10.1

2603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p4.4

2604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vii-p13.1

2605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iv-p22.2

2606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvii-p10.1

2607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxix-p10.1

2608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xlvi-p4.1

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2614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxix-p35.1

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2622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xliii-p7.3

2623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xiii-p13.1

2624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.v-p12.1

2625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p56.3

2626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.x-p7.1

2627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.viii-p3.1

2628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p20.1

2629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.viii-p8.1

2630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p5.1

2631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p56.2

2632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p56.3

2633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p4.2

2634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.x-p11.1

2635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p54.2

2636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xli-p16.1

2637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p41.1

2638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.i-p19.2

2639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.vi-p16.3

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2643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p4.1

2644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p9.1

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2647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.i-p29.2

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2652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iv-p25.2

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2654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxi-p7.1

2655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p38.1

2656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii-p5.3

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2658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iii-p21.7

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2666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p21.1

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2706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.x-p4.2

2707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p42.1

2708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xii-p3.7

2709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxii-p4.1

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2745. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#iv-p9.1

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2766. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.ii-p12.1

2767. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxviii-p63.7

2768. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p82.2

2769. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.x-p7.2

2770. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxviii-p64.2

2771. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p12.1

2772. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p4.1

2773. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p23.3

2774. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p18.2

2775. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p18.2

2776. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p8.1

2777. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p16.8

2778. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xxi-p10.6

2779. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p18.1

2780. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.xiv-p8.1

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2782. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xv-p16.9

2783. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p51.13

2784. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p31.2

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2789. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xi-p16.2

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2791. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p13.1

2792. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.vii-p14.1

2793. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvii-p6.2

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2797. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xvi-p14.1

2798. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.iii-p17.3

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2803. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xiii-p29.7

2804. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.vi-p8.1

2805. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.ii-p8.1

2806. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.i-p6.1

2807. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xiv-p21.2

2808. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.xix-p17.2

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2844. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p7.1

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2966. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.ii-p4.1

2967. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.i-p8.2

2968. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.i-p25.1

2969. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxv-p17.1

2970. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.viii-p9.3

2971. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.iii-p14.1

2972. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.v-p11.1

2973. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.ii-p3.5

2974. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p11.1

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2977. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvii-p7.1

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2979. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p3.2

2980. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p26.1

2981. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.iii-p5.4

2982. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.i-p20.1

2983. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.i-p19.2

2984. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.i-p14.2

2985. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p36.1

2986. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.vi-p10.2

2987. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p21.3

2988. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p24.2

2989. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p24.3

2990. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p22.1

2991. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p28.1

2992. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#iv-p9.4

2993. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.v-p32.1

2994. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p44.2

2995. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxviii-p15.1

2996. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p27.1

2997. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xix-p12.1

2998. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.ii-p34.1

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3002. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.iv-p29.1

3003. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.i-p44.1

3004. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xiv-p7.1

3005. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vii.iv-p30.1

3006. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xviii-p6.1

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3009. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p10.1

3010. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.viii-p25.3

3011. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p24.5

3012. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxvi-p10.1

3013. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.vii-p3.4

3014. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.iv-p3.16

3015. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxvii-p6.1

3016. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p8.1

3017. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.x-p17.1

3018. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xvi-p17.1

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3021. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xii-p15.2

3022. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.ii-p5.1

3023. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.i-p17.3

3024. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.vi.xi-p14.4

3025. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p21.4

3026. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.x-p9.1

3027. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p18.2

3028. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiv.iv-p14.1

3029. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xi.i-p18.2

3030. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.viii.iii-p12.1

3031. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vii-p3.1

3032. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p34.1

3033. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.vi-p55.3

3034. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xiii.xxiv-p30.1

3035. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p10.1

3036. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.i-p12.2

3037. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p19.1

3038. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p26.2

3039. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.i-p17.2

3040. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.i-p24.4

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3042. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.i-p11.2

3043. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iii-p15.1

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3045. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p20.1

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3047. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.ii-p17.1

3048. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.xv-p13.1

3049. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.iii-p14.4

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3051. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.iv-p6.1

3052. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.viii-p9.2

3053. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.v-p60.3

3054. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iv.viii-p9.1

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3062. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.i-p26.1

3063. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.x.x-p26.6

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3067. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.v.i-p22.3

3068. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p34.6

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3074. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p21.1

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3091. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xii.ii-p5.6

3092. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p74.4

3093. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.iii.iii-p14.3

3094. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.iv-p25.2

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3126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxiv-p74.2

3127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xviii-p11.6

3128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xxxviii-p42.3

3129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.xv.xv-p90.1

3130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc2/cache/hcc2.html3#v.ix.vi-p15.1