History of the Christian Church Volume IV Mediaeval Christianity AD 590-1073

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Title: History of the Christian Church, Volume IV: Mediaeval

Christianity. A.D. 590-1073.

Creator(s): Schaff, Philip (1819-1893)

CCEL Subjects: All; History; Proofed;

LC Call no: BR145.S3

LC Subjects:

Christianity

History

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

HISTORY

of the

CHRISTIAN CHURCH [1]

by

PHILIP SCHAFF

Christianus sum. Christiani nihil a me alienum puto

VOLUME IV.

MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIAINITY

From Gregory I to Gregory VII

A.D. 590-1073

HISTORY

of

MEDIEVAL CHRISTIANITY

FROM a. d. 590 TO 1517.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER I.

General Introduction to Mediaeval Church History.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 1. Sources and Literature.

August Potthast: Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aoevi. Wegweiser durch die

Geschichtswerke des Europ�ischen Mittelalters von 375-1500. Berlin,

1862. Supplement, 1868.

The mediaeval literature embraces four distinct branches;

1. The Romano-Germanic or Western Christian;

2. The Graeco-Byzantine or Eastern Christian;

3. The Talmudic and Rabbinical;

4. The Arabic and Mohammedan.

We notice here only the first and second; the other two will be

mentioned in subdivisions as far as they are connected with church

history.

The Christian literature consists partly of documentary sources, partly

of historical works. We confine ourselves here to the most important

works of a more general character. Books referring to particular

countries and sections of church history will be noticed in the

progress of the narrative.

I. Documentary Sources.

They are mostly in Latin--the official language of the Western

Church,--and in Greek,--the official language of the Eastern Church.

(1) For the history of missions: the letters and biographies of

missionaries.

(2) For church polity and government: the official letters of popes,

patriarchs, and bishops.

The documents of the papal court embrace (a) Regesta (registra), the

transactions of the various branches of the papal government from a.d.

1198-1572, deposited in the Vatican library, and difficult of access.

(b) Epistolae decretales, which constitute the basis of the Corpus

juris canonici, brought to a close in 1313. (c) The bulls (bulla, a

seal or stamp of globular form, though some derive it from boulhv,

will, decree) and briefs (breve, a short, concise summary), i.e., the

official letters since the conclusion of the Canon law. They are of

equal authority, but the bulls differ from the briefs by their more

solemn form. The bulls are written on parchment, and sealed with a seal

of lead or gold, which is stamped on one side with the effigies of

Peter and Paul, and on the other with the name of the reigning pope,

and attached to the instrument by a string; while the briefs are

written on paper, sealed with red wax, and impressed with the seal of

the fisherman or Peter in a boat.

(3) For the history of Christian life: the biographies of saints, the

disciplinary canons of synods, the ascetic literature.

(4) For worship and ceremonies: liturgies, hymns, homilies, works of

architecture sculpture, painting, poetry, music. The Gothic cathedrals

are as striking embodiments of mediaeval Christianity as the Egyptian

pyramids are of the civilization of the Pharaohs.

(5) For theology and Christian learning: the works of the later fathers

(beginning with Gregory I.), schoolmen, mystics, and the forerunners of

the Reformation.

II. Documentary Collections. Works of Mediaeval Writers.

(1) For the Oriental Church.

Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae, opera Niebuhrii, Bekkeri, et

al. Bonnae, 1828-'78, 50 vols. 8vo. Contains a complete history of the

East-Roman Empire from the sixth century to its fall. The chief writers

are Zonaras, from the Creation to a.d. 1118; Nicetas, from 1118 to

1206; Gregoras, from 1204 to 1359; Laonicus, from 1298 to 1463; Ducas,

from 1341 to 1462; Phrantzes, from 1401 to 1477.

J. A. Fabricius (d. 1736): Bibliotheca Graeca sive Notitia Scriptorum

veterum Graecorum, 4th ed., by G. Chr. Harless, with additions.

Hamburg, 1790-1811, 12 vols. A supplement by S. F. W. Hoffmann:

Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literatur der Griechen.

Leipzig, 1838-'45, 3 vols.

(2) For the Westem Church.

Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum. Lugduni, 1677, 27 vols. fol.

Martene (d. 1739) and Durand (d. 1773): Thesaurus Anecdotorum Novus,

seu Collectio Monumentorum, etc. Paris, 1717, 5 vols. fol. By the same:

Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Collectio ampliss. Paris, 1724-'38,

9 vols. fol.

J. A. Fabricius: Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae AEtatis. Hamb.

1734, and with supplem. 1754, 6 vols. 4to.

Abb� Migne: Patralogiae Cursus Completus, sive Bibliotheca Universalis

... Patrum, etc. Paris, 1844-'66. The Latin series (1844-'55) has 221

vols. (4 vols. indices); the Greek series (1857-66) has 166 vols. The

Latin series, from tom. 80-217, contains the writers from Gregory the

Great to Innocent III. Reprints of older editions, and most valuable

for completeness and convenience, though lacking in critical accuracy.

Abb� Horay: Medii AEvi Bibliotheca Patristica ab anno MCCXVI usque ad

Concilii Tridentini Tempora. Paris, 1879 sqq. A continuation of Migne

in the same style. The first 4 vols. contain the Opera Honori III.

Joan. Domin. Mansi (archbishop of Lucca, d. 1769): Sacrorum Conciliorum

nova et amplissima Collectio. Florence and Venice 1759-1798, 31 vols.

fol. The best collection down to 1509. A new ed. (facsimile) publ. by

Victor Palm�, Paris and Berlin 1884 sqq. Earlier collections of

Councils by Labb� and Cossart (1671-72, 18 vols), Colet (with the

supplements of Mansi, 1728-52, 29 vols. fol.), and Hardouin (1715, 12

vols. fol.).

C. Cocquelines: Magnum Bullarium Romanum. Bullarum, Privilegiorum ac

Diplomatum Romanorum Pontificum usque ad Clementem XII. amplissima

Collectio. Rom. 1738-58. 14 Tom. fol. in 28 Partes; new ed. 1847-72, in

24 vols.

A. A. Barberi: Magni Bullarii Rom. Continuatio a Clemente XIII ad Pium

VIII. (1758-1830). Rom. 1835-'57, 18 vols. fol. The bulls of Gregory

XVI. appeared 1857 in 1 vol.

G. H. Pertz (d. 1876): Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannov.

1826-1879. 24 vols. fol. Continued by G. Waitz.

III. Documentary Histories.

Acta Sanctorum Bollandistarum. Antw. Bruxellis et Tongerloae,

1643-1794; Brux. 1845 sqq., new ed. Paris, 1863-75, in 61 vols. fol.

(with supplement). See a list of contents in the seventh volume for

June or the first volume for October; also in the second part of

Potthast, sub "Vita," pp. 575 sqq.

This monumental work of John Bolland (a learned Jesuit, 1596-1665),

Godefr. Henschen (1681), Dan. Papebroch (1714), and their associates

and followers, called Bollandists, contains biographies of all the

saints of the Catholic Church in the order of the calendar, and divided

into months. They are not critical histories, but compilations of an

immense material of facts and fiction, which illustrate the life and

manners of the ancient and mediaeval church. Potthast justly calls it a

"riesenhaftes Denkmal wissenschaftlichen Strebens." It was carried on

with the aid of the Belgic government, which contributed (since 1837)

6,000 francs annually.

Caes. Baronius (d. 1607): Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum

1198. Rom. 1588-1593, 12 vols. Continued by Raynaldi (from 1198 to

1565), Laderchi (from 1566-1571), and A. Theiner (1572-1584). Best ed.

by Mansi, with the continuations of Raynaldi, and the Critica of Pagi,

Lucca, 1738-'59, 35 vols. fol. text, and 3 vols. of index universalis.

A new ed. by A. Theiner (d. 1874), Bar-le-Duc, 1864 sqq. Likewise a

work of herculean industry, but to be used with critical caution, as it

contains many spurious documents, legends and fictions, and is written

in the interest and defence of the papacy.

IV. Modern Histories of the Middle Ages.

J. M. F. Frantin: Annales du moyen age. Dijon, 1825, 8 vols. 8vo.

F. Rehm: Geschichte des Mittelalters. Marbg, 1821-'38, 4 vols. 8vo.

Heinrich Leo: Geschichte des Mittelalters. Halle, 1830, 2 vols.

Charpentier: Histoire literaire du moyen age. Par. 1833.

R. Hampson: Medii aevi Calendarium, or Dates, Charters, and Customs of

the Middle Ages, with Kalenders from the Xth to the XVth century.

London, 1841, 2 vols. 8vo.

Henry Hallam (d. 1859): View of the State of Europe during the Middle

Ages. London, 1818, 3d ed. 1848, Boston ed. 1864 in 3 vols. By the

same: Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the 15th, 16th, and

17th centuries. Several ed., Engl. and Am. Boston ed. 1864 in 4 vols.;

N. York, 1880, in 4 vols.

Charles Hardwick ( l859): A History of the Christian Church. Middle

Age. 3d ed. by Stubbs, London, 1872.

Henry Hart Milman ( 1868): History of Latin Christianity; including

that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. London and N. York,

1854, 8 vols., new ed., N. York (A. C. Armstrong & Son), 1880.

Richard Chenevix Trench (Archbishop of Dublin): Lectures on Mediaeval

Church History. London, 1877, republ. N. York, 1878.

V. The Mediaeval Sections of the General Church Histories.

(a) Roman Catholic: Baronius (see above), Fleury, M�hler, Alzog,

D�llinger (before 1870), Hergenr�ther.

(b) Protestant: Mosheim, Schr�ckh, Gieseler, Neander, Baur, Hagenbach,

Robertson. Also Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Rom. Empire (Wm.

Smith's ed.), from ch. 45 to the close.

VI. Auxiliary.

Domin. Du Cange (Charles du Fresne, d. 1688): Glossarium ad Scriptores

mediae et infimae Latinitatis, Paris, 1678; new ed. by Henschel, Par.

1840-'50, in 7 vols. 4to; and again by Favre, 1883 sqq.--By the same:

Glossarium ad Scriptores medicae et infimae Graecitatis, Par. 1682, and

Lugd. Batav. 1688, 2 vols. fol. These two works are the philological

keys to the knowledge of mediaeval church history.

An English ed. of the Latin glossary has been announced by John Murray,

of London: Mediaeval Latin-English Dictionary, based upon the great

work of Du Cange. With additions and corrections by E. A. Dayman.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 2. The Middle Age. Limits and General Character.

The Middle Age, as the term implies, is the period which intervenes

between ancient and modern times, and connects them, by continuing the

one, and preparing for the other. It forms the transition from the

Graeco-Roman civilization to the Romano-Germanic, civilization, which

gradually arose out of the intervening chaos of barbarism. The

connecting link is Christianity, which saved the best elements of the

old, and directed and moulded the new order of things.

Politically, the middle age dates from the great migration of nations

and the downfall of the western Roman Empire in the fifth century; but

for ecclesiastical history it begins with Gregory the Great, the last

of the fathers and the first of the popes, at the close of the sixth

century. Its termination, both for secular and ecclesiastical history,

is the Reformation of the sixteenth century (1517), which introduces

the modern age of the Christian era. Some date modern history from the

invention of the art of printing, or from the discovery of America,

which preceded the Reformation; but these events were only preparatory

to a great reform movement and extension of the Christian world.

The theatre of mediaeval Christianity is mainly Europe. In Western Asia

and North Africa, the Cross was supplanted by the Crescent; and

America, which opened a new field for the ever-expanding energies of

history, was not discovered until the close of the fifteenth century.

Europe was peopled by a warlike emigration of heathen barbarians from

Asia as America is peopled by a peaceful emigration from civilized and

Christian Europe.

The great migration of nations marks a turning point in the history of

religion and civilization. It was destructive in its first effects, and

appeared like the doom of the judgment-day; but it proved the harbinger

of a new creation, the chaos preceding the cosmos. The change was

brought about gradually. The forces of the old Greek and Roman world

continued to work for centuries alongside of the new elements. The

barbarian irruption came not like a single torrent which passes by, but

as the tide which advances and retires, returns and at last becomes

master of the flooded soil. The savages of the north swept down the

valley of the Danube to the borders of the Greek Empire, and southward

over the Rhine and the Vosges into Gaul, across the Alps into Italy,

and across the Pyrenees into Spain. They were not a single people, but

many independent tribes; not an organized army of a conqueror, but

irregular hordes of wild warriors ruled by intrepid kings; not directed

by the ambition of one controlling genius, like Alexander or Caesar,

but prompted by the irresistible impulse of an historical instinct, and

unconsciously bearing in their rear the future destinies of Europe and

America. They brought with them fire and sword, destruction and

desolation, but also life and vigor, respect for woman, sense of honor,

love of liberty--noble instincts, which, being purified and developed

by Christianity, became the governing principles of a higher

civilization than that of Greece and Rome. The Christian monk Salvian,

who lived in the midst of the barbarian flood, in the middle of the

fifth century, draws a most gloomy and appalling picture of the vices

of the orthodox Romans of his time, and does not hesitate to give

preference to the heretical (Arian) and heathen barbarians, "whose

chastity purifies the deep stained with the Roman debauches." St.

Augustin (d. 430), who took a more sober and comprehensive view,

intimates, in his great work on the City of God, the possibility of the

rise of a new and better civilization from the ruins of the old Roman

empire; and his pupil, Orosius, clearly expresses this hopeful view.

"Men assert," he says, "that the barbarians are enemies of the State. I

reply that all the East thought the same of the great Alexander; the

Romans also seemed no better than the enemies of all society to the

nations afar off, whose repose they troubled. But the Greeks, you say,

established empires; the Germans overthrow them. Well, the Macedonians

began by subduing the nations which afterwards they civilized. The

Germans are now upsetting all this world; but if, which Heaven avert,

they, finish by continuing to be its masters, peradventure some day

posterity will salute with the title of great princes those in whom we

at this day can see nothing but enemies."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 3. The Nations of Mediaeval Christianity. The Kelt, the Teuton, and

the Slav.

The new national forces which now enter upon the arena of

church-history may be divided into four groups:

1. The Romanic or Latin nations of Southern Europe, including the

Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese and French. They are the natural

descendants and heirs of the old Roman nationality and Latin

Christianity, yet mixed with the new Keltic and Germanic forces. Their

languages are all derived from the Latin; they inherited Roman laws and

customs, and adhered to the Roman See as the centre of their

ecclesiastical organization; they carried Christianity to the advancing

barbarians, and by their superior civilization gave laws to the

conquerors. They still adhere, with their descendants in Central and

South America, to the Roman Catholic Church.

2. The Keltic race, embracing the Gauls, old Britons, the Picts and

Scots, the Welsh and Irish with their numerous emigrants in all the

large cities of Great Britain and the United States, appear in history

several hundred years before Christ, as the first light wave of the

vast Aryan migration from the mysterious bowels of Asia, which swept to

the borders of the extreme West. [2] The Gauls were conquered by

Caesar, but afterwards commingled with the Teutonic Francs, who founded

the French monarchy. The Britons were likewise subdued by the Romans,

and afterwards driven to Wales and Cornwall by the Anglo-Saxons. The

Scotch in the highlands (Gaels) remained Keltic, while in the lowlands

they mixed with Saxons and Normans.

The mental characteristics of the Kelts remain unchanged for two

thousand years: quick wit, fluent speech, vivacity, sprightliness,

impressibility, personal bravery and daring, loyalty to the chief or

the clan, but also levity, fickleness, quarrelsomeness and incapacity

for self-government. "They shook all empires, but founded none." The

elder Cato says of them: "To two things are the Kelts most attent: to

fighting (ars militaris), and to adroitness of speech (argute loqui)."

Caesar censures their love of levity and change. The apostle Paul

complains of the same weakness. Thierry, their historian, well

describes them thus: "Their prominent attributes are personal valor, in

which they excel all nations; a frank, impetuous spirit open to every

impression; great intelligence, but joined with extreme mobility,

deficient perseverance, restlessness under discipline and order,

boastfulness and eternal discord, resulting from boundless vanity."

Mommsen quotes this passage, and adds that the Kelts make good

soldiers, but bad citizens; that the only order to which they submit is

the military, because the severe general discipline relieves them of

the heavy burden of individual self-control. [3]

Keltic Christianity was at first independent of Rome, and even

antagonistic to it in certain subordinate rites; but after the Saxon

and Norman conquests, it was brought into conformity, and since the

Reformation, the Irish have been more attached to the Roman Church than

even the Latin races. The French formerly inclined likewise to a

liberal Catholicism (called Gallicanism); but they sacrificed the

Gallican liberties to the Ultramontanism of the Vatican Council. The

Welsh and Scotch, on the contrary, with the exception of a portion of

the Highlanders in the North of Scotland, embraced the Protestant

Reformation in its Calvinistic rigor, and are among its sternest and

most vigorous advocates. The course of the Keltic nations had been

anticipated by the Galatians, who first embraced with great readiness

and heartiness the independent gospel of St. Paul, but were soon turned

away to a Judaizing legalism by false teachers, and then brought back

again by Paul to the right path.

3. The Germanic [4] or Teutonic [5] nations followed the Keltic

migration in successive westward and southward waves, before and after

Christ, and spread over Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia, the

Baltic provinces of Russia, and, since the Anglo-Saxon invasion, also

over England and Scotland and the northern (non-Keltic) part of

Ireland. In modern times their descendants peacefully settled the

British Provinces and the greater part of North America. The Germanic

nations are the fresh, vigorous, promising and advancing races of the

middle age and modern times. Their Christianization began in the fourth

century, and went on in wholesale style till it was completed in the

tenth. The Germans, under their leader Odoacer in 476, deposed Romulus

Augustulus--the shadow of old Romulus and Augustus--and overthrew the

West Roman Empire, thus fulfilling the old augury of the twelve birds

of fate, that Rome was to grow six centuries and to decline six

centuries. Wherever they went, they brought destruction to decaying

institutions. But with few exceptions, they readily embraced the

religion of the conquered Latin provinces, and with childlike docility

submitted to its educational power. They were predestinated for

Christianity, and Christianity for them. It curbed their warlike

passions, regulated their wild force, and developed their nobler

instincts, their devotion and fidelity, their respect for woman, their

reverence for all family-relations, their love of personal liberty and

independence. The Latin church was to them only a school of discipline

to prepare them for an age of Christian manhood and independence, which

dawned in the sixteenth century. The Protestant Reformation was the

emancipation of the Germanic races from the pupilage of mediaeval and

legalistic Catholicism.

Tacitus, the great heathen historian, no doubt idealized the barbarous

Germans in contrast with the degenerate Romans of his day (as Montaigne

and Rousseau painted the savages "in a fit of ill humor against their

country"); but he unconsciously prophesied their future greatness, and

his prophecy has been more than fulfilled.

4. The Slavonic or Slavic or Slavs [6] in the East and North of Europe,

including the Bulgarians, Bohemians (Czechs), Moravians, Slovaks,

Servians, Croatians, Wends, Poles, and Russians, were mainly converted

through Eastern missionaries since the ninth and tenth century. The

Eastern Slavs, who are the vast majority, were incorporated with the

Greek Church, which became the national religion of Russia, and through

this empire acquired a territory almost equal to that of the Roman

Church. The western Slavs, the Bohemians and Poles, became subject to

the Papacy.

The Slavs, who number in all nearly 80,000,000, occupy a very

subordinate position in the history of the middle ages, and are

isolated from the main current; but recently, they have begun to

develop their resources, and seem to have a great future before them

through the commanding political power of Russia in Europe and in Asia.

Russia is the bearer of the destinies of Panslavism and of the, Eastern

Church.

5. The Greek nationality, which figured so conspicuously in ancient

Christianity, maintained its independence down to the fall of the

Byzantine Empire in 1453; but it was mixed with Slavonic elements. The

Greek Church was much weakened by the inroads of Mohammedanism) and

lost the possession of the territories of primitive Christianity, but

secured a new and vast missionary field in Russia.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[2] keltoior Keltai, Celtae, Galatai, Galatae or Galati, Galli, Gael.

Some derive it from celt, a cover, shelter; others from celu (Lat.

celo) to conceal. Herodotus first mentions them, as dwelling in the

extreme northwest of Europe. On these terms see Diefenbach, Celtica,

Brandes, Kelten und Germanen, Thierry, Histoire des Gaulois, the art.

Galli in Pauly's Realencyclop�die, and the introductions to the

critical Commentaries on the Galatians by Wieseler and Lightfoot (and

Lightfoot's Excursus I). The Galatians in Asia Minor, to whom Paul

addressed his epistle, were a branch of the Keltic race, which either

separated from the main current of the westward migration, or, being

obstructed by the ocean, retraced their steps, and turned eastward.

Wieseler (in his Com. and in several articles in the "Studien und

Kritiken, " and in the "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte," 1877 No. 1)

tries to make them Germans, a view first hinted at by Luther. But the

fickleness of the Galatian Christians is characterristic of the ancient

Gauls and modern French.

[3] R�mische Geschichte, Vol. I., p. 329, 5th ed., Berlin, 1868.

[4] The word is of uncertain origin. Some derive it from a Keltic root,

garm or gairm, i.e. noise; some from the old German gere(guerre), a

pointed weapon, spear or javelin (so that German would mean an armed

man, or war-man, Wehrmann); others, from the Persian irman, erman, i.e.

guest.

[5] From the Gothic thiudisco, gentiles, popularis; hence the Latin

teutonicus, and the German deutschor teutsch(which may also be

connected with diutan, deutsch deutlich). In the English usage, the

term German is confined to the Germans proper, and Dutch to the

Hollanders; but Germanic and Teutonic apply to all cognate races.

[6] The term Slav or Slavonian is derived by some from slovo, word, by

others, from slava, glory. From it are derived the words slave and

slavery (Sclave, esclave), because many Slavs were reduced to a state

of slavery or serfdom by their German masters. Webster spells slave

instead of slav, and Edward A. Freeman, in his Historical Essays (third

series, 1879), defends this spelling on three grounds: 1) No English

word ends in v. But many Russian words do, as Kiev, Yaroslav, and some

Hebrew grammars use Tav and Vav for Tau and Vau. 2) Analogy. We write

Dane, Swede, Pole, not Dan, etc. But the a in Slav has the continental

sound, and the tendency is to get rid of mute vowels. 3) The form Slave

perpetuates the etymology. But the etymology (slave = doulos) is

uncertain, and it is well to distinguish the national name from the

ordinary slaves, and thus avoid offence. The Germans also distinguish

between Slaven, Sclaven.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 4. Genius of Mediaeval Christianity.

Mediaeval Christianity is, on the one hand, a legitimate continuation

and further development of ancient Catholicism; on the other hand, a

preparation for Protestantism,

Its leading form are the papacy, monasticism, and scholasticism, which

were developed to their height, and then assailed by growing opposition

from within.

Christianity, at its first introduction, had to do with highly

civilized nations; but now it had to lay the foundation of a new

civilization among barbarians. The apostles planted churches in the

cities of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, and the word "pagan" i.e,

villager, backwoodsman, gradually came to denote an idolater. They

spoke and wrote in a language which had already a large and immortal

literature; their progress was paved by the high roads of the Roman

legions; they found everywhere an established order of society, and

government; and their mission was to infuse into the ancient

civilization a new spiritual life and to make it subservient to higher

moral ends. But the missionaries of the dark ages had to visit wild

woods and untilled fields, to teach rude nations the alphabet, and to

lay the foundation for society, literature and art.

Hence Christianity assumed the character of a strong disciplinary

institution, a training school for nations in their infancy, which had

to be treated as children. Hence the legalistic, hierarchical,

ritualistic and romantic character of mediaeval Catholicism. Yet in

proportion as the nations were trained in the school of the church,

they began to assert their independence of the hierarchy and to develop

a national literature in their own language. Compared with our times,

in which thought and reflection have become the highest arbiter of

human life, the middle age was an age of passion. The written law, such

as it was developed in Roman society, the barbarian could not

understand and would not obey. But he was easily impressed by the

spoken law, the living word, and found a kind of charm in bending his

will absolutely before another will. Thus the teaching church became

the law in the land, and formed the very foundation of all social and

political organization.

The middle ages are often called "the dark ages:" truly, if we compare

them with ancient Christianity, which preceded, and with modern

Christianity, which followed; falsely and unjustly, if the church is

made responsible for the darkness. Christianity was the light that

shone in the darkness of surrounding barbarism and heathenism, and

gradually dispelled it. Industrious priests and monks saved from the

wreck of the Roman Empire the treasures of classical literature,

together with the Holy Scriptures and patristic writings, and

transmitted them to better times. The mediaeval light was indeed the

borrowed star and moon-light of ecclesiastical tradition, rather than

the clear sun-light from the inspired pages of the New Testament; but

it was such light as the eyes of nations in their ignorance could bear,

and it never ceased to shine till it disappeared in the day-light of

the great Reformation. Christ had his witnesses in all ages and

countries, and those shine all the brighter who were surrounded by

midnight darkness.

"Pause where we may upon the desert-road,

Some shelter is in sight, some sacred safe abode."

On the other hand, the middle ages are often called, especially by

Roman Catholic writers, "the ages of faith." They abound in legends of

saints, which had the charm of religious novels. All men believed in

the supernatural and miraculous as readily as children do now. Heaven

and hell were as real to the mind as the kingdom of France and the,

republic of Venice. Skepticism and infidelity were almost unknown, or

at least suppressed and concealed. But with faith was connected a vast

deal of superstition and an entire absence of critical investigation

and judgment. Faith was blind and unreasoning, like the faith of

children. The most incredible and absurd legends were accepted without

a question. And yet the morality was not a whit better, but in many

respects ruder, coarser and more passionate, than in modern times.

The church as a visible organization never had greater power over the

minds of men. She controlled all departments of life from the cradle to

the grave. She monopolized all the learning and made sciences and arts

tributary to her. She took the lead in every progressive movement. She

founded universities, built lofty cathedrals, stirred up the crusades,

made and unmade kings, dispensed blessings and curses to whole nations.

The mediaeval hierarchy centering in Rome re-enacted the Jewish

theocracy on a more comprehensive scale. It was a carnal anticipation

of the millennial reign of Christ. It took centuries to rear up this

imposing structure, and centuries to take it down again.

The opposition came partly from the anti-Catholic sects, which, in

spite of cruel persecution, never ceased to protest against the

corruptions and tyranny of the papacy; partly from the spirit of

nationality which arose in opposition to an all-absorbing hierarchical

centralization; partly from the revival of classical and biblical

learning, which undermined the reign of superstition and tradition; and

partly from the inner and deeper life of the Catholic Church itself,

which loudly called for a reformation, and struggled through the severe

discipline of the law to the light and freedom of the gospel. The

mediaeval Church was a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ. The

Reformation was an emancipation of Western Christendom from the bondage

of the law, and a re-conquest of that liberty "wherewith Christ hath

made us free" (Gal. v. 1).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 5. Periods of the Middle Age.

The Middle Age may be divided into three periods:

1. The missionary period from Gregory I. to Hildebrand or Gregory VII.,

a.d. 590-1073. The conversion of the northern barbarians. The dawn of a

new civilization. The origin and progress of Islam. The separation of

the West from the East. Some subdivide this period by Charlemagne

(800), the founder of the German-Roman Empire.

2. The palmy period of the papal theocracy from Gregory VII. to

Boniface VIII., a.d. 1073-1294. The height of the papacy, monasticism

and scholasticism. The Crusades. The conflict between the Pope and the

Emperor. If we go back to the rise of Hildebrand, this period begins in

1049.

3. The decline of mediaeval Catholicism and preparation for modern

Christianity, from Boniface VIII. to the Reformation, a.d. 1294-1517.

The papal exile and schism; the reformatory councils; the decay of

scholasticism; the growth of mysticism; the revival of letters, and the

art of printing; the discovery of America; forerunners of

Protestantism; the dawn of the Reformation.

These three periods are related to each other as the wild youth, the

ripe manhood, and the declining old age. But the gradual dissolution of

mediaevalism was only the preparation for a new life, a destruction

looking to a reconstruction.

The three periods may be treated separately, or as a continuous whole.

Both methods have their advantages: the first for a minute study; the

second for a connected survey of the great movements.

According to our division laid down in the introduction to the first

volume, the three periods of the middle ages are the fourth, fifth and

sixth periods of the general history of Christianity.

FOURTH PERIOD

THE CHURCH AMONG THE BARBARIANS

FROM GREGORY I. TO GREGORY VII.

a.d. 590 to 1049.

----------

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER II.

CONVERSION OF THE NORTHERN AND WESTERN BARBARIANS

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 6. Character of Mediaeval Missions.

The conversion of the new and savage races which enter the theatre of

history at the threshold of the middle ages, was the great work of the

Christian church from the sixth to the tenth century. Already in the

second or third century, Christianity was carried to the Gauls, the

Britons and the Germans on the borders of the Rhine. But these were

sporadic efforts with transient results. The work did not begin in

earnest till the sixth century, and then it went vigorously forward to

the tenth and twelfth, though with many checks and temporary relapses

caused by civil wars and foreign invasions.

The Christianization of the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavonians was at the

same time a process of civilization, and differed in this respect

entirely from the conversion of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the

preceding age. Christian missionaries laid the foundation for the

alphabet, literature, agriculture, laws, and arts of the nations of

Northern and Western Europe, as they now do among the heathen nations

in Asia and Africa. "The science of language," says a competent judge,

[7] "owes more than its first impulse to Christianity. The pioneers of

our science were those very apostles who were commanded to go into all

the world and preach the gospel to every creature; and their true

successors, the missionaries of the whole Christian church." The same

may be said of every branch of knowledge and art of peace. The

missionaries, in aiming at piety and the salvation of souls,

incidentally promoted mental culture and temporal prosperity. The

feeling of brotherhood inspired by Christianity broke down the

partition walls between race and race, and created a brotherhood of

nations.

The mediaeval Christianization was a wholesale conversion, or a

conversion of nations under the command of their leaders. It was

carried on not only by missionaries and by spiritual means, but also by

political influence, alliances of heathen princes with Christian wives,

and in some cases (as the baptism of the Saxons under Charlemagne) by

military force. It was a conversion not to the primary Christianity of

inspired apostles, as laid down in the New Testament, but to the

secondary Christianity of ecclesiastical tradition, as taught by the

fathers, monks and popes. It was a baptism by water, rather than by

fire and the Holy Spirit. The preceding instruction amounted to little

or nothing; even the baptismal formula, mechanically recited in Latin,

was scarcely understood. The rude barbarians, owing to the weakness of

their heathen religion, readily submitted to the new religion; but some

tribes yielded only to the sword of the conqueror.

This superficial, wholesale conversion to a nominal Christianity must

be regarded in the light of a national infant-baptism. It furnished the

basis for a long process of Christian education. The barbarians were

children in knowledge, and had to be treated like children.

Christianity, assumed the form of a new law leading them, as a

schoolmaster, to the manhood of Christ.

The missionaries of the middle ages were nearly all monks. They were

generally men of limited education and narrow views, but devoted zeal

and heroic self-denial. Accustomed to primitive simplicity of life,

detached from all earthly ties, trained to all sorts of privations,

ready for any amount of labor, and commanding attention and veneration

by their unusual habits, their celibacy, fastings and constant

devotions, they were upon the whole the best pioneers of Christianity

and civilization among the savage races of Northern and Western Europe.

The lives of these missionaries are surrounded by their biographers

with such a halo of legends and miracles, that it is almost impossible

to sift fact from fiction. Many of these miracles no doubt were

products of fancy or fraud; but it would be rash to deny them all.

The same reason which made miracles necessary in the first introduction

of Christianity, may have demanded them among barbarians before they

were capable of appreciating the higher moral evidences.

I. THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[7] Max M�ller, Science of Language, I. 121.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 7. Literature.

I. Sources.

Gildas (Abbot of Bangor in Wales, the oldest British historian, in the

sixth cent.): De excidio Britanniae conquestus, etc. A picture of the

evils of Britain at the time. Best ed. by Joseph Stevenson, Lond.,

1838. (English Historical Society's publications.)

Nennius (Abbot of Bangor about 620): Eulogium Britanniae, sive Historia

Britonum. Ed. Stevenson, 1838.

The Works of Gildas and Nennius transl. from the Latin by J. A. Giles,

London, 1841.

\*Beda Venerabilis (d. 734): Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum; in

the sixth vol. of Migne's ed. of Bedae Opera Omnia, also often

separately published and translated into English. Best ed. by

Stevenson, Lond., 1838; and by Giles, Lond., 1849. It is the only

reliable church-history of the Anglo-Saxon period.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from the time of Caesar to 1154. A work of

several successive hands, ed. by Gibson with an Engl. translation,

1823, and by Giles, 1849 (in one vol. with Bede's Eccles. History).

See the Six Old English Chronicles, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library

(1848); and Church Historians of England trans. by Jos. Stevenson,

Lond. 1852-'56, 6 vols.

Sir. Henry Spelman (d. 1641): Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones

in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici, etc. Lond., 1639-'64, 2 vols. fol.

(Vol. I. reaches to the Norman conquest; vol. ii. to Henry VIII).

David Wilkins (d. 1745): Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae (from

446 to 1717), Lond., 1737, 4 vols. fol. (Vol. I. from 446 to 1265).

\*Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs: Councils and Ecclesiastical

Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland: edited after Spelman

and Wilkins. Oxford (Clarendon Press), 1869 to '78. So far 3 vols. To

be continued down to the Reformation.

The Penitentials of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon Churches are collected

and edited by F. Kunstmann (Die Lat. Poenitentialb�cher der

Angelsachsen, 1844); Wasserschleben (Die Bussordnungen der abendl�nd.

Kirche, 1851); Schmitz (Die Bussb�cher u. d. Bussdisciplin d. Kirche,

1883).

II. Historical Works.

(a) The Christianization of England.

\*J. Ussher. (d. 1655): Britannicarum Eccles. Antiquitates. Dublin,

1639; London, 1687; Works ed. by Elrington, 1847, Vols. V. and VI.

E. Stillingfleet (d. 1699): Origenes Britannicae; or, the Antiqu. of

the British Churches. London, 1710; Oxford, 1842; 2 vols.

J. Lingard (R.C., d. 1851): The History and Antiquities of the

Anglo-Saxon Church. London, 1806, new ed., 1845.

Karl Schr�dl (R.C.): Das erste Jahrhundert der englischen Kirche.

Passau & Wien, 1840.

Edward Churton (Rector of Crayke, Durham): The Early English Church.

London, 1841 (new ed. unchanged, 1878).

James Yeowell: Chronicles of the Ancient British Church anterior to the

Saxon era. London, 1846.

Francis Thackeray (Episcop.): Researches into the Eccles. and Political

State of Ancient Britain under the Roman Emperors. London, 1843, 2

vols.

\*Count De Montalembert (R.C., d. 1870): The Monks of the West.

Edinburgh and London, 1861-'79, 7 vols. (Authorized transl. from the

French). The third vol. treats of the British Isles.

Reinhold Pauli: Bilder aus Alt-England. Gotha, 1860.

W F. Hook: Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury. London, 2nd ed.,

1861 sqq.

G. F. Maclear. (D. D., Head-master of King's College School):

Conversion of the West. The English. London, 1878. By the same: The

Kelts, 1878. (Popular.)

William Bright (Dr. and Prof, of Eccles. Hist., Oxford): Chapters on

Early English Church History Oxford, 1878 (460 pages).

John Pryce: History of the Ancient British Church. Oxford, 1878.

Edward L. Cutts: Turning Points of English Church-History. London,

1878.

Dugald MacColl: Early British Church. The Arthurian Legends. In "The

Catholic Presbyterian," London and New York, for 1880, No. 3, pp. 176

sqq.

(b) The Christianization of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

Dr. Lanigan (R.C.): Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Dublin, 1829.

William G. Todd (Episc., Trinity Coll., Dublin): The Church of St.

Patrick: An Historical Inquiry into the Independence of the Ancient

Church of Ireland. London, 1844. By the same: A History of the Ancient

Church of Ireland. London, 1845. By the same: Book of Hymns of the

Ancient Church of Ireland. Dublin, 1855.

Ferdinand Walter: Das alte Wales. Bonn, 1859.

John Cunningham (Presbyterian): The Church History of Scotland from the

Commencement of the Christian Era to the Present Day. Edinburgh, 1859,

2 vols. (Vol. I., chs. 1-6).

C. Innes: Sketches of Early Scotch History, and Social Progress.

Edinb., 1861. (Refers to the history of local churches, the university

and home-life in the mediaeval period.)

Thomas McLauchan (Presbyt.): The Early Scottish Church: the

Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the First to the Twelfth

Century. Edinburgh, 1865.

\*DR. J. H. A. Ebrard: Die iroschottische Missionskirche des 6, 7 und 8

ten Jahrh., und ihre Verbreitung auf dem Festland. G�tersloh, 1873.

Comp. Ebrard's articles Die culdeische Kirche des 6, 7 und 8ten Jahrh.,

in Niedner's "Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theologie" for 1862 and 1863.

Ebrard and McLauchan are the ablest advocates of the anti-Romish and

alleged semi-Protestant character of the old Keltic church of Ireland

and Scotland; but they present it in a more favorable light than the

facts warrant.

\*Dr. W. D. Killen (Presbyt.): The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland

from the Earliest Period to the Present Times. London, 1875, 2 vols.

\*Alex. Penrose Forbes (Bishop of Brechin, d. 1875): Kalendars of

Scottish Saints. With Personal Notices of those of Alba, Laudonia and

Stratchclyde. Edinburgh (Edmonston & Douglas), 1872. By the same: Lives

of S. Ninian and S. Kentigern. Compiled in the twelfth century. Ed.

from the best MSS. Edinburgh, 1874.

\*William Reeves (Canon of Armagh): Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy.

Written by Adamnan, ninth Abbot of that monastery. Edinburgh, 1874.

\*William F. Skene: Keltic Scotland. Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1876, 1877.

\*F. E. Warren (Fellow of St. John's Coll., Oxford): The Liturgy and

Ritual of the Celtic Church. Oxford 1881 (291 pp.).

F. Loofs: Antiquae Britonum Scotorumque ecclesiae moves, ratio

credendi, vivendi, etc. Lips., 1882.

Comp. also the relevant sections in the Histories Of England, Scotland,

and Ireland, by Hume, (Ch. I-III.), Lingard (Ch. I. VIII.), Lappenberg

(Vol. I.), Green (Vol. I.), Hill Burton (Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I.);

Milman's Latin Christianity (Book IV., Ch. 3-5); Maclear's Apostles of

Mediaeval Europe (Lond. 1869), Thomas Smith's Mediaeval Missions

(Edinb. 1880).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 8. The Britons.

Literature: The works of Bede, Gildas, Nennius, Ussher, Bright, Pryce,

quoted in � 7.

Britain made its first appearance in secular history half a century

before the Christian era, when Julius Caesar, the conqueror of Gaul,

sailed with a Roman army from Calais across the channel, and added the

British island to the dominion of the eternal city, though it was not

fully subdued till the reign of Claudius (a.d. 41-54). It figures in

ecclesiastical history from the conversion of the Britons in the second

century. Its missionary history is divided into two periods, the Keltic

and the Anglo-Saxon, both catholic in doctrine, as far as developed at

that time, slightly differing in discipline, yet bitterly hostile under

the influence of the antagonism of race, which was ultimately overcome

in England and Scotland but is still burning in Ireland, the proper

home of the Kelts. The Norman conquest made both races better Romanists

than they were before.

The oldest inhabitants of Britain, like the Irish, the Scots, and the

Gauls, were of Keltic origin, half naked and painted barbarians,

quarrelsome, rapacious, revengeful, torn by intestine factions, which

facilitated their conquest. They had adopted, under different

appellations, the gods of the Greeks and Romans, and worshipped a

multitude of local deities, the genii of the woods, rivers, and

mountains; they paid special homage to the oak, the king of the forest.

They offered the fruits of the earth, the spoils of the enemy, and, in

the hour of danger, human lives. Their priests, called druids, [8]

dwelt in huts or caverns, amid the silence and gloom of the forest,

were in possession of all education and spiritual power, professed to

know the secrets of nature, medicine and astrology, and practised the

arts of divination. They taught, as the three principles of wisdom:

"obedience to the laws of God, concern for the good of man, and

fortitude under the accidents of life." They also taught the

immortality of the soul and the fiction of metempsychosis. One class of

the druids, who delivered their instructions in verse, were

distinguished by the title of bards, who as poets and musicians

accompanied the chieftain to the battle-field, and enlivened the feasts

of peace by the sound of the harp. There are still remains of druidical

temples--the most remarkable at Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, and at

Stennis in the Orkney Islands--that is, circles of huge stones standing

in some cases twenty feet above the earth, and near them large mounds

supposed to be ancient burial-places; for men desire to be buried near

a place of worship.

The first introduction of Christianity into Britain is involved in

obscurity. The legendary history ascribes it at least to ten different

agencies, namely, 1) Bran, a British prince, and his son Caradog, who

is said to have become acquainted with St. Paul in Rome, a.d. 51 to 58,

and to have introduced the gospel into his native country on his

return. 2) St. Paul. 3) St. Peter. 4) St. Simon Zelotes. 5) St. Philip.

6) St. James the Great. 7) St. John. 8) Aristobulus (Rom. xvi. 10). 9)

Joseph of Arimathaea, who figures largely in the post-Norman legends of

Glastonbury Abbey, and is said to have brought the holy Graal--the

vessel or platter of the Lord's Supper--containing the blood of Christ,

to England. 10) Missionaries of Pope Eleutherus from Rome to King

Lucius of Britain. [9]

But these legends cannot be traced beyond the sixth century, and are

therefore destitute of all historic value. A visit of St. Paul to

Britain between a.d. 63 and 67 is indeed in itself not impossible (on

the assumption of a second Roman captivity), and has been advocated

even by such scholars as Ussher and Stillingfleet, but is intrinsically

improbable, and destitute of all evidence. [10]

The conversion of King Lucius in the second century through

correspondence with the Roman bishop Eleutherus (176 to 190), is

related by Bede, in connection with several errors, and is a legend

rather than an established fact. [11] Irenaeus of Lyons, who enumerates

all the churches one by one, knows of none in Britain. Yet the

connection of Britain with Rome and with Gaul must have brought it

early into contact with Christianity. About a.d. 208 Tertullian

exultingly declared "that places in Britain not yet visited by Romans

were subject to Christ." [12] St. Alban, probably a Roman soldier, died

as the British proto-martyr in the Diocletian persecution (303), and

left the impress of his name on English history. [13] Constantine, the

first Christian emperor, was born in Britain, and his mother, St.

Helena, was probably a native of the country. In the Council of Arles,

a.d. 314, which condemned the Donatists, we meet with three British

bishops, Eborius of York (Eboracum), Restitutus of London (Londinum),

and Adelfius of Lincoln (Colonia Londinensium), or Caerleon in Wales,

besides a presbyter and deacon. [14] In the Arian controversy the

British churches sided with Athanasius and the Nicene Creed, though

hesitating about the term homoousios. [15] A notorious heretic,

Pelagius (Morgan), was from the same island; his abler, though less

influential associate, Celestius, was probably an Irishman; but their

doctrines were condemned (429), and the Catholic faith re�stablished

with the assistance of two Gallic bishops. [16]

Monumental remains of the British church during the Roman period are

recorded or still exist at Canterbury (St. Martin's), Caerleon, Bangor,

Glastonbury, Dover, Richborough (Kent), Reculver, Lyminge, Brixworth,

and other places. [17]

The Roman dominion in Britain ceased about a.d. 410; the troops were

withdrawn, and the country left to govern itself. The result was a

partial relapse into barbarism and a demoralization of the church. The

intercourse with the Continent was cut off, and the barbarians of the

North pressed heavily upon the Britons. For a century and a half we

hear nothing of the British churches till the silence is broken by the

querulous voice of Gildas, who informs us of the degeneracy of the

clergy, the decay of religion, the introduction and suppression of the

Pelagian heresy, and the mission of Palladius to the Scots in Ireland.

This long isolation accounts in part for the trifling differences and

the bitter antagonism between the remnant of the old British church and

the new church imported from Rome among the hated Anglo-Saxons.

The difference was not doctrinal, but ritualistic and disciplinary. The

British as well as the Irish and Scotch Christians of the sixth and

seventh centuries kept Easter on the very day of the full moon in March

when it was Sunday, or on the next Sunday following. They adhered to

the older cycle of eighty-four years in opposition to the later

Dionysian cycle of ninety-five years, which came into use on the

Continent since the middle of the sixth century. [18] They shaved the

fore-part of their head from ear to ear in the form of a crescent,

allowing the hair to grow behind, in imitation of the aureola, instead

of shaving, like the Romans, the crown of the head in a circular form,

and leaving a circle of hair, which was to represent the Saviour's

crown of thorns. They had, moreover--and this was the most important

and most irritating difference--become practically independent of Rome,

and transacted their business in councils without referring to the

pope, who began to be regarded on the Continent as the righteous ruler

and judge of all Christendom.

From these facts some historians have inferred the Eastern or Greek

origin of the old British church. But there is no evidence whatever of

any such connection, unless it be perhaps through the medium of the

neighboring church of Gaul, which was partly planted or moulded by

Irenaeus of Lyons, a pupil of St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and which always

maintained a sort of independence of Rome.

But in the points of dispute just mentioned, the Gallican church at

that time agreed with Rome. Consequently, the peculiarities of the

British Christians must be traced to their insular isolation and long

separation from Rome. The Western church on the Continent passed

through some changes in the development of the authority of the papal

see, and in the mode of calculating Easter, until the computation was

finally fixed through Dionysius Exiguus in 525. The British,

unacquainted with these changes, adhered to the older independence and

to the older customs. They continued to keep Easter from the 14th of

the moon to the 20th. This difference involved a difference in all the

moveable festivals, and created great confusion in England after the

conversion of the Saxons to the Roman rite.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[8] The word Druid or Druidh is not from the Greek drus, oak (as the

elder Pliny thought), but a Keltic term draiod, meaning sage, priest,

and is equivalent to the magi in the ancient East. In the Irish

Scriptures draiod is used for magi, Matt. 2:1.

[9] See Haddan & Stubbs, Counc. and Eccles. Doc. I. 22-26, and Pryce,

31 sqq. Haddan says, that "statements respecting (a) British Christians

at Rome, (b) British Christians in Britain, (c) Apostles or apostolic

men preaching in Britain, in the first century--rest upon either guess,

mistake or fable;" and that "evidence alleged for the existence of a

Christian church in Britain during the second century is simply

unhistorical." Pryce calls these early agencies "gratuitons

assumptions, plausible guesses, or legendary fables." Eusebius, Dem.

Ev. III. 5, speaks as if some of the Twelve or of the Seventy had

"crossed the ocean to the isles called British;" but the passage is

rhetorical and indefinite. In his Church History he omits Britain from

the apostolic mission-field.

[10] It is merely an inference from the well-known passage of Clement

of Rome, Ep. ad Corinth. c. 5, that Paul carried the gospel "to the end

of the West" (epitotermatesduseos). But this is far more naturally

understood of a visit to Spain which Paul intended (Rom. xv. 28), and

which seems confirmed by a passage in the Muratorian Fragment about 170

("Profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis "); while there

is no trace whatever of an intended or actual visit to Britain. Canon

Bright calls this merely a "pious fancy" (p. 1), and Bishop Lightfoot

remarks: "For the patriotic belief of some English writers, who have

included Britain in the Apostle's travels, there is neither evidence

nor probability" (St. Clement of Rome p. 50). It is barely possible

however, that some Galatian converts of Paul, visiting the far West to

barter the hair-cloths of their native land for the useful metal of

Britain, may have first made known the gospel to the Britons in their

kindred Keltic tongue. See Lightfoot, Com. on Gal., p. 246.

[11] Book I., ch. 4: "Lucius, king of the Britons, sent a letter to

Eleutherus, entreating that by his command he might be made a

Christian. He soon obtained his pious request, and the Britons

preserved the faith, which they had received, uncorrupted and entire,

in peace and tranquillity, until the time of the Emperor Diocletian."

Comp. the footnote of Giles in loc. Haddan says (I. 25): "The story of

Lucius rests solely upon the later form of the Catalogus Pontificum

Romanorum which was written c. a. d.530, and which adds to the Vita

Eleutherus (a. d.171-186) that 'Hic (Eleutherus)accepit epistolam a

Lucio Britanniae Rege, ut Chrristianus efficeretur par ejus mandatum.'

But these words are not in the original Catalogus, written shortly

after a. d.353." Beda copies the Roman account. Gildas knows nothing of

Lucius. According to other accounts, Lucius ((Lever Maur, or the Great

Light) sent Pagan and Dervan to Rome, who were ordained by Evaristus or

Eleutherus, and on their return established the British church. See

Lingard, History of England, I. 46.

[12] Adv. Judaeos 7: "Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero

subdita." Bishop Kaye (Tertull., p. 94) understands this passage as

referring to the farthest extremities of Britain. So Burton (II. 207):

"Parts of the island which had not been visited by the Romans." See

Bright, p. 5.

[13] Bede I. 7. The story of St. Alban is first narrated by Gildas in

the sixth century. Milman and Bright (p. 6) admit his historic reality.

[14] Wiltsch, Handbuch der Kirchl. Geogr. und StatistikI. 42 and 238,

Mansi, Conc. II. 467, Haddan and Stubbs, l.c., I. 7. Haddan identifies

Colonia Londinensium with Col. Legionensium, i.e. Caerleon-on-Usk.

[15] See Haddan and Stubbs, I. 7-10.

[16] Bede I. 21 ascribes the triumph of the Catholic faith over the

Pelagian heresy to the miraculous healing of a lame youth by Germanus

(St. Germain), Bishop of Auxerre. Comp. also Haddan and Stubbs, I.

15-17.

[17] See Haddan and Stubbs, I. 36-40.

[18] The British and Irish Christians were stigmatized by their Roman

opponents as heretical Quartodecimans (Bede III. 4); but the Eastern

Quartodecimans invariably celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of

the month (hence their designation), whether it fell on a Sunday or

not; while the Britons and Irish celebrated it always on a Sunday

between the 14th and the 20th of the month; the Romans between the 15th

and 21st. Comp. Skene, l.c. II. 9 sq.; the elaborate discussion of

Ebrard, Die, iro-schott. Missionskirche, 19-77, and Killen, Eccles.

Hist. of Ireland, I. 57 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 9. The Anglo-Saxons.

Literature.

I. The sources for the planting of Roman Christianity among the

Anglo-Saxons are several Letters of Pope Gregory I. (Epp., Lib. VI. 7,

51, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59; IX. 11, 108; XI. 28, 29, 64, 65, 66,

76; in Migne's ed. of Gregory's Opera, Vol. III.; also in Haddan and

Stubbs, III. 5 sqq.); the first and second books of Bede's Eccles.

Hist.; Goscelin's Life of St. Augustin, written in the 11th century,

and contained in the Acta Sanctorum of May 26th; and Thorne's

Chronicles of St. Augustine's Abbey. See also Haddan and Stubbs,

Councils, etc., the 3d vol., which comes down to a.d. 840.

II. Of modern lives of St. Augustin, we mention Montalembert, Monks of

the West, Vol. III.; Dean Hook, Archbishops of Canterbury, Vol. I., and

Dean Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, 1st ed., 1855, 9th ed. 1880.

Comp. Lit. in Sec. 7.

British Christianity was always a feeble plant, and suffered greatly,

from the Anglo-Saxon conquest and the devastating wars which followed

it. With the decline of the Roman power, the Britons, weakened by the

vices of Roman civilization, and unable to resist the aggressions of

the wild Picts and Scots from the North, called Hengist and Horsa, two

brother-princes and reputed descendants of Wodan, the god of war, from

Germany to their aid, a.d. 449. [19]

From this time begins the emigration of Saxons, Angles or Anglians,

Jutes, and Frisians to Britain. They gave to it a new nationality and a

new language, the Anglo-Saxon, which forms the base and trunk of the

present people and language of England (Angle-land). They belonged to

the great Teutonic race, and came from the Western and Northern parts

of Germany, from the districts North of the Elbe, the Weser, and the

Eyder, especially from Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland. They could

never be subdued by the Romans, and the emperor Julian pronounced them

the most formidable of all the nations that dwelt beyond the Rhine on

the shores of the Western ocean. They were tall and handsome, with blue

eyes and fair skin, strong and enduring, given to pillage by land, and

piracy by sea, leaving the cultivation of the soil, with the care of

their flocks, to women and slaves. They were the fiercest among the

Germans. They sacrificed a tenth of their chief captives on the altars

of their gods. They used the spear, the sword, and the battle-axe with

terrible effect. "We have not," says Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, [20]

"a more cruel and more dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome

all who have the courage to oppose them .... When they pursue, they

infallibly overtake; when they are pursued, their escape is certain.

They despise danger; they are inured to shipwreck; they are eager to

purchase booty with the peril of their lives. Tempests, which to others

are so dreadful, to them are subjects of joy. The storm is their

protection when they are pressed by the enemy, and a cover for their

operations when they meditate an attack." Like the Bedouins in the

East, and the Indians of America, they were divided in tribes, each

with a chieftain. In times of danger, they selected a supreme commander

under the name of Konyng or King, but only for a period.

These strangers from the Continent successfully repelled the Northern

invaders; but being well pleased with the fertility and climate of the

country, and reinforced by frequent accessions from their countrymen,

they turned upon the confederate Britons, drove them to the mountains

of Wales and the borders of Scotland, or reduced them to slavery, and

within a century and a half they made themselves masters of England.

From invaders they became settlers, and established an octarchy or

eight independent kingdoms, Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, Northumbria,

Mercia, Bernicia, and Deira. The last two were often united under the

same head; hence we generally speak of but seven kingdoms or the

Anglo-Saxon heptarchy.

From this period of the conflict between the two races dates the Keltic

form of the Arthurian legends, which afterwards underwent a radical

telescopic transformation in France. They have no historical value

except in connection with the romantic poetry of mediaeval religion.

[21]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[19] The chronology, is somewhat uncertain. See Lappenberg's Geschichte

von England, Bd. I., p. 73 sqq.

[20] Quoted by Lingard, I. 62. The picture here given corresponds

closely with that given in Beowulf's Drapa, from the 9th century.

[21] King Arthur (or Artus), the hero of Wales, of the Chronicles of

Geoffrey of Monmouth, and the romances of the Round Table, if not

entirely mythical, was one of the last Keltic chiefs, who struggled

against the Saxon invaders in the sixth century. He resided in great

state at Caerleon in Wales, surrounded by valorous knights, seated with

him at a round table, gained twelve victories over the Saxons, and died

in the battle of Mount Badon or Badon Hill near Bath (a. d.520). The

legend was afterwards Christianized, transferred to French soil, and

blended with the Carlovingian Knights of the Round Table, which never

existed. Arthur's name was also connected since the Crusades with the

quest of the Holy Grail or Graal (Keltic gr�al, old French san gr�alor

greel), i.e. the wonderful bowl-shaped vessel of the Lord's Supper

(used for the Paschal Lamb, or, according to another view, for the cup

of blessing), in which Joseph of Arimathaea caught the blood of the

Saviour at the cross, and which appears in the Arthurian romances as

the token of the visible presence of Christ, or the symbolic embodiment

of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Hence the derivation of Grail

from sanguis realis, real blood, or sang royal, the Lord's blood.

Others derive it from the Romanic greal, cup or dish; still others from

the Latin graduale. See Geoffrey of Monmouth, Chronicon sive Historia

Britonum (1130 and 1147, translated into English by Aaron Thomson,

London, 1718); Sir T. Malory, History of Prince Arthur (1480-1485, new

ed. by, Southey, 1817); Wolfram von EschenbachParcival and Titurel

(about 1205, transl. by K. Simrock, Stuttg., 1842); Lachmann, Wolfram

von Eschenbach (Berlin, 1833, 2nd ed, 1854); G�schel Die Sage von

Parcival und vom Gral nach Wolfram von Eschenbach(Berlin, 1858); Paulin

Paris, Les Romans de la Table Ronde(Paris, 1860); Tennyson, The Idylls,

of the King (1859), and The Holy Grail (1869); Skene, Four Ancient

Books of Wales (1868); Stuart-Glennie, Arthurian Localities (1869);

Birch-Herschfeld, Die Sage vom Gral, (Leipz., 1877); and an article of

G�schel, Gral in the first ed. of Herzog's Encykl. V. 312 (omitted in

the second ed.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 10. The Mission of Gregory and Augustin. Conversion of Kent, a.d.

595-604.

With the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, who were heathen barbarians,

Christianity was nearly extirpated in Britain. Priests were cruelly

massacred, churches and monasteries were destroyed, together with the

vestiges of a weak Roman civilization. The hatred and weakness of the

Britons prevented them from offering the gospel to the conquerors, who

in turn would have rejected it from contempt of the conquered. [22]

But fortunately Christianity was re-introduced from a remote country,

and by persons who had nothing to do with the quarrels of the two

races. To Rome, aided by the influence of France, belongs the credit of

reclaiming England to Christianity and civilization. In England the

first, and, we may say, the only purely national church in the West was

founded, but in close union with the papacy. "The English church," says

Freeman, "reverencing Rome, but not slavishly bowing down to her, grew

up with a distinctly national character, and gradually infused its

influence into all the feelings and habits of the English people. By

the end of the seventh century, the independent, insular, Teutonic

church had become one of the brightest lights of the Christian

firmament. In short, the introduction of Christianity completely

changed the position of the English nation, both within its own island

and towards the rest of the world." [23]

The origin of the Anglo-Saxon mission reads like a beautiful romance.

Pope Gregory I., when abbot of a Benedictine convent, saw in the

slave-market of Rome three Anglo-Saxon boys offered for sale. He was

impressed with their fine appearance, fair complexion, sweet faces and

light flaxen hair; and learning, to his grief, that they were

idolaters, he asked the name of their nation, their country, and their

king. When he heard that they were Angles, he said: "Right, for they

have angelic faces, and are worthy to be fellow-heirs with angels in

heaven." They were from the province Deira. "Truly," he replied, "are

they De-ira-ns, that is, plucked from the ire of God, and called to the

mercy of Christ." He asked the name of their king, which was AElla or

Ella (who reigned from 559 to 588). "Hallelujah," he exclaimed, "the

praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." He proceeded at

once from the slave market to the pope, and entreated him to send

missionaries to England, offering himself for this noble work. He

actually started for the spiritual conquest of the distant island. But

the Romans would not part with him, called him back, and shortly

afterwards elected him pope (590). What he could not do in person, he

carried out through others. [24]

In the year 596, Gregory, remembering his interview with the

sweet-faced and fair-haired Anglo-Saxon slave-boys, and hearing of a

favorable opportunity for a mission, sent the Benedictine abbot

Augustin (Austin), thirty other monks, and a priest, Laurentius, with

instructions, letters of recommendation to the Frank kings and several

bishops of Gaul, and a few books, to England. [25] The missionaries,

accompanied by some interpreters from France, landed on the isle of

Thanet in Kent, near the mouth of the Thames. [26] King Ethelbert, by

his marriage to Bertha, a Christian princess from Paris, who had

brought a bishop with her, was already prepared for a change of

religion. He went to meet the strangers and received them in the open

air; being afraid of some magic if he were to see them under roof. They

bore a silver cross for their banner, and the image of Christ painted

on a board; and after singing the litany and offering prayers for

themselves and the people whom they had come to convert, they preached

the gospel through their Frank interpreters. The king was pleased with

the ritualistic and oratorical display of the new religion from

distant, mighty Rome, and said: "Your words and promises are very fair;

but as they are new to us and of uncertain import, I cannot forsake the

religion I have so long followed with the whole English nation. Yet as

you are come from far, and are desirous to benefit us, I will supply

you with the necessary sustenance, and not forbid you to preach and to

convert as many as you can to your religion." [27] Accordingly, he

allowed them to reside in the City of Canterbury (Dorovern,

Durovernum), which was the metropolis of his kingdom, and was soon to

become the metropolis of the Church of England. They preached and led a

severe monastic life. Several believed and were baptized, "admiring,"

as Bede says, "the simplicity of their innocent life, and the sweetness

of their heavenly doctrine." He also mentions miracles. Gregory warned

Augustin not to be puffed up by miracles, but to rejoice with fear, and

to tremble in rejoicing, remembering what the Lord said to his

disciples when they boasted that even the devils were subject to them.

For not all the elect work miracles, and yet the names of all are

written in heaven. [28]

King Ethelbert was converted and baptized (probably June 2, 597), and

drew gradually his whole nation after him, though he was taught by the

missionaries not to use compulsion, since the service of Christ ought

to be voluntary.

Augustin, by order of pope Gregory, was ordained archbishop of the

English nation by Vergilius, [29] archbishop of Arles, Nov. 16, 597,

and became the first primate of England, with a long line of successors

even to this day. On his return, at Christmas, he baptized more than

ten thousand English. His talents and character did not rise above

mediocrity, and he bears no comparison whatever with his great

namesake, the theologian and bishop of Hippo; but he was, upon the

whole, well fitted for his missionary work, and his permanent success

lends to his name the halo of a borrowed greatness. He built a church

and monastery at Canterbury, the mother-church of Anglo-Saxon

Christendom. He sent the priest Laurentius to Rome to inform the pope

of his progress and to ask an answer to a number of questions

concerning the conduct of bishops towards their clergy, the ritualistic

differences between the Roman and the Gallican churches, the marriage

of two brothers to two sisters, the marriage of relations, whether a

bishop may be ordained without other bishops being present, whether a

woman with child ought to be baptized, how long after the birth of an

infant carnal intercourse of married people should be delayed, etc.

Gregory answered these questions very fully in the legalistic and

ascetic spirit of the age, yet, upon the whole, with much good sense

and pastoral wisdom. [30]

It is remarkable that this pope, unlike his successors, did not insist

on absolute conformity to the Roman church, but advises Augustin, who

thought that the different customs of the Gallican church were

inconsistent with the unity of faith, "to choose from every church

those things that are pious, religious and upright;" for "things are

not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good

things." [31] In other respects, the advice falls in with the papal

system and practice. He directs the missionaries not to destroy the

heathen temples, but to convert them into Christian churches, to

substitute the worship of relics for the worship of idols, and to allow

the new converts, on the day of dedication and other festivities, to

kill cattle according to their ancient custom, yet no more to the

devils, but to the praise of God; for it is impossible, he thought, to

efface everything at once from their obdurate minds; and he who

endeavors to ascend to the highest place, must rise by degrees or

steps, and not by leaps. [32] This method was faithfully followed by

his missionaries. It no doubt facilitated the nominal conversion of

England, but swept a vast amount of heathenism into the Christian

church, which it took centuries to eradicate.

Gregory sent to Augustin, June 22, 601, the metropolitan pall

(pallium), several priests (Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, and others),

many books, sacred vessels and vestments, and relics of apostles and

martyrs. He directed him to ordain twelve bishops in the archiepiscopal

diocese of Canterbury, and to appoint an archbishop for York, who was

also to ordain twelve bishops, if the country adjoining should receive

the word of God. Mellitus was consecrated the first bishop of London;

Justus, bishop of Rochester, both in 604 by Augustin (without

assistants); Paulinus, the first archbishop of York, 625, after the

death of Gregory and Augustin. [33] The pope sent also letters and

presents to king Ethelbert, "his most excellent son," exhorting him to

persevere in the faith, to commend it by good works among his subjects,

to suppress the worship of idols, and to follow the instructions of

Augustin.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[22] Bede (I. 22) counts it among the most wicked acts or neglects

rather, of the Britons mentioned even by their own historian Gildas,

that they, never preached the faith to the Saxons who dwelt among them.

[23] History of the Norman conquest of England, Vol. I., p. 22 (Oxford

ed. of 1873).

[24] Beda (B. II., ch.1 at the close) received this account "from the

ancients" (ab antiquis, or traditione majorum), but gives it as an

episode, not as a part of the English mission (which is related I. 53).

The elaborate play on words excites critical suspicion of the truth of

the story, which, though well told, is probably invented or

embellished, like so many legends about Gregory, ."Se non vero, e ben

trovato."

[25] Among these books were a Bible in 2 vols., a Psalter, a book of

the Gospels, a Martyrology, Apocryphal Lives of the Apostles, and some

Commentaries. "These are the foundation or beginning of the library of

the whole English church."

[26] The first journey of Augustin, in 595, was a failure. He started

finally for England July 23d, 596, wintered in Gaul, and landed in

England the following year with about forty persons, including Gallic

priests and interpreters. Haddan and Stubbs, III. 4.

[27] Bede I. 25.

[28] "Non enim omnes electi miracula faciunt, sed tamen eorum omnium

nomina in caelo sunt ascripta."Greg., Ad Augustinum Anglorum Episcopum,

Epp. Lib. XI. 28, and Bede I. 31.

[29] Not AEtherius, as Bede has it, I. 27, and in other places.

AEtherius was the contemporary archbishop of Lyons.

[30] Bede I. 27 sqq. gives extracts from Gregory's answers. It is

curious how the pope handles such delicate subjects as the monthly

courses and the carnal intercourse between married people. A husband,

he says, should not approach his wife after the birth of an infant,

till the infant be weaned. Mothers should not give their children to

other women to suckle. A man who has approached his wife is not to

enter the church unless washed with water and till after sunset. We see

here the genius of Romanism which aims to control by its legislation

all the ramifications of human life, and to shackle the conscience by a

subtle and minute casuistry. Barbarians, however, must be treated like

children.

[31] "Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex

singulis ergo quibusdam ecclesiis, quae pia, quae religiosa, quae recta

sunt, elige, et haec quasi in fasciculum collecta apud Anglorum mentes

in consuetudinem depone." Gr. Respons. ad interrogat. Aug., Ep. XI. 64,

and Bede I. 27.

[32] "Is qui locum summum ascendere nititur, gradibus wel passibus,

saltibus elevatur." Ep. lib. XI. 76 (and Bede I. 30). This epistle of

the year 601 is addressed to Mellitus on his way to England, but is

intended for Augustin ad faciliorem Anglorum conversionem. In Sardinia,

where Christianity already prevailed, Gregory advised Bishop Januarius

to suppress the remaining heathenism by imprisonment and corporal

punishment.

[33] York and London had been the first metropolitan sees among the

Britons. London was even then, as Bede (II. 3) remarks, a mart of many

nations resorting to it by sea and land.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 11. Antagonism of the Saxon and British Clergy.

Bede, II. 2; Haddan and Stubbs, III. 38-41.

Augustin, with the aid of king Ethelbert, arranged (in 602 or 603) a

conference with the British bishops, at a place in Sussex near the

banks of the Severn under an oak, called "Augustin's Oak." [34] He

admonished them to conform to the Roman ceremonial in the observance of

Easter Sunday, and the mode of administering baptism, and to unite with

their Saxon brethren in converting the Gentiles. Augustin had neither

wisdom nor charity enough to sacrifice even the most trifling

ceremonies on the altar of peace. He was a pedantic and contracted

churchman. He met the Britons, who represented at all events an older

and native Christianity, with the haughty spirit of Rome, which is

willing to compromise with heathen customs, but demands absolute

submission from all other forms of Christianity, and hates independence

as the worst of heresies.

The Britons preferred their own traditions. After much useless

contention, Augustin proposed, and the Britons reluctantly accepted, an

appeal to the miraculous interposition of God. A blind man of the Saxon

race was brought forward and restored to sight by his prayer. The

Britons still refused to give up their ancient customs without the

consent of their people, and demanded a second and larger synod.

At the second Conference, seven bishops of the Britons, with a number

of learned men from the Convent of Bangor, appeared, and were advised

by a venerated hermit to submit the Saxon archbishop to the moral test

of meekness and humility as required by Christ from his followers. If

Augustin, at the meeting, shall rise before them, they should hear him

submissively; but if he shall not rise, they should despise him as a

proud man. As they drew near, the Roman dignitary remained seated in

his chair. He demanded of them three things, viz. compliance with the

Roman observance of the time of Easter, the Roman form of baptism, and

aid in efforts to convert the English nation; and then he would readily

tolerate their other peculiarities. They refused, reasoning among

themselves, if he will not rise up before us now, how much more will he

despise us when we shall be subject to his authority? Augustin

indignantly rebuked them and threatened the divine vengeance by the

arms of the Saxons. "All which," adds Bede, "through the dispensation

of the divine judgment, fell out exactly as he had predicted." For, a

few years afterwards (613), Ethelfrith the Wild, the pagan King of

Northumbria, attacked the Britons at Chester, and destroyed not only

their army, but slaughtered several hundred [35] priests and monks, who

accompanied the soldiers to aid them with their prayers. The massacre

was followed by the destruction of the flourishing monastery of Bangor,

where more than two thousand monks lived by the labor of their hands.

This is a sad picture of the fierce animosity of the two races and

rival forms of Christianity. Unhappily, it continues to the present

day, but with a remarkable difference: the Keltic Irish who, like the

Britons, once represented a more independent type of Catholicism, have,

since the Norman conquest, and still more since the Reformation, become

intense Romanists; while the English, once the dutiful subjects of

Rome, have broken with that foreign power altogether, and have vainly

endeavored to force Protestantism upon the conquered race. The Irish

problem will not be solved until the double curse of national and

religious antagonism is removed.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[34] On the time and place of the two conferences see the notes in

Haddan and Stubbs, III. 40 and 41.

[35] Bede mentions twelve hundred, but the Saxon chronicle (a. d.607)

only two hundred.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 12. Conversion of the Other Kingdoms of the Heptarchy.

Augustin, the apostle of the Anglo-Saxons, died a.d. 604, and lies

buried, with many of his successors, in the venerable cathedral of

Canterbury. On his tomb was written this epitaph: "Here rests the Lord

Augustin, first archbishop of Canterbury, who being formerly sent

hither by the blessed Gregory, bishop of the city of Rome, and by God's

assistance supported with miracles, reduced king Ethelbert and his

nation from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ, and having

ended the days of his office in peace, died on the 26th day of May, in

the reign of the same king." [36]

He was not a great man; but he did a great work in laying the

foundations of English Christianity and civilization.

Laurentius (604-619), and afterwards Mellitus (619-624) succeeded him

in his office.

Other priests and monks were sent from Italy, and brought with them

books and such culture as remained after the irruption of the

barbarians. The first archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the

bishops of most of the Southern sees were foreigners, if not

consecrated, at least commissioned by the pope, and kept up a constant

correspondence with Rome. Gradually a native clergy arose in England.

The work of Christianization went on among the other kingdom of the

heptarchy, and was aided by the marriage of kings with Christian wives,

but was more than once interrupted by relapse into heathenism.

Northumbria was converted chiefly through the labors of the sainted

Aidan (d. Aug. 31, 651), a monk from the island Iona or Hii, and the

first bishop of Lindisfarne, who is even lauded by Bede for his zeal,

piety and good works, although he differed from him on the Easter

question. [37] Sussex was the last part of the Heptarchy which

renounced paganism. It took nearly a hundred years before England was

nominally converted to the Christian religion. [38]

To this conversion England owes her national unity and the best

elements of her civilization. [39]

The Anglo-Saxon Christianity was and continued to be till the

Reformation, the Christianity of Rome, with its excellences and faults.

It included the Latin mass, the worship of saints, images and relics,

monastic virtues and vices, pilgrimages to the holy city, and much

credulity and superstition. Even kings abdicated their crown to show

their profound reverence for the supreme pontiff and to secure from him

a passport to heaven. Chapels, churches and cathedrals were erected in

the towns; convents founded in the country by the bank of the river or

under the shelter of a hill, and became rich by pious donations of

land. The lofty cathedrals and ivy-clad ruins of old abbeys and

cloisters in England and Scotland still remain to testify in solemn

silence to the power of mediaeval Catholicism.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[36] Bede II., c. 3; Haddan and Stubbs, III. 53.

[37] Bede III., c. 14-17; V. 24.

[38] See the details of the missionary labors in the seven kingdoms in

Bede; also in Milman l.c.; and the documents in Haddan and Stubbs, vol.

III.

[39] "The conversion of the heptarchic kingdom," says Professor Stubbs

(Constitutional History of England, Vol. I., p. 217), "during the

seventh century not only revealed to Europe and Christendom the

existence of a new nation, but may be said to have rendered the new

nation conscious of its unity in a way in which, under the influence of

heathenism, community of language and custom had failed to do."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 13. Conformity to Row Established. Wilfrid, Theodore, Bede.

The dispute between the Anglo-Saxon or Roman, and the British ritual

was renewed in the middle of the seventh century, but ended with the

triumph of the former in England proper. The spirit of independence had

to take refuge in Ireland and Scotland till the time of the Norman

conquest, which crushed it out also in Ireland.

Wilfrid, afterwards bishop of York, the first distinguished native

prelate who combined clerical habits with haughty magnificence,

acquired celebrity by expelling "the quartodeciman heresy and schism,"

as it was improperly called, from Northumbria, where the Scots had

introduced it through St. Aidan. The controversy was decided in a Synod

held at Whitby in 664 in the presence of King Oswy or Oswio and his son

Alfrid. Colman, the second success or of Aidan, defended the Scottish

observance of Easter by the authority of St. Columba and the apostle

John. Wilfrid rested the Roman observance on the authority of Peter,

who had introduced it in Rome, and on the universal custom of

Christendom. When he mentioned, that to Peter were intrusted the keys

of the kingdom of heaven, the king said: "I will not contradict the

door-keeper, lest when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven,

there should be none to open them." By this irresistible argument the

opposition was broken, and conformity to the Roman observance

established. The Scottish semi-circular tonsure also, which was

ascribed to Simon Magus, gave way to the circular, which was derived

from St. Peter. Colman, being worsted, returned with his sympathizers

to Scotland, where he built two monasteries. Tuda was made bishop in

his place. [40]

Soon afterwards, a dreadful pestilence raged through England and

Ireland, while Caledonia was saved, as the pious inhabitants believed,

by the intercession of St. Columba.

The fusion of English Christians was completed in the age of Theodorus,

archbishop of Canterbury (669 to 690), and Beda Venerabilis ( b. 673,

d. 735), presbyter and monk of Wearmouth. About the same time

Anglo-Saxon literature was born, and laid the foundation for the

development of the national genius which ultimately broke loose from

Rome.

Theodore was a native of Tarsus, where Paul was born, educated in

Athens, and, of course, acquainted with Greek and Latin learning. He

received his appointment and consecration to the primacy of England

from Pope Vitalian. He arrived at Canterbury May 27, 669, visited the

whole of England, established the Roman rule of Easter, and settled

bishops in all the sees except London. He unjustly deposed bishop

Wilfrid of York, who was equally devoted to Rome, but in his later

years became involved in sacerdotal jealousies and strifes. He

introduced order into the distracted church and some degree of

education among the clergy. He was a man of autocratic temper, great

executive ability, and, having been directly sent from Rome, he carried

with him double authority. "He was the first archbishop," says Bede,

"to whom the whole church of England submitted." During his

administration the first Anglo-Saxon mission to the mother-country of

the Saxons and Friesians was attempted by Egbert, Victberet, and

Willibrord (689 to 692). His chief work is a "Penitential" with minute

directions for a moral and religious life, and punishments for

drunkenness, licentiousness, and other prevalent vices. [41]

The Venerable Bede was the first native English scholar, the father of

English theology and church history. He spent his humble and peaceful

life in the acquisition and cultivation of ecclesiastical and secular

learning, wrote Latin in prose and verse, and translated portions of

the Bible into Anglo-Saxon. His chief work is his--the only

reliable--Church History of old England. He guides us with a gentle

hand and in truly Christian spirit, though colored by Roman views, from

court to court, from monastery to monastery, and bishopric to

bishopric, through the missionary labyrinth of the miniature kingdoms

of his native island. He takes the Roman side in the controversies with

the British churches. [42]

Before Bede cultivated Saxon prose, Caedmon (about 680), first a

swine-herd, then a monk at Whitby, sung, as by inspiration, the wonders

of creation and redemption, and became the father of Saxon (and

Christian German) poetry. His poetry brought the Bible history home to

the imagination of the Saxon people, and was a faint prophecy of the

"Divina Comedia" and the "Paradise Lost." [43] We have a remarkable

parallel to this association of Bede and Caedmon in the association of

Wiclif, the first translator of the whole Bible into English (1380),

and the contemporary of Chaucer, the father of English poetry, both

forerunners of the British Reformation, and sustaining a relation to

Protestant England somewhat similar to the relation which Bede and

Caedmon sustain to mediaeval Catholic England.

The conversion of England was nominal and ritual, rather than

intellectual and moral. Education was confined to the clergy and monks,

and consisted in the knowledge of the Decalogue, the Creed and the

Pater Noster, a little Latin without any Greek or Hebrew. The

Anglo-Saxon clergy were only less ignorant than the British. The

ultimate triumph of the Roman church was due chiefly to her superior

organization, her direct apostolic descent, and the prestige of the

Roman empire. It made the Christianity of England independent of

politics and court-intrigues, and kept it in close contact with the

Christianity of the Continent. The advantages of this connection were

greater than the dangers and evils of insular isolation. Among all the

subjects of Teutonic tribes, the English became the most devoted to the

Pope. They sent more pilgrims to Rome and more money into the papal

treasury than any other nation. They invented the Peter's Pence. At

least thirty of their kings and queens, and an innumerable army of

nobles ended their days in cloistral retreats. Nearly all of the public

lands were deeded to churches and monasteries. But the exuberance of

monasticism weakened the military and physical forces of the nation

Danish and the Norman conquests. The power and riches of the church

secularized the clergy, and necessitated in due time a reformation.

Wealth always tends to vice, and vice to decay. The Norman conquest did

not change the ecclesiastical relations of England, but infused new

blood and vigor into the Saxon race, which is all the better for its

mixed character.

We add a list of the early archbishops and bishops of the four

principal English sees, in the order of their foundation: [44]

Canterbury

London

Rochester.

York

Augustin

597

Mellitus

604

Justus

604

Paulinus

625

Laurentius

604

[Cedd in Essex

654]

Romanus

624

Chad

665

Mellitus

619

Wini

666

Paulinus

633

Wilfrid, consecrated 665, in possession

669

Justus

624

Erconwald

675

Ithamar

644

Honorius

627

Waldhere

693

Damian

655

669

Deusdedit

655

Ingwald

704

Putta

669

Bosa

678

Theodore

668

Cwichelm

676

Wilfrid again

686

Brihtwald

693

Gebmund

678

Bosa again

691

Tatwin

731

Tobias

693

John

706

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[40] See a full account of this controversy in Bede, III, c. 25, 26,

and in Haddan and Stubbs, III. 100-106.

[41] The works of Theodore (Poenitentiale, etc.) in Migne's Patrol.,

Tom. 99, p. 902. Comp. also Bede, IV. 2, Bright, p. 223, and especially

Haddan and Stubbs, III. 114-227, where his Penitential is given in

full. It was probably no direct work of Theodore, but drawn up under

his eye and published by his authority. It presupposes a very bad state

of morals among the clergy of that age.

[42] See Karl Werner (R.C.), Beda und seine Zeit, 1875. Bright, l.c.,

pp. 326 sqq.

[43] Beda, Hist. Eccl. Angl., IV. 24. Caedmonis monachi Paraphrasis

poetica Genescos ac praecipuarum sacrae paginae Historiarum, ed. F.

Junius, Amst., 1655; modern editions by B. Thorpe, Lond., 1832, and C.

W. M. Grein, G�tting., 1857. Bouterwek, Caedmon's des Angelsachen

biblische Dichtungen, Elberfeld, 1849-54, 2 Parts. F. Hammerich,

AElteste christliche Epik der Angelsachsen, Deutschen und Nordl�nder.

Transl. from the Danish by Michelsen, 1874. Comp. also the literature

on the German Heliand, � 27.

[44] From Bright, p. 449, compared with the dates in Haddan and Stubbs

vol. III.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 14. The Conversion of Ireland. St. Patrick and St. Bridget.

Literature.

I. The writings of St. Patrick are printed in the Vitae Sanctorum of

the Bollandists, sub March 17th; in Patricii Opuscula, ed. Warsaeus

(Sir James Ware, Lond., 1656); in Migne's Patrolog., Tom. LIII.

790-839, and with critical notes in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, etc.,

Vol. II, Part II, (1878), pp. 296-323.

II. The Life of St. Patrick in the Acta Sanctorum, Mart., Tom. II. 517

sqq.

Tillemont: M�moires, Tom. XVI. 452, 781.

Ussher: Brit. Eccl. Antiqu.

J. H. Todd: St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland. Dublin, 1864.

C. Joh. Greith (R.C.): Geschichte der altirischen Kirche und ihrer

Verbindung mit Rom., Gallien und Alemannien, als Einleitung in die

Geschichte des Stifts St. Gallen. Freiburg i. B. 1867.

Daniel de Vinn�: History Of the Irish Primitive Church, together with

the Life of St. Patrick. N. York, 1870

J. Francis Sherman (R.C.): Loca Patriciana: an Identification of

Localities, chiefly in Leinster, visited by St. Patrick. Dublin, 1879.

F. E. Warren (Episc.): The Manuscript Irish Missal at Corpus Christi

College, Oxford. London, 1879. Ritual of the Celtic Church. Oxf. 1881.

Comp. also the works of Todd, McLauchan, Ebrard, Killen, and Skene,

quoted in � 7, and Forbes, Kalendars of Scottish Saints, p. 431.

The church-history of Ireland is peculiar. It began with an independent

catholicity (or a sort of semi-Protestantism), and ended with Romanism,

while other Western countries passed through the reverse order. Lying

outside of the bounds of the Roman empire, and never invaded by Roman

legions, [45] that virgin island was Christianized without bloodshed

and independently of Rome and of the canons of the oecumenical synods.

The early Irish church differed from the Continental churches in minor

points of polity and worship, and yet excelled them all during the

sixth and seventh centuries in spiritual purity and missionary zeal.

After the Norman conquest, it became closely allied to Rome. In the

sixteenth century the light of the Reformation did not penetrate into

the native population; but Queen Elizabeth and the Stuarts set up by

force a Protestant state-religion in antagonism to the prevailing faith

of the people. Hence, by the law of re-action, the Keltic portion of

Ireland became more intensely Roman Catholic being filled with double

hatred of England on the ground of difference of race and religion.

This glaring anomaly of a Protestant state church in a Roman Catholic

country has been removed at last after three centuries of oppression

and misrule, by the Irish Church Disestablishment Act in 1869 under the

ministry of Gladstone.

The early history of Ireland (Hibernia) is buried in obscurity. The

ancient Hibernians were a mixed race, but prevailingly Keltic. They

were ruled by petty tyrants, proud, rapacious and warlike, who kept the

country in perpetual strife. They were devoted to their religion of

Druidism. Their island, even before the introduction of Christianity,

was called the Sacred Island. It was also called Scotia or Scotland

down to the eleventh century. [46] The Romans made no attempt at

subjugation, as they did not succeed in establishing their authority in

Caledonia.

The first traces of Irish Christianity are found at the end of the

fourth or the beginning of the fifth century.

As Pelagius, the father of the famous heresy, which bears his name, was

a Briton, so Coelestius, his chief ally and champion, was a Hibernian;

but we do not know whether he was a Christian before be left Ireland.

Mansuetus, first bishop of Toul, was an Irish Scot (a.d. 350). Pope

Caelestine, in 431, ordained and sent Palladius, a Roman deacon, and

probably a native Briton, "to the Scots believing in Christ," as their

first bishop. [47] This notice by Prosper of France implies the

previous existence of Christianity in Ireland. But Palladius was so

discouraged that he soon abandoned the field, with his assistants for

North Britain, where he died among the Picts. [48] For nearly two

centuries after this date, we have no authentic record of papal

intercourse with Ireland; and yet during that period it took its place

among the Christian countries. It was converted by two humble

individuals, who probably never saw Rome, St. Patrick, once a slave,

and St. Bridget, the daughter of a slave-mother. [49] The Roman

tradition that St. Patrick was sent by Pope Caelestine is too late to

have any claim upon our acceptance, and is set aside by the entire

silence of St. Patrick himself in his genuine works. It arose from

confounding Patrick with Palladius. The Roman mission of Palladius

failed; the independent mission of Patrick succeeded. He is the true

Apostle of Ireland, and has impressed his memory in indelible

characters upon the Irish race at home and abroad.

St. Patrick or Patricius (died March 17, 465 or 493) was the son of a

deacon, and grandson of a priest, as he confesses himself without an

intimation of the unlawfulness of clerical marriages. [50] He was in

his youth carried captive into Ireland, with many others, and served

his master six years as a shepherd. While tending his flock in the

lonesome fields, the teachings of his childhood awakened to new life in

his heart without any particular external agency. He escaped to France

or Britain, was again enslaved for a short period, and had a remarkable

dream, which decided his calling. He saw a man, Victoricius, who handed

him innumerable letters from Ireland, begging him to come over and help

them. He obeyed the divine monition, and devoted the remainder of his

life to the conversion of Ireland (from a.d. 440 to 493). [51]

"I am," he says, "greatly a debtor to God, who has bestowed his grace

so largely upon me, that multitudes were born again to God through me.

The Irish, who never had the knowledge of God and worshipped only idols

and unclean things, have lately become the people of the Lord, and are

called sons of God." He speaks of having baptized many thousands of

men. Armagh seems to have been for some time the centre of his

missionary operations, and is to this day the seat of the primacy of

Ireland, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. He died in peace, and was

buried in Downpatrick (or Gabhul), where he began his mission, gained

his first converts and spent his declining years. [52]

His Roman Catholic biographers have surrounded his life with marvelous

achievements, while some modern Protestant hypercritics have questioned

even his existence, as there is no certain mention of his name before

634; unless it be "the Hymn of St. Sechnall (Secundinus) in praise of

St. Patrick, which is assigned to 448. But if we accept his own

writings, "there can be no reasonable doubt" (we say with a

Presbyterian historian of Ireland) "that he preached the gospel in

Hibernia in the fifth century; that he was a most zealous and efficient

evangelist, and that he is eminently entitled to the honorable

designation of the Apostle of Ireland." [53]

The Christianity of Patrick was substantially that of Gaul and old

Britain, i.e. Catholic, orthodox, monastic, ascetic, but independent of

the Pope, and differing from Rome in the age of Gregory I. in minor

matters of polity and ritual. In his Confession he never mentions Rome

or the Pope; he never appeals to tradition, and seems to recognize the

Scriptures (including the Apocrypha) as the only authority in matters

of faith. He quotes from the canonical Scriptures twenty-five times;

three times from the Apocrypha. It has been conjectured that the

failure and withdrawal of Palladius was due to Patrick, who had already

monopolized this mission-field; but, according to the more probable

chronology, the mission of Patrick began about nine years after that of

Palladius. From the end of the seventh century, the two persons were

confounded, and a part of the history of Palladius, especially his

connection with Pope Caelestine, was transferred to Patrick. [54]

With St. Patrick there is inseparably connected the most renowned

female saint of Ireland, St. Bridget (or Brigid, Brigida, Bride), who

prepared his winding sheet and survived him many years. She died Feb.

1, 523 (or 525). She is "the Mary of Ireland," and gave her name to

innumerable Irish daughters, churches, and convents. She is not to be

confounded with her name-sake, the widow-saint of Sweden. Her life is

surrounded even by a still thicker cloud of legendary fiction than that

of St. Patrick, so that it is impossible to separate the facts from the

accretions of a credulous posterity. She was an illegitimate child of a

chieftain or bard, and a slave-mother, received holy orders, became

deformed in answer to her own prayer, founded the famous nunnery of

Kildare (i.e. the Church of the Oak), [55] foretold the birth of

Columba, and performed all sorts of signs and wonders.

Upon her tomb in Kildare arose the inextinguishable flame called "the

Light of St. Bridget," which her nuns (like the Vestal Virgins of Rome)

kept

"Through long ages of darkness and storm" (Moore).

Six lives of her were published by Colgan in his Trias Thaumaturgus,

and five by the Bollandists in the Acta Sanctorum.

Critical Note on St. Patrick.

We have only one or two genuine documents from Patrick, both written in

semi-barbarous (early Irish) Latin, but breathing an humble, devout and

fervent missionary spirit without anything specifically Roman, viz. his

autobiographical Confession (in 25 chapters), written shortly before

his death (493?), and his Letter of remonstrance to Coroticus (or

Ceredig), a British chieftain (nominally Christian), probably of

Ceredigion or Cardigan, who had made a raid into Ireland, and sold

several of Patrick's converts into slavery (10 chapters). The

Confession, as contained in the "Book of Armagh," is alleged to have

been transcribed before a.d. 807 from Patrick's original autograph,

which was then partly illegible. There are four other MSS. of the

eleventh century, with sundry additions towards the close, which seem

to be independent copies of the same original. See Haddan & Stubbs,

note on p. 296. The Epistle to Coroticus is much shorter, and not so

generally accepted. Both documents were first printed in 1656, then in

1668 in the Acta Sanctorum, also in Migne's Patrologia (Vol. 53), in

Miss Cusack's Life of St. Patrick, in the work of Ebrard (l.c. 482

sqq.), and in Haddan & Stubbs, Councils (Vol. II., P. II., 296 sqq.).

There is a difference of opinion about Patrick's nationality, whether

he was of Scotch, or British, or French extraction. He begins his

Confession: "I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and the least of all the

faithful, and the most contemptible with the multitude (Ego Patricius,

peccator, rusticissimus et minimus omnium fidelium et

contemptibilissimus apud plurimos, or, according to another reading,

contemptibilis sum apud plurimos), had for my father Calpornus (or

Calphurnius), a deacon (diaconum, or diaconem), the son of Potitus (al.

Photius), a presbyter (filium quondam Potiti presbyteri), who lived in

the village of Bannavem (or Banaven) of Tabernia; for he had a cottage

in the neighborhood where I was captured. I was then about sixteen

years old; but I was ignorant of the true God, and was led away into

captivity to Hibernia." Bannavem of Tabernia is, perhaps Banavie in

Lochaber in Scotland (McLauchlan); others fix the place of his birth in

Kilpatrick (i.e. the cell or church of Patrick), near Dunbarton on the

Clyde (Ussher, Butler, Maclear); others, somewhere in Britain, and thus

explain his epithet "Brito" or "Briton" (Joceline and Skene); still

others seek it in Armoric Gaul, in Boulogne (from Bononia), and derive

Brito from Brittany (Lanigan, Moore, Killen, De Vinn�).

He does not state the instrumentality of his conversion. Being the son

of a clergyman, he must have received some Christian instruction; but

he neglected it till he was made to feel the power of religion in

communion with God while in slavery. "After I arrived in Ireland," he

says (ch. 6), "every day I fed cattle, and frequently during the day I

prayed; more and more the love and fear of God burned, and my faith and

my spirit were strengthened, so that in one day I said as many as a

hundred prayers, and nearly as many in the night." He represents his

call and commission as coming directly from God through a vision, and

alludes to no intervening ecclesiastical authority or episcopal

consecration. In one of the oldest Irish MSS., the Book of Durrow, he

is styled a presbyter. In the Epistle to Coroticus, he appears more

churchly and invested with episcopal power and jurisdiction. It begins:

"Patricius, peccator indoctus, Hiberione (or Hyberione) constitutus

episcopus, certissime reor, a Deo accepi id quod sum: inter barbaras

utique gentes proselytus et profuga, ob amorem Dei." (So according to

the text of Haddan & Stubbs, p. 314; somewhat different in Migne,

Patrol. LIII. 814; and in Ebrard, p. 505.) But the letter does not

state where or by whom he was consecrated.

The "Book of Armagh "contains also an Irish hymn (the oldest monument

of the Irish Keltic language), called S. Patricii Canticum Scotticum,

which Patrick is said to have written when he was about to convert the

chief monarch of the island (Laoghaire or Loegaire). [56] The hymn is a

prayer for the special aid of Almighty God for so important a work; it

contains the principal doctrines of orthodox Christianity, with a dread

of magical influences of aged women and blacksmiths, such as still

prevails in some parts of Ireland, but without an invocation of Mary

and the saints, such as we might expect from the Patrick of tradition

and in a composition intended as a breast-plate or corselet against

spiritual foes. The following is the principal portion:

"5. I bind to myself to-day,--

The Power of God to guide me,

The Might of God to uphold me,

The Wisdom of God to teach me,

The Eye of God to watch over me,

The Ear of God to hear me,

The Word of God to give me speech.

The Hand of God to protect me,

The Way of God to go before me,

The Shield of God to shelter me,

The Host of God to defend me,

Against the snares of demons,

Against the temptations of vices,

Against the lusts of nature,

Against every man who meditates injury to me.

Whether far or near,

With few or with many.

6. I have set around me all these powers,

Against every hostile savage power,

Directed against my body and my soul,

Against the incantations of false prophets,

Against the black laws of heathenism,

Against the false laws of heresy,

Against the deceits of idolatry,

Against the spells of women, and smiths, and druids,

Against all knowledge which blinds the soul of man.

7. Christ protect me to-day

Against poison, against burning,

Against drowning, against wound,

That I may receive abundant reward.

8. Christ with me, Christ before me,

Christ behind me, Christ within me,

Christ beneath me, Christ above me,

Christ at my right, Christ at my left,

Christ in the fort [i.e. at home],

Christ in the chariot-seat [travelling by land],

Christ in the poop [travelling by water].

9. Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me,

Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me,

Christ in every eye that sees me,

Christ in every ear that hears me.

10. I bind to myself to-day

The strong power of an invocation of the Trinity,

The faith of the Trinity in Unity,

The Creator of [the elements].

11. Salvation is of the Lord,

Salvation is of the Lord,

Salvation is of Christ;

May thy salvation, O Lord, be ever with us."

The fourth and last document which has been claimed as authentic and

contemporary, is a Latin "Hymn in praise of St. Patrick" (Hymnus Sancti

Patricii, Episcopi Scotorum) by St. Sechnall (Secundinus) which begins

thus:

"Audite, omnes amantes Deum, sancta merita

Viri in Christo beati Patrici Episcopi:

Quomodo bonum ob actum simulatur angelis,

Perfectamque propter uitam aequatur Apostolis."

The poem is given in full by Haddan & Stubbs, 324-327, and assigned to

"before a.d. 448 (?)," in which year Sechnall died. But how could he

anticipate the work of Patrick, when his mission, according to the same

writers, began only eight years earlier (440), and lasted till 493? The

hymn is first mentioned by Tyrechanus in the "Book of Armagh."

The next oldest document is the Irish hymn of St. Fiacc on St. Patrick,

which is assigned to the latter part of the sixth century, (l.c.

356-361). The Senchus Mor is attributed to the age of St. Patrick; but

it is a code of Irish laws, derived from Pagan times, and gradually

modified by Christian ecclesiastics in favor of the church. The Canons

attributed to St. Patrick are of later date (Haddan & Stubbs, 328

sqq.).

It is strange that St. Patrick is not mentioned by Bede in his Church

History, although he often refers to Hibernia and its church, and is

barely named as a presbyter in his Martyrology. He is also ignored by

Columba and by the Roman Catholic writers, until his mediaeval

biographers from the eighth to the twelfth century Romanized him,

appealing not to his genuine Confession, but to spurious documents and

vague traditions. He is said to have converted all the Irish chieftains

and bards, even Ossian, the blind Homer of Scotland, who sang to him

his long epic of Keltic heroes and battles. He founded 365 or,

according to others, 700 churches, and consecrated as many bishops, and

3,000 priests (when the whole island had probably not more than two or

three hundred thousand inhabitants; for even in the reign of Elizabeth

it did not exceed 600,000). [57] He changed the laws of the kingdom,

healed the blind, raised nine persons from death to life, and expelled

all the snakes and frogs from Ireland. [58] His memory is celebrated

March 17, and is a day of great public processions with the Irish

Catholics in all parts of the world. His death is variously put in the

year 455 (Tillemont), 464 or 465 (Butler, Killen), 493 (Ussher, Skene,

Forbes, Haddan & Stubbs). Forbes (Kalendars, p. 433) and Skene (Keltic

Scotland, II. 427 sqq.) come to the conclusion that the legend of St.

Patrick in its present shape is not older than the ninth century, and

dissolves into three personages: Sen-Patrick, whose day in the Kalendar

is the 24th of August; Palladius, "qui est Patricius," to whom the

mission in 431 properly belongs, and Patricius, whose day is the 17th

of March, and who died in 493. "From the acts of these three saints,

the subsequent legend of the great Apostle of Ireland was compiled, and

an arbitrary chronology applied to it."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[45] Agricola thought of invading Ireland, and holding it by a single

legion, in order to remove from Britain the dangerous sight of freedom.

Tacitus, Agric., c. 24.

[46] Isidore of Seville in 580 (Origines XIV. 6) was the first to call

Hibernia by the name of Scotia: "Scotia eadem et Ibernia, proxima

Britanniae insula."

[47] Prosper Aquitan. (a. d.455-463), Chron. ad an. 431: "Ad Scotos in

Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Coelestino Palladius primus

Episcopus mittitur." Comp. Vita S. Palladii in the Book of Armagh, and

the notes by Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. II., Part II., pp. 290, 291.

[48] He is said to have left in Ireland, when he withdrew, some relics

of St. Peter and Paul, and a copy of the Old and New Testaments, which

the Pope had given him, together with the tablets on which he himself

used to write. Haddan & Stubbs, p. 291.

[49] Hence Montalembert says (II. 393): "The Christian faith dawned

upon Ireland by means of two slaves." The slave-trade between Ireland

and England flourished for many centuries.

[50] This fact is usually, omitted by Roman Catholic writers. Butler

says simply: "His father was of a good family." Even Montalembert

conceals it by calling "the Gallo-Roman (?) Patrick, son of a relative

of the great St. Martin of Tours" (II. 390). He also repeats, without a

shadow of proof, the legend that St. Patrick was consecrated and

commissioned by Pope St. Celestine (p. 391), though he admits that

"legend and history have vied in taking possession of the life of St.

Patrick."

[51] The dates are merely conjectural. Haddan & Stubbs (p. 295) select

a. d.440 for St. Patrick's mission (as did Tillemont & Todd), and 493

as the year of his death. According to other accounts, his mission

began much earlier, and lasted sixty years. The alleged date of the

foundation of Armagh is a. d.445.

[52] Afterwards Armagh disputed the claims of Downpatrick See Killen I.

71-73.

[53] Killen, Vol. I. 12. Patrick describes himself as "Hiberione

constitutus episcopus." Afterwards he was called "Episcopus Scotorum,"

then "Archiapostolus Scotorum," then "Abbat of all Ireland," and

"Archbishop, First Primate, and Chief Apostle of Ireland.' See Haddan &

Stubbs, p. 295.

[54] Haddan & Stubbs, p. 294, note: "The language of the Hymns of S.

Sechnall and of S. Fiacc, and of S. Patrick's own Confessio, and the

silence of Prosper, besides chronological difficulties, disprove, upon

purely historical grounds, the supposed mission from Rome of S. Patrick

himself; which first appears in the Scholia on S. Fiacc's Hymn."

[55] The probable date of foundation is a. d.480. Haddan & Stubbs, p.

295.

[56] The Irish was first published by Dr. Petrie, and translated by Dr.

Todd. Haddan & Stubbs (320-323) give the Irish and English in parallel

columns. Some parts of this hymn are said to be still remembered by the

Irish peasantry, and repeated at bed-time as a protection from evil, or

"as a religious armor to protect body and soul against demons and men

and vices."

[57] See Killen I. 76, note. Montalembert says, III. 118, note: "Irish

narratives know scarcely any numerals but those of three hundred and

three thousand.

[58] A witty Irishman, who rowed me (in 1875) over Lake Killarney, told

me that St. Patrick put the last snake into an iron box, and sunk it to

the bottom of the lake, although he had solemnly promised to let the

creature out. I asked him whether it was not a sin to cheat a snake?

"Not at all," was his quick reply, "he only paid him in the same coin;

for the first snake cheated the whole world." The same guide told me

that Cromwell killed all the good people in Ireland, and let the bad

ones live; and when I objected that he must have made an exception with

his ancestors, he politely replied: "No, my parents came from America."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 15. The Irish Church after St. Patrick.

The Missionary Period.

The labors of St. Patrick were carried on by his pupils and by many

British priests and monks who were driven from England by the

Anglo-Saxon invasion in the 5th and 6th centuries. [59] There was an

intimate intercourse between Ireland and Wales, where British

Christianity sought refuge, and between Ireland and Scotland, where the

seed of Christianity, had been planted by Ninian and Kentigern. In less

than a century, after St. Patrick's death Ireland was covered with

churches and convents for men and women. The monastic institutions were

training schools of clergymen and missionaries, and workshops for

transscribing sacred books. Prominent among these are the monasteries

of Armagh, Banchor or Bangor (558), Clonard (500), Clonmacnois (528),

Derry (555), Glendolough (618).

During the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland excelled all other

countries in Christian piety, and acquired the name of "the Island of

Saints." We must understand this in a comparative sense, and remember

that at that time England was just beginning to emerge from Anglo-Saxon

heathenism, Germany was nearly all heathen, and the French kings--the

eldest sons of the Church--were "monsters of iniquity." Ireland itself

was distracted by civil wars between the petty kings and chieftains;

and the monks and clergy, even the women, marched to the conflict.

Adamnan with difficulty secured a law exempting women from warfare, and

it was not till the ninth century that the clergy in Ireland were

exempted from "expeditions and hostings" (battles). The slave-trade was

in full vigor between Ireland and England in the tenth century, with

the port of Bristol for its centre. The Irish piety was largely based

on childish superstition. But the missionary zeal of that country is

nevertheless most praiseworthy. Ireland dreamed the dream of converting

heathen Europe. Its apostles went forth to Scotland, North Britain,

France, Germany, Switzerland, and North Italy. "They covered the land

and seas of the West. Unwearied navigators, they landed on the most

desert islands; they overflowed the Continent with their successive

immigrations. They saw in incessant visions a world known and unknown

to be conquered for Christ. The poem of the Pilgrimage of St. Brandan,

that monkish Odyssey so celebrated in the middle ages, that popular

prelude of the Divina Commedia, shows us the Irish monks in close

contact with all the dreams and wonders of the Keltic ideal." [60]

The missionaries left Ireland usually in companies of twelve, with a

thirteenth as their leader. This duodecimal economy was to represent

Christ and the twelve apostles. The following are the most prominent of

these missionary bands: [61]

St. Columba, with twelve brethren, to Hy in Scotland, a.d. 563.

St. Mohonna (or Macarius, Mauricius), sent by Columba, with twelve

companions, to the Picts.

St. Columbanus, with twelve brethren, whose names are on record, to

France and Germany, a.d. 612.

St. Kilian, with twelve, to Franconia and W�rzburg, a.d. 680.

St. Eloquius, with twelve, to Belgium, a.d. 680.

St. Rudbert or Rupert, with twelve, to Bavaria, a.d. 700.

St. Willibrord (who studied twelve years in Ireland), with twelve, to

Friesland, a.d. 692.

St. Forannan, with twelve, to the Belgian frontier, a.d. 970.

It is remarkable that this missionary activity of the Irish Church is

confined to the period of her independence of the Church of Rome. We

hear no more of it after the Norman conquest.

The Irish Church during this missionary period of the sixth and seventh

centuries had a peculiar character, which we learn chiefly from two

documents of the eighth century, namely, the Catalogue of the Saints of

Ireland, [62] and the Litany of Angus the Culdee. [63]

The Catalogue distinguishes three periods and three orders of saints:

secular, monastic, and eremitical.

The saints of the time of St. Patrick were all bishops full of the Holy

Ghost, three hundred and fifty in number, founders of churches; they

had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick, observed one mass and

one tonsure from ear to ear, and kept Easter on the fourteenth moon

after the vernal equinox; they excluded neither laymen nor women;

because, founded on the Rock of Christ, they feared not the blast of

temptation. They sprung from the Romans, Franks, Britons and Scots.

This order of saints continued for four reigns, from about a.d. 440

till 543.

The second order, likewise of four reigns, till a.d. 599, was of

Catholic Presbyters, three hundred in number, with few bishops; they

had one head, Christ, one Easter, one tonsure, as before; but different

and different rules, and they refused the services of women, separating

them from the monasteries.

The third order of saints consisted of one hundred holy presbyters and

a few bishops, living in desert places on herbs and water and the alms

of the faithful; they had different tonsures and Easters, some

celebrating the resurrection on the 14th, some on the 16th moon; they

continued through four reigns till 665.

The first period may be called episcopal, though in a rather

non-episcopal or undiocesan sense. Angus, in his Litany, invokes "seven

times fifty [350] holy cleric bishops," whom "the saint [Patrick]

ordained," and "three hundred pure presbyters, upon whom he conferred

orders." In Nennius the number of presbyters is increased to three

thousand, and in the tripartite Life of Patrick to five thousand. These

bishops, even if we greatly reduce the number as we must, had no higher

rank than the ancient chorepiscopi or country-bishops in the Eastern

Church, of whom there were once in Asia Minor alone upwards of four

hundred. Angus the Culdee gives us even one hundred and fifty-three

groups of seven bishops, each group serving in the same church.

Patrick, regarding himself as the chief bishop of the whole Irish

people, planted a church wherever he made a few converts and could

obtain a grant from the chief of a clan, and placed a bishop ordained

by himself over it. "It was a congregational and tribal episcopacy,

united by a federal rather than a territorial tie under regular

jurisdiction. During Patrick's life, he no doubt exercised a

superintendence over the whole; but we do not see any trace of the

metropolitan jurisdiction of the church of Armagh over the rest." [64]

The second period was monastic and missionary. All the presbyters and

deacons were monks. Monastic life was congenial to the soil, and had

its antecedents in the brotherhoods and sisterhoods of the Druids. [65]

It was imported into Ireland probably from France, either directly

through Patrick, or from the monastery of St. Ninian at Galloway, who

himself derives it from St. Martin of Tours. [66] Prominent among these

presbyter-monks are the twelve apostles of Ireland headed by St.

Columba, who carried Christianity to Scotland in 563, and the twelve

companions of Columbanus, who departed from Ireland to the Continent

about 612. The most famous monastery was that of Bennchar, or Bangor,

founded a.d. 558 by Comgall in the county of Down, on the south side of

Belfast Lough. Comgall had four thousand monks under his care. [67]

From Bangor proceeded Columbanus and other evangelists.

By a primitive Keltic monastery we must not understand an elaborate

stone structure, but a rude village of wooden huts or bothies (botha)

on a river, with a church (ecclais), a common eating-hall, a mill, a

hospice, the whole surrounded by a wall of earth or stone. The senior

monks gave themselves entirely to devotion and the transcribing of the

Scriptures. The younger were occupied in the field and in mechanical

labor, or the training of the rising generation. These monastic

communities formed a federal union, with Christ as their invisible

head. They were training schools of the clergy. They attracted converts

from the surrounding heathen population, and offered them a refuge from

danger and violence. They were resorted to by English noblemen, who,

according to Bede, were hospitably received, furnished with books, and

instructed. Some Irish clergymen could read the Greek Testament at a

time when Pope Gregory J. was ignorant of Greek. There are traces of an

original Latin version of the Scriptures differing from the Itala and

Vulgate, especially in Patrick's writings. [68] But "there is no trace

anywhere of any Keltic version of the Bible or any part of it. St.

Chrysostom's words have been misunderstood to support such a

supposition, but without ground." [69] If there had been such a

translation, it would have been of little use, as the people could not

read it, and depended for their scanty knowledge of the word of God on

the public lessons in the church.

The "Book of Armagh," compiled by Ferdomnach, a scribe or learned monk

of Armagh, in 807, gives us some idea of the literary state of the

Irish Church at that time. [70] It contains the oldest extant memoirs

of St. Patrick, the Confession of St. Patrick, the Preface of Jerome to

the New Testament, the Gospels, Epistles, Apocalypse and Acts, with

some prefaces chiefly taken from the works of Pelagius, and the Life of

St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus, with a short litany on behalf

of the writer.

In the ninth century John Scotus Erigena, who died in France, 874,

startled the Church with his rare, but eccentric, genius and

pantheistic speculations. He had that power of quick repartee for which

Irishmen are distinguished to this day. When asked by Charles the Bald

at the dinner-table, what was the difference between a Scot and a Sot

(quid distat inter Scottum et Sottum?), John replied: "Nothing at all

but the table, please your Majesty."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[59] Petrie (Round Towers, p. 137, quoted by Killen I. 26) speaks of

crowds of foreign ecclesiastics--Roman, Egyptian, French, British,

Saxon--who flocked Ireland as a place of refuge in the fifth and sixth

centuries.

[60] Montalembert, II. 397.

[61] See Reeves, S. Columba, Introd, p. lxxi.

[62] Catalogus Sanctorum Hiberniae published by Ussher from two MSS,

and in Haddan & Stubbs, 292-294.

[63] Contained in the Leabhar Breac, and in the Book of Leinster.

[64] Skene II. 22

[65] Ammianus Marcellinus (XV. 9) describes the Druids as "bound

together in brotherhoods and corporations, according to the precepts of

Pythagoras!" See Killen, I. 29.

[66] See next section. St. Patrick also is said to have been one of St.

Martin's disciples; but St. Martin lived nearly one hundred years

earlier.

[67] Angus the Culdee, in his Litany, invokes "forty thousand monks,

with the blessing of God, under the rule of Comgall of Bangor." But

this is no doubt a slip of the pen for "four thousand." Skene II. 56.

Bangor on the northeastern coast of Ireland must not be confounded with

Bangor on the westem coast of Wales.

[68] Haddan & Stubbs, Vol. I., 170-198, give a collection of Latin

Scripture quotations of British or Irish writers from the fifth to the

ninth century (Fastidius, St. Patrick, Gildas, Columbanus, Adamnanus,

Nennius, Asser, etc.), and come to the conclusion that the Vulgate,

though known to Fastidius in Britain about a. d.420, was probably

unknown to St. Patrick, writing half a century later in Ireland, but

that from the seventh century on, the Vulgate gradually superseded the

Irish Latin version formerly in use.

[69] Haddan & Stubbs, I. 192; Comp. p. 10. Ebrard and other writers

state the contrary, but without proof.

[70] First published in the Swords Parish Magazine, 1861.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 16. Subjection of Ireland to English and Roman Rule.

The success of the Roman mission of Augustin among the Anglo-Saxons

encouraged attempts to bring the Irish Church under the papal

jurisdiction and to force upon it the ritual observances of Rome.

England owes a good deal of her Christianity to independent Irish and

Scotch missionaries from Bangor and Iona; but Ireland (as well as

Germany) owes her Romanism, in great measure, to England. Pope Honorius

(who was afterwards condemned by the sixth oecumenical council for

holding the Monothelite heresy) addressed to the Irish clergy in 629 an

exhortation--not, however, in the tone of authoritative dictation, but

of superior wisdom and experience--to conform to the Roman mode of

keeping Easter. This is the first known papal encyclical addressed to

that country. A Synod was held at Magh-Lene, and a deputation sent to

the Pope (and the three Eastern patriarchs) to ascertain the foreign

usages on Easter. The deputation was treated with distinguished

consideration in Rome, and, after three years' absence, reported in

favor of the Roman cycle, which indeed rested on a better system of

calculation. It was accordingly adopted in the South of Ireland, under

the influence of the learned Irish ecclesiastic Cummian, who devoted a

whole year to the study of the controversy. A few years afterwards

Thomian, archbishop and abbot of Armagh (from 623 to 661), and the best

Irish scholar of his age, introduced, after correspondence with the

Pope, the Roman custom in the North, and thereby promoted his authority

in opposition to the power of the abbot of Iona, which extended over a

portion of Ireland, and strongly favored the old custom. But at last

Abbot Adamnan likewise yielded to the Roman practice before his death

(704).

The Norman conquest under William I., with the sanction of the Pope,

united the Irish Church still more closely to Rome (1066). Gregory

VII., in an encyclical letter to the king, clergy and laity of Ireland

(1084)., boldly, challenged their obedience to the Vicar of the blessed

Peter, and invited them to appeal to him in all matters requiring

arbitration.

The archbishops of Canterbury, Lanfranc and Anselm, claimed and

exercised a sort of supervision over the three most important

sea-ports, Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, on the ground that the

Norman settlers applied to them for bishops and priests. Their

influence was exerted in favor of conformity to Rome. Clerical celibacy

was more generally introduced, uniformity in ritual established, and

the large number of bishoprics reduced to twenty-three under two

archbishops, Armagh for the North and Cashel for the South; while the

bishop of Dublin was permitted to remain under the care of the

archbishop of Canterbury. This reorganization of the polity in the

interest of the aggrandizement of the hierarchy was effected about 1112

at the synod of Rathbreasail, which was attended by 58 bishops, 317

priests, a large number of monks, and King Murtogh O'Brien with his

nobles. [71]

At last Ireland was invaded and conquered by England under Henry II.,

with the effectual aid of Pope Adrian IV.--the only Englishman that sat

on the papal throne. In a curious bull of 1155, he justified and

encouraged the intended invasion in the interest of the papacy, and

sent the king the ring of investiture as Lord of Ireland calling upon

that licentious monarch to "extirpate the nurseries of vice" in

Ireland, to "enlarge the borders of the (Roman) Church," and to secure

to St. Peter from each house "the annual pension of one penny" (equal

in value in the twelfth century to at least two or three shillings of

our present currency). [72] Henry carried out his design in 1171, and

with a strong military force easily subdued the whole Irish nation,

weakened and distracted by civil wars, to British rule, which has been

maintained ever since. A Synod at Armagh regarded the subjugation as a

righteous judgment for the sins of the people, and especially for the

slave trade. The bishops were the first to acknowledge Henry, hoping to

derive benefit from a foreign r�gime, which freed them from petty

tyrants at home. A Synod of Cashel in 1172, among other regulations,

ordered that all offices of the church should hereafter in all parts of

Ireland be conformed to the observances of the Church of England. A

papal legate henceforward was constantly residing in Ireland. Pope

Alexander III. was extremely gratified with this extension of his

dominion, and in September, 1172, in the same tone of sanctimonious

arrogance) issued a brief confirming the bull of Adrian, and expressing

a hope that "the barbarous nation" would attain under the government of

Henry "to some decency of manners;" he also wrote three epistles--one

to Henry II., one to the kings and nobles of Ireland, and one to its

hierarchy--enjoining obedience of Ireland to England, and of both to

the see of St. Peter. [73]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[71] See details in Lanigan and Killen (ch. vii.).

[72] This papal-Irish bull is not found in the Bullarium Romanum, the

editors of which were ashamed of it, and is denounced by some Irish

Romanists as a monstrous and outrageous forgery, but it is given by,

Matthew Paris (1155), was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. in a letter

to Henry II. (a. d.1172), published in Ireland in 1175, printed in

Baronius, Annales, ad a. d.1159, who took his copy from a Codex

Vaticanus and is acknowledged as undoubtedly genuine by Dr. Lanigan,

the Roman Catholic historian of Ireland (IV. 64), and other

authorities; comp. Killen I. 211 sqq. It is as follows: "Adrian,

Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ,

the illustrious King of England, greeting and apostolic benediction. "

Full laudably, and profitably has your magnificence conceived the

design of propagating your glorious renown on earth, and of completing

your reward of eternal happiness in heaven, whilst as a Catholic prince

you are intent on enlarging the borders of the Church, teaching the

truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and rude, extirpating the

nurseries of iniquity from the field of the Lord, and for the more

convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favor

of the Apostolic See. In which the maturer your deliberation and the

greater the discretion of your procedure, by, so much the happier, we

trust, will be your progress, with the assistance of the Lord; because

whatever has its origin in ardent faith and in love of religion always

has a prosperous end and issue. "There is indeed no doubt but that

Ireland and all the islands on which Christ the Sun of Righteousness

has shone, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian

faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman

Church, as your Excellency also acknowledges. And therefore we are the

more solicitous to propagate a faithful plantation among them, and a

seed pleasing to the Lord, as we have the secret conviction of

conscience that a very, rigorous account must be rendered of them. "

You then, most dear son in Christ, have signified to us your desire to

enter into the island of Ireland that you may reduce the people to

obedience to laws, and extirpate the nurseries of vice, and that you

are willing to pay from each house a yearly pension of one penny to St.

Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of this

land whole and inviolate. We, therefore, with that grace and acceptance

suited to your pious and laudable design, and favorably assenting to

your petition, hold it good and acceptable that, for extending the

borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, for the

correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and the increase of the

Christian religion, you enter that island, and execute therein whatever

shall pertain to the honor of God and welfare of the land; and that the

people of that land receive you honorably, and reverence you as their

lord--the rights of their churches still remaining sacred and

inviolate, and saving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny from

every house. "If then you are resolved to carry the design you have

conceived into effectual execution, study to train that nation to

virtuous manners, and labor by yourself and others whom you shall judge

meet for this work, in faith, word, and life, that the church may be

there adorned; that the religion of the Christian faith may be planted

and grow up, and that all things pertaining to the honor of God and the

salvation of souls be so ordered that you may be entitled to the

fulness of eternal reward in God, and obtain a glorious renown on

throughout all ages."

[73] Killen, I. 226 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 17. The Conversion of Scotland. St. Ninian and St. Kentigern.

See the works of Skene (the second vol.), Reeves, McLauchan, Ebrard,

Cunningham, mentioned in � 7.

Also Dr. Reeves: The Culdees of the British Islands as they appear in

History, 1864.

Dr. Jos. Robertson: Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanae, 1866, 2 vols.

Bishop Forbes: The Kalendars of Scottish Saints, Edinb., 1872; Lives of

S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, compiled in the 12th century, Edinb., 1874.

Haddan & Stubbs: Councils and Ecclesiast. Docum., Vol. II, Part I.

(Oxf., 1873), pp. 103 sqq.

Scotland (Scotia) before the tenth century was comprised in the general

appellation of Britain (Britannia), as distinct from Ireland

(Hibernia). It was known to the Romans as Caledonia, [74] to the Kelts

as Alban; but the name of Scotia was exclusively appropriated to

Ireland till the tenth century. The independent history of Scotland

begins with the establishment of the Scottish monarchy in the ninth

century. At first it was a purely Keltic kingdom; but in the course of

time the Saxon race and feudal institutions spread over the country,

and the Keltic tribes retreated to the mountains and western islands.

The names of Scot and Scotch passed over to the English-speaking people

and their language; while the Keltic language, formerly known as

Scotch, became known as Irish.

The Keltic history of Scotland is full of fable, and a battlefield of

Romanists and Protestants, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, who have

claimed it for their respective systems of doctrine and church-polity.

It must be disentangled from the sectarian issues of the Culdean

controversy. The historian is neither a polemic nor an apologist, and

should aim at nothing but the truth.

Tertullian says, that certain places in Britain which the Romans could

not conquer were made subject to Christ. It is quite likely that the

first knowledge of Christianity reached the Scots and Picts from

England; but the constant wars between them and the Britons and the

decline of the Roman power were unfavorable to any mission work.

The mission of Palladius to Scotland by Pope Caelestius is as vague and

uncertain as his mission to Ireland by the same Pope, and is strongly

mixed up with the mission of Patrick. An Irish colony from the

North-Eastern part of Ulster, which had been Christianized by Patrick,

settled in Scotland towards the close of the fifth century, and

continued to spread along the coasts of Argyle and as far as the

islands of Mull and Iona, until its progress was checked by the

Northern Picts.

The first distinct fact in the church history of Scotland is the

apostolate of St. Ninian at the close of the fourth century, during the

reign of Theodosius in the East. We have little reliable information of

him. The son of a British king, he devoted himself early to the

ministry of Christ. He spent some time in Rome, where the Pope

commissioned him to the apostolate among the heathen in Caledonia, and

in Gaul with Bishop Martin of Tours, who deserves special praise for

his protest against the capital punishment of heretics in the case of

the Priscillianists. He began the evangelization of the Southern Picts

in the Eastern districts of modern Scotland. He built a white stone

church called "Candida Casa," at Whittern (Quhithern, Witerna) in

Galloway, on the South-Westem border of Scotland by the sea side, and

dedicated it to the memory of St. Martin, who had died in that year

(397). [75] This was the beginning of "the Great Monastery" ("Magnum

Monasterium") or monastery of Rosnat, which exerted a civilizing and

humanizing influence on the surrounding country, and annually attracted

pilgrims from England and Scotland to the shrine of St. Ninian. His

life has been romanized and embellished with legends. He made a newborn

infant indicate its true father, and vindicate the innocence of a

presbyter who had been charged by the mother with the crime of

violation; he caused leeks and herbs to grow in the garden before their

season; he subdued with his staff the winds and the waves of the sea;

and even his relics cured the sick, cleansed the lepers, and terrified

the wicked, "by all which things," says Ailred, his biographer, "the

faith of believers is confirmed to the praise and glory of Christ."

St. Kentigern (d. Nov. 13, 603), also called St. Mungo (the gracious

one), [76] the first bishop of Glasgow, labored in the sixth century

for the conversion of the people in Cumberland, Wales, and on the

Clyde, and re-converted the Picts, who had apostatized from the faith.

He was the grandson of a heathen king in Cumbria or Strathclyde, the

son of a Christian, though unbaptized mother. He founded a college of

Culdees or secular monks, and several churches. He wore a hair shirt

and garment of goat-skin, lived on bread and vegetables, slept on a

rocky couch and a stony pillow, like Jacob, rose in the night to sing

psalms, recited in the morning the whole psalter in a cold stream,

retired to desert places during Lent, living on roots, was

con-crucified with Christ on Good Friday, watched before the tomb, and

spent Easter in hilarity and joy. He converted more by his silence than

his speech, caused a wolf and a stag to drag the plough, raised grain

from a field sown with sand, kept the rain from wetting his garments,

and performed other marvels which prove the faith or superstition of

his biographers in the twelfth century. Jocelyn relates also, that

Kentigern went seven times to Rome, and received sundry privileges and

copies of the Bible from the Pope. There is, however, no trace of such

visits in the works of Gregory I., who was more interested in the Saxon

mission than the Scotch. Kentigern first established his episcopal

chair in Holdelm (now Hoddam), afterwards in Glasghu (Glasgow). He met

St. Columba, and exchanged with him his pastoral stave. [77] He

attained to the age of one hundred and eighty-five years, and died

between a.d. 601 and 612 (probably 603). [78] He is buried in the crypt

of the cathedral of St. Mungo in Glasgow, the best preserved of

mediaeval cathedrals in Scotland.

St. Cuthbert (d. March 20, 687), whose life has been written by Bede,

prior of the famous monastery of Mailros (Melrose), afterwards bishop

of Lindisfarne, and last a hermit, is another legendary saint of

Scotland, and a number of churches are traced to him or bear his name.

[79]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[74] In Gaelic, Calyddom, land of forests, or, according to others,

from Kaled, i.e hard and wild.

[75] On Whittern and the Candida Casa, see Nicholson, History of

Galloway, I. 115; Forbes, S. Ninian and S. Kentigern, 268, and Skene,

II. 46.

[76] In Welsh, Cyndeyrn means chief, Munghu dear, amiable. See Skene,

II. 183.

[77] The meeting of the two saints, as recorded by Jocelyn, reminds one

of the meeting of St. Antony with the fabulous Paul of Thebes.

[78] See Forbes, Kalendars, p. 372, and Skene, II. 197.

[79] Forbes (p. 319) gives a list of 26.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 18. St. Columba and the Monastery of Iona.

John Jamieson (D. D.): An Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees of

Iona, and of their Settlements in Scotland, England, and Ireland.

Edinb., 1811 (p. 417).

Montalembert: La Moines d' Occident, Vol. III., pp. 99-332 (Paris,

1868).

The Duke of Argyll: Iona. Second ed., London, 1871 (149 p

\*Adamnan: Life of St. Columba, Founder of Hy, ed. by William Reeves

(Canon of Armagh), Edinburgh, 1874. (Originally printed for the Irish

Archaeolog. Society and for the Bannatyne Club, Dublin, 1856).

Skene: Celtic Scotland, II. 52 sqq. (Edinb., 1877). Comp. the Lit. in �

7.

Saint Columba or Columbcille, (died June 9, 597) is the real apostle of

Scotland. He is better known to us than Ninian and Kentigern. The

account of Adamnan (624-704), the ninth abbot of Hy, was written a

century after Columba's death from authentic records and oral

traditions, although it is a panegyric rather than a history. Later

biographers have romanized him like St. Patrick. He was descended from

one of the reigning families of Ireland and British Dalriada, and was

born at, Gartan in the county of Donegal about a.d. 521. He received in

baptism the symbolical name Colum, or in Latin Columba (Dove, as the

symbol of the Holy Ghost), to which was afterwards added cille (or

kill, i.e. "of the church," or "the dove of the cells," on account of

his frequent attendance at public worship, or, more probably, for his

being the founder of many churches. [80] He entered the monastic

seminary of Clonard, founded by St. Finnian, and afterwards another

monastery near Dublin, and was ordained a priest. He planted the church

at Derry in 545, the monastery of Darrow in 553, and other churches. He

seems to have fondly clung all his life to his native Ireland, and to

the convent of Derry. In one of his elegies, which were probably

retouched by the patriotism of some later Irish bard, he sings:

"Were all the tributes of Scotia [i.e. Ireland] mine,

From its midland to its borders,

I would give all for one little cell

In my beautiful Derry.

For its peace and for its purity,

For the white angels that go

In crowds from one end to the other,

I love my beautiful Derry.

For its quietness and purity,

For heaven's angels that come and go

Under every leaf of the oaks,

I love my beautiful Derry.

My Derry, my fair oak grove,

My dear little cell and dwelling,

O God, in the heavens above I

Let him who profanes it be cursed.

Beloved are Durrow and Derry,

Beloved is Raphoe the pure,

Beloved the fertile Drumhome,

Beloved are Sords and Kells!

But sweeter and fairer to me

The salt sea where the sea-gulls cry

When I come to Derry from far,

It is sweeter and dearer to me --

Sweeter to me." [81]

In 563, the forty-second year of his age, Columba prompted by a passion

for travelling and a zeal for the spread of Christianity, [82] sailed

with twelve fellow-apostles to the West of Scotland, possibly on

invitation of the provincial king, to whom he was related by blood. He

was presented with the island of Hy, commonly called Iona, [83] near

the Western coast of Scotland about fifty miles West from Oban. It is

an inhospitable island, three miles and a half long and a mile and a

half broad, partly cultivated, partly covered with hill pasture,

retired dells, morass and rocks, now in possession of the Duke of

Argyll, numbering about three hundred Protestant inhabitants, an

Established Presbyterian Church, and a Free Church. The neighboring

island of Staffa, though smaller and uninhabited, is more interesting

to the ordinary tourist, and its Fingal's Cave is one of the most

wonderful specimens of the architectural skill of nature; it looks like

a Gothic cathedral, 66 feet high, 42 feet broad, and 227 feet long,

consisting of majestic basalt columns, an arched roof, and an open

portal towards the ocean, which dashes in and out in a constant

succession of waves, sounding solemn anthems in this unique temple of

nature. Columba and his fellow-monks must have passed it on their

missionary wanderings; but they were too much taken up with heaven to

look upon the wonders of the earth, and the cave remained comparatively

unknown to the world till 1772. Those islands wore the same aspect in

the sixth century as now, with the exception of the woods, which have

disappeared. Walter Scott (in the "Lord of the Isles") has thrown the

charm of his poetry over the Hebridean archipelago, from which

proceeded the Christianization of Scotland. [84]

By the labors of Columba and his successors, Iona has become one of the

most venerable and interesting spots in the history of Christian

missions. It was a light-house in the darkness of heathenism. We can

form no adequate conception of the self-denying zeal of those heroic

missionaries of the extreme North, who, in a forbidding climate and

exposed to robbers and wild beasts, devoted their lives to the

conversion of savages. Columba and his friends left no monuments of

stone and wood; nothing is shown but the spot on the South of the

island where he landed, and the empty stone coffin where his body was

laid together with that of his servant; his bones were removed

afterwards to Dunkeld. The old convent was destroyed and the monks were

killed by the wild Danes and Norsemen in the tenth century. The

remaining ruins of Iona--a cathedral, a chapel, a nunnery, a graveyard

with the tombstones of a number of Scottish and Norwegian and Irish

kings, and three remarkable carved crosses, which were left of three

hundred and sixty that (according to a vague tradition) were thrown

into the sea by the iconoclastic zeal of the Reformation--are all of

the Roman Catholic period which succeeded the original Keltic

Christianity, and which lived on its fame. During the middle ages Iona

was a sort of Jerusalem of the North, where pilgrims loved to worship,

and kings and noblemen desired to be buried. When the celebrated Dr.

Johnson, in his Tour to the Hebrides, approached Iona, he felt his

piety grow warmer. No friend of missions can visit that lonely spot,

shrouded in almost perpetual fog, without catching new inspiration and

hope for the ultimate triumph of the gospel over all obstacles. [85]

The arrival of Columba at Iona was the beginning of the Keltic church

in Scotland. The island was at that time on the confines of the Pictic

and Scotic jurisdiction, and formed a convenient base for missionary

labors among the Scots, who were already Christian in name, but needed

confirmation, and among the Picts, who were still pagan, and had their

name from painting their bodies and fighting naked. Columba directed

his zeal first to the Picts; he visited King Brude in his fortress, and

won his esteem and co-operation in planting Christianity among his

people. "He converted them by example as well as by word" (Bede). He

founded a large number of churches and monasteries in Ireland and

Scotland directly or through his disciples. [86] He was involved in the

wars so frequent in those days, when even women were required to aid in

battle, and he availed himself of military force for the overthrow of

paganism. He used excommunication very freely, and once pursued a

plunderer with maledictions into the sea until the water reached to his

knees. But these rough usages did not interfere with the veneration for

his name. He was only a fair type of his countrymen. "He had," says

Montalembert, "the vagabond inclination, the ardent, agitated, even

quarrelsome character of the race." He had the "perfervidum ingenium

Scotorum." He was manly, tall and handsome, incessantly active, and had

a sonorous and far-reaching voice, rolling forth the Psalms of David,

every syllable distinctly uttered. He could discern the signs of the

weather. Adamnan ascribes to him an angelic countenance, a prophetic

fore-knowledge and miracles as great as those performed by Christ, such

as changing water into wine for the celebration of the eucharist, when

no wine could be obtained, changing bitter fruit into sweet, drawing

water from a rock, calming the storm at sea, and curing many diseases.

His biography instead of giving solid facts, teems with fabulous

legends, which are told with childlike credulity. O'Donnell's biography

goes still further. Even the pastoral staff of Columba, left

accidentally upon the shore of Iona, was transported across the sea by

his prayers to meet its disconsolate owner when he landed somewhere in

Ireland. [87]

Columba died beside the altar in the church while engaged in his

midnight devotions. Several poems are ascribed to him--one in praise of

the natural beauties of his chosen island, and a monastic rule similar

to that of St. Benedict; but the "regula ac praecepta" of Columba, of

which Wilfrid spoke at the synod of Whitby, probably mean discipline or

observance rather than a written rule. [88]

The church establishment of Columba at Iona belongs to the second or

monastic period of the Irish church, of which it formed an integral

part. It consisted of one hundred and fifty persons under the monastic

rule. At the head of it stood a presbyter-abbot, who ruled over the

whole province, and even the bishops, although the episcopal function

of ordination was recognized. [89] The monks were a family of brethren

living in common. They were divided into three classes: the seniors,

who attended to the religious services, instruction, and the

transcribing of the Scriptures; the middle-aged, who were the working

brethren, devoted to agriculture, the tending of the cattle, and

domestic labor; and the youth, who were alumni under instruction. The

dress consisted of a white tunica or under garment, and a camilla or

outer garment and hood made of wool. Their food was bread, milk, eggs,

fish, and on Sundays and festivals mutton or beef. The doctrinal views

and ecclesiastical customs as to the observance of Easter and the

tonsure were the same as among the Britons and the Irish in distinction

from the Roman system introduced by Augustin among the Saxons. [90]

The monastery of Iona, says Bede, held for a long time the pre-eminence

over the monasteries and churches of the Picts and Northern Scots.

Columba's successors, he adds, were distinguished for their continency,

their love of God, and strict attention to their rules of discipline,

although they followed "uncertain cycles in their computation of the

great festival (Easter), because they were so far away from the rest of

the world, and had none to supply them with the synodical decrees on

the paschal observance; wherefore they only practised such works of

piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetical,

evangelical, and apostolical writings. This manner of keeping Easter

continued among them for a hundred and fifty years, till the year of

our Lord's incarnation 715." [91]

Adamnan (d. 704), the ninth successor of Columba, in consequence of a

visit to the Saxons, conformed his observance of Easter to the Roman

Church; but his brethren refused to follow him in this change. After

his death, the community of Iona became divided on the Easter question,

until the Columban monks, who adhered to the old custom, were by royal

command expelled (715). With this expulsion terminates the primacy of

Iona in the kingdom of the Picts.

The monastic church was broken up or subordinated to the hierarchy of

the secular clergy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[80] In the Irish calendar there are twenty saints of the name Columba,

or Columbanus, Columbus, Columb. The most distinguished next to

Columbcille is Columbanus, the Continental missionary, who has often

been confounded with Columba. In the Continental hagiology, the name is

used for female saints. See Reeves, p. 248.

[81] Montalembert, III. 112. This poem strikes the key-note of father

Prout's more musical "Bells of Shandon which sound so grand on the

river Lee."

[82] "Pro Christo peregrinare volens," says Adamnan (p. 108), who knows

nothing of his excommunication and exile from Ireland in consequence of

a great battle. And yet it is difficult to account for this tradition.

In one of the Irish Keltic poems ascribed to Columba, he laments to

have been driven from Erin by his own fault and in consequence of the

blood shed in his battles. Montalembert, III. 145.

[83] This is not an adaptation to Columba's Hebrew name (Neander), but

a corruption of Ii-shona, i.e. the Holy Island (from Ii, the Keltic

name for island, and hona or shona, sacred). So Dr. Lindsay Alexander

and Cunningham. But Reeves (l.c. Introd., p. cxxx.) regards Ioua as the

genuine form, which is the feminine adjective of Iou (to be pronounced

like the English Yeo). The island has borne no fewer than thirty names.

[84] "No two objects of interest," says the Duke of Argyll (Iona, p. 1)

"could be more absolutely dissimilar in kind than the two neighboring

islands, Staffa and Iona:--Iona dear to Christendom for more than a

thousand years;--Staffa known to the scientific and the curious only

since the close of the last century. Nothing but an accident of

geography could unite their names. The number of those who can

thoroughly understand and enjoy them both is probably very small."

[85] "Hither came holy men from Erin to take counsel with the Saint on

the troubles of clans and monasteries which were still dear to him.

Hither came also bad men red-handed from blood and sacrilege to make

confession and do penance at Columba's feet. Hither, too, came

chieftains to be blessed, and even kings to be ordained--for it is

curious that on this lonely spot, so far distant from the ancient

centres of Christendom, took place the first recorded case of a

temporal sovereign seeking from a minister of the Church what appears

to have been very like formal consecration. Adamnan, as usual, connects

his narrative of this event, which took place in 547, with miraculous

circumstances, and with Divine direction to Columba, in his selection

of Aidan, one of the early kings of the Irish Dalriadic colony in

Scotland. " The fame of Columba's supernatural powers attracted many

and strange visitors to the shores on which we are now looking. Nor can

we fail to remember, with the Reilig Odhrain at our feet, how often the

beautiful galleys of that olden time came up the sound laden with the

dead,--'their dark freight a vanished life.' A grassy mound not far

from the present landing place is known as the spot on which bodies

were laid when they were first carried to the shore. We know from the

account of Columba's own burial that the custom is to wake the body

with the singing of psalms during three days and nights before laying

it to its final rest. It was then home in solemn procession to the

grave. How many of such processions must have wound along the path that

leads to the Reilig Odhrain! How many fleets of galley must have ridden

at anchor on that bay below us, with all those expressive signs of

mourning which belong to ships, when kings and chiefs who had died in

distant lands were carried hither to be buried in this holy Isle! From

Ireland, from Scotland, and from distant Norway there came, during many

centuries, many royal funerals to its shores. And at this day by far

the most interesting remains upon the Island are the curious and

beautiful tombstones and crosses which lie in the Reilig Odhrain. They

belong indeed, even the most ancient of them, to, in age removed by

many hundred years from Columba's time. But they represent the lasting

reverence which his name has inspired during so many generations and

the desire of a long succession of chiefs and warriors through the

Middle Ages and down almost to our own time, to be buried in the soil

he trod." The Duke of Argyll, l.c., pp. 95-98.

[86] See a list of churches in Reeves, p. xlix. lxxi., and Forbes,

Kalendar, etc. p. 306, 307; comp. also Skene, II. 127 sqq.

[87] Montalembert's delineation of Columba's character assumes,

apparently, the truth of these biographies, and is more eloquent than

true. See Skene, II. 145.

[88] On the regula Columbani, see Ebrard, 147 sqq.

[89] Bede, H. E., III. 4; V. 9.

[90] For a very full account of the economy and constitution of Iona,

see Reeves, Introduction to Life of Saint Columba, pp. c.-cxxxii.

[91] H. E. III. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 19. The Culdees.

After the expulsion of the Columban monks from the kingdom of the Picts

in the eighth century, the term Culdee or Ceile De, or Kaledei, first

appears in history, and has given rise to much controversy and

untenable theories. [92] It is of doubtful origin, but probably means

servants or worshippers of God. [93] it was applied to anchorites, who,

in entire seclusion from society, sought the perfection of sanctity.

They succeeded the Columban monks. They afterwards associated

themselves into communities of hermits, and were finally brought under

canonical rule along with the secular clergy, until at length the name

of Culdee became almost synonymous with that of secular canon.

The term Culdee has been improperly applied to the whole Keltic church,

and a superior purity has been claimed for it.

There is no doubt that the Columban or the Keltic church of Scotland,

as well as the early Irish and the early British churches, differed in

many points from the mediaeval and modern church of Rome, and represent

a simpler and yet a very active missionary type of Christianity.

The leading peculiarities of the ancient Keltic church, as distinct

from the Roman, are:

1. Independence of the Pope. Iona was its Rome, and the Abbot of Iona,

and afterwards of Dunkeld, though a mere Presbyter, ruled all Scotland.

2. Monasticism ruling supreme, but mixed with secular life, and not

bound by vows of celibacy; while in the Roman church the monastic

system was subordinated to the hierarchy of the secular clergy.

3. Bishops without dioceses and jurisdiction and succession.

4. Celebration of the time of Easter.

5. Form of the tonsure.

It has also been asserted, that the Kelts or Culdees were opposed to

auricular confession, the worship of saints, and images, purgatory,

transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, and that for this reason they

were the forerunners of Protestantism.

But this inference is not warranted. Ignorance is one thing, and

rejection of an error from superior knowledge is quite another thing.

The difference is one of form rather than of spirit. Owing to its

distance and isolation from the Continent, the Keltic church, while

superior to the churches in Gaul and Italy--at least during the sixth

and seventh centuries--in missionary zeal and success, was left behind

them in other things, and adhered to a previous stage of development in

truth and error. But the general character and tendency of both during

that period were essentially different from the genius of Protestant

Christianity. We find among the Kelts the same or even greater love for

monasticism and asceticism the same superstitious belief in incredible

miracles, the same veneration for relics (as the bones of Columba and

Aidan, which for centuries were carried from place to place), the same

scrupulous and narrow zeal for outward forms and ceremonies (as the

observance of the mere time of Easter, and the mode of monastic

tonsure), with the only difference that the Keltic church adhered to an

older and more defective calendar, and to the semi-circular instead of

the circular tonsure. There is not the least evidence that the Keltic

church had a higher conception of Christian freedom, or of any positive

distinctive principle of Protestantism, such as the absolute supremacy

of the Bible in opposition to tradition, or justification by faith

without works, or the universal priesthood of all believers. [94]

Considering, then, that the peculiarities of the Keltic church arose

simply from its isolation of the main current of Christian history, the

ultimate triumph of Rome, with all its incidental evils, was upon the

whole a progress in the onward direction. Moreover, the Culdees

degenerated into a state of indolence and stagnation during the

darkness of the ninth and tenth centuries, and the Danish invasion,

with its devastating and disorganizing influences. We still find them

in the eleventh century, and frequently at war with the Roman clergy

about landed property, tithes and other matters of self-interest, but

not on matters of doctrine, or Christian life. The old Culdee convents

of St. Andrews Dunkeld, Dunblane and Brechin were turned into the

bishop's chapter with the right of electing the bishop. Married Culdees

were gradually supplanted by Canons-Regular. They lingered longest in

Brechin, but disappeared in the thirteenth century. The decline of the

Culdees was the opportunity of Rome. The Saxon priests and monks,

connected with the more civilized countries, were very active and

aggressive, building cathedrals, monasteries, hospitals, and getting

possession of the land.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[92] To Adamnan and to Bede, the name was entirely unknown. Skene (II.

226) says: "In the whole range of ecclesiastical history there is

nothing more entirely destitute of authority than the application of

this name to the Columban monks of the sixth and seventh centuries, or

more utterly baseless than the fabric which has been raised upon that

assumption." The most learned and ingenious construction of an

imaginary Protestant Culdee Church was furnished by Ebrard and

McLauchlan.

[93] The word Culdee is variously derived from the Gaelic Gille De,

servant of God; from the Keltic Cuil or Ceal, retreat, recess, and

Cuildich, men of the recess (Jamieson, McLauchlan, Cunningham); from

the Irish Ceile De, the spouse of God (Ebrard), or the servant of God

(Reeves); from the Irish Culla, cowl, i.e. the black monk; from the

Latin Deicola, cultores Dei (Colidei), worshippers of God the Father,

in distinction from Christicolae (Calechrist in Irish), or ordinary

Christians (Skene); from the Greek kelleotai, men of the cells

(Goodall). The earliest Latin form is Kaledei. in Irish Keile as a

substantive means socius maritus, also servus. On the name, see Braun,

De Culdeis, Bonn, 1840, McLauchlan pp. 175 sq.; Ebrard pp. 2 sq., and

Skene, II. 238.

[94] The Duke of Argyll who is a Scotch Presbyterian, remarks (l.c. p.

41): "It is vain to look, in the peculiarities of the Scoto-Irish

Church, for the model either of primitive practice, or of any

particular system. As regards the theology of Columba's time, although

it was not what we now understand as Roman, neither assuredly was it

what we understand as Protestant. Montalembert boasts, and I think with

truth, that in Columba's life we have proof of the practice of the

auricular confession, of the invocation of saints, of confidence in

their protection, of belief in transubstantiation [?], of the practices

of fasting and of penance, of prayers for the dead, of the sign of the

crow in familiar--and it must be added--in most superstitious use. On

the other hand there is no symptom of the worship or 'cultus' of the

Virgin, and not even an allusion to such an idea as the universal

bishopric of Rome, or to any special authority as seated there."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 20. Extinction of the Keltic Church, and Triumph of Rome under King

David I.

The turning-point in the history of the Scotch church is the reign of

the devout Saxon queen St. Margaret, one of the best queens of Scotland

(1070-1093). She exerted unbounded influence over her illiterate

husband, Malcolm III., and her sons. She was very benevolent,

self-denying, well versed in the Scriptures, zealous in reforming

abuses, and given to excessive fasting, which undermined her

constitution and hastened her death. "ln St. Margaret we have an

embodiment of the spirit of her age. What ostentatious humility, what

almsgiving, what prayers! What piety, had it only been freed from the

taint of superstition! The Culdees were listless and lazy, while she

was unwearied in doing good. The Culdees met her in disputation, but,

being ignorant, they were foiled. Death could not contend with life.

The Indian disappears before the advance of the white man. The Keltic

Culdee disappeared before the footsteps of the Saxon priest." [95]

The change was effected by the same policy as that of the Norman kings

towards Ireland. The church was placed upon a territorial in the place

of a tribal basis, and a parochial system and a diocesan episcopacy was

substituted for the old tribal churches with their monastic

jurisdiction and functional episcopacy. Moreover the great religious

orders of the Roman Church were introduced and founded great

monasteries as centres of counter-influence. And lastly, the Culdees

were converted from secular into regular Canons and thus absorbed into

the Roman system. When Turgot was appointed bishop of St. Andrews, a.d.

1107 "the whole rights of the Keledei over the whole kingdom of

Scotland passed to the bishopric of St. Andrews."

From the time of Queen Margaret a stream of Saxons and Normans poured

into Scotland, not as conquerors but as settlers, and acquired rapidly,

sometimes by royal grant, sometimes by marriage, the most fertile

districts from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth. From these settlers

almost every noble family of Scotland traces its descent. They brought

with them English civilization and religion.

The sons and successors of Margaret enriched the church by magnificent

endowments. Alexander I. founded the bishoprics of Moray and Dunkeld.

His younger brother, David I., the sixth son of Malcolm III., who

married Maud, a grand-niece of William the Conqueror (1110) and ruled

Scotland from 1124 to 1153, founded the bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen,

Caithness, and Brechin, and several monasteries and religious houses.

The nobility followed his example of liberality to the church and the

hierarchy so that in the course of a few centuries one half of the

national wealth passed into the hands of the clergy, who were at the

same time in possession of all the learning.

In the latter part of David's reign an active crusade commenced against

the Culdee establishments from St. Andrews to Iona, until the very name

gradually disappeared; the last mention being of the year 1332, when

the usual formula of their exclusion in the election of a bishop was

repeated.

Thus the old Keltic Church came to an end, leaving no vestiges behind

it, save here and there the roofless walls of what had been a church,

and the numerous old burying-grounds to the use of which the people

still cling with tenacity, and where occasionally an ancient Keltic

cross tells of its former state. All else has disappeared; and the only

records we have of their history are the names of the saints by whom

they were founded preserved in old calendars, the fountains near the

old churches bearing their name, the village fairs of immemorial

antiquity held on their day, and here and there a few lay families

holding a small portion of land, as hereditary custodiers of the

pastoral staff, or other relic of the reputed founder of the church,

with some small remains of its jurisdiction." [96]

II. THE CONVERSION OF FRANCE, GERMANY, AND ADJACENT COUNTRIES.

General Literature.

I. Germany Before Christianity.

Tacitus: Germania (cap. 2, 9, 11, 27, 39-45); Annal. (XIII. 57); Hist.

IV. 64).

Jac. Grimm: Deutsche, Mythologie. G�ttingen, 2nd ed. 1854, 2 vols.

A. F. Ozanam: Les Germains avant le christianisme. Par. 1847.

K. Simrock. Deutsche Mythologie. Bonn, 2nd ed. 1864.

A. Planck: Die G�tter und der Gottesglaube der Deutschen. In "Jahrb.

f�r Deutsche Theol.," 1866, No. 1.

II. The Christianization Of Germany.

F. W. Rettberg: Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. G�ttingen, 1846-48. 2

vols.

C. J. Hefele (R.C.): Geschichte der Einf�hrung des Christenthums im

s�dwestl. Deutschland. T�bingen 1837.

H. R�ckert: Culturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes in der Zeit des

Uebergangs aus dem Heidenthum. Leipz. 1853, 2 Vols.

W. Krafft: Kirchengeschichte der German. V�lker. Berlin 1854. (first

vol.)

Hiemer (R.C.): Einf�hrung des Christenthums in Deutschen Landen.

Schaffhausen 1857 sqq. 4 vols.

Count de Montalembert (R.C.): The Monks of the West from St. Benedict

to St. Bernard. Edinb. and Lond. 1861 sqq. 7 vols.

I. Friedrich (R.C., Since 1870 Old Cath.): Kirchengeschichte

Deutschlands. Regensb. 1866, 1869, 2 vols.

Charles Merivale: Conversion of the West. The Continental Teutons.

London 1878. (Popular).

G. K�rber: Die Ausbreitung des Christenthums im s�dlichen Baden.

Heidelb. 1878.

R. Cruel: Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter. Detmold

1879. (Chs. I. and II.)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[95] Cunningham, Church Hist. of Scotland, p. 100.

[96] Skene, II. 418.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 21. Arian Christianity among the Goths and other German Tribes.

I. Editions of the remains of the Gothic Bible Version of Wulfila: by

H. C. von der Gabelenz and J. Loebe, Leipz. 1836-46; Massmann, 1855-57;

E. Bernhardt, 1875 (with the Greek text and notes); and Stamm, 7th ed.

1878, and in fac-simile by Uppstr�m, 1854-1868. See also Ulphilae

Opera, and Schaff, Compan. to Gr. Test., p. 150.

Ulphilae Opera (Versio Bibliorum Gothica), in Migne's Patrolog., Tom.

XVIII. pp. 462-1559 (with a Gothic glossary).

II. G. Waitz: Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulfila. Hanover 1840.

W. Bessel: Das Leben des Ulfilas und die Bekehrung der Gothen zum

Christenthum. G�tting. 1860.

W. Krafft: l.c. I. 213-326; and De Fontibus Ulfilae Arianismi. 1860.

A. Helfferich: Der west-gothische Arianismus und die spanische

Ketzergeschichte. Berlin 1860.

We now proceed to the conversion of the Continental Teutons, especially

those of France and Germany.

The first wholesale conversions of the Germanic or Teutonic race to the

Christian religion took place among the Goths in the time when Arianism

was at the height of power in the East Roman empire. The chief agents

were clerical and other captives of war whom the Goths in their raids

carried with them from the provinces of the Roman empire and whom they

learned to admire and love for their virtue and supposed miraculous

power. Constantine the Great entered into friendly relations with them,

and is reported by Eusebius and Socrates to have subjected them to the

cross of Christ. It is certain that some ecclesiastical organization

was effected at that time. Theophilus, a bishop of the Goths, is

mentioned among the fathers of the Council of Nicaea, 325.

The real apostle of the Goths is Ulifilas, [97] who was consecrated

bishop in 348 at Constantinople, and died there in 381, aged seventy

years. He invented the Gothic alphabet, and translated the Bible into

Gothic, but was an Arian, or rather a semi-Arian, who regarded Christ

as a secondary God and the Holy Spirit merely as a sanctifying power.

[98]

Arianism spread with great rapidity among the Visigoths, Ostrogoths,

Burgundians, and Vandals. This heretical form of Christianity, however,

was more a matter of accident than preference and conviction among the

Germans, and soon gave way to orthodoxy when they became acquainted

with it. When Alaric, the famous king of the Visigoths, captured Rome

(410), he treated the city with marked leniency, which Augustin justly

traced to the influence of the Christian faith even in heretical form.

The Vandals, the rudest among the Teutonic tribes, made an exception;

they fiercely persecuted the orthodox Christians in North Africa (since

430) and desolated this once flourishing field of the Catholic Church,

the scene of the immortal labors of St. Augustin. Their kingdom was

destroyed under Justinian (534), but the Catholic Church never rose

from its ruins, and the weak remnant was conquered by the sword of

Isl�m (670).

Chrysostom made a noble effort to convert the Eastern Goths from

Arianism to Catholicity, but his mission ceased after his death (407).

The conversion of the Franks to Catholic christianity and various

political circumstances led to the abandonment of Arianism among the

other Germanic tribes. The Burgundians who spread from the Rhine to the

Rhone and Saone, embraced Catholic Christianity in 517, and were

incorporated into the French kingdom in 534. The Suevi who spread from

Eastern Germany into France and Spain, embraced the Catholic faith in

550. The Visigoths in Spain, through their king, Reccared the Catholic,

subscribed an orthodox creed at the third Council of Toledo, a.d. 589,

but the last of the Gothic kings, Roderic, was conquered by the

Saracens, breaking into Spain from Africa, in the bloody battle of

Xeres de la Frontera, a.d. 711.

The last stronghold of Arianism were the Longobards or Lombards, who

conquered Northern Italy (still called Lombardy) and at first

persecuted the Catholics. They were converted to the orthodox faith by

the wise influence of Pope Gregory I. (590616), and the Catholic queen

Theodelinde (d. 625) whose husband Agilulf (590-616) remained Arian,

but allowed his son Adelwald to be baptized and brought up in the

Catholic Church. An Arian reaction followed, but Catholicism triumphed

under Grimoald (662-671), and Liutprand (773-774). Towards the close of

the eighth century, Pepin and Charlemagne, in the interest of France

and the papacy, destroyed the independence of the Lombards after a

duration of about two hundred years, and transferred the greater part

of Italy to the Eastern empire and to the Pope. In these struggles the

Popes, being then (as they have been ever since) opposed from

hierarchical interest to the political unity of Italy, aided the Franks

and reaped the benefit.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[97] The usual spelling. Better: Wulfila, i.e. W�lflein, Little Wolf.

[98] In his testamentary creed, which he always held (semper sic

credidi), he confesses faith "in God the Father and in his only

begotten Son our Lord and God, and in the Holy Spirit as virtutem

illuminantem et sanctificantem nec Deum nec Dominum sed ministrum

Christi." Comp. Krafft, l.c. 328 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 22. Conversion of Clovis and the Franks.

Gregorius Turonensis (d. 595): Historia Francorum Eccles. (till A..D.

591).

J. W. L�bell: Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit, Leipz. 1839.

A. Thierry: Recits des temps Merovingiens. Par. 1842, 2 vols.

F. W. Rettberg: Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. G�tt. 1846, I. 258-278.

Kornhack: Geschichte der Franken unter den Merovingern. Greifsw. 1863.

Montalembert, l.c. II. 219 sqq.

Comp. also Henri Martin: Histoire de France; Sir James Stephen:

Lectures on the History of France (Lond. 1859); Guizot: Histoire de la

civilization en France (1830 sqq.), and his Histoire de France, 1870.

The Salian Franks were the first among the Teutonic tribes which were

converted to catholic or orthodox Christianity. Hence the sovereign of

France is styled by the Popes "the oldest son of the church," and

Rheims, where Clovis was baptized, is the holy city where most of the

French kings down to Charles X. (1824) were consecrated. [99] The

conversion of the Franks prepared the way for the downfall of the Arian

heresy among the other Germanic nations, and for the triumph of the

papacy in the German empire under Charlemagne.

The old Roman civilization of Gaul, though nominally Christian, was in

the last stage of consumption when the German barbarians invaded the

soil and introduced fresh blood. Several savage tribes, even the Huns,

passed through Gaul like a tempest, leaving desolation behind them, but

the Franks settled there and changed Gaul into France, as the

Anglo-Saxons changed Britain into England. They conquered the

Gallo-Romans, cruelly spoiled and almost exterminated them in the

North-Eastern districts. Before they accepted the Christianity of the

conquered race, they learned their vices. "The greatest evil of

barbarian government," says Henri Martin, [100] "was perhaps the

influence of the greedy and corrupt Romans who insinuated themselves

into the confidence of their new masters." To these degenerate

Christians Montalembert traces the arts of oppression and the

refinements of debauchery and perfidy which the heathen Germans added

to their native brutality. "The barbarians derived no advantage from

their contact with the Roman world, depraved as it was under the

empire. They brought with them manly virtues of which the conquered

race had lost even the recollection; but they borrowed, at the same

time, abject and contagious vices, of which the Germanic world had no

conception. They found Christianity there; but before they yielded to

its beneficent influence, they had time to plunge into all the baseness

and debauchery, of a civilization corrupted long before it was

vanquished. The patriarchal system of government which characterized

the ancient Germans, in their relations with their children and slaves

as well as with their chiefs, fell into ruin in contact with that

contagious depravity." [101]

The conversion of the Salian Franks took place under the lead of their

victorious king Chlodwig or Clovis (Ludovicus, Louis), the son of

Childeric and grandson of Merovig (hence the name of Merovingians). He

ruled from the year 481 to his death in 511. With him begins the

history not only of the French empire, its government and laws, but

also of the French nation, its religion and moral habits. He married a

Christian princess, Chlotilda, a daughter of the king of the

Burgundians (493), and allowed his child to be baptized. Before the

critical battle at Tolbiac [102] near Cologne against the invasion of

the Allemanni, he prayed to Jesus Christ for aid after having first

called upon his own gods, and promised, in case of victory, to submit

to baptism together with his warriors. After the victory he was

instructed by Bishop Remigius of Rheims. When he heard the story of the

crucifixion of Christ, he exclaimed: "Would I had been there with my

valiant Franks to avenge him!" On Christmas, in the year 496, he

descended before the cathedral of Rheims into the baptismal basin, and

three thousand of his warriors followed him as into the joys of

paradise. "When they arose from the waters, as Christian disciples, one

might have seen fourteen centuries of empire rising with them; the

whole array of chivalry, the long series of the crusades, the deep

philosophy of the schools, in one word all the heroism, all the

liberty, all the learning of the later ages. A great nation was

commencing its career in the world--that nation was the Franks." [103]

But the change of religion had little or no effect on the character of

Clovis and his descendants, whose history is tarnished with atrocious

crimes. The Merovingians, half tigers, half lambs, passed with

astonishing rapidity from horrible massacres to passionate

demonstrations of contrition, and from the confessional back again to

the excesses of their native cruelty. The crimes of Clovis are honestly

told by such saintly biographers as Gregory of Tours and Hincmar, who

feel no need of any excuse for him in view of his services to religion.

St. Remigius even advised the war of conquest against the Visigoths,

because they were Arians.

"The Franks," says a distinguished Catholic Frenchman, [104] "were sad

Christians. While they respected the freedom of the Catholic faith, and

made external profession of it, they violated without scruple all its

precepts, and at the same time the simplest laws of humanity. After

having prostrated themselves before the tomb of some holy martyr or

confessor; after having distinguished themselves by the choice of an

irreproachable bishop; after having listened respectfully to the voice

of a pontiff or monk, we see them, sometimes in outbreaks of fury,

sometimes by cold-blooded cruelties, give full course to the evil

instincts of their savage nature. Their incredible perversity was most

apparent in the domestic tragedies, the fratricidal executions and

assassinations, of which Clovis gave the first example, and which

marked the history of his son and grandson with an ineffaceable stain.

Polygamy and perjury mingled in their daily life with a semi-pagan

superstition, and in reading these bloody biographies, scarcely

lightened by some transient gleams of faith or humility, it is

difficult to believe that, in embracing Christianity, they gave up a

single pagan vice or adopted a single Christian virtue.

"It was against this barbarity of the soul, far more alarming than

grossness and violence of manners, that the Church triumphantly

struggled. From the midst of these frightful disorders, of this double

current of corruption and ferocity, the pure and resplendent light of

Christian sanctity was about to rise. But the secular clergy, itself

tainted by the general demoralization of the two races, was not

sufficient for this task. They needed the powerful and soon

preponderating assistance of the monastic Army. It did not fail: the

church and France owe to it the decisive victory of Christian

civilization over a race much more difficult to subdue than the

degenerate subjects of Rome or Byzantium. While the Franks, coming from

the North, completed the subjugation of Gaul, the Benedictines were

about to approach from the South, and super-impose a pacific and

beneficent dominion upon the Germanic barbarian conquest. The junction

and union of these forces, so unequal in their civilizing power, were

destined to exercise a sovereign influence over the future of our

country."

Among these Benedictine monks, St. Maurus occupies the most prominent

place. He left Monte Casino before the death of St. Benedict (about

540), with four companions, crossed the Alps, founded Glanfeuil on the

Loire, the first Benedictine monastery in France, and gave his name to

that noble band of scholars who, more than a thousand years after,

enriched the church with the best editions of the fathers and other

works of sacred learning. [105] He had an interview with King

Theodebert (the grandson of Clovis), was treated with great reverence

and received from him a large donation of crown lands. Monastic

establishments soon multiplied and contributed greatly to the

civilization of France. [106]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[99] With the oil of the miraculous cruise of oil (Ampulla Remensis)

which, according to Hincmar, a dove brought from heaven at the

confirmation of Clovis, and which was destroyed in 1794, but recovered

in 1824.

[100] Vol. I. p. 394, quoted by Montalembert.

[101] Montalembert, Vol. II. p. 230.

[102] Tolbiacum Z�lpich.

[103] Ozanam, Etudes Germaniques, II. 54.

[104] Montalembert II. 235. Comp. also the graphic description of the

Merovingian house in Dean Milman's Lat. Christ., Bk. III, ch.2 (Vol.

I., p. 395, Am. ed.).

[105] The brotherhood of St. Maur was founded in 1618, and numbered

such scholars as Mabillon, Montfaucon, and Ruinart.

[106] The legendary history of monasticism under the Merovingians is

well told by Montalembert, II. 236-386.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 23. Columbanus and the Irish Missionaries on the Continent.

I. Sources.

The works of Columbanus in Patrick Fleming's Collectanea sacra

(Lovanii, 1667), and in Migne: Patrolog., Tom. 87, pp. 1013-1055. His

life by Jonas in the Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened., Tom. II., Sec. II., 2-26.

(Also in Fleming's Coll.)

II. Works.

Lanigan (R. K.): Eccles. Hist. of Ireland (1829), II. 263 sqq.

Montalembert: Monks of the West, II. 397 sqq.

Ph. Heber: Die vorkarolingischen Glaubenshelden am Rhein, 1867.

L�tolf (R.C.): Die Glaubensboten der Schweiz vor St. Gallus. Luzern,

1871.

Ebrard: Die iroschottische Missionskirche (1873), pp. 25-31; 284-340.

Killen: Ecclesiast. Hist. of Ireland (1875), I. 41 sqq.

W. Smith and H. Wace: Dict. Christ. Biography (1877), I. 605-607.

G. Hertel: Ueber des heil. Columba Leben und Wirken, besonders seine

Klosterregel. In the "Zeitschrift f�r Hist. Theol.," 1875, p. 396; and

another article in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch.," 1879, p.

145.

While the Latin Benedictine monks worked their way up from the South

towards the heart of France, Keltic missionaries carried their

independent Christianity from the West to the North of France, the

banks of the Rhine, Switzerland and Lombardy; but they were

counteracted by Roman missionaries, who at last secured the control

over France and Germany as well as over the British Isles.

St. Columbanus [107] is the pioneer of the Irish missionaries to the

Continent. His life has been written with great minuteness by Jonas, a

monk of his monastery at Bobbio. He was born in Leinster, a.d. 543, in

which year St. Benedict, his celebrated monastic predecessor, died at

Monte Casino, and was trained in the monastery of Bangor, on the coast

of Down, under the direction of St. Comgall. Filled with missionary

zeal, he left his native land with twelve companions, and crossed over

the sea to Gaul in 590, [108] or in 585, [109] several years before

Augustin landed in England. He found the country desolated by war;

Christian virtue and discipline were almost extinct. He travelled for

several years, preaching and giving an example of humility and charity.

He lived for whole weeks without other food than herbs and wild

berries. He liked best the solitude of the woods and eaves, where even

the animals obeyed his voice and received his caresses. In Burgundy he

was kindly received by King Gontran, one of the grandsons of Clovis;

refused the offer of wealth, and chose a quiet retreat in the Vosges

mountains, first in a ruined Roman fort at Annegray, and afterwards at

Luxeuil (Luxovium). Here he established a celebrated monastery on the

confines of Burgundy and Austrasia. A similar institution he founded at

Fontaines. Several hundred disciples gathered around him. Luxeuil

became the monastic capital of Gaul, a nursery of bishops and saints,

and the mother of similar institutions.

Columbanus drew up a monastic rule, which in all essential points

resembles the more famous rule of St. Benedict, but is shorter and more

severe. It divides the time of the monks between ascetic exercises and

useful agricultural labor, and enjoins absolute obedience on severe

penalties. It was afterwards superseded by the Benedictine rule, which

had the advantage of the papal sanction and patronage. [110]

The life of Columbanus in France was embittered and his authority

weakened by his controversy with the French clergy and the court of

Burgundy. He adhered tenaciously to the Irish usage of computing

Easter, the Irish tonsure and costume. Besides, his extreme severity of

life was a standing rebuke of the worldly priesthood and dissolute

court. He was summoned before a synod in 602 or 603, and defended

himself in a letter with great freedom and eloquence, and with a

singular mixture of humility and pride. He calls himself (like St.

Patrick) "Columbanus, a sinner," but speaks with an air of authority.

He pleads that he is not the originator of those ritual differences,

that he came to France, a poor stranger, for the cause of Christ, and

asks nothing but to be permitted to live in silence in the depth of the

forests near the bones of his seventeen brethren, whom he had already

seen die. "Ah! let us live with you in this Gaul, where we now are,

since we are destined to live with each other in heaven, if we are

found worthy to enter there." The letter is mixed with rebukes of the

bishops, calculations of Easter and an array of Scripture quotations.

At the same time he wrote several letters to Pope Gregory I., one of

which only is preserved in the writings of Columbanus. There is no

record of the action of the Synod on this controversy, nor of any

answer of the Pope.

The conflict with the court of Burgundy is highly honorable to

Columbanus, and resulted in his banishment. He reproved by word and

writing the tyranny of queen Brunehild (or Brunehauld) and the

profligacy of her grandson Theodoric (or Thierry II.); he refused to

bless his illegitimate children and even threatened to excommunicate

the young king. He could not be silenced by flattery and gifts, and was

first sent as a prisoner to Besan�on, and then expelled from the

kingdom in 610. [111]

But this persecution extended his usefulness. We find him next, with

his Irish friends who accompanied him, on the lake of Zurich, then in

Bregenz (Bregentium) on the lake of Constance, planting the seeds of

Christianity in those charming regions of German Switzerland. His

preaching was accompanied by burning the heathen idols. Leaving his

disciple St. Gall at Bregenz, he crossed the Alps to Lombardy, and

founded a famous monastery at Bobbio. He manfully fought there the

Arian heresy, but in a letter to Boniface IV. he defended the cause of

Nestorius, as condemned by the Fifth General Council of 553, and called

upon the Pope to vindicate the church of Rome against the charge of

heresy. He speaks very boldly to the Pope, but acknowledges Rome to be

"the head of the churches of the whole world, excepting only the

singular prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection"

(Jerusalem). [112] He died in Bobbio, Nov. 21, 615. The poetry of

grateful love and superstitious faith has adorned his simple life with

various miracles.

Columbanus was a man of considerable learning for his age. He seems to

have had even some knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. His chief works are

his Regula Monastica, in ten short chapters; seventeen Discourses; his

Epistles to the Gallic Synod on the paschal controversy, to Gregory I.,

and to Boniface IV.; and a few poems. The following characteristic

specimen of his ascetic view of life is from one of the discourses: "O

mortal life! how many hast thou deceived, seduced, and blinded! Thou

fliest and art nothing; thou appearest and art but a shade; thou risest

and art but a vapor; thou fliest every day, and every day thou comest;

thou fliest in coming, and comest in flying, the same at the point of

departure, different at the end; sweet to the foolish, bitter to the

wise. Those who love thee know thee not, and those only know thee who

despise thee. What art thou, then, O human life? Thou art the way of

mortals, and not their life. Thou beginnest in sin and endest in death.

Thou art then the way of life and not life itself. Thou art only a

road, and an unequal road, long for some, short for others; wide for

these, narrow for those; joyous for some, sad for others, but for all

equally rapid and without return. It is necessary, then, O miserable

human life! to fathom thee, to question thee, but not to trust in thee.

We must traverse thee without dwelling in thee--no one dwells upon a

great road; we but march over it, to reach the country beyond." [113]

Several of the disciples of Columbanus labored in eastern Helvetia and

Rhaetia.

Sigisbert separated from him at the foot of the St. Gothard, crossed

eastward over the Oberalp to the source of the Rhine, and laid the

foundation of the monastery of Dissentis in the Grisons, which lasts to

this day.

St. Gall (Gallus), the most celebrated of the pupils of Columbanus,

remained in Switzerland, and became the father of the monastery and

city called after him, on the banks of the river Steinach. He declined

the bishopric of Constanz. His double struggle against the forces of

nature and the gods of heathenism has been embellished with marvelous

traits by the legendary poetry of the middle ages. [114] When he died,

ninety-five years old, a.d. 640, the whole surrounding country of the

Allemanni was nominally Christianized. The monastery of St. Gall became

one of the most celebrated schools of learning in Switzerland and

Germany, where Irish and other missionaries learned German and prepared

themselves for evangelistic work in Switzerland and Southern Germany.

There Notker Balbulus, the abbot (died 912), gave a lasting impulse to

sacred poetry and music, as the inventor or chief promoter of the

mediaeval Laudes or Prosae, among which the famous "Media vita in morte

sumus" still repeats in various tongues its solemn funeral warning

throughout Christendom.

Fridold or Fridolin, who probably came from Scotland, preached the

gospel to the Allemanni in South Germany. But his life is involved in

great obscurity, and assigned by some to the time of Clovis I.

(481-511), by others more probably to that of Clovis II. (638-656).

Kilian or Kyllina, of a noble Irish family, is said to have been the

apostle of Franconia and the first bishop of W�rzburg in the seventh

century.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[107] Also called Columba the younger, to distinguish him from the

Scotch Columba. There is a second St. Columbanus, an abbot of St. Trudo

(St. Troud) in France, and a poet, who died about the middle of the

ninth century.

[108] The date assigned by Hertel, l.c., and Meyer von Knonau, in

"Allg. Deutsche Biographie," IV. 424 (1876).

[109] The date according to the Bollandists and Smith's Dict. of Chr.

Biogr. Ebrard puts the emigration of Columbanus to Gaul in the year

594.

[110] There is a considerable difference between his Regula Monastica,

in ten chapters, and his Regula Coenobialis Fratrum, sive, Liber de

quotidianis Poenitentiis Monachorum, in fifteen chapters. The latter is

unreasonably rigorous, and imposes corporal punishments for the

slightest offences, even speaking at table, or coughing at chanting.

Ebrard (l.c., p. 148 sqq.) contends that the Regula Coenobialis, which

is found only in two codices, is of later origin. Comp. Hertel, l.c.

[111] For a full account of this quarrel see Montalembert, II. 411 sqq.

[112] "Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum, salva loci Dominicae

resurrectiois singulari praerogativa."

[113] Montalembert, II. 436.

[114] See the anonymous Vita S. Galli in Pertz, Monumenta II. 123, and

in the Acta Sanct., Tom. VII. Octobris. Also Greith, Geschichte der

altirischen Kirche ... als Einleitung in die, Gesch. des Stifts St.

Gallen(1857), the chapter on Gallus, pp. 333 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 24. German Missionaries before Boniface.

England derived its Anglo-Saxon population from Germany in the fifth

century, and in return gave to Germany in the eighth century the

Christian religion with a strong infusion of popery. Germany afterwards

shook off the yoke of popery, and gave to England the Protestant

Reformation. In the seventeenth century, England produced Deism, which

was the first act of modern unbelief, and the forerunner of German

Rationalism. The revival of evangelical theology and religion which

followed in both countries, established new points of contact between

these cognate races, which meet again on common ground in the Western

hemisphere to commingle in the American nationality.

The conversion of Germany to Christianity and to Romanism was, like

that of England, the slow work of several centuries. It was

accomplished by missionaries of different nationalities, French,

Scotch-Irish, English, and Greek. It began at the close of the second

century, when Irenaeus spoke of Christian congregations in the two

Germanies, [115] i.e. Germania prima and secunda, on the upper and

lower Rhine; and it was substantially completed in the age of

Charlemagne in the eighth century. But nearly the entire North-Eastern

part of Germany, which was inhabited mostly by Slavonic tribes,

remained heathen till the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

We must distinguish especially three stages: 1) the preparatory labors

of Italian, French, and Scotch-Irish missionaries; 2) the consolidating

romanizing work of Boniface of England and his successors; 3) the

forcible military conversion of the Saxons under Charlemagne. The

fourth and last missionary stage, the conversion of the Prussians and

Slavonic races in North-Eastern Germany, belongs to the next period.

The light of Christianity came to Germany first from the Roman empire

in the Roman colonies on the Rhine. At the council of Arles in 314,

there was a bishop Maternus of Cologne with his deacon, Macrinus, and a

bishop of Treves by the name of Agr�cius.

In the fifth century the mysterious Severinus from the East appeared

among the savages on the banks of the Danube in Bavaria as an angel of

mercy, walking bare-footed in mid-winter, redeeming prisoners of war,

bringing food and clothing with the comfort of the Gospel to the poor

and unfortunate, and won by his self-denying labors universal esteem.

French monks and hermits left traces of their work at St. Goar, St.

Elig, Wulfach, and other places on the charming banks of the Rhine. The

efficient labors of Columbanus and his Irish companions and pupils

extended from the Vosges to South Germany and Eastern Switzerland.

Willebrord, an Anglo-Saxon, brought up in an Irish convent, left with

twelve brethren for Holland (690) became the Apostle of the Friesians,

and was consecrated by the Pope the first bishop of Utrecht

(Trajectum), under the name of Clemens. He developed an extensive

activity of nearly fifty years till his death (739).

When Boniface arrived in Germany he found nearly in all parts which he

visited, especially in Bavaria and Thuringia, missionaries and bishops

independent of Rome, and his object was fully as much to romanize this

earlier Christianity, as to convert the heathen. He transferred the

conflict between the Anglo-Saxon mission of Rome and the older Keltic

Christianity of Patrick and Columba and their successors from England

to German soil, and repeated the role of Augustin of Canterbury. The

old Easter controversy disappears after Columbanus, and the chief

objects of dispute were freedom from popery and clerical marriage. In

both respects, Boniface succeeded, after a hard struggle, in romanizing

Germany.

The leaders of the opposition to Rome and to Bonifacius among his

predecessors and contemporaries were Adelbert and Clemens. We know them

only from the letters of Boniface, which represent them in a very,

unfavorable light. Adelbert, or Aldebert (Eldebert), was a Gaul by

nation, and perhaps bishop of Soissons; at all events he labored on the

French side of the Rhine, had received episcopal ordination, and

enjoyed great popularity from his preaching, being regarded as an

apostle, a patron, and a worker of miracles. According to Boniface, he

was a second Simon Magus, or immoral impostor, who deceived the people

by false miracles and relics, claimed equal rank with the apostles, set

up crosses and oratories in the fields, consecrated buildings in his

own name, led women astray, and boasted to have relics better than

those of Rome, and brought to him by an angel from the ends of the

earth. Clemens was a Scotchman (Irishman), and labored in East

Franconia. He opposed ecclesiastical traditions and clerical celibacy,

and had two sons. He held marriage with a brother's widow to be valid,

and had peculiar views of divine predestination and Christ's descent

into Hades. Aldebert and Clemens were condemned without a hearing, and

excommunicated as heretics and seducers of the people, by a provincial

Synod of Soissons, a.d. 744, and again in a Synod of Rome, 745, by Pope

Zacharias, who confirmed the decision of Boniface. Aldebert was at last

imprisoned in the monastery of Fulda, and killed by shepherds after

escaping from prison. Clemens disappeared. [116]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[115] haientais Germaniaishidrumenaiekklesiai. Adv. haer. I. 10, 2

[116] Comp. besides the Letters of Boniface, the works of Neander,

Rettberg, Ebrard, Werner and Fischer, quoted below.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 25. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany.

I. Bonifacius: Epistolae et Sermones, first ed. by Serrarius, Mogunt.

1605, then by W�rdtwein, 1790, by Giles, 1842, and in Migne's Patrol.

Tom, 89, pp. 593-801 (together with Vitae, etc.). Jaffe: Monumenta

Moguntina. Berol. 1866.

II. Biographies of Bonifacius. The oldest by Willibald, his pupil and

companion (in Pertz, Monum. II. 33, and in Migne, l.c. p. 603); by

Othlo, a German Benedictine monk of the eleventh cent. (in Migne, p.

634); Letzner (1602); L�ffler (1812); Seiters (1845); Cox (1853); J. P.

M�ller (1870); Hope (1872); Aug. Werner Bonifacius und die Romanisirung

Von Mitteleuropa. Leipz., 1875; Pfahler(Regensb. 1880); Otto Fischer

(Leipz. 1881); Ebrard: Bonif. der Zerst�rer des columbanischen

Kirchenthums auf dem Festlande (G�tersloh, 1882; against Fischer and

very unjust to B.; see against it Z�pffel in the "Theol. Lit. Zeitg,"

1882, No. 22). Cf. the respective sections in Neander, Gfr�rer,

Rettberg (II. 307 sqq.)

On the Councils of Bonif see Hefele: Conciliengeschichte, III. 458.

Boniface or Winfried [117] surpassed all his predecessors on the German

mission-field by the extent and result of his labors, and acquired the

name of the Apostle of Germany. He was born about 680 from a noble

family, at Kirton in Wessex the last stronghold of paganism among the

Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. He was brought up in the convent of Nutsal near

Winchester, and ordained priest at the age of thirty. He felt it his

duty, to christianize those countries from which his Anglo-Saxon

forefathers had emigrated. It was a formidable task, requiring a heroic

courage and indomitable perseverance.

He sacrificed his splendid prospects at home, crossed the channel, and

began his missionary career with two or three companions among the

Friesians in the neighborhood of Utrecht in Holland (715). His first

attempt was a failure. Ratbod, the king of Friesland, was at war with

Charles Martel, and devastated the churches and monasteries which had

been founded by the Franks, and by Willibrord.

But far from being discouraged, he was only stimulated to greater

exertion. After a brief sojourn in England, where he was offered the

dignity of abbot of his convent, he left again his native land, and

this time forever. He made a pilgrimage to Rome, was cordially welcomed

by Pope Gregory II. and received a general commission to Christianize

and romanize central Europe (718). Recrossing the Alps, he visited

Bavaria and Thuringia, which had been evangelized in part by the

disciples of Columban, but he was coldly received because he

represented their Christianity as insufficient, and required submission

to Rome. He turned his steps again to Friesland where order had been

restored, and assisted Willibrord, archbishop of Utrecht, for three

years. In 722 he returned to Thuringia in the wake of Charles Martel's

victorious army and preached to the heathen in Hesse who lived between

the Franks and the Saxons, between the middle Rhine and the Elbe. He

founded a convent at Amanaburg (Am�neburg) on the river Ohm.

In 723 he paid, on invitation, a second visit to Rome, and was

consecrated by Gregory II. as a missionary bishop without a diocese

(episcopus regionarius). He bound himself on the grave of St. Peter

with the most stringent oath of fealty to the Pope similar to that

which was imposed on the Italian or suburban bishops. [118]

From this time his work assumed a more systematic character in the

closest contact with Rome as the centre of Christendom. Fortified with

letters of commendation, he attached himself for a short time to the

court of Charles Martel, who pushed his schemes of conquest towards the

Hessians. Aided by this secular help and the Pope's spiritual

authority, he made rapid progress. By a master stroke of missionary

policy he laid the axe to the root of Teutonic heathenism; with his own

hand, in the presence of a vast assembly, he cut down the sacred and

inviolable oak of the Thunder-God at Geismar (not far from Fritzlar),

and built with the planks an oratory or church of St. Peter. His

biographer, Willibald, adds that a sudden storm from heaven came to his

aid and split the oak in four pieces of equal length. This practical

sermon was the death and burial of German mythology. He received from

time to time supplies of books, monks and nuns from England. The whole

church of England took a deep interest in his work, as we learn from

his correspondence. He founded monastic colonies near Erfurt, Fritzlar,

Ohrdruf, Bischofsheim, and Homburg. The victory of Charles Martel over

the Saracens at Tours (732) checked the westward progress of Isl�m and

insured the triumph of Christianity in central Europe.

Boniface was raised to the dignity of archbishop (without a see) and

papal legate by the new Pope Gregory III. (732), and thus enabled to

coerce the refractory bishops.

In 738 he made his third and last pilgrimage to Rome with a great

retinue of monks and converts, and received authority to call a synod

of bishops in Bavaria and Allemannia. On his return he founded, in

concert with Duke Odilo, four Bavarian bishoprics at Salzburg,

Freising, Passau, and Ratisbon or Regensburg (739). To these he added

in central Germany the sees of W�rzburg, Buraburg (near Fritzlar),

Erfurt, Eichst�dt (742). He held several synods in Mainz and elsewhere

for the organization of the churches and the exercise of discipline.

The number of his baptized converts till 739 is said to have amounted

to many thousands.

In 743 he was installed Archbishop of Mainz or Mayence (Moguntum) in

the place of bishop Gervillius (Gewielieb) who was deposed for

indulging in sporting propensities and for homicide in battle. His

diocese extended from Cologne to Strasburg and even to Coire. He would

have preferred Cologne, but the clergy there feared his disciplinary

severity. He aided the sons of Charles Martel in reducing the Gallic

clergy to obedience, exterminating the Keltic element, and

consolidating the union with Rome.

In 744, in a council at Soissons, where twenty-three bishops were

present, his most energetic opponents were condemned. In the same year,

in the very heart of Germany, he laid the foundation of Fulda, the

greatest of his monasteries, which became the Monte Casino of Germany.

In 753 he named Lull or Lullus his successor at Mainz. Laying aside his

dignities, he became once more an humble missionary, and returned with

about fifty devoted followers to the field of the baffled labors of his

youth among the Friesians, where a reaction in favor of heathenism had

taken place since the death of Willibrord. He planted his tents on the

banks of the river Borne near Dockum (between Franecker and Groningen),

waiting for a large number of converts to be confirmed. But, instead of

that, he was assailed and slain, with his companions, by armed pagans.

He met the martyr's death with calmness and resignation, June 5, 754 or

755. His bones were deposited first at Utrecht, then at Mainz, and at

last in Fulda. Soon after his death, an English Synod chose him,

together with Pope Gregory and Augustin, patron of the English church.

In 1875 Pope Pius IX. directed the Catholics of Germany and England to

invoke especially the aid of St. Boniface in the distress of modern

times.

The works of Boniface are epistles and sermons. The former refer to his

missionary labors and policy, the latter exhibit his theological views

and practical piety. Fifteen short sermons are preserved, addressed not

to heathen, but to Christian converts; they reveal therefore not so

much his missionary as his edifying activity. They are without

Scripture text, and are either festal discourses explaining the history

of salvation, especially the fall and redemption of man, or

catechetical expositions of Christian doctrine and duty. We give as a

characteristic specimen of the latter, the fifteenth sermon, on the

renunciation of the devil in baptism:

Sermon XV.

"I. Listen, my brethren, and consider well what you have solemnly

renounced in your baptism. You have renounced the devil and all his

works, and all his pomp. But what are the works of the devil? They are

pride, idolatry, envy, murder, calumny, lying, perjury, hatred,

fornication, adultery, every kind of lewdness, theft, false witness,

robbery, gluttony, drunkenness, Slander, fight, malice, philters,

incantations, lots, belief in witches and were-wolves, abortion,

disobedience to the Master, amulets. These and other such evil things

are the works of the devil, all of which you have forsworn by your

baptism, as the apostle says: Whosoever doeth such things deserves

death, and shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven. But as we believe

that, by the mercy of God, you will renounce all these things, with

heart and hand, in order to become fit for grace, I admonish you, my

dearest brethren, to remember what you have promised Almighty God.

II. For, first, you have promised to believe in Almighty God, and in

his Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Spirit, one almighty God in

perfect trinity.

III. And these are the commandments which you shall keep and fulfil: to

love God, whom you profess, with all your heart, all your soul, and all

your strength, and to love your neighbor as yourselves; for on these

commandments hang the whole law and the prophets. Be patient, have

mercy, be benevolent, chaste, pure. Teach your sons to fear God; teach

your whole family to do so. Make peace where you go, and let him who

sits in court; give a just verdict and take no presents, for presents

make even a wise man blind.

IV. Keep the Sabbath and go to church-to pray, but not to prattle. Give

alms according to your power, for alms extinguish sins as water does

fire. Show hospitality to travelers, visit the sick, take care of

widows and orphans, pay your tithes to the church, and do to nobody

what you would not have done to yourself. Fear God above all. Let the

servants be obedient to their masters, and the masters just to their

servants. Cling to the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and communicate

them to your own children and to those whose baptismal sponsors you

are. Keep the fast, love what is right, stand up against the devil, and

partake from time to time of the Lord's Supper. Such are the works

which God commands you to do and fulfil.

V. Believe in the advent of Christ, the resurrection of the body, and

the judgment of all men. For then the impious shall be separated from

the just, the one for the everlasting fire, the others for the eternal

life. Then begins a life with God without death, a light without

shadows, a health without sickness, a plenty without hunger, a

happiness without fear, a joy with no misgivings. Then comes the

eternal glory, in which the just shall shine like suns, for no eye has

ever seen, no ear has ever heard, no heart has ever dreamed, of all

that which God has prepared for those whom he loves.

VI. I also remind you, my beloved brethren, that the birth-day of our

Lord is approaching, in order that you may abstain from all that is

worldly or lewd or impure or bad. Spit out all malice and hatred and

envy; it is poison to your heart. Keep chaste even with respect to your

own wives. Clothe yourselves with good works. Give alms to the poor who

belong to Christ; invite them often to your feasts. Keep peace with

all, and make peace between those who are at discord. If, with the aid

of Christ, you will truly fulfil these commands, then in this life you

can with confidence approach the altar of God, and in the next you

shall partake of the everlasting bliss." [119]

Bonifacius combined the zeal and devotion of a missionary with worldly

prudence and a rare genius for organization and administration. He was

no profound scholar, but a practical statesman and a strict

disciplinarian. He was not a theologian, but an ecclesiastic, and would

have made a good Pope. He selected the best situations for his

bishoprics and monasteries, and his far-sighted policy has been

confirmed by history. He was a man of unblemished character and

untiring energy. He was incessantly active, preaching, traveling,

presiding over Synods, deciding perplexing questions about heathen

customs and trivial ceremonies. He wrought no miracles, such as were

usually expected from a missionary in those days. His disciple and

biographer apologizes for this defect, and appeals as an offset to the

invisible cures of souls which he performed. [120]

The weak spot in his character is the bigotry and intolerance which he

displayed in his controversy with the independent missionaries of the

French and Scotch-Irish schools who had done the pioneer work before

him. He reaped the fruits of their labors, and destroyed their further

usefulness, which he might have secured by a liberal Christian policy.

He hated every feature of individuality and national independence in

matters of the church. To him true Christianity was identical with

Romanism, and he made Germany as loyal to the Pope as was his native

England. He served under four Popes, Gregory II., Gregory III.,

Zacharias, and Stephen, and they could not have had a more devoted and

faithful agent. Those who labored without papal authority were to him

dangerous hirelings, thieves and robbers who climbed up some other way.

He denounced them as false prophets, seducers of the people, idolaters

and adulterers (because they were married and defended clerical

marriage). [121] He encountered from them a most determined opposition,

especially in Bavaria. In connection with his servile Romanism is his

pedantic legalism and ceremonialism. His epistles and sermons show a

considerable knowledge of the Bible, but also a contracted legalistic

spirit. He has much to say about matters of outward conformity to Roman

authority and usages and about small questions of casuistry, such as

whether it was right to eat horse flesh, rabbits, storks, meat offered

to idols, to marry a widow after standing god-father to her son, how

often the sign of the cross should be made in preaching. In his

strength and his weakness, his loyalty, to Rome, and in the importance

of the work he accomplished, he resembled Augustin, the Roman apostle

of his Anglo-Saxon ancestors.

Boniface succeeded by indomitable perseverance, and his work survived

him. This must be his vindication. In judging of him we should remember

that the controversy between him and his French and Scotch-Irish

opponents was not a controversy between Catholicism and evangelical

Protestantism (which was not yet born), but between organized

Catholicism or Romanism and independent Catholicism. Mediaeval

Christianity was very weak, and required for its self-preservation a

strong central power and legal discipline. It is doubtful whether in

the barbarous condition of those times, and amid the commotions of

almost constant civil wars, the independent and scattered labors of the

anti-Roman missionaries could have survived as well and made as strong

an impression upon the German nation as a consolidated Christianity

with a common centre of unity, and authority.

Roman unity was better than undisciplined independency, but it was

itself only a preparatory school for the self-governing freedom of

manhood.

After Boniface had nearly completed his work, a political revolution

took place in France which gave it outward support. Pepin, the major

domus of the corrupt Merovingian dynasty, overthrew it with the aid of

Pope Zacharias, who for his conquest of the troublesome Lombards

rewarded him with the royal crown of France (753). Fifty years

afterwards this political alliance of France and Germany with the

Italian papacy was completed by Charlemagne and Leo III., and lasted

for many centuries. Rome had the enchantment of distance, the prestige

of power and culture, and promised to furnish the strongest support to

new and weak churches. Rome was also the connecting link between

mediaeval and ancient civilization, and transmitted to the barbarian

races the treasures of classical literature which in due time led to

the revival of letters and to the Protestant Reformation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[117] One that wins peace. His Latin name Bonifacius, Benefactor, was

probably his monastic name, or given to him by the pope on his second

visit to Rome. 723.

[118] The juramentum of Boniface, which he ever afterwards remembered

and observed with painful conscientiousness deserves to be quoted in

full, as it contains his whole missionary policy (see Migne, l.c., p.

803): "In nomine Domini Dei Salvatoris nostri Jesus Christi, imperante

domino Leone Magno imperatore, anno 7 post consulatum ejus, sed et

Constantini Magni imperatoris ejus filii anno 4, indictione 6. Promitto

ego Bonifacius, Dei gratia episcopus, tibi, beate Petre, apostolorum

princeps vicarioque tuo beato Gregorio papae et successoribus ejus, per

Patrem et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, Trinitatem inseparabilem, et hoc

sacratissimum corpus tuum, me omnem fidem et puritatem sanctae fidei

catholicae exhibere, et in unitate ejusdem fidei, Deo operante,

persistere in quo omnis Christianorum salus esse sine dubio

comprobatur, nullo modo me contra unitatem communis et universalis

Ecclesiae, quopiam consentire, sed, ut dixi, fidem et puritatem meam

atque concursum, tibi et utilitatibus tiae Ecclesiae, cui a Domino Deo

potestasligandi solvendique data est, et praedicto vicario tuo atque

successoribus ejus, per omnia exhibere. Sed et si cognovero antistites

contra instituta antiqua sanctorum patrum conversari, cum eis nullam

habere communionem aut conjunctionem; sed magis, si valuero prohibere,

prohibeam; si minus, hoc fideliter statim Domino meo apostolico

renuntiabo. Quod si, quod absit, contra hujus professionis meae seriem

aliquid facere quolibet modo, seu ingenio, vel occasione, tentavero,

reus inveniar in aeterno judicio, ultionem Ananiae et Saphirae

incurram, qui vorbis etiam de rebus propriis fraudem facere

praesumpsit: hoc autem indiculum sacramenti ego Bonifacius exiguus

episcopus manu propria, ita ut praescriptum, Deo teste et judice, feci

sacramentum, quod et conservare promitto." With all his devotion to the

Roman See, Boniface was manly and independent enough to complain in a

letter to Pope Zacharias of the scandalous heathen practices in Rome

which were reported by travellers and filled the German Christians with

prejudice and disobedience to Rome. See the letter in Migne, l.c. p.

746 sqq.

[119] In Migne, l.c., p. 870. A German translation in Cruel, Geschichte

der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter (1879), p. 14.

[120] Othlo, Vita Bonif., c. 26 (Migne, l.c. fol. 664).

[121] The description he gives of their immorality, must be taken with

considerable deduction. In Ep. 49 to Pope Zacharias (a. d.742) in

Migne, l.c., p. 745, he speaks of deacons, priests and bishops hostile

to Rome, as being guilty of habitual drunkenness, concubinage, and even

polygamy. I will only quote what he says of the bishops: "Et

inveniuntur quidem inter eos episcopi, qui, licet dicant se fornicarios

vel adulteros non esse, sed sunt ebriosi, et injuriosi, vel venatores,

et qui pugnant in exercitu armati, et effundunt propria manu sanguinem

hominum, sive paganorum, sive Christianorum."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 26. The Pupils of Boniface. Willibald, Gregory of Utrecht, Sturm of

Fulda.

Boniface left behind him a number of devoted disciples who carried on

his work.

Among these we mention St. Willibald, the first bishop of Eichst�dt. He

was born about a.d. 700 from a noble Anglo-Saxon family and a near

relative of Boniface. In his early manhood he made a pilgrimage to Rome

and to the Holy Land as far as Damascus, spent several years among the

Benedictines in Monte Casino, met Boniface in Rome, joined him in

Germany (a.d. 740) and became bishop of Eichst�dt in Bavaria in 742. He

directed his attention chiefly to the founding of monasteries after the

Benedictine rule. He called to his side his brother Wunnebald, his

sister Walpurgis, and other helpers from England. He died July 7, 781

or 787. He is considered by some as the author of the biography of

Boniface; but it was probably the work of another Willibald, a

presbyter of Mainz.

Gregory, Abbot of Utrecht, was related to the royal house of the

Merovingians, educated at the court, converted in his fifteenth year by

a sermon of Boniface, and accompanied him on his journeys. After the

death of Boniface he superintended the mission among the Friesians, but

declined the episcopal dignity. In his old age he became lame, and was

carried by his pupils to wherever his presence was desired. He died in

781, seventy-three years old.

Sturm, the first Abbot of Fulda (710 to Dec. 17, 779), was of a noble

Bavarian family and educated by Boniface. With his approval he passed

with two companions through the dense beech forests of Hesse in pursuit

of a proper place for a monastery. Singing psalms, he rode on an ass,

cutting a way through the thicket inhabited by wild beasts; at night

after saying his prayers and making the sign of the cross he slept on

the bare ground under the canopy of heaven till sunrise. He met no

human being except a troupe of heathen slaves who bathed in the river

Fulda, and afterwards a man with a horse who was well acquainted with

the country. He found at last a suitable place, and took solemn

possession of it in 744, after it was presented to him for a monastery

by Karloman at the request of Boniface, who joined him there with a

large number of monks, and often resorted to this his favorite

monastery. "In a vast solitude," he wrote to Pope Zacharias in 751,

"among the tribes entrusted to my preaching, there is a place where I

erected a convent and peopled it with monks who live according to the

rule of St. Benedict in strict abstinence, without flesh and wine,

without intoxicating drink and slaves, earning their living with their

own hands. This spot I have rightfully secured from pious men,

especially from Karloman, the late prince of the Franks, and dedicated

to the Saviour. There I will occasionally rest my weary limbs, and

repose in death, continuing faithful to the Roman Church and to the

people to which I was sent?" [122]

Fulda received special privileges from Pope Zacharias and his

successors, [123] and became a centre of German Christianity and

civilization from which proceeded the clearing of the forests, the

cultivation of the soil, and the education of youths. The number of

Benedictine monks was increased by large re-enforcements from Monte

Casino, after an Italian journey of Sturm in 747. The later years of

his life were disturbed by a controversy with Lullus of Mainz about the

bones of Boniface after his martyrdom (755) and by calumniations of

three monks who brought upon him the displeasure of King Pepin. He was,

however, reinstated in his dignity and received the remains of his

beloved teacher which repose in Fulda. Charlemagne employed him as

missionary among the Saxons. His bones were deposited in the convent

church. Pope Innocent II. canonized him, A. D, 1139. [124]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[122] Condensed translation from Epist. 75 in Migne, fol. 778.

[123] See "Fulda und seine Privilegien" in Jul. Harttung,

Diplomatisch-historische Forschungen, Gotha, 1879, pp. 193 sqq.

[124] The chief source is the Vita Sturmi by his pupil Eigil abbot of

Fulda, 818 to 822, in Mabillon, "Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened." Saec. VIII.

Tom. 242-259.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 27. The Conversion of the Saxons. Charlemagne and Alcuin. The

Heliand, and the Gospel-Harmony.

Funk: Die Unterwerfung der Sachsen unter Karl dem Gr. 1833.

A. Schaumann: Geschichte des nieders�chs. Volkes. G�tting. 1839.

B�ttger: Die Einfahrung des Christenthums in Sachsen. Hann. 1859.

W. Giesebrecht; Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit, Vol. I. (1863),

pp. 110 sqq.

Of all the German tribes the fierce and warlike Saxons were the last to

accept the Christian religion. They differed in this respect very much

from their kinsmen who had invaded and conquered England. But the means

employed were also as different: rude force in one case, moral suasion

in the other. The Saxons inhabited the districts of modern Hanover,

Oldenburg, Brunswick, and Westphalia, which were covered with dense

forests. They had driven the Franks beyond the Weser and the Rhine, and

they were now driven back in turn by Charles Martel, Pepin, and

Charlemagne. They hated the foreign yoke of the Franks, and far-off

Rome; they hated the tithe which was imposed upon them for the support

of the church. They looked upon Christianity as the enemy of their wild

liberty and independence. The first efforts of Ewald, Suidbert, and

other missionaries were fruitless. Their conversion was at last brought

about by the sword from political as well as religious motives, and was

at first merely nominal, but resulted finally in a real change under

the silent influence of the moral forces of the Christian religion.

Charlemagne, who became master of the French kingdom in 768, had the

noble ambition to unite the German tribes in one great empire and one

religion in filial communion with Rome, but he mistook the means. He

employed material force, believing that people become Christians by

water-baptism, though baptized against their will. He thought that the

Saxons, who were the most dangerous enemies of his kingdom, must be

either subdued and Christianized, or killed. He pursued the same policy

towards them as the squatter sovereigns would have the United States

government pursue towards the wild Indians in the Western territories.

Treaties were broken, and shocking cruelties were committed on both

sides, by the Saxons from revenge and for independence, by Christians

for punishment in the name of religion and civilization. Prominent

among these atrocities is the massacre of four thousand five hundred

captives at Verden in one day. As soon as the French army was gone, the

Saxons destroyed the churches and murdered the priests, for which they

were in turn put to death.

Their subjugation was a work of thirty-three years, from 772 to 805.

Widukind (Wittekind) and Albio (Abbio), the two most powerful Saxon

chiefs, seeing the fruitlessness of the resistance, submitted to

baptism in 785, with Charlemagne as sponsor. [125]

But the Saxons were not entirely defeated till 804, when 10,000

families were driven from house and home and scattered in other

provinces. Bloody laws prohibited the relapse into heathenism. The

spirit of national independence was defeated, but not entirely crushed,

and broke out seven centuries afterwards in another form against the

Babylonian tyranny of Rome under the lead of the Saxon monk, Martin

Luther.

The war of Charlemagne against the Saxons was the first ominous example

of a bloody crusade for the overthrow of heathenism and the extension

of the church. It was a radical departure from the apostolic method,

and diametrically opposed to the spirit of the gospel. This was felt

even in that age by the more enlightened divines. Alcuin, who

represents the English school of missionaries, and who expresses in his

letters great respect and admiration for Charlemagne, modestly

protested, though without effect, against this wholesale conversion by

force, and asked him rather to make peace with the "abominable" people

of the Saxons. He properly held that the heathen should first be

instructed before they are required to be baptized and to pay tithes;

that water-baptism without faith was of no use; that baptism implies

three visible things, namely, the priest, the body, and the water, and

three invisible things, namely, the Spirit, the soul, and faith; that

the Holy Spirit regenerates the soul by faith; that faith is a free act

which cannot be enforced; that instruction, persuasion, love and

self-denial are the only proper means for converting the heathen. [126]

Charlemagne relaxed somewhat the severity of his laws or capitularies

after the year 797. He founded eight bishoprics among the Saxons:

Osnabr�ck, M�nster, Minden, Paderborn, Verden, Bremen, Hildesheim, and

Halberstadt. From these bishoprics and the parochial churches grouped

around them, and from monasteries such as Fulda, proceeded those higher

and nobler influences which acted on the mind and heart.

The first monument of real Christianity among the Saxons is the

"Heliand" (Heiland, i.e., Healer, Saviour) or a harmony of the Gospels.

It is a religious epos strongly resembling the older work of the

Anglo-Saxon Caedmon on the Passion and Resurrection. From this it no

doubt derived its inspiration. For since Bonifacius there was a lively

intercourse between the church of England and the church in Germany,

and the language of the two countries was at that time essentially the

same. In both works Christ appears as the youthful hero of the human

race, the divine conqueror of the world and the devil, and the

Christians as his faithful knights and warriors. The Heliand was

composed in the ninth century by one or more poets whose language

points to Westphalia as their home. The doctrine is free from the

worship of saints, the glorification of Peter, and from ascetic

excesses, but mixed somewhat with mythological reminiscences. Vilmar

calls it the only real Christian epos, and a wonderful creation of the

German genius. [127]

A little later (about 870) Otfried, a Franconian, educated at Fulda and

St. Gall, produced another poetic harmony of the Gospels, which is one

of the chief monuments of old high German literature. It is a life of

Christ from his birth to the ascension, and ends with a description of

the judgment. It consists of fifteen thousand rhymed lines in strophes

of four lines.

Thus the victory of Christianity in Germany as well as it, England, was

the beginning of poetry and literature, and of true civilization,

The Christianization of North-Eastern Germany, among the Slavonic

races, along the Baltic shores in Prussia, Livonia, and Courland, went

on in the next period, chiefly through Bishop Otto of Bamberg, the

apostle of Pomerania, and the Knights of the Teutonic order, and was

completed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

III. THE CONVERSION 0F SCANDINAVIA.

General Literature.

I. Scandinavia before Christianity.

The Eddas, edit. Rask (Copenhagen, 1818); A. Munch (Christiania, 1847);

M�bius (Leipzig, 1860).

N. M. Petersen: Danmarks Historie i Hedenold. Copenhagen, 1834-37, 3

vols.; Den Nordiske Mythologie, Copenhagen, 1839.

N. F. S. Grundtvig: Nordens Mythologie. Copenhagen, 1839.

Thorpe: Northern Mythology. London, 1852, 3 vols.

Rasmus B. Anderson: Norse Mythology; Myths of the Eddas systematized

and interpreted. Chicago, 1875.

II. The Christianization of Scandinavia.

Claudius Oernhjalm: Historia Sueonum Gothorumque Ecclesiae. Stockholm,

1689, 4 vols.

E. Pontoppidan: Annales Ecclesiae Danicae. Copenhagen, 1741.

F. M�nter: Kirchengeschichte von D�nmark und Norwegen. Copenhagen and

Leipzig, 1823-33, 3 vols.

R. Reuterdahl: Svenska kyrkans historia. Lund, 1833, 3 vols., first

volume translated into German by E. T. Mayerhof, under the title: Leben

Ansgars.

Fred Helweg: Den Danske Kirkes Historie. Copenhagen, 1862.

A. Jorgensen: Den nordiske Kirkes Grundloeggelse. Copenhagen, 1874.

Neander: Geschichte der christlichen Kirche, Vol. IV., pp. 1-150

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[125] "Jetzt war Sachsen besiegt," says Giesebrecht (l.c., p. 117),

"und mit Blutgesetzen worden das Christenthum und das K�nigthum

zugliech den Sachsen aufgedrungen. Mit Todesstrafen wurde die Taufe

erzwungen, die heidnischen Gebr�uche bedroht; jede Verletzung eines

chistlichen Priesters wurde, wie der Aufruhr gegen den K�nig und der

Ungehorsam gegen seine Befehle, zu einem todeswuerdigen Verbrechen

gestempelt."

[126] Neander III. 152 sqq. (Germ, ed.; Torrey's trnsl. III. 76). It

seems to me, from looking over Alcuin's numerous epistles to the

emperor, he might have used his influence much more freely with his

pupil. Merivale says (p. 131): "Alcuin of York, exerted his influence

upon those Northern missions from the centre of France, in which he had

planted himself. The purity and simplicity of the English school of

teachers contrasted favoably with the worldly, character of the

Frankish priesthood, and Charlemagne himelf was impressed with the

importance of intrusting the establishment of the Church throughout his

Northern conquests to these foreigners rather than to his own subjects.

He appointed the Anglo-Saxon Willibrord to preside over the district of

Estphalia, and Liudger, a Friesian by birth, but an Englishman by his

training at York, to organize the church in Westphalia; while he left

to the earlier foundation of Fulda, which had also received its first

Christian traditions from the English Boniface and his pupil Sturm, the

charge of Engern or Angaria. From the teaching of these strangers there

sprang up a crop of Saxon priests and missionaries; from among the

youths of noble family whom the conqueror had carried off from their

homes as hostages, many were selected to be trained in the monasteries

for the life of monks and preachers. Eventually the Abbey of Corbie,

near Amiens, was founded by one of the Saxon converts, and became an

important centre of Christian teaching. From hence sprang the

daughter-foundation of the New Corbie, or Corby, on the banks of the

Weser, in the diocese of Paderborn. This abbey received its charter

from Louis le Debonnaire in 823, and became no less important an

institution for the propagation of the faith in the north of Germany,

than Fulda still continued to be in the centre, and St. Gall in the

South."

[127] See Ed. Sievers, Heliand, Halle, 1878.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 28. Scandinavian Heathenism.

Wheaton: History of the Northmen. London 1831.

Depping: Histoire des expeditions maritimes des Normands. Paris, 1843.

2 vols.

F. Worsaae: Account of the Danes in England, Ireland, and Scotland.

London, 1852; The Danish Conquest of England and Normandy. London,

1863. These works are translated from the Danish.

Scandinavia was inhabited by one of the wildest and fiercest, but also

one of the strongest and most valiant branches of the Teutonic race, a

people of robbers which grew into a people of conquerors. Speaking the

same language--that which is still spoken in Iceland--and worshipping

the same gods, they were split into a number of small kingdoms covering

the present Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Every spring, when the ice

broke in the fjords, they launched their boats or skiffs, and swept,

each swarm under the leadership of its own king, down upon the coasts

of the neighboring countries. By the rivers they penetrated far into

the countries, burning and destroying what they could not carry away

with them. When autumn came, they returned home, loaded with spoil, and

they spent the winter round the open hearth, devouring their prey. But

in course of time, the swarms congregated and formed large armies, and

the robber-campaigns became organized expeditions for conquest;

kingdoms were founded in Russia, England, France, and Sicily. In their

new homes, however, the Northern vikings soon forgot both their native

language and their old gods, and became the strong bearers of new

departures of civilization and the valiant knights of Christianity.

In the Scandinavian mythology, there were not a few ideas which the

Christian missionary could use as connecting links. It was not

absolutely necessary for him to begin with a mere negation; here, too,

there was an "unknown God" and many traits indicate that, during the

eighth and ninth centuries, people throughout Scandinavia became more

and more anxious to hear something about him. When a man died, he went

to Walhall, if he had been brave, and to Niflheim, if he had been a

coward. In Walhall he lived together with the gods, in great brightness

and joy, fighting all the day, feasting all the night. In Niflheim he

sat alone, a shadow, surrounded with everything disgusting and

degrading. But Walhall and Niflheim were not to last forever. A deep

darkness, Ragnarokr, shall fall over the universe; Walhall and Niflheim

shall be destroyed by fire; the gods, the heroes, the shadows, shall

perish. Then a new heaven and a new earth shall be created by the

All-Father, and he shall judge men not according as they have been

brave or cowardly, but according as they have been good or bad. From

the Eddas themseIves, it appears that, throughout Scandinavian

heathendom, there now and then arose characters who, though they would

not cease to be brave, longed to be good. The representative of this

goodness, this dim fore-shadowing of the Christian idea of holiness,

was Baldur, the young god standing on the rainbow and watching the

worlds, and he was also the link which held together the whole chain of

the Walhall gods; when he died, Ragnarokr came.

A transition from the myth of Baldur to the gospel of Christ cannot

have been very difficult to the Scandinavian imagination; and, indeed,

it is apparent that the first ideas which the Scandinavian heathens

formed of the "White Christ" were influenced by their ideas of Baldur.

It is a question, however, not yet settled, whether certain parts of

the Scandinavian mythology, as, for instance, the above myths of

Ragnarokr and Baldur, are not a reflex of Christian ideas; and it is

quite probable that when the Scandinavians in the ninth century began

to look at Christ under the image of Baldur, they had long before

unconsciously remodeled their idea of Baldur after the image of Christ.

Another point, of considerable importance to the Christian missionary,

was that, in Scandinavian heathendom, he had no priesthood to

encounter. Scandinavian paganism never became an institution. There

were temples, or at least altars, at Leire, near Roeskilde, in Denmark;

at Sigtuna, near Upsall, in Sweden, and at Moere, near Drontheim, in

Norway; and huge sacrifices of ninety-nine horses, ninety-nine cocks,

and ninety-nine slaves were offered up there every Juul-time. But every

man was his own priest. At the time when Christianity first appeared in

Scandinavia, the old religion was evidently losing its hold on the

individuals and for the very reason, that it had never succeeded in

laying hold on the nation. People continued to swear by the gods, and

drink in their honor; but they ceased to pray to them. They continued

to sacrifice before taking the field or after the victory, and to make

the sign of the cross, meaning Thor's hammer, over a child when it was

named; but there was really nothing in their life, national or

individual, public or private, which demanded religious consecration.

As, on the one side, characters developed which actually went beyond

the established religion, longing for something higher and deeper, it

was, on the other side, still more frequent to meet with characters

which passed by the established religion with utter indifference,

believing in nothing but their own strength.

The principal obstacle which Christianity had to encounter in

Scandinavia was moral rather than religious. In his passions, the old

Scandinavian was sometimes worse than a beast. Gluttony and drunkenness

he considered as accomplishments. But he was chaste. A dishonored woman

was very seldom heard of, adultery never. In his energy, he was

sometimes fiercer than a demon. He destroyed for the sake of

destruction, and there were no indignities or cruelties which he would

not inflict upon a vanquished enemy. But for his friend, his king, his

wife, his child, he would sacrifice everything, even life itself; and

he would do it without a doubt, without a pang, in pure and noble

enthusiasm. Such, however, as his morals were, they, had absolute sway

over him. The gods he could forget, but not his duties. The evil one,

among gods and men, was he who saw the duty, but stole away from it.

The highest spiritual power among the old Scandinavians, their only

enthusiasm, was their feeling of duty; but the direction which had been

given to this feeling was so absolutely opposed to that pointed out by

the Christian morality, that no reconciliation was possible. Revenge

was the noblest sentiment and passion of man; forgiveness was a sin.

The battle-field reeking with blood and fire was the highest beauty the

earth could show; patient and peaceful labor was an abomination. It was

quite natural, therefore, that the actual conflict between Christianity

and Scandinavian paganism should take place in the field of morals. The

pagans slew the missionaries, and burnt their schools and churches, not

because they preached new gods, but because they "corrupted the morals

of the people" (by averting them from their warlike pursuits), and

when, after a contest of more than a century, it became apparent that

Christianity would be victorious, the pagan heroes left the country in

great swarms, as if they were flying from some awful plague. The first

and hardest work which Christianity had to do in Scandinavia was

generally humanitarian rather than specifically religious.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 29. The Christianization of Denmark. St. Ansgar.

Ansgarius: Pigmenta, ed. Lappenberg. Hamburg, 1844. Vita Wilehadi, in

Pertz: Monumenta II.; and in Migne: Patrol. Tom. 118, pp. 1014-1051.

Rimbertus: Vita Ansgarii, in Pertz: Monumenta II., and in Migne, l.c.

pp. 961-1011.

Adamus Bremensis (d. 1076): Gesta Hamenburgensis Eccl. pontificum

(embracing the history of the archbishopric of Hamburg, of Scandinavia,

Denmark, and Northwestern Germany, from 788-1072); reprinted in Pertz:

Monumenta, VII.; separate edition by Lappenberg. Hanover, 1846.

Laurent: Leben der Erzb. Ansgar und Rimbert. 1856.

A. Tappehorn: Leben d. h. Ansgar. 1863.

G. Dehio: Geschichte d. Erzb. Hamburg-Bremen. 1877.

H. N. A. Jensen: Schleswig-Holsteinische Kirchengeschichte, edit. A. L.

J. Michelsen (1879).

During the sixth and seventh centuries the Danes first came in contact

with Christianity, partly through their commercial intercourse with

Duerstede in Holland, partly through their perpetual raids on Ireland;

and tales of the "White Christ" were frequently told among them, though

probably with no other effect than that of wonder. The first Christian

missionary who visited them and worked among them was Willebrord. Born

in Northumbria and educated within the pale of the Keltic Kirk he went

out, in 690, as a missionary to the Frises. Expelled by them he came,

about 700, to Denmark, was well received by king Yngrin (Ogendus),

formed a congregation and bought thirty Danish boys, whom he educated

in the Christian religion, and of whom one, Sigwald, is still

remembered as the patron saint of Nuremberg, St. Sebaldus. But his work

seems to have been of merely temporary effect.

Soon, however, the tremendous activity which Charlemagne developed as a

political organizer, was felt even on the Danish frontier. His realm

touched the Eyder. Political relations sprang up between the Roman

empire and Denmark, and they opened a freer and broader entrance to the

Christian missionaries. In Essehoe, in Holstein, Charlemagne built a

chapel for the use of the garrison; in Hamburg he settled Heridock as

the head of a Christian congregation; and from a passage in one of

Alcuin's letters [128] it appears that a conversion of the Danes did

not lie altogether outside of his plans. Under his successor, Lewis the

Pious, Harald Klak, one of the many petty kings among whom Denmark was

then divided, sought the emperor's support and decision in a family

feud, and Lewis sent archbishop Ebo of Rheims, celebrated both as a

political negotiator and as a zealous missionary, to Denmark. In 822

Ebo crossed the Eyder, accompanied by bishop Halitgar of Cambray. In

the following years he made several journeys to Denmark, preached,

baptized, and established a station of the Danish mission at Cella

Wellana, the present Welnau, near Essehoe. But he was too much occupied

with the internal affairs of the empire and the opportunity which now

opened for the Danish mission, demanded the whole and undivided energy

of a great man. In 826 Harald Klak was expelled and sought refuge with

the emperor, Ebo acting as a mediator. At Ingelheim, near Mentz, the

king, the queen, their son and their whole retinue, were solemnly

baptized, and when Harald shortly after returned to Denmark with

support from the emperor, he was accompanied by that man who was

destined to become the Apostle of the North, Ansgar.

Ansgar was born about 800 (according to general acceptation Sept. 9,

801) in the diocese of Amiens, of Frankish parents, and educated in the

abbey of Corbie, under the guidance of Adalhard. Paschasius Radbertus

was among his teachers. In 822 a missionary colony was planted by

Corbie in Westphalia, and the German monastery of Corwey or New Corwey

was founded. Hither Ansgar was removed, as teacher in the new school,

and he soon acquired great fame both on account of his powers as a

preacher and on account of his ardent piety. When still a boy he had

holy visions, and was deeply impressed with the vanity of all earthly

greatness. The crown of the martyr seemed to him the highest grace

which human life could attain, and he ardently prayed that it might be

given to him. The proposition to follow king Harald as a missionary,

among the heathen Danes he immediately accepted, in spite of the

remonstrances of his friends, and accompanied by Autbert he repaired,

in 827, to Denmark, where he immediately established a missionary

station at Hedeby, in the province of Schleswig. The task was

difficult, but the beginning was not without success. Twelve young boys

were bought to be educated as teachers, and not a few people were

converted and baptized. His kindness to the poor, the sick, to all who

were in distress, attracted attention; his fervor as a preacher and

teacher produced sympathy without, as yet, provoking resistance. But in

829 king Harald was again expelled and retired to Riustri, a possession

on the mouth of the Weser, which the emperor had given to him as a

fief. Ansgar was compelled to follow him and the prospects of the

Danish mission became very dark, the more so as Autbert had to give up

any further participation in the work on account of ill health, and

return to New Corwey. At this time an invitation from the Swedish king,

Bj�rn, gave Ansgar an opportunity to visit Sweden, and he stayed there

till 831, when the establishment of an episcopal see at Hamburg,

determined upon by the diet of Aix-le-chapelle in 831, promised to give

the Danish mission a new impulse. All Scandinavia was laid under the

new see, and Ansgar was consecrated its first bishop by bishop Drago of

Metz, a brother of the emperor, with the solemn assistance of three

archbishops, Ebo of Rheims, Hetti of Treves and Obgar of Mentz. A bull

of Gregory IV. [129] confirmed the whole arrangement, and Ansgar

received personally the pallium from the hands of the Pope. In 834 the

emperor endowed the see with the rich monastery of Thorout, in West

Flanders, south of Bruges, and the work of the Danish mission could now

be pushed with vigor. Enabled to treat with the petty kings of Denmark

on terms of equality, and possessed of means to impress them with the

importance of the cause, Ansgar made rapid progress, but, as was to be

expected, the progress soon awakened opposition. In 834 a swarm of

heathen Danes penetrated with a fleet of six hundred small vessels into

the Elb under the command of king Horich I., and laid siege to Hamburg.

The city was taken, sacked and burnt; the church which Ansgar had

built, the monastery in which he lived, his library containing a copy

of the Bible which the emperor had presented to him, etc., were

destroyed and the Christians were driven away from the place. For many

days Ansgar fled from hiding-place to hiding-place in imminent danger

of his life. He sought refuge with the bishop of Bremen, but the bishop

of Bremen was jealous, because Scandinavia had not been laid under his

see, and refused to give any assistance. The revenues of Thorout he

lost, as the emperor, Charles the Bald, gave the fief to one of his

favorites. Even his own pupils deserted him.

In this great emergency his character shone forth in all its strength

and splendor; he bore what God laid upon him in silence and made no

complaint. Meanwhile Lewis the German came to his support. In 846 the

see of Bremen became vacant. The see of Hamburg was then united to that

of Bremen, and to this new see, which Ansgar was called to fill, a

papal bull of May 31, 864, gave archiepiscopal rank. Installed in

Bremen, Ansgar immediately took up again the Danish mission and again

with success. He won even king Horich himself for the Christian cause,

and obtained permission from him to build a church in Hedeby, the first

Christian church in Denmark, dedicated to Our Lady. Under king Horich's

son this church was allowed to have bells, a particular horror to the

heathens, and a new and larger church was commenced in Ribe. By

Ansgar's activity Christianity became an established and acknowledged

institution in Denmark, and not only in Denmark but also in Sweden,

which he visited once more, 848-850.

The principal feature of his spiritual character was ascetic severity;

he wore a coarse hair-shirt close to the skin, fasted much and spent

most of his time in prayer. But with this asceticism he connected a

great deal of practical energy; he rebuked the idleness of the monks,

demanded of his pupils that they should have some actual work at hand,

and was often occupied in knitting, while praying. His enthusiasm and

holy raptures were also singularly well-tempered by good common sense.

To those who wished to extol his greatness and goodness by ascribing

miracles to him, he said that the greatest miracle in his life would

be, if God ever made a thoroughly pious man out of him. [130] Most

prominent, however, among the spiritual features of his character

shines forth his unwavering faith in the final success of his cause and

the never-failing patience with which this faith fortified his soul. In

spite of apparent failure he never gave up his work; overwhelmed with

disaster, he still continued it. From his death-bed he wrote a letter

to king Lewis to recommend to him the Scandinavian mission. Other

missionaries may have excelled him in sagacity and organizing talent,

but none in heroic patience and humility. He died at Bremen, Feb. 3,

865, and lies buried there in the church dedicated to him. He was

canonized by Nicholas I.

Ansgar's successor in the archiepiscopal see of Hamburg-Bremen was his

friend and biographer, Rimbert, 865-888. In his time all the petty

kingdoms into which Denmark was divided, were gathered together under

one sceptre by King Gorm the Old; but this event, in one respect very

favorable to the rapid spread of Christianity, was in other respects a

real obstacle to the Christian cause as it placed Denmark, politically,

in opposition to Germany, which was the basis and only support of the

Christian mission to Denmark. King Gorm himself was a grim heathen; but

his queen, Thyra Danabod, had embraced Christianity, and both under

Rimbert and his successor, Adalgar, 888-909, the Christian missionaries

were allowed to work undisturbed. A new church, the third in Denmark,

was built at Aarhus. But under Adalgar's successor, Unni, 909-936, King

Gorm's fury, half political and half religious, suddenly burst forth.

The churches were burnt, the missionaries were killed or expelled, and

nothing but the decisive victory of Henry the Fowler, king of Germany,

over the Danish king saved the Christians in Denmark from complete

extermination. By the peace it was agreed that King Gorm should allow

the preaching of Christianity in his realm, and Unni took up the cause

again with great energy. Between Unni's successor, Adaldag, 936-988,

and King Harald Blue Tooth, a son of Gorm the Old, there grew up a

relation which almost might be called a co-operation. Around the three

churches in Jutland: Schleswig, Ribe and Aarhus, and a fourth in F�nen:

Odense, bishoprics were formed, and Adaldag consecrated four native

bishops. The church obtained right to accept and hold donations, and

instances of very large endowments occurred.

The war between King Harald and the German king, Otto II., arose from

merely political causes, but led to the baptism of the former, and soon

after the royal residence was moved from Leire, one of the chief

centres of Scandinavian heathendom, to Roeskilde, where a Christian

church was built. Among the Danes, however, there was a large party

which was very ill-pleased at this turn of affairs. They were heathens

because heathenism was the only religion which suited their passions.

They clung to Thor, not from conviction, but from pride. They looked

down with indignation and dismay upon the transformation which

Christianity everywhere effected both of the character and the life of

the people. Finally they left the country and settled under the

leadership of Palnatoke, at the mouth of the Oder, where they founded a

kind of republic, Jomsborg.

From this place they waged a continuous war upon Christianity in

Denmark for more than a decade, and with dreadful effect. The names of

the martyrs would fill a whole volume, says Adam of Bremen. The church

in Roeskilde was burnt. The bishopric of F�nen was abolished. The

king's own son, Swen, was one of the leaders, and the king himself was

finally shot by Palnatoke, 991. Swen, however, soon fell out with the

Joms vikings, and his invasion of England gave the warlike passions of

the nation another direction.

From the conquest of that country and its union with Denmark, the

Danish mission received a vigorous impulse. King Swen himself was

converted, and showed great zeal for Christianity. He rebuilt the

church in Roeskilde, erected a new church at Lund, in Skaane, placed

the sign of the cross on his coins, and exhorted, on his death-bed, his

son Canute to work for the Christianization of Denmark. The ardor of

the Hamburg-Bremen archbishops for the Danish mission seemed at this

time to have cooled, or perhaps the growing difference between the

language spoken to the north of the Eyder and that spoken to the south

of that river made missionary work in Denmark very difficult for a

German preacher. Ansgar had not felt this difference; but two centuries

later it had probably become necessary for the German missionary to

learn a foreign language before entering on his work in Denmark.

Between England and Denmark there existed no such difference of

language. King Canute the Great, during whose reign (1019-1035) the

conversion of Denmark was completed, could employ English priests and

monks in Denmark without the least embarrassment. He re-established the

bishopric of F�nen, and founded two new bishoprics in Sealand and

Skaane; and these three sees were filled with Englishmen consecrated by

the archbishop of Canterbury. He invited a number of English monks to

Denmark, and settled them partly as ecclesiastics at the churches,

partly in small missionary stations, scattered all around in the

country; and everywhere, in the style of the church-building and in the

character of the service the English influence was predominating. This

circumstance, however, did in no way affect the ecclesiastical relation

between Denmark and the archiepiscopal see of Hamburg-Bremen. The

authority of the archbishop, though not altogether unassailed, was

nevertheless generally submitted to with good grace, and until in the

twelfth century an independent Scandinavian archbishopric was

established at Lund, with the exception of the above cases, he always

appointed and consecrated the Danish bishops. Also the relation to the

Pope was very cordial. Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome, and founded

several Hospitia Danorum there. He refused, however, to permit the

introduction of the Peter's pence in Denmark, and the tribute which, up

to the fourteenth century, was annually sent from that country to Rome,

was considered a voluntary gift.

The last part of Denmark which was converted was the island of

Bornholm. It was christianized in 1060 by Bishop Egius of Lund. It is

noticeable, however, that in Denmark Christianity was not made a part

of the law of the land, such as was the case in England and in Norway.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[128] Epist. 13, in Monumenta Alcuiniana, Ed. Jaff�.

[129] Mabillon: Act. Sanct. Bened. Ord. IV. 2, p. 124.

[130] Si dignus essem apud Deum meum, rogarem quatenus unum mihi

concederet signum, videlicet ut de me sua gratia faceret bonum

hominem." Vita by Rimbert, c. 67 (Migne 118, p. 1008).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 30. The Christianization of Sweden.

Rimbertus: Vita Ansgarii, in Pertz: Monumenta II.

Adamus Bremensis: Gesta Ham. Eccl. Pont., in Pertz: Monumenta VII;

separate edition by Lappenberg. Hanover, 1846.

Historia S. Sigfridi, in Scriptt. Rer. Suec. Medii-oevi, T. II.

Just when the expulsion of Harald Klak compelled Ansgar to give up the

Danish mission, at least for the time being, an embassy was sent by the

Swedish king, Bj�rn, to the emperor, Lewis the Pious, asking him to

send Christian missionaries to Sweden. Like the Danes, the Swedes had

become acquainted with Christianity through their wars and commercial

connections with foreign countries, and with many this acquaintance

appears to have awakened an actual desire to become Christians.

Accordingly Ansgar went to Sweden in 829, accompanied by Witmar. While

crossing the Baltic, the vessel was overtaken and plundered by pirates,

and he arrived empty handed, not to say destitute, at Bj�rk� or Birka,

the residence of King Bj�rn, situated on an island in the Maelarn.

Although poverty, and misery were very poor introduction to a heathen

king in ancient Scandinavia, he was well received by the king; and in

Hergeir, one of the most prominent men at the court of Birka, he found

a warm and reliable friend. Hergeir built the first Christian chapel in

Sweden, and during his whole life he proved an unfailing and powerful

support of the Christian cause. After two years' successful labor,

Ansgar returned to Germany; but he did not forget the work begun. As

soon as he was well established as bishop in Hamburg, he sent, in 834,

Gautbert, a nephew of Ebo, to Sweden, accompanied by Nithard and a

number of other Christian priests, and well provided with everything

necessary for the work. Gautbert labored with great success. In Birka

he built a church, and thus it became possible for the Christians,

scattered all over Sweden, to celebrate service and partake of the

Lord's Supper in their own country without going to Duerstede or some

other foreign place. But here, as in Denmark, the success of the

Christian mission aroused the jealousy and hatred of the heathen, and,

at last, even Hergeir was not able to keep them within bounds. An

infuriated swarm broke into the house of Gautbert. The house was

plundered; Nithard was murdered; the church was burnt, and Gautbert

himself was sent in chains beyond the frontier. He never returned to

Sweden, but died as bishop of Osnabr�ck, shortly before Ansgar. When

Ansgar first heard of the outbreak in Sweden, he was himself flying

before the fury of the Danish heathen, and for several years he was

unable to do anything for the Swedish mission. Ardgar, a former hermit,

now a priest, went to Sweden, and in Birka he found that Hergeir had

succeeded in keeping together and defending the Christian congregation;

but Hergeir died shortly after, and with him fell the last defence

against the attacks of the heathen and barbarians.

Meanwhile Ansgar had been established in the archiepiscopal see of

Hamburg-Bremen. In 848, he determined to go himself to Sweden. The

costly presents he gave to king Olaf, the urgent letters he brought

from the emperor, and the king of Denmark, the magnificence and

solemnity of the appearance of the mission made a deep impression. The

king promised that the question should be laid before the assembled

people, whether or not they would allow Christianity to be preached

again in the country. In the assembly it was the address of an old

Swede, proving that the god of the Christians was stronger even than

Thor, and that it was poor policy for a nation not to have the

strongest god, which finally turned the scales, and once more the

Christian missionaries were allowed to preach undisturbed in the

country, . Before Ansgar left, in 850, the church was rebuilt in Birka,

and, for a number of years, the missionary labor was continued with

great zeal by Erimbert, a nephew of Gautbert, by Ansfrid, born a Dane,

and by Rimbert, also a Dane.

Nevertheless, although the persecutions ceased, Christianity made

little progress, and when, in 935, Archbishop Unni himself visited

Birka, his principal labor consisted in bringing back to the Christian

fold such members as had strayed away among the heathen, and forgotten

their faith. Half a century later, however, during the reign of Olaf

Skotkonge, the mission received a vigorous impulse. The king himself

and his sons were won for the Christian cause, and from Denmark a

number of English missionaries entered the country. The most prominent

among these was Sigfrid, who has been mentioned beside Ansgar as the

apostle of the North. By his exertions many were converted, and

Christianity became a legally recognized religion in the country beside

the old heathenism. In the Southern part of Sweden, heathen sacrifices

ceased, and heathen altars disappeared. In the Northern part, however,

the old faith still continued to live on, partly because it was

difficult for the missionaries to penetrate into those wild and

forbidding regions, partly because there existed a difference of tribe

between the Northern and Southern Swedes, which again gave rise to

political differences.

The Christianization of Sweden was not completed until the middle of

the twelfth century.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 31. The Christianization of Norway and Iceland.

Snorre Sturleson (d. 1241): Heimskringla (i.e. Circle of Home, written

first in Icelandic), seu Historia Regum Septentrionalium, etc.

Stockholm, 1697, 2 vols. The same in Icelandic, Danish, and Latin.

Havn., 1777-1826; in German by Mohnike, 1835; in English, transl. by

Sam. Laing. London, 1844, 3 vols. This history of the Norwegian kings

reaches from the mythological age to a.d. 1177.

N. P. Sibbern: Bibliotheca Historica Dano-Norvegica. Hamburg, 1716.

Fornmanna-S�gur seu Scripta Hist. Islandorum. Hafniae, 1828.

K. Maurer: Bekehrung des Norwegischen Stammes zum Christenthum.

M�nchen, 1855-56, 2 vols.

Thomas Carlyle: Early Kings of Norway. London and N. York, 1875.

G. F. Maclear: The Conversion of the Northmen. London, 1879.

Christianity was introduced in Norway almost exclusively by the

exertions of the kings, and the means employed were chiefly violence

and tricks. The people accepted Christianity not because they had

become acquainted with it and felt a craving for it, but because they

were compelled to accept it, and the result was that heathen customs

and heathen ideas lived on in Christian Norway for centuries after they

had disappeared from the rest of Scandinavia.

The first attempt to introduce Christianity in the country was made in

the middle of the tenth century by Hakon the Good. Norway was gathered

into one state in the latter part of the ninth century by Harald

Haarfagr, but internal wars broke out again under Harald's son and

successor, Eric. These troubles induced Hakon, an illegitimate son of

Harald Haarfagr and educated in England at the court of king Athelstan,

to return to Norway and lay claim to the crown. He succeeded in gaining

a party in his favor, expelled Eric and conquered all Norway, where he

soon became exceedingly popular, partly on account of his valor and

military ability, partly also on account of the refinement and suavity

of his manners. Hakon was a Christian, and the Christianization of

Norway seems to have been his highest goal from the very first days of

his reign. But he was prudent. Without attracting any great attention

to the matter, he won over to Christianity a number of those who stood

nearest to him, called Christian priests from England, and built a

church at Drontheim. Meanwhile he began to think that the time had come

for a more public and more decisive step, and at the great Frostething,

where all the most prominent men of the country were assembled, he

addressed the people on the matter and exhorted them to become

Christians. The answer he received was very characteristic. They had no

objection to Christianity itself, for they did not know what it meant,

but they suspected the king's proposition, as if it were a political

stratagem by means of which he intended to defraud them of their

political rights and liberties. Thus they not only refused to become

Christians themselves, but even compelled the king to partake in their

heathen festivals and offer sacrifices to their heathen gods. The king

was very indignant and determined to take revenge, but just as he had

got an army together, the sons of the expelled Eric landed in Norway

and in the battle against them, 961, he received a deadly wound.

The sons of Eric, who had lived in England during their exile, were

likewise Christians, and they took up the cause of Christianity in a

very high-handed manner, overthrowing the heathen altars and forbidding

sacrifices. But the impression they made was merely odious, and their

successor, Hakon Jarl, was a rank heathen. The first time Christianity

really gained a footing in Norway, was under Olaf Trygveson. Descended

from Harald Haarfagr, but sold, while a child, as a slave in Esthonia,

he was ransomed by a relative who incidentally met him and recognized

his own kin in the beauty of the boy, and was educated at Moscow.

Afterwards he roved about much in Denmark, Wendland, England and

Ireland, living as a sea-king. In England he became acquainted with

Christianity and immediately embraced it, but he carried his

viking-nature almost unchanged over into Christianity, and a fiercer

knight of the cross was probably never seen. Invited to Norway by a

party which had grown impatient of the tyranny of Hakon Jarl, he easily

made himself master of the country, in 995, and immediately set about

making Christianity its religion, "punishing severely," as Snorre says,

"all who opposed him, killing some, mutilating others, and driving the

rest into banishment." In the Southern part there still lingered a

remembrance of Christianity from the days of Hakon the Good, and things

went on here somewhat more smoothly, though Olaf more than once gave

the people assembled in council with him the choice between fighting

him or accepting baptism forthwith. But in the Northern part all the

craft and all the energy of the king were needed in order to overcome

the opposition. Once, at a great heathen festival at Moere, he told the

assembled people that, if he should return to the heathen gods it would

be necessary for him to make some great and awful sacrifice, and

accordingly he seized twelve of the most prominent men present and

prepared to sacrifice them to Thor. They were rescued, however, when

the whole assembly accepted Christianity and were baptized. In the year

1000, he fell in a battle against the united Danish and Swedish kings,

but though he reigned only five years, he nevertheless succeeded in

establishing Christianity as the religion of Norway and, what is still

more remarkable, no general relapse into heathenism seems to have taken

place after his death.

During the reign of Olaf the Saint, who ruled from a.d. 1014-'30, the

Christianization of the country was completed. His task it was to

uproot heathenism wherever it was still found lurking, and to give the

Christian religion an ecclesiastical organization. Like his

predecessors, he used craft and violence to reach his goal. Heathen

idols and altars disappeared, heathen customs and festivals were

suppressed, the civil laws were brought into conformity with the rules

of Christian morals. The country was divided into dioceses and

parishes, churches were built, and regular revenues were raised for the

sustenance of the clergy. For the most part he employed English monks

and priests, but with the consent of the archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen,

under whose authority he placed the Norwegian church. After his death,

in the battle of Stiklestad, July 29, 1030, he was canonized and became

the patron saint of Norway.

To Norway belonged, at that time, Iceland. From Icelandic tradition as

well as from the "De Mensura Orbis" by Dicuilus, an Irish monk in the

beginning of the ninth century, it appears that Culdee anchorites used

to retire to Iceland as early as the beginning of the eighth century,

while the island was still uninhabited. These anchorites, however, seem

to have had no influence whatever on the Norwegian settlers who, flying

from the tyranny of Harald Haarfagr, came to Iceland in the latter part

of the ninth century and began to people the country. The new-comers

were heathen, and they looked with amazement at Auda the Rich, the

widow of Olaf the White, king of Dublin, who in 892 took up her abode

in Iceland and reared a lofty cross in front of her house. But the

Icelanders were great travellers, and one of them, Thorvald Kodranson,

who in Saxony had embraced Christianity, brought bishop Frederic home

to Iceland. Frederic stayed there for four years, and his preaching

found easy access among the people. The mission of Thangbrand in the

latter part of the tenth century failed, but when Norway, or at least

the Norwegian coast, became Christian, the intimate relation between

Iceland and Norway soon brought the germs which Frederic had planted,

into rapid growth, and in the year 1000 the Icelandic Althing declared

Christianity to be the established religion of the country. The first

church was built shortly after from timber sent by Olaf the Saint from

Norway to the treeless island.

IV. THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF THE SLAVS.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 32. General Survey.

A. Regenvolscius: Systema Hist. chronol. Ecclesiarum Slavonic. Traj. ad

Rhen., 1652.

A. Wengerscius: Hist. ecclesiast. Ecclesiarum Slavonic. Amst., 1689.

Kohlius: Introductio in Hist. Slavorum imprimis sacram. Altona, 1704.

J. Ch. Jordan: Origines Slavicae. Vindob., 1745.

S. de Bohusz: Recherches hist. sur l'origine des Sarmates, des

Esclavons, et des Slaves, et sur les �poques de la conversion de ces

peuples. St. Petersburg and London, 1812.

P. J. Schafarik: Slavische Alterth�mer. Leipzig, 1844, 2 vols.

Horvat: Urgeschichte der Slaven. Pest, 1844.

W. A. Maciejowsky: Essai Hist. sur l'�glise ehr�t. primitive de deux

rites chez les Slaves. Translated from Polish into French by L. F.

Sauvet, Paris, 1846.

At what time the Slavs first made their appearance in Europe is not

known. Latin and Greek writers of the second half of the sixth century,

such as Procopius, Jornandes, Agathias, the emperor Mauritius and

others, knew only those Slavs who lived along the frontiers of the

Roman empire. In the era of Charlemagne the Slavs occupied the whole of

Eastern Europe from the Baltic to the Balkan; the Obotrites and Wends

between the Elbe and the Vistula; the Poles around the Vistula, and

behind them the Russians; the Czechs in Bohemia. Further to the South

the compact mass of Slavs was split by the invasion of various Finnish

or Turanian tribes; the Huns in the fifth century, the Avars in the

sixth, the Bulgarians in the seventh, the Magyars in the ninth. The

Avars penetrated to the Adriatic, but were thrown back in 640 by the

Bulgarians; they then settled in Panonia, were subdued and converted by

Charlemagne, 791-796, and disappeared altogether from history in the

ninth century. The Bulgarians adopted the Slavic language and became

Slavs, not only in language, but also in customs and habits. Only the

Magyars, who settled around the Theiss and the Danube, and are the

ruling race in Hungary, vindicated themselves as a distinct

nationality.

The great mass of Slavs had no common political organization, but

formed a number of kingdoms, which flourished, some for a shorter, and

others for a longer period, such as Moravia, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Poland,

and Russia. In a religious respect also great differences existed among

them. They were agriculturists, and their gods were representatives of

natural forces; but while Radigost and Sviatovit, worshipped by the

Obotrites and Wends, were cruel gods, in whose temples, especially at

Arcona in the island of R�gen, human beings were sacrificed, Svarog

worshipped by the Poles, and Dazhbog, worshipped by the Bohemians, were

mild gods, who demanded love and prayer. Common to all Slavs, however,

was a very elaborate belief in fairies and trolls; and polygamy,

sometimes connected with sutteeism, widely prevailed among them. Their

conversion was attempted both by Constantinople and by Rome; but the

chaotic and ever-shifting political conditions under which they lived,

the rising difference and jealousy between the Eastern and Western

churches, and the great difficulty which the missionaries experienced

in learning their language, presented formidable obstacles, and at the

close of the period the work was not yet completed.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 33. Christian Missions among the Wends.

ADAM Of BRENEN (d. 1067): Gesta Hammenb. (Hamburgensis) Eccl. Pont., in

Pertz: Monumenta Germ., VII.

Helmoldus (d. 1147) and Arnoldus Lubecensis: Chronicon Slavorum sive

Annales Slavorum, from Charlemagne to 1170, ed. H. Bangert. Lubecae,

1659. German translation by Laurent. Berlin, 1852.

Spieker: Kirchengeschichte der Mark Brandenburg. Berlin, 1839.

Wiggers: Kirchengeschichte Mecklenburgs. Parchim, 1840.

Giesebrecht: Wendische Geschichten. Berlin, 1843.

Charlemagne was the first who attempted to introduce Christianity among

the Slavic tribes which, under the collective name of Wends, occupied

the Northern part of Germany, along the coast of the Baltic, from the

mouth of the Elbe to the Vistula: Wagrians in Holstein, Obotrites in

Mecklenburg, Sorbians on the Saxon boundary, Wilzians in Brandenburg,

etc. But in the hands of Charlemagne, the Christian mission was a

political weapon; and to the Slavs, acceptation of Christianity became

synonymous with political and national subjugation. Hence their fury

against Christianity which, time after time, broke forth, volcano-like,

and completely destroyed the work of the missionaries. The decisive

victories which Otto I. gained over the Wends, gave him an opportunity

to attempt, on a large scale, the establishment of the Christian church

among them. Episcopal sees were founded at Havelberg in 946, at

Altenburg or Oldenburg in 948, at Meissen, Merseburg, and Zeitz in 968,

and in the last year an archiepiscopal see was founded at Magdeburg.

Boso, a monk from St. Emmeran, at Regensburg, who first had translated

the formulas of the liturgy into the language of the natives, became

bishop of Merseburg, and Adalbert, who first had preached Christianity

in the island of R�gen, became archbishop.

But again the Christian church was used as a means for political

purposes, and, in the reign of Otto II., a fearful rising took place

among the Wends under the leadership of Prince Mistiwoi. He had become

a Christian himself; but, indignant at the suppression which was

practiced in the name of the Christian religion, he returned to

heathenism, assembled the tribes at Rethre, one of the chief centres of

Wendish heathendom, and began, in 983, a war which spread devastation

all over Northern Germany. The churches and monasteries were burnt, and

the Christian priests were expelled. Afterwards Mistiwoi was seized

with remorse, and tried to cure the evil he had done in an outburst of

passion. But then his subjects abandoned him; he left the country, and

spent the last days of his life in a Christian monastery at Bardewick.

His grandson, Gottschalk, whose Slavic name is unknown, was educated in

the Christian faith in the monastery of St. Michael., near L�neburg;

but when he heard that his father, Uto, had been murdered, 1032, the

old heathen instincts of revenge at once awakened within him. He left

the monastery, abandoned Christianity, and raised a storm of

persecution against the Christians, which swept over all Brandenburg,

Mecklenburg, and Holstein. Defeated and taken prisoner by Bernard of

Lower Saxony, he returned to Christianity; lived afterwards at the

court of Canute the Great in Denmark and England; married a Danish

princess, and was made ruler of the Obotrites. A great warrior, he

conquered Holstein and Pommerania, and formed a powerful Wendish

empire; and on this solid political foundation, he attempted, with

considerable success, to build up the Christian church. The old

bishoprics were re-established, and new ones were founded at Razzeburg

and Mecklenburg; monasteries were built at Leuzen, Oldenburg,

Razzeburg, L�beck, and Mecklenburg; missionaries were provided by

Adalbert, archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen; the liturgy was translated into

the native tongue, and revenues were raised for the support of the

clergy, the churches, and the service.

But, as might have been expected, the deeper Christianity penetrated

into the mass of the people, the fiercer became the resistance of the

heathen. Gottschalk was murdered at Lentz, June 7, 1066, together with

his old teacher, Abbot Uppo, and a general rising now took place. The

churches and schools were destroyed; the priests and monks were stoned

or killed as sacrifices on the heathen altars; and Christianity, was

literally swept out of the country. It took several decades before a

new beginning could be made, and the final Christianization of the

Wends was not achieved until the middle of the twelfth century.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 34. Cyrillus and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs.

Christianization of Moravia, Bohemia and Poland.

F. M. Pelzel et J. Dobrowsky: Rerrum Bohemic. Scriptores. Prague.

Friese: Kirchengeschichte d. Konigreichs Polen. Breslau, 1786.

Franz. Palacky: Geschichte von B�hmen. Prague, 3d ed., 1864 sqq., 5

vols. (down to 1520).

Wattenbach: Geschichte d. christl. Kirche in B�hmen und M�hren. Wien,

1849.

A. Friud: Die Kirchengesch. B�hmens. Prague, 1863 sqq.

Biographies of Cyrillus and Methodius, by J. Dobrowsky (Prague, 1823,

and 1826); J. A. Ginzel (Geschichte der Slawenapostel und der

Slawischen Liturgie. Leitmeritz, 1857); Philaret (in the Russian,

German translation, Mitau, 1847); J. E. Biley (Prague, 1863); D�mmler

and F. Milkosisch (Wien, 1870).

The Moravian Slavs were subjugated by Charlemagne, and the bishop of

Passau was charged with the establishment of a Christian mission among

them. Moymir, their chief, was converted and bishoprics were founded at

Olm�tz and Nitra. But Lewis the German suspected Moymir of striving

after independence and supplanted him by Rastislaw or Radislaw.

Rastislaw, however, accomplished what Moymir had only been suspected

of. He formed an independent Moravian kingdom and defeated Lewis the

German, and with the political he also broke the ecclesiastical

connections with Germany, requesting the Byzantine emperor, Michael

III., to send him some Greek missionaries.

Cyrillus and Methodius became the apostles of the Slavs. Cyrillus,

whose original name was Constantinus, was born at Thessalonica, in the

first half of the ninth century, and studied philosophy in

Constantinople, whence his by-name: the philosopher. Afterwards he

devoted himself to the study of theology, and went to live, together

with his brother Methodius, in a monastery. A strong ascetic, he became

a zealous missionary. In 860 he visited the Chazares, a Tartar tribe

settled on the North-Eastern shore of the Black Sea, and planted a

Christian church there. He afterward labored among the Bulgarians and

finally went, in company with his brother, to Moravia, on the

invitation of Rastislaw, in 863.

Cyrillus understood the Slavic language, and succeeded in making it

available for literary purposes by inventing a suitable alphabet. He

used Greek letters, with some Armenian and Hebrew, and some original

letters. His Slavonic alphabet is still used with alterations in

Russia, Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Servia. He translated the

liturgy and the pericopes into Slavic, and his ability to preach and

celebrate service in the native language soon brought hundreds of

converts into his fold. A national Slavic church rapidly arose; the

German priests with the Latin liturgy left the country. It corresponded

well with the political plans of Rastislaw, to have a church

establishment entirely independent of the German prelates, but in the

difference which now developed between the Eastern and Western

churches, it was quite natural for the young Slavic church to connect

itself with Rome and not with Constantinople, partly because Cyrillus

always had shown a kind of partiality to Rome, partly because the

prudence and discrimination with which Pope Nicholas I. recently had

interfered in the Bulgarian church, must have made a good impression.

In 868 Cyrillus and Methodius went to Rome, and a perfect agreement was

arrived at between them and Pope Adrian II., both with respect to the

use of the Slavic language in religious service and with respect to the

independent position of the Slavic church, subject only to the

authority of the Pope. Cyrillus died in Rome, Feb. 14, 869, but

Methodius returned to Moravia, having been consecrated archbishop of

the Pannonian diocese.

The organization of this new diocese of Pannonia was, to some extent,

an encroachment on the dioceses of Passau and Salzburg, and such an

encroachment must have been so much the more irritating to the German

prelates, as they really had been the first to sow the seed of

Christianity among the Slavs. The growing difference between the

Eastern and Western churches also had its effect. The German clergy

considered the use of the Slavic language in the mass an unwarranted

innovation, and the Greek doctrine of the single procession of the Holy

Spirit, still adhered to by Methodius and the Slavic church, they

considered as a heresy. Their attacks, however, had at first no

practical consequences, but when Rastislaw was succeeded in 870 by

Swatopluk, and Adrian II. in 872 by John VIII., the position of

Methodius became difficult. Once more, in 879, he was summoned to Rome,

and although, this time too, a perfect agreement was arrived at, by

which the independence of the Slavic church was confirmed, and all her

natural peculiarities were acknowledged, neither the energy of

Methodius, nor the support of the Pope was able to defend her against

the attacks which now were made upon her both from without and from

within. Swatopluk inclined towards the German-Roman views, and Wichin

one of Methodius's bishops, became their powerful champion.

After the death of Swatopluk, the Moravian kingdom fell to pieces and

was divided between the Germans, the Czechs of Bohemia, and the Magyars

of Hungary; and thereby the Slavic church lost, so to speak, its very

foundation. Methodius died between 881 and 910. At the opening of the

tenth century the Slavic church had entirely lost its national

character. The Slavic priests were expelled and the Slavic liturgy

abolished, German priests and the Latin liturgy taking their place. The

expelled priests fled to Bulgaria, whither they brought the Slavic

translations of the Bible and the liturgy.

Neither Charlemagne nor Lewis the Pious succeeded in subjugating

Bohemia, and although the country was added to the diocese of

Regensburg, the inhabitants remained pagans. But when Bohemia became a

dependency of the Moravian empire and Swatopluk married a daughter of

the Bohemian duke, Borziwai, a door was opened to Christianity.

Borziwai and his wife, Ludmilla, were baptized, and their children were

educated in the Christian faith. Nevertheless, when Wratislav,

Borziwai's son and successor, died in 925, a violent reaction took

place. He left two sons, Wenzeslav and Boleslav, who were placed under

the tutelage of their grandmother, Ludmilla. But their mother,

Drahomira, was an inveterate heathen, and she caused the murder first

of Ludmilla, and then of Wenzeslav, 938. Boleslav, surnamed the Cruel,

had his mother's nature and also her faith, and he almost succeeded in

sweeping Christianity out of Bohemia. But in 950 he was utterly

defeated by the emperor, Otto I., and compelled not only to admit the

Christian priests into the country, but also to rebuild the churches

which had been destroyed, and this misfortune seems actually to have

changed his mind. He now became, if not friendly, at least forbearing

to his Christian subjects, and, during the reign of his son and

successor, Boleslav the Mild, the Christian Church progressed so far in

Bohemia that an independent archbishopric was founded in Prague. The

mass of the people, however, still remained barbarous, and heathenish

customs and ideas lingered among them for more than a century.

Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, from 983 to 997, [131] preached against

polygamy, the trade in Christian slaves, chiefly carried on by the

Jews, but in vain. Twice he left his see, disgusted and discouraged;

finally he was martyred by the Prussian Wends. Not until 1038

archbishop Severus succeeded in enforcing laws concerning marriage, the

celebration of the Lord's Day, and other points of Christian morals.

About the contest between the Romano-Slavic and the Romano-Germanic

churches in Bohemia, nothing is known. Legend tells that Methodius

himself baptized Borziwai and Ludmilla, and the first missionary, work

was, no doubt, done by Slavic priests, but at the time of Adalbert the

Germanic tendency was prevailing.

Also among the Poles the Gospel was first preached by Slavic

missionaries, and Cyrillus and Methodius are celebrated in the Polish

liturgy [132] as the apostles of the country. As the Moravian empire

under Rastislaw comprised vast regions which afterward belonged to the

kingdom of Poland, it is only natural that the movement started by

Cyrillus and Methodius should have reached also these regions, and the

name of at least one Slavic missionary among the Poles, Wiznach, is

known to history.

After the breaking up of the Moravian kingdom, Moravian nobles and

priests sought refuge in Poland, and during the reign of duke Semovit

Christianity had become so powerful among the Poles, that it began to

excite the jealousy of the pagans, and a violent contest took place. By

the marriage between Duke Mieczyslav and the Bohemian princess

Dombrowka, a sister of Boleslav the Mild, the influence of Christianity

became still stronger. Dombrowka brought a number of Bohemian priests

with her to Poland, 965, and in the following year Mieczyslav himself

was converted and baptized. With characteristic arrogance he simply

demanded that all his subjects should follow his example, and the pagan

idols were now burnt or thrown into the river, pagan sacrifices were

forbidden and severely punished, and Christian churches were built. So

far the introduction of Christianity among the Poles was entirely due

to Slavic influences, but at this time the close political connection

between Duke Mieczyslav and Otto I. opened the way for a powerful

German influence. Mieczyslav borrowed the whole organization of the

Polish church from Germany. It was on the advice of Otto I. that he

founded the first Polish bishopric at Posen and placed it under the

authority of the archbishop of Magdeburg. German priests, representing

Roman doctrines and rites, and using the Latin language, began to work

beside the Slavic priests who represented Greek doctrines and rites and

used the native language, and when finally the Polish church was placed

wholly under the authority of Rome, this was not due to any spontaneous

movement within the church itself, such as Polish chroniclers like to

represent it, but to the influence of the German emperor and the German

church. Under Mieczyslav's son, Boleslav Chrobry, the first king of

Poland and one of the most brilliant heroes of Polish history, Poland,

although christianized only on the surface, became itself the basis for

missionary labor among other Slavic tribes.

It was Boleslav who sent Adalbert of Prague among the Wends, and when

Adalbert here was pitifully martyred, Boleslav ransomed his remains,

had them buried at Gnesen (whence they afterwards were carried to

Prague), and founded here an archiepiscopal see, around which the

Polish church was finally consolidated. The Christian mission, however,

was in the hands of Boleslav, just as it often had been in the hands of

the German emperors, and sometimes even in the hands of the Pope

himself, nothing but a political weapon. The mass of the population of

his own realm was still pagan in their very hearts. Annually the Poles

assembled on the day on which their idols had been thrown into the

rivers or burnt, and celebrated the memory of their gods by dismal

dirges, [133] and the simplest rules of Christian morals could be

enforced only by the application of the most barbarous punishments.

Yea, under the political disturbances which occurred after the death of

Mieczyslav II., 1034, a general outburst of heathenism took place

throughout the Polish kingdom, and it took a long time before it was

fully put down.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[131] Passio S. Adalberti, in Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum I., and Vita

S. Adalberti in Monumenta German. IV.

[132] Missale proprium regum Poloniae, Venet. 1629; Officia propria

patronorum regni Poloniae, Antwerp, 1627.

[133] Grimm: Deutsche Mythologie, II. 733.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 35. The Conversion of the Bulgarians.

Constantinus Porphyrogenitus: Life of Basilius Macedo, in Hist. Byzant.

Continuatores post Theophanem. Greek and Latin, Paris, 1685.

Photii Epistola, ed. Richard. Montacutius. London, 1647.

Nicholas I.: Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum, in Mansi: Coll. Concil.,

Tom. XV., pp. 401-434; and in Harduin: Coll. Concil., V., pp. 353-386.

A. Pichler: Geschichte der kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und

Occident. M�nchen, 1864, I., pp. 192 sqq.

Comp. the biographies of Cyrillus and Methodius, mentioned in � 34.

The Bulgarians were of Turanian descent, but, having lived for

centuries among Slavic nations, they had adopted Slavic language,

religion, customs and habits. Occupying the plains between the Danube

and the Balkan range, they made frequent inroads into the territory of

the Byzantine empire. In 813 they conquered Adrianople and carried a

number of Christians, among whom was the bishop himself, as prisoners

to Bulgaria. Here these Christian prisoners formed a congregation and

began to labor for the conversion of their captors, though not with any

great success, as it would seem, since the bishop was martyred. But in

861 a sister of the Bulgarian prince, Bogoris, who had been carried as

a prisoner to Constantinople, and educated there in the Christian

faith, returned to her native country, and her exertions for the

conversion of her brother at last succeeded.

Methodius was sent to her aid, and a picture he painted of the last

judgment is said to have made an overwhelming impression on Bogoris,

and determined him to embrace Christianity. He was baptized in 863, and

entered immediately in correspondence with Photius, the patriarch of

Constantinople. His baptism, however, occasioned a revolt among his

subjects, and the horrible punishment, which he inflicted upon the

rebels, shows how little as yet he had understood the teachings of

Christianity.

Meanwhile Greek missionaries, mostly monks, had entered the country,

but they were intriguing, arrogant, and produced nothing but confusion

among the people. In 865 Bogoris addressed himself to Pope Nicolas I.,

asking for Roman missionaries, and laying before the Pope one hundred

and six questions concerning Christian doctrines, morals and ritual,

which he wished to have answered. The Pope sent two bishops to

Bulgaria, and gave Bogoris very elaborate and sensible answers to his

questions.

Nevertheless, the Roman mission did not succeed either. The Bulgarians

disliked to submit to any foreign authority. They desired the

establishment of an independent national church, but this was not to be

gained either from Rome or from Constantinople. Finally the Byzantine

emperor, Basilius Macedo, succeeded in establishing Greek bishops and a

Greek archbishop in the country, and thus the Bulgarian church came

under the authority of the patriarch of Constantinople, but its history

up to this very day has been a continuous struggle against this

authority. The church is now ruled by a Holy Synod, with an independent

exarch.

Fearful atrocities of the Turks against the Christians gave rise to the

Russo-Turkish war in 1877, and resulted in the independence of

Bulgaria, which by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 was constituted into

"an autonomous and tributary principality, under the suzerainty of the

Sultan," but with a Christian government and a national militia.

Religious proselytism is prohibited, and religious school-books must be

previously examined by the Holy Synod. But Protestant missionaries are

at work among the people, and practically enjoy full liberty.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 36. The Conversion of the Magyars.

Joh. de Thwrocz: Chronica Hungarorum, in Schwandtner: Scriptores Rerum

Hungaricarum, I. Vienna, 1746-8.

Vita S. Stephani, in Act. Sanctor. September.

Vita S. Adalberti, in Monument. German. IV.

Horvath: History of Hungary. Pest, 1842-46.

Aug. Theiner: Monumenta vetera historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia.

Rom., 1859, 1860, 2 Tom. fol.

The Magyars, belonging to the Turanian family of nations, and allied to

the Finns and the Turks, penetrated into Europe in the ninth century,

and settled, in 884, in the plains between the Bug and the Sereth, near

the mouth of the Danube. On the instigation of the Byzantine emperor,

Leo the Wise, they attacked the Bulgarians, and completely defeated

them. The military renown they thus acquired gave them a new

opportunity. The Frankish king Arnulf invoked their aid against

Swatopluk, the ruler of the Moravian empire. Swatopluk, too, was

defeated, and his realm was divided between the victors. The Magyars,

retracing their steps across the Carpathian range, settled in the

plains around the Theiss and the Danube, the country which their

forefathers, the Huns, once had ruled over, the, present Hungary. They

were a wild and fierce race, worshipping one supreme god under the

guise of various natural phenomena: the sky, the river, etc. They had

no temples and no priesthood, and their sacrifices consisted of animals

only, mostly horses. But the oath was kept sacred among them, and their

marriages were monogamous, and inaugurated with religious rites.

The first acquaintance with Christianity the Magyars made through their

connections with the Byzantine court, without any further consequences.

But after settling in Hungary, where they were surrounded on all sides

by Christian nations, they were compelled, in 950, by the emperor, Otto

I., to allow the bishop of Passau to send missionaries into their

country; and various circumstances contributed to make this mission a

rapid and complete success. Their prince, Geyza, had married a daughter

of the Transylvanian prince, Gyula, and this princess, Savolta, had

been educated in the Christian faith. Thus Geyza felt friendly towards

the Christians; and as soon as this became known, Christianity broke

forth from the mass of the population like flowers from the earth when

spring has come. The people which the Magyars had subdued when settling

in Hungary, and the captives whom they had carried along with them from

Bulgaria and Moravia, were Christians. Hitherto these Christians had

concealed their religion from fear of their rulers, and their children

had been baptized clandestinely; but now they assembled in great

multitudes around the missionaries, and the entrance of Christianity

into Hungary looked like a triumphal march. [134]

Political disturbances afterwards interrupted this progress, but only

for a short time. Adalbert of Prague visited the country, and made a

great impression. He baptized Geyza's son, Voik, born in 961, and gave

him the name of Stephanus, 994. Adalbert's pupil, Rodla, remained for a

longer period in the country, and was held in so high esteem by the

people, that they afterwards would not let him go. When Stephanus

ascended the throne in 997, he determined at once to establish

Christianity as the sole religion of his realm, and ordered that all

Magyars should be baptized, and that all Christian slaves should be set

free. This, however, caused a rising of the pagan party under the head

of Kuppa, a relative of Stephanus; but Kuppa was defeated at Veszprim,

and the order had to be obeyed.

Stephanus' marriage with Gisela, a relative of the emperor, Otto III.,

brought him in still closer contact with the German empire, and he,

like Mieczyslav of Poland, borrowed the whole ecclesiastical

organization from the German church. Ten bishoprics were formed, and

placed under the authority of the archbishop of Gran on the Danube

(which is still the seat of the primate of Hungary); churches were

built, schools and monasteries were founded, and rich revenues were

procured for their support; the clergy was declared the first order in

rank, and the Latin language was made the official language not only in

ecclesiastical, but also in secular matters. As a reward for his zeal,

Stephanus was presented by Pope Silvester II. with a golden crown, and,

in the year 1000, he was solemnly crowned king by the archbishop of

Gran, while a papal bull conferred on him the title of "His Apostolic

Majesty." And, indeed, Stephanus was the apostle of the Magyars. As

most of the priests and monks, called from Germany, did not understand

the language of the people, the king himself travelled about from town

to town, preached, prayed, and exhorted all to keep the Lord's Day, the

fast, and other Christian duties. Nevertheless, it took a long time

before Christianity really took hold of the Magyars, chiefly on account

of the deep gulf created between the priests and their flocks, partly

by the difference of language, partly by the exceptional position which

Stephanus had given the clergy in the community, and which the clergy

soon learned to utilize for selfish purposes. Twice during the eleventh

century there occurred heavy relapses into paganism; in 1045, under

King Andreas, and in 1060, under King Bela.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[134] See the letter from Bishop Pilgrin of Passau to Pope Benedict VI.

in Mansi, Concil. I.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 37. The Christianization of Russia.

Nestor (monk of Kieff, the oldest Russian annalist, d. 1116): Annales,

or Chronicon (from the building of the Babylonian tower to 1093).

Continued by Niphontes (Nifon) from 1116-1157, and by others to 1676.

Complete ed. in Russ by Pogodin, 1841, and with a Latin version and

glossary by Fr. Miklosisch, Vindobon, 1860. German translation by

Schl�zer, G�ttingen, 1802-'9, 5 vols. (incomplete).

J. G. Stritter: Memoriae Populorum olim ad Danubium, etc., incolentium

ex Byzant. Script. Petropoli, 1771. 4 vols. A collection of the

Byzantine sources.

N. M. Karamsin: History of Russia, 12 vols. St. Petersburg, 1816-29,

translated into German and French.

Ph. Strahl: Beitr�ge zur russ. Kirchen-Geschichte (vol. I.). Halle,

1827; and Geschichte d. russ Kirche (vol. I.). Halle, 1830

(incomplete).

A. N. Mouravieff (late chamberlain to the Czar and Under-Procurator of

the Most Holy Synod): A History of the Church of Russia (to the

founding of the Holy Synod in 1721). St. Petersburg, 1840, translated

into English by Rev. R. W. Blackmore. Oxford, 1862.

A. P. Stanley: Lectures on the Eastern Church. Lec. IX.-XII. London,

1862.

L. Boissard: L'�glise de Bussie. Paris, 1867, 2 vols.

The legend traces Christianity in Russia back to the Apostle St.

Andrew, who is especially revered by the Russians. Mouravieff commences

his history of the Russian church with these words: "The Russian

church, like the other Orthodox churches of the East, had an apostle

for its founder. St. Andrew, the first called of the Twelve, hailed

with his blessing long beforehand the destined introduction of

Christianity into our country. Ascending up and penetrating by the

Dniepr into the deserts of Scythia, he planted the first cross on the

hills of Kieff, and 'See you,' said he to his disciples, 'those hills?

On those hills shall shine the light of divine grace. There shall be

here a great city, and God shall have in it many churches to His name.'

Such are the words of the holy Nestor that point from whence Christian

Russia has sprung."

This tradition is an expansion of the report that Andrew labored and

died a martyr in Scythia, [135] and nothing more.

In the ninth century the Russian tribes, inhabiting the Eastern part of

Europe, were gathered together under the rule of Ruric, a Varangian

prince, [136] who from the coasts of the Baltic penetrated into the

centre of the present Russia, and was voluntarily accepted, if not

actually chosen by the tribes as their chief. He is regarded as the

founder of the Russian empire, a.d. 862, which in 1862 celebrated its

millennial anniversary. About the same time or a little later the

Russians became somewhat acquainted with Christianity through their

connections with the Byzantine empire. The Eastern church, however,

never developed any great missionary activity, and when Photius, the

patriarch of Constantinople, in his circular letter against the Roman

see, speaks of the Russians as already converted at his time (867), a

few years after the founding of the empire, he certainly exaggerates.

When, in 945, peace was concluded between the Russian grand-duke, Igor,

and the Byzantine emperor, some of the Russian soldiers took the oath

in the name of Christ, but by far the greatest number swore by Perun,

the old Russian god. In Kieff, on the Dniepr, the capital of the

Russian realm, there was at that time a Christian church, dedicated to

Elijah, and in 955 the grand-duchess, Olga, went to Constantinople and

was baptized. She did not succeed, however, in persuading her son,

Svatoslav, to embrace the Christian faith.

The progress of Christianity among the Russians was slow until the

grand-duke Vladimir (980-1015), a grandson of Olga, and revered as

Isapostolos ("Equal to an Apostle") with one sweep established it as

the religion of the country. The narrative of this event by Nestor is

very dramatic. Envoys from the Greek and the Roman churches, from the

Mohammedans and the Jews (settled among the Chazares) came to Vladimir

to persuade him to leave his old gods. He hesitated and did not know

which of the new religions he should choose. Finally he determined to

send wise men from among his own people to the various places to

investigate the matter. The envoys were so powerfully impressed by a

picture of the last judgment and by the service in the church of St.

Sophia in Constantinople, that the question at once was settled in

favor of the religion of the Byzantine court.

Vladimir, however, would not introduce it without compensation. He was

staying at Cherson in the Crimea, which he had just taken and sacked,

and thence he sent word to the emperor Basil, that he had determined

either to adopt Christianity and receive the emperor's sister, Anne, in

marriage, or to go to Constantinople and do to that city as he had done

to Cherson. He married Anne, and was baptized on the day of his

wedding, a.d. 988.

As soon as he was baptized preparations were made for the baptism of

his people. The wooden image of Perun was dragged at a horse's tail

through the country, soundly flogged by all passers-by, and finally

thrown into the Dniepr. Next, at a given hour, all the people of Kieff,

men, women and children, descended into the river, while the grand Duke

kneeled, and the Christian priests read the prayers from the top of the

cliffs on the shore. Nestor, the Russian monk and annalist, thus

describes the scene: "Some stood in the water up to their necks, others

up to their breasts, holding their young children in their arms; the

priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies

by the same name. It was a sight wonderfully curious and beautiful to

behold; and when the people were baptized each returned to his own

home."

Thus the Russian nation was converted in wholesale style to

Christianity by despotic power. It is characteristic of the supreme

influence of the ruler and the slavish submission of the subjects in

that country. Nevertheless, at its first entrance in Russia,

Christianity penetrated deeper into the life of the people than it did

in any other country, without, however, bringing about a corresponding

thorough moral transformation. Only a comparatively short period

elapsed, before a complete union of the forms of religion and the

nationality took place. Every event in the history of the nation, yea,

every event in the life of the individual was looked upon from a

religious point of view, and referred to some distinctly religious

idea. The explanation of this striking phenomenon is due in part to

Cyrill's translation of the Bible into the Slavic language, which had

been driven out from Moravia and Bohemia by the Roman priests, and was

now brought from Bulgaria into Russia, where it took root. While the

Roman church always insisted upon the exclusive use of the Latin

translation of the Bible and the Latin language in divine service, the

Greek church always allowed the use of the vernacular. Under its

auspices there were produced translations into the Coptic, Syriac,

Armenian, and Slavic languages, and the effects of this principle were,

at least in Russia, most beneficial. During the reign of Vladimir's

successor, Jaroslaff, 1019-1054, not only were churches and monasteries

and schools built all over the country, but Greek theological books

were translated, and the Russian church had, at an early date, a

religious literature in the native tongue of the people. Jaroslaff, by

his celebrated code of laws, became the Justinian of Russia.

The Czars and people of Russia have ever since faithfully adhered to

the Oriental church which grew with the growth of the empire all along

the Northern line of two Continents. As in the West, so in Russia,

monasticism was the chief institution for the spread of Christianity

among heathen savages. Hilarion (afterwards Metropolitan), Anthony,

Theodosius, Sergius, Lazarus, are prominent names in the early history

of Russian monasticism.

The subsequent history of the Russian church is isolated from the main

current of histoy, and almost barren of events till the age of Nikon

and Peter the Great. At first she was dependent on the patriarch of

Constantinople. In 1325 Moscow was founded, and became, in the place of

Kieff, the Russian Rome, with a metropolitan, who after the fall of

Constantinople became independent (1461), and a century later was

raised to the dignity of one of the five patriarchs of the Eastern

Church (1587). But Peter the Great made the Northern city of his own

founding the ecclesiastical as well as the political metropolis, and

transferred the authority of the patriarchate of Moscow to the "Holy

Synod" (1721), which permanently resides in St. Petersburg and

constitutes the highest ecclesiastical judicatory of Russia under the

caesaropapal rule of the Czar, the most powerful rival of the Roman

Pope.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[135] Euseb. III. 1.

[136] The Varangians were a tribe of piratical Northmen who made the

Slavs and Finns tributary.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER III.

MOHAMMEDANISM IN ITS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.136

"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his apostle."--The Koran.

"There is one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ

Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all."--1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 38. Literature.

See A. Sprenger's Bibliotheca Orientalis Sprengeriana. Giessen, 1857.

W. Muir.: Life of Mahomet, Vol. I., ch. 1. Muir discusses especially

the value of Mohammedan traditions.

Ch. Friedrici: Bibliotheca Orientalis. London (Tr�bner & Co.) 1875 sqq.

I. Sources.

1. The Koran or AL-Koran. The chief source. The Mohammedan Bible,

claiming to be given by inspiration to Mohammed during the course of

twenty years. About twice as large as the New Testament. The best

Arabic MSS., often most beautifully written, are in the Mosques of

Cairo, Damascus, Constantinople, and Paris; the largest, collection in

the library of the Khedive in Cairo. Printed editions in Arabic by

Hinkelmann (Hamburg, 1694); Molla Osman Ismael (St. Petersburg, 1787

and 1803); G. Fl�gel (Leipz., 1834); revised by Redslob (1837, 1842,

1858). Arabice et Latine, ed. L. Maraccius, Patav., 1698, 2 vols., fol.

(Alcorani textus universus, with notes and refutation). A lithographed

edition of the Arabic text appeared at Lucknow in India, 1878 (A. H.

1296).

The standard English translations: in prose by Geo. Sale (first publ.,

Lond., 1734, also 1801, 1825, Philad., 1833, etc.), with a learned and

valuable preliminary discourse and notes; in the metre, but without the

rhyme, of the original by J. M. Rodwell (Lond., 1861, 2d ed. 1876, the

Suras arranged in chronological order). A new transl. in prose by E. H.

Palmer. (Oxford, 1880, 2 vols.) in M. M�ller's "Sacred Books of the

East." Parts are admirably translated by Edward W. Lane.

French translation by Savary, Paris, 1783, 2 vols.; enlarged edition by

Garcin de Tassy, 1829, in 3 vols.; another by M. Kasimirski, Paris,

1847, and 1873.

German translations by Wahl (Halle, 1828), L. Ullmann (Bielefeld, 1840,

4th ed. 1857), and parts by Hammer von Purgstall (in the Fundgruben des

Orients), and Sprenger (in Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad).

2. Secondary sources on the Life of Moh. and the origin of Isl�m are

the numerous poems of contemporaries, especially in Ibn Ish�c, and the

collections of the sayings of Moh., especially the Sahih (i.e. The

True, the Genuine) of Albuch�r� (d. 871). Also the early Commentaries

on the Koran, which explain difficult passages, reconcile the

contradictions, and insert traditional sayings and legends. See

Sprenger, III. CIV. sqq.

II. Works On The Koran.

Th. N�ldeke: Geschichte des Quor�ns, (History of the Koran), G�ttingen,

1860; and his art. in the "Encycl. Brit., 9th ed. XVI. 597-606.

Garcin de Tassy: L'Islamisme d'apr�s le Coran l'enseignement doctrinal

et la pratique, 3d ed. Paris, 1874.

Gustav Weil: Hist. kritische Einleitung in den Koran. Bielefeld und

Leipz., 1844, 2d ed., 1878.

Sir William Muir: The Cor�n. Its Composition and Teaching; and the

Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures. (Allahabad, 1860), 3d ed.,

Lond., 1878.

Sprenger, l.c., III., pp. xviii.-cxx.

III. Biographies of Mohammed.

1. Mohammedan biographers.

Zohri (the oldest, died after the Hegira 124).

Ibn Ish�c (or Ibni Ishak, d. A. H. 151, or a.d. 773), ed. in Arabic

from MSS. by W�stenfeld, G�tt., 1858-60, translated by Weil, Stuttg.,

1864.

Ibn (Ibni) Hish�m (d. A. H. 213, a.d. 835), also ed. by W�stenfeld, and

translated by Weil, 1864.

Katib Al Waquidi (or Wackedee, Wackidi, d. at Bagdad A. H. 207, a.d.

829), a man of prodigious learning, who collected the traditions, and

left six hundred chests of books (Sprenger, III., LXXI.), and his

secretary, Muhammad Ibn S�ad (d. A. H. 230, a.d. 852), who arranged,

abridged, and completed the biographical works of his master in twelve

or fifteen for. vols.; the first vol. contains the biography of Moh.,

and is preferred by Muir and Sprenger to all others. German transl. by

Wellhausen: Muhammed in Medina. From the Arabic of Vakidi. Berlin,

1882.

Tabari (or Tibree, d. A. H. 310, a.d. 932), called by Gibbon "the Livy

of the Arabians."

Muir says (I., CIII.): "To the three biographies by Ibn Hish�m, by

Wackidi, and his secretary, and by Tabari, the judicious historian of

Mahomet will, as his original authorities, confine himself. He will

also receive, with a similar respect, such traditions in the general

collections of the earliest traditionists--Bokh�ri, Muslim, Tirmidzi,

etc.,--as may bear upon his subject. But he will reject as evidence all

later authors." Abulfeda (or Abulfida, d. 1331), once considered the

chief authority, now set aside by much older sources.

\*Syed Ahmed Khan Bahador (member of the Royal Asiatic Society): A

Series of Essays on the Life of Mohammed. London (Tr�bner & Co.), 1870.

He wrote also a "Mohammedan Commentary on the Holy Bible." He begins

with the sentence: "In nomine Dei Misericordis Miseratoris. Of all the

innumerable wonders of the universe, the most marvellous is religion."

Syed Ameer Ali, Moulv� (a Mohammedan lawyer, and brother of the

former): A Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammed.

London 1873. A defense of Moh. chiefly drawn from Ibn-Hish�m (and

Ibn-al Ath�r (1160-1223).

2. Christian Biographies.

Dean Prideaux (d. 1724): Life of Mahomet, 1697, 7th ed. Lond., 1718.

Very unfavorable.

Count Boulinvilliers: The Life of Mahomet. Transl. from the French.

Lond., 1731.

Jean Gagnier (d. 1740): La vie de Mahomet, 1732, 2 vols., etc. Amsterd.

1748, 3 vols. Chiefly from Abulfeda and the Sonna. He also translated

Abulfeda.

\*Gibbon: Decline and Fall, etc. (1788), chs. 50-52. Although not an

Arabic scholar, Gibbon made the best use of the sources then accessible

in Latin, French, and English, and gives a brilliant and, upon the

whole, impartial picture.

\*Gustav Weil: Mohammed der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre.

Stuttgart, 1843. Comp. also his translation of Ibn Ish�c, and Ibn

Hish�m, Stuttgart, 1864, 2 vols.; and his Biblische Legenden der

Muselm�nner aus arabischen Quellen und mit j�d. Sagen verglichen.

Frcf., 1845. The last is also transl. into English.

Th. Carlyle: The Hero as Prophet, in his Heroes Hero- Worship and the

Heroic in History. London, 1840. A mere sketch, but full of genius and

stimulating hints. He says: "We have chosen Mahomet not as the most

eminent prophet, but as the one we are freest to speak of. He is by no

means the truest of prophets, but I esteem him a true one. Farther, as

there is no danger of our becoming, any of us, Mahometans, I mean to

say all the good of him I justly can. It is the way to get at his

secret."

Washington Irving: Mahomet and His Followers. N. Y., 1850. 2 vols.

George Bush: The Life of Mohammed. New York (Harpers).

\*SIR William MUIR (of the Bengal Civil Service): The Life of Mahomet.

With introductory chapters on the original sources for the biography of

Mahomet, and on the pre-Islamite history of Arabia. Lond., 1858-1861, 4

vols. Learned, able, and fair. Abridgement in 1 vol. Lond., 1877.

\*A. Sprenger: First an English biography printed at Allahabad, 1851,

and then a more complete one in German, Das Leben und die Lehre des

Mohammad. Nach bisher gr�sstentheils unbenutzten Quellen. Berlin,

1861-'65, 2d ed. 1869, 3 vols. This work is based on original and

Arabic sources, and long personal intercourse with Mohammedans in

India, but is not a well digested philosophical biography.

\*Theod. N�ldeke: Das Leben Muhammeds. Hanover, 1863. Comp. his

elaborate art. in Vol. XVIII. of Herzog's Real-Encycl., first ed.

E. Renan: Mahomet, et les origines de l'islamisme, in his "Etudes de

l'histoire relig.," 7th ed. Par., 1864.

Barth�lemy Saint-Hilaire: Mahomet et le Oran. Paris, 1865. Based on

Sprenger and Muir.

Ch. Scholl: L'Islam et son Fondateur. Paris, 1874.

R. Bosworth Smith (Assistant Master in Harrow School): Mohammed and

Mohammedanism. Lond. 1874, reprinted New York, 1875.

J. W. H. Stobart: Islam and its Founder. London, 1876.

J. Wellhausen: Art. Moh. in the "Encycl. Brit." 9th ed. vol. XVI.

545-565.

IV. History Of The Arabs And Turks.

Jos. von Hammer-Purgstall: Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches. Pesth,

1827-34, 10 vols. A smaller ed. in 4 vols. This standard work is the

result of thirty years' labor, and brings the history down to 1774. By

the same: Literaturgeschichte der Araber. Wien, 1850-'57, 7 vols.

\*G. Weil: Gesch. der Chalifen. Mannheim, 1846-5l, 3 vols.

\*Caussin de Perceval: Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes. Paris, 1848, 3

vols.

\*Edward A. Freeman (D. C. L., LL. D.): History and Conquests of the

Saracens. Lond., 1856, 3d ed. 1876.

Robert Durie Osborn (Major of the Bengal Staff Corps): Islam under the

Arabs. London., 1876; Islam under the Khalifs of Baghdad. London, 1877.

Sir Edward S. Creasy: History of the Ottoman Turks from the Beginning

of their Empire to the present Time. Lond., 2d ed. 1877. Chiefly

founded on von Hammer'

Th. N�ldeke: Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden.

Aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari �bersetzt. Leyden, 1879.

Sir Wm. Muir: Annals of the Early Caliphate. London 1883.

V. Manners And Customs Of The Mohammedans.

Joh. Ludwig Burckhardt: Travels in Nubia, 1819; Travels in Syria and

Palestine, 1823; Notes on the Bedouins, 1830.

\*Edw. W. Lane: Modern Egyptians. Lond., 1836, 5th ed. 1871, in 2 vols.

\*Rich. F. Burton: Personal narrative of a Pilgrimage to El Medinah and

Meccah, Lond. 1856, 3 vols.

C. B. Klunzinger: Upper Egypt: its People and its Products. A

descriptive Account of the Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and

Occupations of the People of the Nile Valley, the Desert, and the Red

Sea Coast. New York, 1878. A valuable supplement to Lane.

Books of Eastern Travel, especially on Egypt and Turkey. Bahrdt's

Travels in Central Africa (1857), Palgrave's Arabia (1867), etc.

VI. Relation Of Mohammedanism To Judaism.

\*Abraham Geiger: Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen? Bonn,

1833.

Hartwig Hirschfeld: J�dische Elemente im Koran. Berlin, 1878.

VII. Mohammedanism as a Religion, and its Relation to Christianity.

L. Maracci: Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani. Rom., 1691, 4 vols.

S. Lee: Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Mahometanism. 1824.

J. D�llingber (R.C.): Muhammed's Religion nach ihrer innern Entwicklung

u. ihrem Einfluss auf das Leben der V�lker. Regensb. 1838.

A. M�hler (R.C.): Das Verh�ltniss des Islam zum Christenthum (in his

"Gesammelte Schriften"). Regensb., 1839.

C. F. Gerock: Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran.

Hamburg and Gotha, 1839.

J. H. Newman (R.C.): The Turks in their relation to Europe (written in

1853), in his "Historical Sketches." London, 1872, pp. 1-237.

Dean Arthur P. Stanley: Mahometanism and its relations to the Eastern

Church (in Lectures on the "History of the Eastern Church." London and

New York, 1862, pp. 360-387). A picturesque sketch.

Dean Milman: History of Latin Christianity. Book IV., chs.1 and 2.

(Vol. II. p. 109).

Theod. N�ldeke: Art. Muhammed und der Islam, in Herzog's

"Real-Encyclop." Vol. XVIII. (1864), pp. 767-820.'

\*Eman. Deutsch: Islam, in his "Liter. Remains." Lond. and N. York,

1874, pp. 50-134. The article originally appeared in the London

"Quarterly Review" for Oct. 1869, and is also printed at the end of the

New York (Harper) ed. of R. Bosworth Smith's Mohammed. Reports of the

General Missionary Conference at Allahabad, 1873.

J. M�hleisen Arnold (formerly chaplain at Batavia): Islam: its History,

Character, and Relation to Christianity. Lond., 1874, 3d ed.

Gustav. R�sch: Die Jesusmythen des Islam, in the "Studien und

Kritiken." Gotha, 1876. (No. III. pp. 409-454).

Marcus Dods: Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ. Lond. 2d ed. 1878.

Ch. A. Aiken: Mohammedanism as a Missionary Religion. In the

"Bibliotheca Sacra," of Andover for 1879, p. 157.

Archbishop Trench: Lectures on Mediaeval Church History (Lect. IV.

45-58). London, 1877.

Henry H. Jessup (Amer. Presbyt. missionary at Beirut): The Mohammedan

Missionary Problem. Philadelphia, 1879.

Edouard Sayous: J�sus Christ d'apr�s Mahomet. Paris 1880.

G. P. Badger: Muh�mmed in Smith and Wace, III. 951-998.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 39. Statistics and Chronological Table.

Estimate of the Mohammedan Population (According to Keith Johnston).

In Asia, 112,739,000

In Africa, 50,416,000

In Europe, 5,974,000

Total, 169,129,000

Mohammedans Under Christian Governments.

England in India rules over 41,000,000

Russia in Central Asia rules over 6,000,000

France in Africa rules over 2,000,000

Holland in Java and Celebes rules over 1,000,000

Total, 50,000,000

a.d. Chronological Survey.

570. Birth of Mohammed, at Mecca.

610. Mohammed received the visions of Gabriel and began his career as a

prophet. (Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons).

622. The Hegira, or the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina.

Beginning of the Mohammedan era.

632. (June 8) Death of Mohammed at Medina.

632. Ab� Bekr, first Caliph or successor of Mohammed

636. Capture of Jerusalem by the Caliph Omar.

640. Capture of Alexandria by Omar.

711. Tharyk crosses the Straits from Africa to Europe, and calls the

mountain Jebel Tharyk (Gibraltar).

732. Battle of Poitiers and Tours; Abd-er-Rahman defeated by Charles

Martel; Western Europe saved from Moslem conquest.

786-809. Haroun al Rash�d, Caliph of Bagdad. Golden era of

Mohammedanism. Correspondence with Charlemagne).

1063. Allp Arslan, Seljukian Turkish prince.

1096. The First Crusade. Capture of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon.

1187. Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt and scourge of the Crusaders,

conquers at Tiberias and takes Jerusalem, (1187); is defeated by

Richard Coeur de Lion at Askelon, and dies 1193. Decline of the

Crusades.

1288-1326. Reign of Othman, founder of the Ottoman (Turkish) dynasty.

1453. Capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II., "the Conqueror," and

founder of the greatness of Turkey. (Exodus of Greek scholars to

Southern Europe; the Greek Testament brought to the West; the revival

of letters.)

1492. July 2. Boabdil (or Alien Abdallah) defeated by Ferdinand at

Granada; end of Moslem rule in Spain. (Discovery of' America by

Columbus).

1517. Ottoman Sultan Selim I. conquers Egypt, wrests the caliphate from

the Arab line of the Koreish through Motawekkel Billah, and transfers

it to the Ottoman Sultans; Ottoman caliphate never acknowledged by

Persian or Moorish Moslems. (The Reformation.)

1521-1566. Solyman II., "the Magnificent," marks the zenith of the

military power of the Turks; takes Belgrade (1521), defeats the

Hungarians (1526), but is repulsed from Vienna (1529 and 1532).

1571. Defeat of Selim II. at the naval battle of Lepanto by the

Christian powers under Don John of Austria. Beginning of the decline of

the Turkish power.

1683. Final repulse of the Turks at the gates of Vienna by John

Sobieski, king of Poland, 2Sept. 12; Eastern Europe saved from Moslem

rule.

1792. Peace at Jassy in Moldavia, which made the Dniester the frontier

between Russia and Turkey.

1827. Annihilation of the Turko-Egyptian fleet by, the combined

squadrons of England, France, and Russia, in the battle of Navarino,

October 20. Treaty of Adrianople, 1829. Independence of the kingdom of

Greece, 1832.

1856. End of Crimean War; Turkey saved by England and France aiding the

Sultan against the aggression of Russia; Treaty of Paris; European

agreement not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Turkey.

1878. Defeat of the Turks by Russia; but checked by the interference of

England under the lead of Lord Beaconsfield. Congress of the European

powers, and Treaty of Berlin; independence of Bulgaria secured;

Anglo-Turkish Treaty; England occupies Cyprus--agrees to defend the

frontier of Asiatic Turkey against Russia, on condition that the Sultan

execute fundamental reforms in Asiatic Turkey.

1880. Supplementary Conference at Berlin. Rectification and enlargement

of the boundary of Montenegro and Greece.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 40. Position of Mohammedanism in Church History.

While new races and countries in Northern and Western Europe, unknown

to the apostles, were added to the Christian Church, we behold in Asia

and Africa the opposite spectacle of the rise and progress of a rival

religion which is now acknowledged by more than one-tenth of the

inhabitants of the globe. It is called "Mohammedanism" from its

founder, or "Isl�m," from its chief virtue, which is absolute surrender

to the one true God. Like Christianity, it had its birth in the

Shemitic race, the parent of the three monotheistic religions, but in

an obscure and even desert district, and had a more rapid, though less

enduring success.

But what a difference in the means employed and the results reached!

Christianity made its conquest by peaceful missionaries and the power

of persuasion, and carried with it the blessings of home, freedom and

civilization. Mohammedanism conquered the fairest portions of the earth

by the sword and cursed them by polygamy, slavery, despotism and

desolation. The moving power of Christian missions was love to God and

man; the moving power of Isl�m was fanaticism and brute force.

Christianity has found a home among all nations and climes;

Mohammedanism, although it made a most vigorous effort to conquer the

world, is after all a religion of the desert, of the tent and the

caravan, and confined to nomad and savage or half-civilized nations,

chiefly Arabs, Persians, and Turks. It never made an impression on

Europe except by brute force; it is only encamped, not really

domesticated, in Constantinople, and when it must withdraw from Europe

it will leave no trace behind.

Isl�m in its conquering march took forcible possession of the lands of

the Bible, and the Greek church, seized the throne of Constantine,

overran Spain, crossed the Pyrenees, and for a long time threatened

even the church of Rome and the German empire, until it was finally

repulsed beneath the walls of Vienna. The Crusades which figure so

prominently in the history of mediaeval Christianity, originated in the

desire to wrest the holy land from the followers of "the false

prophet," and brought the East in contact with the West. The monarchy

and the church of Spain, with their architecture, chivalry, bigotry,

and inquisition, emerged from a fierce conflict with the Moors. Even

the Reformation in the sixteenth century was complicated with the

Turkish question, which occupied the attention of the diet of Augsburg

as much as the Confession of the Evangelical princes and divines.

Luther, in one of his most popular hymns, prays for deliverance from

"the murdering Pope and Turk," as the two chief enemies of the gospel

[137] ; and the Anglican Prayer Book, in the collect for Good Friday,

invokes God "to have mercy upon all Turks," as well as upon "Jews,

Infidels, and Heretics." [138]

The danger for Western Christendom from that quarter has long since

passed away; the "unspeakable" Turk has ceased to be unconquerable, but

the Asiatic and a part of the East European portion of the Greek church

are still subject to the despotic rule of the Sultan, whose throne in

Constantinople has been for more than four hundred years a standing

insult to Christendom.

Mohammedanism then figures as a hostile force, as a real Ishmaelite in

church history; it is the only formidable rival which Christianity ever

had, the only religion which for a while at least aspired to universal

empire.

And yet it is not hostile only. It has not been without beneficial

effect upon Western civilization. It aided in the development of

chivalry; it influenced Christian architecture; it stimulated the study

of mathematics, chemistry, medicine (as is indicated by the technical

terms: algebra, chemistry, alchemy); and the Arabic translations and

commentaries on Aristotle by the Spanish Moors laid the philosophical

foundation of scholasticism. Even the conquest of Constantinople by the

Turks brought an inestimable blessing to the West by driving Greek

scholars with the Greek Testament to Italy to inaugurate there the

revival of letters which prepared the way for the Protestant

Reformation.

Viewed in its relation to the Eastern Church which it robbed of the

fairest dominions, Mohammedanism was a well-deserved divine punishment

for the unfruitful speculations, bitter contentions, empty

ceremonialism and virtual idolatry which degraded and disgraced the

Christianity of the East after the fifth century. The essence of true

religion, love to God and to man, was eaten out by rancor and strife,

and there was left no power of ultimate resistance to the foreign

conqueror. The hatred between the orthodox Eastern church and the

Eastern schismatics driven from her communion, and the jealousy between

the Greek and Latin churches prevented them from aiding each other in

efforts to arrest the progress of the common foe. The Greeks detested

the Latin Filioque as a heresy more deadly than Isl�m; while the Latins

cared more for the supremacy of the Pope than the triumph of

Christianity, and set up during the Crusades a rival hierarchy in the

East. Even now Greek and Latin monks in Bethlehem and Jerusalem are apt

to fight at Christmas and Easter over the cradle and the grave of their

common Lord and Redeemer, unless Turkish soldiers keep them in order!

[139]

But viewed in relation to the heathenism from which it arose or which

it converted, Mahommedanism is a vast progress, and may ultimately be a

stepping-stone to Christianity, like the law of Moses which served as a

schoolmaster to lead men to the gospel. It has destroyed the power of

idolatry in Arabia and a large part of Asia and Africa, and raised

Tartars and Negroes from the rudest forms of superstition to the belief

and worship of the one true God, and to a certain degree of

civilization.

It should be mentioned, however, that, according to the testimony of

missionaries and African travelers, Mohammedanism has inflamed the

simple minded African tribes with the impure fire of fanaticism and

given them greater power of resistance to Christianity. Sir William

Muir, a very competent judge, thinks that Mohammedanism by the

poisoning influence of polygamy and slavery, and by crushing all

freedom of judgment in religion has interposed the most effectual

barrier against the reception of Christianity. "No system," he says,

"could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out

the nations over which it has sway, from the light of truth. Idolatrous

Arabs might have been aroused to spiritual life and to the adoption of

the faith of Jesus; Mahometan Arabia is, to the human eye, sealed

against the benign influences of the gospel .... The sword of Mahomet

and the Coran are the most fatal enemies of civilization, liberty, and

truth." [140]

This is no doubt true of the past. But we have not yet seen the end of

this historical problem. It is not impossible that Isl�m may yet prove

to be a necessary condition for the revival of a pure Scriptural

religion in the East. Protestant missionaries from England and America

enjoy greater liberty under the Mohammedan rule than they would under a

Greek or Russian government. The Mohammedan abhorrence of idolatry and

image worship, Mohammedan simplicity and temperance are points of

contact with the evangelical type of Christianity, which from the

extreme West has established flourishing missions in the most important

parts of Turkey. The Greek Church can do little or nothing with the

Mohammedans; if they are to be converted it must be done by a

Christianity which is free from all appearance of idolatry, more simple

in worship, and more vigorous in life than that which they have so

easily conquered and learned to despise. It is an encouraging fact that

Mohammedans have, great respect for the Anglo-Saxon race. They now

swear by the word of an Englishman as much as by the beard of Mohammed.

Isl�m is still a great religious power in the East. It rules supreme in

Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, Egypt, North Africa, and makes progress

among the savage tribes in the interior of the Dark Continent. It is by

no means simply, as Schlegel characterized the system, "a prophet

without miracles, a faith without mysteries, and a morality without

love." It has tenacity, aggressive vitality and intense enthusiasm.

Every traveller in the Orient must be struck with the power of its

simple monotheism upon its followers. A visit to the Moslem University

in the Mosque El Azhar at Cairo is very instructive. It dates from the

tenth century (975), and numbers (or numbered in 1877, when I visited

it) no less than ten thousand students who come from all parts of the

Mohammedan world and present the appearance of a huge Sunday School,

seated in small groups on the floor, studying the Koran as the

beginning and end of all wisdom, and then at the stated hours for

prayer rising to perform their devotions under the lead of their

teachers. They live in primitive simplicity, studying, eating and

sleeping on a blanket or straw mat in the same mosque, but the

expression of their faces betrays the fanatical devotion to their

creed. They support themselves, or are aided by the alms of the

faithful. The teachers (over three hundred) receive no salary and live

by private instruction or presents from rich scholars.

Nevertheless the power of Isl�m, like its symbol, the moon, is

disappearing before the sun of Christianity which is rising once more

over the Eastern horizon. Nearly one-third of its followers are under

Christian (mostly English) rule. It is essentially a politico-religious

system, and Turkey is its stronghold. The Sultan has long been a "sick

man," and owes his life to the forbearance and jealousy of the

Christian powers. Sooner or later he will be driven out of Europe, to

Brusa or Mecca. The colossal empire of Russia is the hereditary enemy

of Turkey, and would have destroyed her in the wars of 1854 and 1877,

if Catholic France and Protestant England had not come to her aid. In

the meantime the silent influences of European civilization and

Christian missions are undermining the foundations of Turkey, and

preparing the way for a religious, moral and social regeneration and

transformation of the East. "God's mills grind slowly, but surely and

wonderfully fine." A thousand years before Him are as one day, and one

day may do the work of a thousand years.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[137] "Erhalt uns,Herr, bei deinem Wort, Und steur' des Papst's und

T�rken Mord."

[138] The words "all Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics," were

inserted by the framers of the Prayer Book in the first edition (1547);

the rest of the collect is translated from the old Latin service. In

the middle ages the word "infidel" denoted a Mohammedan. The

Mohammedans in turn call Christians, Jews, and all other religionists,

"infidels" and "dogs."

[139] Archbishop Trench, l.c. p. 54: "We can regard Mohammedanism in no

other light than as a scourge of God upon a guilty church. He will not

give his glory to another. He will not suffer the Creator and the

creature to be confounded; and if those who should have been witnesses

for the truth, who had been appointed thereunto, forsake, forget, or

deny it, He will raise up witnesses from quarters the most unlooked

for, and will strengthen their hands and give victory to their arms

even against those who bear his name, but have forgotten his truth."

Similarly Dr. Jessup, l.c. p. 14: "The Mohammedan religion arose, in

the providence of God, as a scourge to the idolatrous Christianity, and

the pagan systems of Asia and Africa--a protest against polytheism, and

a preparation for the future conversion to a pure Christianity of the

multitude who have fallen under its extraordinary power." Carlyle calls

the creed of Mohammed "a kind of Christianity better than that of those

miserable Syrian Sects with the head full of worthless noise, the heart

empty and dead. The truth of it is imbedded in portentous error and

falsehood; but the truth makes it to be believed, not the falsehood: it

succeeded by its truth. A bastard kind of Christianity, but a living

kind; with a heart-life in it; not dead, chopping, barren logic

merely."

[140] Life of Mahomet, IV. 321, 322.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 41. The Home, and the Antecedents of Isl�m.

On the Aborigines of Arabia and its religious condition before Islam,

compare the preliminary discourse of Sale, Sect.1 and 2; Muir, Vol. I.

ch. 2d; Sprenger, I. 13-92, and Stobart, ch. 1.

The fatherland of Isl�m is Arabia, a peninsula between the Red Sea, the

Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. It is covered with sandy deserts,

barren hills, rock-bound coasts, fertile wadies, and rich pastures. It

is inhabited by nomadic tribes and traders who claim descent from five

patriarchal stocks, Cush, Shem, Ishmael, Keturah, and Esau. It was

divided by the ancients into Arabia Deserta, Arabia Petraea (the Sinai

district with Petra as the capital), and Arabia Felix (El-Yemen, i.e.

the land on the right hand, or of the South). Most of its rivers are

swelled by periodical rains and then lose themselves in the sandy

plains; few reach the ocean; none of them is navigable. It is a land of

grim deserts and strips of green verdure, of drought and barrenness,

violent rains, clear skies, tropical heat, date palms, aromatic herbs,

coffee, balsam, myrrh, frankincense, and dhurra (which takes the place

of grain). Its chief animals are the camel, "the ship of the desert,"

an excellent breed of horses, sheep, and goats. The desert, like the

ocean, is not without its grandeur. It creates the impression of

infinitude, it fosters silence and meditation on God and eternity. Man

is there alone with God. The Arabian desert gave birth to some of the

sublimest compositions, the ode of liberty by Miriam, the ninetieth

Psalm by Moses, the book of Job, which Carlyle calls "the grandest poem

written by the pen of man."

The Arabs love a roaming life, are simple and temperate, courteous,

respectful, hospitable, imaginative, fond of poetry and eloquence,

careless of human life, revengeful, sensual, and fanatical. Arabia,

protected by its deserts, was never properly conquered by a foreign

nation.

The religious capital of Isl�m, and the birthplace of its founder--its

Jerusalem and Rome--is Mecca (or Mekka), one of the oldest cities of

Arabia. It is situated sixty-five miles East of Jiddah on the Red Sea,

two hundred and forty-five miles South of Medina, in a narrow and

sterile valley and shut in by bare hills. It numbered in its days of

prosperity over one hundred thousand inhabitants, now only about

forty-five thousand. It stands under the immediate control of the

Sultan. The streets are broad, but unpaved, dusty in summer, muddy in

winter. The houses are built of brick or stone, three or four stories

high; the rooms better furnished than is usual in the East. They are a

chief source of revenue by being let to the pilgrims. There is scarcely

a garden or cultivated field in and around Mecca, and only here and

there a thorny acacia and stunted brushwood relieves the eye. The city

derives all its fruit--watermelons, dates, cucumbers, limes, grapes,

apricots, figs, almonds--from T�if and Wady Fatima, which during the

pilgrimage season send more than one hundred camels daily to the

capital. The inhabitants are indolent, though avaricious, and make

their living chiefly of the pilgrims who annually flock thither by

thousands and tens of thousands from all parts of the Mohammedan world.

None but Moslems are allowed to enter Mecca, but a few Christian

travellers--Ali Bey (the assumed name of the Spaniard, Domingo Badia y

Leblich, d. 1818), Burckhardt in 1814, Burton in 1852, Maltzan in 1862,

Keane in 1880--have visited it in Mussulman disguise, and at the risk

of their lives. To them we owe our knowledge of the place. [141]

The most holy place in Mecca is Al-Kaaba, a small oblong temple, so

called from its cubic form. [142] To it the faces of millions of

Moslems are devoutly turned in prayer five times a day. It is inclosed

by the great mosque, which corresponds in importance to the temple of

Solomon in Jerusalem and St. Peter's cathedral in Rome, and can hold

about thirty-five thousand persons. It is surrounded by colonnades,

chambers, domes and minarets. Near it is the bubbling well Zemzem, from

which Hagar and Ishmael are said to have quenched their burning thirst.

The Kaaba is much older than Mecca. Diodorus Siculus mentions it as the

oldest and most honored temple in his time. It is supposed to have been

first built by angels in the shape of a tent and to have been let down

from heaven; there Adam worshipped after his expulsion from Paradise;

Seth substituted a structure of clay and stone for a tent; after the

destruction by the deluge Abraham and Ishmael reconstructed it, and

their footsteps are shown. [143] It was entirely rebuilt in 1627. It

contains the famous Black Stone, [144] in the North-Eastern corner near

the door. This is probably a meteoric stone, or of volcanic origin, and

served originally as an altar. The Arabs believe that it fell from

Paradise with Adam, and was as white as milk, but turned black on

account of man's sins. [145] It is semi-circular in shape, measures

about six inches in height, and eight inches in breadth, is four or

five feet from the ground, of reddish black color, polished by

innumerable kisses (like the foot of the Peter-statue in St. Peter's at

Rome), encased in silver, and covered with black silk and inscriptions

from the Koran. It was an object of veneration from time immemorial,

and is still devoutly kissed or touched by the Moslem pilgrims on each

of their seven circuits around the temple. [146]

Mohammed subsequently cleared the Kaaba of all relics of idolatry, and

made it the place of pilgrimage for his followers. He invented or

revived the legend that Abraham by divine command sent his son Ishmael

with Hagar to Mecca to establish there the true worship and the pilgrim

festival. He says in the Koran: "God hath appointed the Kaaba, the

sacred house, to be a station for mankind," and, "Remember when we

appointed the sanctuary as man's resort and safe retreat, and said,

'Take ye the station of Abraham for a place of prayer.' And we

commanded Abraham and Ishmael, 'Purify my house for those who shall go

in procession round it, and those who shall bow down and prostrate

themselves.' " [147]

Arabia had at the time when Mohammed appeared, all the elements for a

wild, warlike, eclectic religion like the one which he established. It

was inhabited by heathen star-worshippers, Jews, and Christians.

The heathen were the ruling race, descended from Ishmael, the bastard

son of Abraham (Ibrahim), the real sons of the desert, full of animal

life and energy. They had their sanctuary in the Kaaba at Mecca, which

attracted annually large numbers of pilgrims long before Mohammed.

The Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem, were scattered in Arabia,

especially in the district of Medina, and exerted considerable

influence by their higher culture and rabbinical traditions.

The Christians belonged mostly to the various heretical sects which

were expelled from the Roman empire during the violent doctrinal

controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. We find there traces

of Arians, Sabellians, Ebionites, Nestorians, Eutychians, Monophysites,

Marianites, and Collyridians or worshippers of Mary. Anchorets and

monks settled in large numbers in Wady Feiran around Mount Serbal, and

Justinian laid the foundation of the Convent of St. Catharine at the

foot of Mount Sinai, which till the year 1859 harbored the oldest and

most complete uncial manuscript of the Greek Scriptures of both

Testaments from the age of Constantine. But it was a very superficial

and corrupt Christianity which had found a home in those desert

regions, where even the apostle Paul spent three years after his

conversion in silent preparation for his great mission.

These three races and religions, though deadly hostile to each other,

alike revered Abraham, the father of the faithful, as their common

ancestor. This fact might suggest to a great mind the idea to unite

them by a national religion monotheistic in principle and eclectic in

its character. This seems to have been the original project of the

founder of Isl�m.

It is made certain by recent research that there were at the time and

before the call of Mohammed a considerable number of inquirers at Mecca

and Medina, who had intercourse with Eastern Christians in Syria and

Abyssinia, were dissatisfied with the idolatry around them, and

inclined to monotheism, which they traced to Abraham. They called

themselves Hanyfs, i.e. Converts, Puritans. One of them, Omayah of

T�if, we know to have been under Christian influence; others seem to

have derived their monotheistic ideas from Judaism. Some of the early

converts of Mohammed as, Zayd (his favorite slave), Omayab, or Umaijah

(a popular poet), and Waraka (a cousin of Chadijah and a student of the

Holy Scriptures of the Jews and Christians) belonged to this sect, and

even Mohammed acknowledged himself at first a Hanyf. [148] Waraka, it

is said, believed in him, as long as he was a Hanyf, but then forsook

him, and died a Christian or a Jew. [149]

Mohammed consolidated and energized this reform-movement, and gave it a

world-wide significance, under the new name of Isl�m, i.e. resignation

to God; whence Moslem (or Muslim), one who resigns himself to God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[141] See Ali Bey's Travels in Asia and Africa, 1803-1807 (1814, 3

vols.); the works of Burckhardt, and Burton mentioned before; and Muir,

I. 1-9.

[142] The Cube-house or Square house, Maison carr�e. It is also called

Beit Ullah, (Beth-el), i.e. House of God. It is covered with cloth. See

a description in Burckhaxdt, Travels, Lond., 1829, p. 136, Burton II.

154, Sprenger II. 340, and Khan Ballador's Essay on the History of the

Holy Mecca (a part of the work above quoted). Burckhardt gives the

size: 18 paces long, 14 broad, 35 to 40 feet high. Burton: 22 paces (=

55 English feet) long, 18 paces (45 feet) broad.

[143] Baliador says, l.c.: "The most ancient and authentic of all the

local traditions of Arabia ... represent the temple of the Kaaba as

having been constructed in the 42d century a. m., or 19th century b.c.,

by Abraham, who was assisted in his work by his son Ishmael." He quotes

Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 18 in proof that Abraham raised "altars for God's

worship on every spot where he had adored Him." But the Bible nowhere

says that he ever was in Mecca.

[144] It is called in Arabic Hhajera el-Assou�d, the Heavenly Stone.

Muir II. 35.

[145] Bahador discredits this and other foolish traditions, and thinks

that the Black Stone was a Piece of rock from the neighboring Abba

Kobais mountain, and put in its present place by Ishmael at the desire

of Abraham.

[146] See pictures of the Kaaba and the Black Stone, in Bahador, and

also in Muir, II. 18, and description, II. 34 sqq.

[147] Rodwell's translation, pp. 446 and 648. Sprenger, II. 279,

regards the Moslem legend of the Abrahamic origin of the Kaaba worship

as a pure invention of Mohammed, of which there is no previous trace.

[148] Sprenger I. 45: "Die bisher unbekannt gebliebenen Hanyfen waren

die Vorl�ufer des Mohammad. Er nennt sich selbst einen Hanyf, und

w�hrend der ersten Periode seines Lehramtes hat er wenig anderes

gethan, als ihre Lehre best�tigt."

[149] According to Sprenger, I. 91 sqq., he died a Christian; but

Deutsch, l.c., p. 77, says: "Whatever Waraka was originally, he

certainly lived and died a Jew." He infers this from the fact that when

asked by Chadijah for his opinion concerning Mohammed's revelations, he

cried out: "Koddus! Koddus! (i.e., Kadosh, Holy). Verily this is the

Namus (i.e., nomos, Law) which came to Moses. He will be the prophet of

his people."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 42. Life and Character of Mohammed.

Mohammed, an unschooled, self-taught, semi-barbarous son of nature, of

noble birth, handsome person, imaginative, energetic, brave, the ideal

of a Bedouin chief, was destined to become the political and religious

reformer, the poet, prophet, priest, and king of Arabia.

He was born about a.d. 570 at Mecca, the only child of a young widow

named Amina. [150] His father Abdallah had died a few months before in

his twenty-fifth year on a mercantile journey in Medina, and left to

his orphan five camels, some sheep and a slave girl. [151] He belonged

to the heathen family of the H�shim, which was not wealthy, but claimed

lineal descent from Ishmael, and was connected with the Koreish or

Korashites, the leading tribe of the Arabs and the hereditary guardians

of the sacred Kaaba. [152] Tradition surrounds his advent in the world

with a halo of marvellous legends: he was born circumcised and with his

navel cut, with the seal of prophecy written on his back in letters of

light; he prostrated himself at once on the ground, and, raising his

hands, prayed for the pardon of his people; three persons, brilliant as

the sun, one holding a silver goblet, the second an emerald tray, the

third a silken towel, appeared from heaven, washed him seven times,

then blessed and saluted him as the "Prince of Mankind." He was nursed

by a healthy Bedouin woman of the desert. When a boy of four years he

was seized with something like a fit of epilepsy, which W�ckidi and

other historians transformed into a miraculous occurrence. He was often

subject to severe headaches and feverish convulsions, in which he fell

on the ground like a drunken man, and snored like a camel. [153] In his

sixth year he lost his mother on the return from Medina, whither she

had taken him on camel's back to 'visit the maternal relations of his

father, and was carried back to Mecca by his nurse, a faithful slave

girl. He was taken care of by his aged grandfather, Abd al Motkalib,

and after his death in 578 by his uncle Abu T�lib, who had two wives

and ten children, and, though poor and no believer in his nephew's

mission, generously protected him to the end.

He accompanied his uncle on a commercial journey to Syria, passing

through the desert, ruined cities of old, and Jewish and Christian

settlements, which must have made a deep impression on his youthful

imagination.

Mohammed made a scanty living as an attendant on caravans and by

watching sheep and goats. The latter is rather a disreputable

occupation among the Arabs, and left to unmarried women and slaves; but

he afterwards gloried in it by appealing to the example of Moses and

David, and said that God never calls a prophet who has not been a

shepherd before. According to tradition--for, owing to the strict

prohibition of images, we have no likeness of the prophet--he was of

medium size, rather slender, but broad-shouldered and of strong

muscles, had black eyes and hair, an oval-shaped face, white teeth, a

long nose, a patriarchal beard, and a commanding look. His step was

quick and firm. He wore white cotton stuff, but on festive occasions

fine linen striped or dyed in red. He did everything for himself; to

the last he mended his own clothes, and cobbled his sandals, and aided

his wives in sewing and cooking. He laughed and smiled often. He had a

most fertile imagination and a genius for poetry and religion, but no

learning. He was an "illiterate prophet," in this respect resembling

some of the prophets of Israel and the fishermen of Galilee. It is a

disputed question among Moslem and Christian scholars whether he could

even read and write. [154] Probably he could not. He dictated the Koran

from inspiration to his disciples and clerks. What knowledge he

possessed, he picked up on the way from intercourse with men, from

hearing books read, and especially from his travels.

In his twenty-fifth year he married a rich widow, Chadijah (or

Chad�dsha), who was fifteen years older than himself, and who had

previously hired him to carry on the mercantile business of her former

husband. Her father was opposed to the match; but she made and kept him

drunk until the ceremony was completed. He took charge of her caravans

with great success, and made several journeys. The marriage was happy

and fruitful of six children, two sons and four daughters; but all died

except little F�tima, who became the mother of innumerable legitimate

and illegitimate descendants of the prophet. He also adopted Al�, whose

close connection with him became so important in the history of Isl�m.

He was faithful to Chadijah, and held her in grateful remembrance after

her death. [155] He used to say, "Chadijah believed in me when nobody

else did." He married afterwards a number of wives, who caused him much

trouble and scandal. His favorite wife, Ayesha, was more jealous of the

dead Chadijah than any of her twelve or more living rivals, for he

constantly held up the toothless old woman as the model of a wife.

On his commercial journeys to Syria, he became acquainted with Jews and

Christians, and acquired an imperfect knowledge of their traditions. He

spent much of his time in retirement, prayer, fasting, and meditation.

He had violent convulsions and epileptic fits, which his enemies, and

at first he himself, traced to demoniacal possessions, but afterwards

to the overpowering presence of God. His soul was fired with the idea

of the divine unity, which became his ruling passion; and then he awoke

to the bold thought that he was a messenger of God, called to warn his

countrymen to escape the judgment and the damnation of hell by

forsaking idolatry and worshipping the only true God. His monotheistic

enthusiasm was disturbed, though not weakened, by his ignorance and his

imperfect sense of the difference between right and wrong.

In his fortieth year (a.d. 610), he received the call of Gabriel, the

archangel at the right hand of God, who announced the birth of the

Saviour to the Virgin Mary. The first revelation was made to him in a

trance in the wild solitude of Mount Hir�, an hour's walk from Mecca.

He was directed "to cry in the name of the Lord." He trembled, as if

something dreadful had happened to him, and hastened home to his wife,

who told him to rejoice, for he would be the prophet of his people. He

waited for other visions; but none came. He went up to Mount Hir�

again--this time to commit suicide. But as often as he approached the

precipice, he beheld Gabriel at the end of the horizon saying to him:

"I am Gabriel, and thou art Mohammed, the prophet of God. Fear not!" He

then commenced his career of a prophet and founder of a new religion,

which combined various elements of the three religious represented in

Arabia, but was animated and controlled by the faith in Allah, as an

almighty, ever-present and working will. From this time on, his life

was enacted before the eyes of the world, and is embodied in his deeds

and in the Koran.

The revelations continued from time to time for more than twenty years.

When asked how they were delivered to him, he replied (as reported by

Ayesha): "Sometimes like the sound of a bell--a kind of communication

which was very severe for me; and when the sounds ceased, I found

myself aware of the instructions. And sometimes the angel would come in

the form of a man, and converse with me, and all his words I

remembered."

After his call, Mohammed labored first for three years among his family

and friends, under great discouragements, making about forty converts,

of whom his wife Chadijah was the first, his father-in-law, Abu Bakr,

and the young, energetic Omar the most important. His daughter Fatima,

his adopted son Al�, and his slave Zayd likewise believed in his divine

mission. Then he publicly announced his determination to assume by

command of God the office of prophet and lawgiver, preached to the

pilgrims flocking to Mecca, attacked Meccan idolatry, reasoned with his

opponents, answered their demand for miracles by producing the Koran

"leaf by leaf," as occasion demanded, and provoked persecution and

civil commotion. He was forced in the year 622 to flee for his life

with his followers from Mecca to Medina (El-Medina an-Nab�, the City of

the Prophet), a distance of two hundred and fifty miles North, or ten

days' journey over the sands and rocks of the desert.

This flight or emigration, called H�gira or Hidshra, marks the

beginning of his wonderful success, and of the Mohammedan era (July 15,

622). He was recognized in Medina as prophet and lawgiver. At first he

proclaimed toleration: "Let there be no compulsion in religion;" but

afterwards he revealed the opposite principle that all unbelievers must

be summoned to Isl�m, tribute, or the sword. With an increasing army of

his enthusiastic followers, he took the field against his enemies,

gained in 624 his first victory over the Koreish with an army of 305

(mostly citizens of Medina) against a force twice as large, conquered

several Jewish and Christian tribes, ordered and watched in person the

massacre of six hundred Jews in one day, [156] while their wives and

children were sold into slavery (627), triumphantly entered Mecca

(630), demolished the three hundred and sixty idols of the Kaaba, and

became master of Arabia. The Koreish were overawed by his success, and

now shouted: "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." The

various tribes were melted into a nation, and their old hereditary

feuds changed into a common fanatical hatred of the infidels, as the

followers of all other religions were called. The last chapter of the

Koran commands the remorseless extermination of all idolaters in

Arabia, unless they submit within four months.

In the tenth year of the Hegira, the prophet made his last pilgrimage

to Mecca at the head of forty thousand Moslems, instructed them in all

important ordinances, and exhorted them to protect the weak, the poor,

and the women, and to abstain from usury. He planned a large campaign

against the Greeks.

But soon after his return to Medina, he died of a violent fever in the

house and the arms of Ayesha, June 8, 632, in the sixty-third year of

his age, and was buried on the spot where he died, which is now

enclosed by a mosque. He suffered great pain, cried and wailed, turned

on his couch in despair, and said to his wives when they expressed

their surprise at his conduct: "Do ye not know that prophets have to

suffer more than all others? One was eaten up by vermin; another died

so poor that he had nothing but rags to cover his shame; but their

reward will be all the greater in the life beyond." Among his last

utterances were: "The Lord destroy the Jews and Christians! Let his

anger be kindled against those that turn the tombs of their prophets

into places of worship! O Lord, let not my tomb be an object of

worship! Let there not remain any faith but that of Isl�m throughout

the whole of Arabia .... Gabriel, come close to me! Lord, grant me

pardon and join me to thy companionship on high! Eternity in paradise!

Pardon! Yes, the blessed companionship on high!" [157]

Omar would not believe that Mohammed was dead, and proclaimed in the

mosque of Medina: "The prophet has only swooned away; he shall not die

until he have rooted out every hypocrite and unbeliever." But Abu Bakr

silenced him and said: "Whosoever worships Mohammed, let him know that

Mohammed is dead; but whosoever worships God, let him know that the

Lord liveth, and will never die." Abu Bakr, whom he had loved most, was

chosen Calif, or Successor of Mohammed.

Later tradition, and even the earliest biography, ascribe to the

prophet of Mecca strange miracles, and surround his name with a

mythical halo of glory. He was saluted by walking trees and stones; he

often made by a simple touch the udders of dry goats distend with milk;

be caused floods of water to well up from the parched ground, or gush

forth from empty vessels, or issue from betwixt the fingers; he raised

the dead; he made a night journey on his steed Borak through the air

from Mecca to Jerusalem, from Jerusalem to paradise and the mansions of

the prophets and angels, and back again to Mecca. [158] But he himself,

in several passages of the Koran, expressly disclaims the power of

miracles; he appeals to the internal proofs of his doctrine, and

shields himself behind the providence of God, who refuses those signs

which might diminish the merit of faith and aggravate the guilt of

unbelief. [159]

Character of Mohammed.

The Koran, if chronologically arranged, must be regarded as the best

commentary on his character. While his followers regard him to this day

as the greatest prophet of God, he was long abhorred in Christendom as

a wicked impostor, as the antichrist, or the false prophet, predicted

in the Bible, and inspired by the father of lies.

The calmer judgment of recent historians inclines to the belief that he

combined the good and bad qualities of an Oriental chief, and that in

the earlier part of his life he was a sincere reformer and enthusiast,

but after the establishment of his kingdom a slave of ambition for

conquest. He was a better man in the period of his adversity and

persecution at Mecca, than during his prosperity and triumph at Medina.

History records many examples of characters rising from poverty and

obscurity to greatness, and then decaying under the sunshine of wealth

and power. He degenerated, like Solomon, but did not repent, like the

preacher of "vanity of vanities." He had a melancholic and nervous

temperament, liable to fantastic hallucinations and alternations of

high excitement and deep depression, bordering at times on despair and

suicide. The story of his early and frequent epileptic fits throws some

light on his revelations, during which he sometimes growled like a

camel, foamed at his mouth, and streamed with perspiration. He believed

in evil spirits, omens, charms, and dreams. His mind was neither clear

nor sharp, but strong and fervent, and under the influence of an

exuberant imagination. He was a poet of high order, and the Koran is

the first classic in Arabic literature. He believed himself to be a

prophet, irresistibly impelled by supernatural influence to teach and

warn his fellow-men. He started with the over-powering conviction of

the unity of God and a horror of idolatry, and wished to rescue his

countrymen from this sin of sins and from the terrors of the judgment

to come; but gradually he rose above the office of a national reformer

to that of the founder of a universal religion, which was to absorb the

other religions, and to be propagated by violence. It is difficult to

draw the line in such a character between honest zeal and selfish

ambition, the fear of God and the love of power and glory.

He despised a throne and a diadem, lived with his wives in a row of low

and homely cottages of unbaked bricks, and aided them in their

household duties; he was strictly temperate in eating and drinking, his

chief diet being dates and water; he was not ashamed to milk his goats,

to mend his clothes and to cobble his shoes; his personal property at

his death amounted to some confiscated lands, fourteen or fifteen

slaves, a few camels and mules, a hundred sheep, and a rooster. This

simplicity of a Bedouin Sheikh of the desert contrasts most favorably

with the luxurious style and gorgeous display of Mohammed's successors,

the Califs and Sultans, who have dozens of palaces and harems filled

with eunuchs and women that know nothing beyond the vanities of dress

and etiquette and a little music. He was easy of access to visitors who

approached him with faith and reverence; patient, generous, and

(according to Ayesha) as modest and bashful "as a veiled virgin." But

towards his enemies he was cruel and revengeful. He did not shrink from

perfidy. He believed in the use of the sword as the best missionary,

and was utterly unscrupulous as to the means of success. He had great

moral, but little physical courage; he braved for thirteen years the

taunts and threats of the people, but never exposed himself to danger

in battle, although he always accompanied his forces.

Mohammed was a slave of sensual passion. Ayesha, who knew him best in

his private character and habits, used to say: "The prophet loved three

things, women, perfumes and food; he had his heart's desire of the two

first, but not of the last." The motives of his excess in polygamy were

his sensuality which grew with his years, and his desire for male

offspring. His followers excused or justified him by the examples of

Abraham, David and Solomon, and by the difficulties of his prophetic

office, which were so great that God gave him a compensation in sexual

enjoyment, and endowed him with greater capacity than thirty ordinary

men. For twenty-four years he had but one wife, his beloved Chadijah,

who died in 619, aged sixty-five, but only two months after her death

he married a widow named Sawda (April 619), and gradually increased his

harem, especially during the last two years of his life. When he heard

of a pretty woman, says Sprenger, he asked her hand, but was

occasionally refused. He had at least fourteen legal wives, and a

number of slave concubines besides. At his death he left nine widows.

He claimed special revelations which gave him greater liberty of sexual

indulgence than ordinary Moslems (who are restricted to four wives),

and exempted him from the prohibition of marrying near relatives. [160]

He married by divine command, as he alleged, Zeynab, the wife of Zayd,

his adopted son and bosom-friend. His wives were all widows except

Ayesha. One of them was a beautiful and rich Jewess; she was despised

by her sisters, who sneeringly said: "Pshaw, a Jewess!" He told her to

reply: "Aaron is my father and Moses my uncle!" Ayesha, the daughter of

Ab� Bakr, was his especial favorite. He married her when she was a girl

of nine years, and he fifty-three years old. She brought her

doll-babies with her, and amused and charmed the prophet by her

playfulness, vivacity and wit. She could read, had a copy of the Koran,

and knew more about theology, genealogy and poetry than all the other

widows of Mohammed. He announced that she would be his wife also in

Paradise. Yet she was not free from suspicion of unfaithfulness until

he received a revelation of her innocence. After his death she was the

most sacred person among the Moslems and the highest authority on

religious and legal questions. She survived her husband forty-seven

years and died at Medina, July 13, 678, aged sixty-seven years. [161]

In his ambition for a hereditary dynasty, Mohammed was sadly

disappointed: he lost his two sons by Chadijah, and a third one by Mary

the Egyptian, his favorite concubine.

To compare such a man with Jesus, is preposterous and even blasphemous.

Jesus was the sinless Saviour of sinners; Mohammed was a sinner, and he

knew and confessed it. He falls far below Moses, or Elijah, or any of

the prophets and apostles in moral purity. But outside of the sphere of

revelation, he ranks with Confucius, and Cakya Muni the Buddha, among

the greatest founders of religions and lawgivers of nations.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[150] We know accurately the date of Mohammed's death (June 8, 632),

but the year of his birth only by reckoning backwards; and as his age

is variously stated from sixty-one to sixty-five, there is a

corresponding difference in the statements of the year of his birth. De

Sacy fixes it April 20, 571, von Hammer 569, Muir Aug. 20, 570,

Sprenger between May 13, 567, and April 13, 571, but afterwards (I.

138), April 20, 571, as most in accordance with early tradition.

[151] According to Ihn Ish�k and W�ckidi. Bahador adopts this

tradition, in the last of his essays which treats of "the Birth and

Childhood of Mohammed." But according to other accounts, Abdallah died

several months (seven or eighteen) after Mohammed's birth. Muir. I. 11;

Sprenger, I. 138.

[152] On the pedigree of Mohammed, see an essay in the work of Syed

Ahmed Khan Bahador, and MuirI1. 242-271. The Koreish were not exactly

priests, but watched the temple, kept the keys, led the processions,

and provided for the pilgrims. H�shim, Mohammed's great-grandfather (b.

a. d.442), thus addressed the Koreish: "Ye are the neighbors of God and

the keepers of his house. The pilgrims who come honoring the sanctity

of his temple, are his guests; and it is meet that ye should entertain

them above all other guests. Ye are especially chosen of God and

exalted unto this high dignity; wherefore honor big guests and refresh

them." He himself set an example of munificent hospitality, and each of

the Koreish contributed according to his ability. Muir I. CCXLVII.

[153] Sprenger has a long chapter on this disease of Mohammed, which he

calls with Sch�nlein, hysteria muscularis I. 207-268.

[154] Sprenger discusses the question, and answers it in the

affirmative, Vol. II. 398 sqq. The Koran (29) says: "Formerly [before I

sent down the book, i.e. the Koran] thou didst not read any book nor

write one with thy right hand!" From this, some Moslems infer that

after the reception of the Koran, he was supernaturally taught to read

and write; but others hold that he was ignorant of both. Syed Ahmed

Khan Bahador says: "Not the least doubt now exists that the Prophet was

wholly unacquainted with the art of writing, being also, as a matter of

course (?), unable to read the hand-writing of others; for which

reason, and for this only, be was called Ummee" (illiterate).

[155] Sprenger attributes his faithfulness to Chadyga (as he spells the

name) not to his merit, but to his dependence. She kept her fortune

under her own control, and gave him only as much as he needed.

[156] So Sprenger,III. 221. Others give seven hundred and ninety as the

number of Jews who were beheaded in a ditch.

[157] See Sprenger, III. 552 sqq., Muir, IV. 270 sqq.

[158] This absurd story, circumstantially described by Abulfeda, is

probably based on a dream which Mohammed himself relates in the Koran,

Sura 17, entitled The Night Journey: "Glory be to Him who carried his

servant by night from the sacred temple of Mecca to the temple that is

remote" [i.e. in Jerusalem]. In the Dome of the Rock on Mount Moriah,

the hand-prints of the angel Gabriel are shown in the mysterious rock

which attempted to follow Mohammed to its native quarry in Paradise,

but was kept back by the angel!

[159] See an interesting essay on the "Miracles of Mohammed" in

Tholuck's Miscellaneous Essays (1839), Vol. I., pp. 1-27. Also Muir,

I., pp. 65 sqq.; Sprenger, II. 413 sqq.

[160] He speaks freely of this subject in the Koran, Sur. 4, and 33. In

the latter (Rodman's transl., p. 508) this scandalous passage occurs:

"O Prophet! we allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the

slaves whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath

granted thee, and the daughters of thy uncle, and of thy paternal and

maternal aunts who fled with thee to Medina, and any believing woman

who hath given herself up to the Prophet, if the Prophet desired to wed

her, a privilege for thee above the rest of the faithful." Afterwards

in the same Sura (p. 569) he says: "Ye must not trouble the Apostle of

God, nor marry his wives after him forever. This would be a grave

offence with God."

[161] Sprenger, III. 61-87, gives a full account of fourteen wives of

Mohammed, and especially of Ayesha, according to the list of Zohry and

Ibn Saad. Sprenger says, p. 37: "Der Prophet hatte keine Wohnung f�r

sich selbst. Sein Hauptquartier war in der H�tte der Ayischa und die

�ffentlichen Gesch�fte verrichtete er in der Moschee, aber er brachte

jede Nacht bei einer seiner Frauen zu und war, wie es scheint, auch ihr

Gast beim Essen. Er ging aber t�glich, wenn er bei guter Laune war, bei

allen seinen Frauen umher, gab jeder einen Kuss, sprach einige Worte

und spielte mit ihr. Wir haben gesehen, dass seine Familie neun H�tten

besass, dies war auch die, Anzahl der Frauen, welche er bei seinem Tode

hinterliess. Doch gab es Zeiten, zu denen sein Harem st�rker war. Er

brachte dann einige seiner Sch�nen in den H�usern von Nachbarn unter.

Es kam auch vor, dass zwei Frauen eine H�tte bewohnten.

Stiefkinderwohnten, so lange sie jung waren, bei ihren M�ttern."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 43. The Conquests of Isl�m.

"The sword," says Mohammed, "is the key of heaven and hell; a drop of

blood shed in the cause of Allah, a night spent in arms, is of more

avail than two months of fasting or prayer: whosoever falls in battle,

his sins are forgiven, and at the day of judgment his limbs shall be

supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim." This is the secret of

his success. Idolaters had to choose between Isl�m, slavery, and death;

Jews and Christians were allowed to purchase a limited toleration by

the payment of tribute, but were otherwise kept in degrading bondage.

History records no soldiers of greater bravery inspired by religion

than the Moslem conquerors, except Cromwell's Ironsides, and the Scotch

Covenanters, who fought with purer motives for a nobler cause.

The Califs, Mohammed's successors, who like him united the priestly and

kingly dignity, carried on his conquests with the battle-cry: "Before

you is paradise, behind you are death and hell." Inspired by an intense

fanaticism, and aided by the weakness of the Byzantine empire and the

internal distractions of the Greek Church, the wild sons of the desert,

who were content with the plainest food, and disciplined in the school

of war, hardship and recklessness of life, subdued Palestine, Syria,

and Egypt, embracing the classical soil of primitive Christianity.

Thousands of Christian churches in the patriarchal dioceses of

Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, were ruthlessly destroyed, or

converted into mosques. Twenty-one years after the death of Mohammed

the Crescent ruled over a realm as large as the Roman Empire. Even

Constantinople was besieged twice (668 and 717), although in vain. The

terrible efficacy of the newly invented "Greek fire," and the unusual

severity of a long winter defeated the enemy, and saved Eastern and

Northern Europe from the blight of the Koran. A large number of nominal

Christians who had so fiercely quarreled with each other about

unfruitful subtleties of their creeds, surrendered their faith to the

conqueror. In 707 the North African provinces, where once St. Augustin

had directed the attention of the church to the highest problems of

theology and religion, fell into the hands of the Arabs.

In 711 they crossed from Africa to Spain and established an independent

Califate at Cordova. The moral degeneracy and dissensions of the

Western Goths facilitated their subjugation. Encouraged by such

success, the Arabs crossed the Pyrenees and boasted that they would

soon stable their horses in St. Peter's cathedral in Rome, but the

defeat of Abd-er Rahman by Charles Martel between Poitiers and Tours in

732--one hundred and ten years after the Hegira--checked their progress

in the West, and in 1492--the same year in which Columbus discovered a

new Continent--Ferdinand defeated the last Moslem army in Spain at the

gates of Granada and drove them back to Africa. The palace and citadel

of the Alhambra, with its court of lions, its delicate arabesques and

fretwork, and its aromatic gardens and groves, still remains, a

gorgeous ruin of the power of the Moorish kings.

In the East the Moslems made new conquests. In the ninth century they

subdued Persia, Afghanistan, and a large part of India. They reduced

the followers of Zoroaster to a few scattered communities, and

conquered a vast territory of Brahminism and Buddhism even beyond the

Ganges. The Seliuk Turks in the eleventh century, and the Mongols in

the thirteenth, adopted the religion of the Califs whom they conquered.

Constantinople fell at last into the hands of the Turks in 1453, and

the magnificent church of St. Sophia, the glory of Justinian's reign,

was turned into a mosque where the Koran is read instead of the Gospel,

the reader holding the drawn scimetar in his hand. From Constantinople

the Turks threatened the German empire, and it was not till 1683 that

they were finally defeated by Sobieski at the gates of Vienna and

driven back across the Danube.

With the senseless fury of fanaticism and pillage the Tartar Turks have

reduced the fairest portions of Eastern Europe to desolation and ruin.

With sovereign contempt for all other religions, they subjected the

Christians to a condition of virtual servitude, treating them like

"dogs," as they call them. They did not intermeddle with their internal

affairs, but made merchandise of ecclesiastical offices. The death

penalty was suspended over every attempt to convert a Mussulman.

Apostasy from the faith is also treason to the state, and merits the

severest punishment in this world, as well as everlasting damnation in

the world to come.

After the Crimean war in 1856, the death penalty for apostasy was

nominally abolished in the dominions of the Sultan, and in the Berlin

Treaty of 1878 liberty of religion (more than mere toleration) was

guaranteed to all existing sects in the Turkish empire, but the old

fanaticism will yield only to superior force, and the guarantee of

liberty is not understood to imply the liberty of propaganda among

Moslems. Christian sects have liberty to prey on each other, but woe to

them if they invade the sacred province of Isl�m. [162]

A Mohammedan tradition contains a curious prophecy that Christ, the son

of Mary, will return as the last Calif to judge the world. [163] The

impression is gaining ground among the Moslems that they will be unable

ultimately to withstand the steady progress of Christianity and Western

civilization. The Sultan, the successor of the Califs, is a mere shadow

on the throne trembling for his life. The dissolution of the Turkish

empire, which may be looked for at no distant future, will break the

backbone of lsl�m, and open the way for the true solution of the

Eastern question--the moral regeneration of the Lands of the Bible by

the Christianity of the Bible.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[162] If Protestant missionaries enjoy more toleration and liberty in

Turkey than in Roman Catholic Austria and in Greek Catholic Russia, it

must be understood with the above limitation. Turkish toleration

springs from proud contempt of Christianity in all its forms; Russian

and Austrian intolerance, from despotism and bigoted devotion to a

particular form of Christianity.

[163] Among the traditional sayings of Mohammed is this (Gerock, l.c.,

p. 132): "I am nearest to Jesus, both as to the beginning and the end;

for there is no prophet between me and Jesus; and at the end of time he

will be my representative and my successor. The prophets are all

brethren, as they have one father, though their mothers are different.

The origin of all their religions is the same, and between me and Jesus

there is no other prophet!'

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 44. The Koran, and the Bible.

"Mohammed's truth lay in a sacred Book,

Christ's in a holy Life."--Milnes (Palm-Leaves).

The Koran [164] is the sacred book, the Bible of the Mohammedans. It is

their creed, their code of laws, their liturgy. It claims to be the

product of divine inspiration by the arch-angel Gabriel, who performed

the function assigned to the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures. [165] The

Mohammedans distinguish two kinds of revelations: those which were

literally delivered as spoken by the angel (called Wahee Matloo, or the

word of God), and those which give the sense of the inspired

instruction in the prophet's own words (called Wahee Ghair Matloo, or

Hadees). The prophet is named only five times, but is addressed by

Gabriel all through the book with the word Say, as the recipient and

sacred penman of the revelations. It consists of 114 Suras [166] and

6,225 verses. Each Sura (except the ninth) begins with the formula (of

Jewish origin): "In the name of Allah, the God of Mercy, the Merciful."

[167]

The Koran is composed in imperfect metre and rhyme (which is as natural

and easy in the Arabic as in the Italian language). Its language is

considered the purest Arabic. Its poetry somewhat resembles Hebrew

poetry in Oriental imagery and a sort of parallelism or correspondence

of clauses, but it loses its charm in a translation; while the Psalms

and Prophets can be reproduced in any language without losing their

original force and beauty. The Koran is held in superstitious

veneration, and was regarded till recently as too sacred to be

translated and to be sold like a common book. [168]

Mohammed prepared and dictated the Koran from time to time as he

received the revelations and progressed in his career, not for readers,

but for hearers, leaving much to the suggestive action of the public

recital, either from memory or from copies taken down by his friends.

Hence its occasional, fragmentary character. About a year after his

death, at the direction of Abu-Bakr, his father-in-law and immediate

successor, Zayd, the chief ansar or amanuensis of the Prophet,

collected the scattered fragments of the Koran "from palm-leaves, and

tablets of white stone, and from the breasts of men," but without any

regard to chronological order or continuity of subjects. Abu-Bakr

committed this copy to the custody of Haphsa, one of Mohammed's widows.

It remained the standard during the ten years of Omar's califate. As

the different readings of copies occasioned serious disputes, Zayd,

with several Koreish, was commissioned to secure the purity of the text

in the Meccan dialect, and all previous copies were called in and

burned. The recension of Zayd has been handed down with scrupulous care

unaltered to this day, and various readings are almost unknown; the

differences being confined to the vowel-points, which were invented at

a later period. The Koran contains many inconsistencies and

contradictions; but the expositors hold that the later command

supersedes the earlier.

The restoration of the chronological order of the Suras is necessary

for a proper understanding of the gradual development of Isl�m in the

mind and character of its author. [169] There is a considerable

difference between the Suras of the earlier, middle, and later periods.

In the earlier, the poetic, wild, and rhapsodical element predominates;

in the middle, the prosaic, narrative, and missionary; in the later,

the official and legislative. Mohammed began with descriptions of

natural objects, of judgment, of heaven and hell, impassioned,

fragmentary utterances, mostly in brief sentences; he went on to

dogmatic assertions, historical statements from Jewish and Christian

sources, missionary appeals and persuasions; and he ended with the

dictatorial commands of a legislator and warrior. "He who at Mecca is

the admonisher and persuader, at Medina is the legislator and the

warrior, who dictates obedience and uses other weapons than the pen of

the poet and the scribe. When business pressed, as at Medina, poetry

makes way for prose, [170] and although touches of the poetical element

occasionally break forth, and he has to defend himself up to a very

late period against the charge of being merely a poet, yet this is

rarely the case in the Medina Suras; and we are startled by finding

obedience to God and the Apostle, God's gifts and the Apostle's, God's

pleasure and the Apostle's, spoken of in the same breath, and epithets,

and attributes, applied to Allah, openly applied to Mohammed, as in

Sura IX." [171]

The materials of the Koran, as far as they are not productions of the

author's own imagination, were derived from the floating traditions of

Arabia and Syria, from rabbinical Judaism, and a corrupt Christianity,

and adjusted to his purposes.

Mohammed had, in his travels, come in contact with professors of

different religions, and on his first journey with camel-drivers he

fell in with a Nestorian monk of Bostra, who goes by different names

(Bohari, Bahyra, Sergius, George), and welcomed the youthful prophet

with a presage of his future greatness. [172] His wife Chadijah and her

cousin Waraka (a reputed convert to Christianity, or more probably a

Jew) are said to have been well acquainted with the sacred books of the

Jews and the Christians.

The Koran, especially in the earlier Suras, speaks often and highly of

the Scriptures; calls them "the Book of God," "the Word of God," "the

Tour�t" (Thora, the Pentateuch), "the Gospel" (Ynyil), and describes

the Jews and Christians as "the people of the Book," or "of the

Scripture," or "of the Gospel." It finds in the Scriptures prophecies

of Mohammed and his success, and contains narratives of the fall of

Adam and Eve, Noah and the Deluge, Abraham and Lot, the destruction of

Sodom and Gomorrah, Moses and Joseph, John the Baptist, the Virgin Mary

and Jesus, sometimes in the words of the Bible, but mostly distorted

and interspersed with rabbinical and apocryphal fables. [173]

It is quite probable that portions of the Bible were read to Mohammed;

but it is very improbable that he read it himself; for according to the

prevailing Moslem tradition he could not read at all, and there were no

Arabic translations before the Mohammedan conquests, which spread the

Arabic language in the conquered countries. Besides, if he had read the

Bible with any degree of care, he could not have made such egregious

blunders. The few allusions to Scripture phraseology--as "giving alms

to be seen of men," "none forgiveth sins but God only"--may be derived

from personal intercourse and popular traditions. Jesus (Isa) is spoken

of as "the Son of Mary, strengthened by the Holy Spirit." Noah (N�h),

Abraham (Ibrahym), Moses (M�sa), Aaron (Harun), are often honorably

mentioned, but apparently always from imperfect traditional or

apocryphal sources of information. [174]

The Koran is unquestionably one of the great books of the world. It is

not only a book, but an institution, a code of civil and religious

laws, claiming divine origin and authority. It has left its impress

upon ages. It feeds to this day the devotions, and regulates the

private and public life, of more than a hundred millions of human

beings. It has many passages of poetic beauty, religious fervor, and

wise counsel, but mixed with absurdities, bombast, unmeaning images,

low sensuality. It abounds in repetitions and contradictions, which are

not removed by the convenient theory of abrogation. It alternately

attracts and repels, and is a most wearisome book to read. Gibbon calls

the Koran "a glorious testimony to the unity of God," but also, very

properly, an "endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept and

declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or idea, which sometimes

crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds." [175] Reiske

[176] denounces it as the most absurd book and a scourge to a reader of

sound common sense. Goethe, one of the best judges of literary and

poetic merit, characterizes the style as severe, great, terrible, and

at times truly sublime. "Detailed injunctions," he says, "of things

allowed and forbidden, legendary stories of Jewish and Christian

religion, amplifications of all kinds, boundless tautologies and

repetitions, form the body of this sacred volume, which to us, as often

as we approach it, is repellent anew, next attracts us ever anew, and

fills us with admiration, and finally forces us into veneration." He

finds the kernel of Isl�m in the second Sura, where belief and unbelief

with heaven and hell, as their sure reward, are contrasted. Carlyle

calls the Koran "the confused ferment of a great rude human soul; rude,

untutored, that cannot even read, but fervent, earnest, struggling

vehemently to utter itself In words;" and says of Mohammedanism: "Call

it not false, look not at the falsehood of it; look at the truth of it.

For these twelve centuries it has been the religion and life-guidance

of the fifth part of the whole kindred of mankind. Above all, it has

been a religion heartily believed." But with all his admiration,

Carlyle confesses that the reading of the Koran in English is "as

toilsome a task" as he ever undertook. "A wearisome, confused jumble,

crude, incondite; endless iterations, long-windedness, entanglement;

insupportable stupidity, in short, nothing but a sense of duty could

carry any European through the Koran. We read it, as we might in the

State-Paper Office, unreadable masses of lumber, that we may get some

glimpses of a remarkable man." And yet there are Mohammedan doctors who

are reported to have read the Koran seventy thousand times! What a

difference of national and religious taste! Emanuel Deutsch finds the

grandeur of the Koran chiefly in its Arabic diction, "the peculiarly

dignified, impressive, sonorous nature of Semitic sound and parlance;

its sesquipedalia verba, with their crowd of prefixes and affixes, each

of them affirming its own position, while consciously bearing upon and

influencing the central root, which they envelop like a garment of many

folds, or as chosen courtiers move round the anointed person of the

king." E. H. Palmer says that the claim of the Koran to miraculous

eloquence, however absurd it may sound to Western ears, was and is to

the Arab incontrovertible, and he accounts for the immense influence

which it has always exercised upon the Arab mind, by the fact, "that it

consists not merely of the enthusiastic utterances of an individual,

but of the popular sayings, choice pieces of eloquence, and favorite

legends current among the desert tribes for ages before this time.

Arabic authors speak frequently of the celebrity attained by the

ancient Arabic orators, such as Sh�ib�n W�il; but unfortunately no

specimens of their works have come down to us. The Qur'�n, however,

enables us to judge of the speeches which took so strong a hold upon

their countrymen." [177]

Of all books, not excluding the Vedas, the Koran is the most powerful

rival of the Bible, but falls infinitely below it in contents and form.

Both contain the moral and religious code of the nations which own it;

the Koran, like the Old Testament, is also a civil and political code.

Both are oriental in style and imagery. Both have the fresh character

of occasional composition growing out of a definite historical

situation and specific wants. But the Bible is the genuine revelation

of the only true God in Christ, reconciling the world to himself; the

Koran is a mock-revelation without Christ and without atonement.

Whatever is true in the Koran is borrowed from the Bible; what is

original, is false or frivolous. The Bible is historical and embodies

the noblest aspirations of the human race in all ages to the final

consummation; the Koran begins and stops with Mohammed. The Bible

combines endless variety with unity, universal applicability with local

adaptation; the Koran is uniform and monotonous, confined to one

country, one state of society, and one class of minds. The Bible is the

book of the world, and is constantly travelling to the ends of the

earth, carrying spiritual food to all races and to all classes of

society; the Koran stays in the Orient, and is insipid to all who have

once tasted the true word of the living God. [178] Even the poetry of

the Koran never rises to the grandeur and sublimity of Job or Isaiah,

the lyric beauty of the Psalms, the sweetness and loveliness of the

Song of Solomon, the sententious wisdom of the Proverbs, and

Ecclesiastes.

A few instances must suffice for illustration.

The first Sura, called "the Sura of Praise and Prayer," which is

recited by the Mussulmans several times in each of the five daily

devotions, fills for them the place of the Lord's Prayer, and contains

the same number of petitions. We give it in a rhymed, and in a more

literal translation:

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate!

Praise be to Allah, who the three worlds made,

The Merciful, the Compassionate,

The King of the day of Fate,

Thee alone do we worship, and of Thee alone do we ask aid.

Guide us to the path that is straight --

The path of those to whom Thy love is great,

Not those on whom is hate,

Nor they that deviate! Amen. [179]

"In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds!

The Compassionate, the Merciful!

King on the day of judgment!

Thee only do we worship, and to Thee do we cry for help.

Guide Thou us on the right path,

The path of those to whom Thou art gracious;

Not of those with whom Thou art angered,

Nor of those who go astray." [180]

We add the most recent version in prose:

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the

compassionate, the ruler of the day of judgment! Thee we serve and Thee

we ask for aid. Guide us in the right path, the path of those Thou art

gracious to; not of those Thou art wroth with; nor of those who err."

[181]

As this Sura invites a comparison with the Lord's Prayer infinitely to

the advantage of the latter, so do the Koran's descriptions of Paradise

when contrasted with St. John's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem:

"Joyous on that day shall be the inmates of Paradise in their employ;

In shades, on bridal couches reclining, they and their spouses:

Therein shall they have fruits, and whatever they require --

'Peace!' shall be the word on the part of a merciful Lord.

But be ye separated this day, O ye sinners!" [182]

"The sincere servants of God

A stated banquet shall they have

Of fruits; and honored shall they be

In the gardens of delight,

Upon couches face to face.

A cup shall be borne round among them from a fountain,

Limpid, delicious to those who drink;

It shall not oppress the sense, nor shall they therewith be drunken,

And with them are the large-eyed ones with modest refraining glances,

fair like the sheltered egg." [183]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[164] Arabic qur�n, i.e. the reading or that which should be read, the

book. It is read over and over again in all the mosques and schools.

[165] Sura 53 (Rodwell, p. 64): "The Koran is no other than a

revelation revealed to him: One terrible in power [Gabriel, i.e. the

Strong one of God] taught it him.

Endued with wisdom, with even balance stood he In the highest part of

the horizon. He came nearer and approached, And was at the distance of

two bows, or even closer,-- And he revealed to his servant what he

revealed." I add the view of a learned modern Mohammedan, Syed Ahmed

Khan Babador, who says (l.c., Essay on the Holy Koran): "The Holy Koran

was delivered to Mohammed neither in the form of graven tablets of

stone, nor in that of cloven tongues of fire; nor was it necessary that

the followers of Mohammed, like those of Moses, should be furnished

with a copy or counterpart, in case the original should be lost. No

mystery attended the delivery of it, for it was on Mohammed's heart

that it was engraven, and it was with his tongue that it was

communicated to all Arabia. The heart of Mohammed was the Sinai where

he received the revelation, and his tablets of stone were the hearts of

true believers."

[166] Sura means either revelation, or chapter, or part of a chapter.

The Mohammedan commentators refer it primarily to the succession of

subjects or parts, like the rows of bricks in a wall. The titles of the

Suras are generally taken from some leading topic or word in each, as

"The Sun," "The Star," "The Charges," "The Scattering," "The

Adoration," "The Spider," "Women," "Hypocrites," "Light," "Jonas," "The

Cave," "The Night Journey," "The Cow," "The Battle," "The Victory."

[167] 7 "Bismillahi 'rrahonani 'rrahim." According to the Ulama (the

professors of religion and law), "God of mercy" means merciful in great

things; "the Merciful" means merciful in small things. But, according

to E. W. Lane, "the first expresses an occasional sensation, the second

a constant quality!" In other words, the one refers to acts, the other

to a permanent attribute.

[168] These scruples are gradually giving way, at least in India, where

"printed copies, with inter-lineal versions in Persian and Urdoo--too

literal to be intelligible--are commonly used." Muir, The Cor�n, p. 48.

The manuscript copies in the mosques, in the library of the Khedive in

Cairo, and in many European libraries, are equal in caligraphic beauty

to the finest mediaeval manuscripts of the Bible.

[169] The present order, Says Muir (Cor�n, p. 41), is almost a direct

inversion of the natural chronological order; the longest which mostly

belong to the later period of Mohammed, being placed first and the

shortest last. Weil, Sprenger, and Muir have paid much attention to the

chronological arrangement. N�ldeke also, in his Geschichte des Q�rans,

has fixed the order of the Suras, with a reasonable degree of certainty

on the basis of Mohammedan traditions and a searching analysis of the

text; and he has been mainly followed by Rodwell in his English

version.

[170] The ornament of metre and rhyme, however, is preserved

throughout.

[171] Rodwell, p. X. Comp. Deutsch, l.c., p. 121.

[172] Muir, Life of Moh., I. 35; Stanley, p. 366.

[173] See a collection of these correspondences in the original Arabic

and in English in Sir William Muir's Coran, pp. 66 sqq. Muir concludes

that Mohammed knew the Bible, and believed in its divine origin and

authority.

[174] Muir (Life, II. 313, 278) and Stanley (p. 366) adduce, as traces

of a faint knowledge of the Canonical Gospels, the account of the birth

of John the Baptist in the Koran, and the assumption by Mohammed of the

name of Paracletus under the distorted form of Periclytus, the

Illustrious. But the former does not strike me as being taken from St.

Luke, else he could not have made such a glaring chronological mistake

as to identify Mary with Miriam, the sister of Moses. And as to the

promise of the Paraclete, which only occurs in St. John, it certainly

must have passed into popular tradition, for the word occurs also in

the Talmud. If Mohammed had read St. John, he must have seen that the

Paraclete is the Holy Spirit, and would have identified him with

Gabriel, rather than with himself. Palmer's opinion is that Mohammed

could neither read nor write, but acquired his knowledge from the

traditions which were then current in Arabia among Jewish and Christian

tribes. The Qur'�n, I., p. xlvii.

[175] Decline and Fall of the R. E., Ch. 50.

[176] As quoted in Tholuck.

[177] The Qur'�n, Introd. I., p. 1.

[178] On this difference Ewald makes some good remarks in the first

volume of his Biblical Theology (1871), p. 418.

[179] Translated by Lieut. Burton.

[180] Rodwell, The Kor�n (2nd ed., 1876), p. 10.

[181] E. H. Palmer, The Qur'�n, Oxford, 1880, Part I., p. 1.

[182] � Sura 36 (in Rodwell, p. 128).

[183] � The ostrich egg carefully protected from dust. Sura 37 (in

Rodwell, p 69). Brides and wives always figure in the Mohammedan

Paradise.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 45. The Mohammedan Religion.

lsl�m is not a new religion, nor can we expect a new one after the

appearance of that religion which is perfect and intended for all

nations and ages. It is a compound or mosaic of pre�xisting elements, a

rude attempt to combine heathenism, Judaism and Christianity, which

Mohammed found in Arabia, but in a very imperfect form. [184] It is

professedly, a restoration of the faith of Abraham, the common father

of Isaac and of Ishmael. But it is not the genuine faith of Abraham

with its Messianic hopes and aspirations looking directly to the gospel

dispensation as its goal and fulfilment, but a bastard Judaism of

Ishmael, and the post-Christian and anti-Christian Judaism of the

Talmud. Still less did Mohammed know the pure religion of Jesus as laid

down in the New Testament, but only a perversion and caricature of it

such as we find in the wretched apocryphal and heretical Gospels. This

ignorance of the Bible and the corruptions of Eastern Christianity with

which the Mohammedans came in contact, furnish some excuse for their

misbelief and stubborn prejudices. And yet even the poor pseudo-Jewish

and pseudo-Christian elements of the Koran were strong enough to reform

the old heathenism of Arabia and Africa and to lift it to a much higher

level. The great and unquestionable merit of Isl�m is the breaking up

of idolatry and the diffusion of monotheism.

The creed of Isl�m is simple, and consists of six articles: God,

predestination, the angels (good and bad), the books, the prophets, the

resurrection and judgment with eternal reward and eternal punishment.

God.

Monotheism is the comer-stone of the system. It is expressed in the

ever-repeated sentence: "There is no god but God (All�h, i.e., the

true, the only God), and Mohammed is his prophet (or apostle)." [185]

Gibbon calls this a "compound of an eternal truth and a necessary

fiction." The first clause certainly is a great and mighty truth

borrowed from the Old Testament (Deut. 6:4); and is the religious

strength of the system. But the Mohammedan (like the later Jewish, the

Socinian, and the Unitarian) monotheism is abstract, monotonous,

divested of inner life and fulness, anti-trinitarian, and so far

anti-Christian. One of the last things which a Mohammedan will admit,

is the divinity of Christ. Many of the divine attributes are vividly

apprehended, emphasized and repeated in prayer. But Allah is a God of

infinite power and wisdom, not a God of redeeming love to all mankind;

a despotic sovereign of trembling subjects and slaves, not a loving

Father of trustful children. He is an object of reverence and fear

rather than of love and gratitude. He is the God of fate who has

unalterably foreordained all things evil as well as good; hence

unconditional resignation to him (this is the meaning of Isl�m) is true

wisdom and piety. He is not a hidden, unknowable being, but a God who

has revealed himself through chosen messengers, angelic and human.

Adam, Noah, Abraham Moses, and Jesus are his chief prophets. [186] But

Mohammed is the last and the greatest.

Christ.

The Christology of the Koran is a curious mixture of facts and

apocryphal fictions, of reverence for the man Jesus and denial of his

divine character. He is called "the Messiah Jesus Son of Mary," or "the

blessed Son of Mary." [187] He was a servant and apostle of the one

true God, and strengthened by the Holy Spirit, i.e., the angel Gabriel

(Dshebril), who afterwards conveyed the divine revelations to Mohammed.

But he is not the Son of God; for as God has no wife, he can have no

son. [188] He is ever alone, and it is monstrous and blasphemous to

associate another being with Allah.

Some of the Mohammedan divines exempt Jesus and even his mother from

sin, and first proclaimed the dogma of the immaculate conception of

Mary, for which the apocryphal Gospels prepared the way. [189] By a

singular anachronism, the Koran confounds the Virgin Mary with Miriam,"

the sister of Aaron" (Harun), and Moses (Ex. xv. 20; Num. xxi. 1).

Possibly Mohammed may have meant another Aaron (since he calls Mary,

"the sister of Aaron but not "of Moses"); some of his commentators,

however, assume that the sister of Moses was miraculously preserved to

give birth to Jesus. [190]

According to the Koran Jesus was conceived by the Virgin Mary at the

appearance of Gabriel and born under a palm tree beneath which a

fountain opened. This story is of Ebionite origin. [191] Jesus preached

in the cradle and performed miracles in His infancy (as in the

apocryphal Gospels), and during His public ministry, or rather Allah

wrought miracles through Him. Mohammed disclaims the miraculous power,

and relied upon the stronger testimony of the truth of his doctrine.

Jesus proclaimed the pure doctrine of the unity of God and disclaimed

divine honors.

The crucifixion of Jesus is denied. He was delivered by a miracle from

the death intended for Him, and taken up by God into Paradise with His

mother. The Jews slew one like Him, by mistake. This absurd docetic

idea is supposed to be the common belief of Christians. [192]

Jesus predicted the coming of Mohammed, when he said: "O children of

Israel! of a truth I am God's apostle to you to confirm the law which

was given before me, and to announce an apostle that shall come after

me whose name shall be Ahmed!" [193] Thus the promise of the Holy

Ghost, "the other Paraclete," (John xiv. 16) was applied by Mohammed to

himself by a singular confusion of Paracletos (paravklhto") with

Periclytos (perivkluto", heard all round, famous) or Ahmed (the

glorified, the illustrious), one of the prophet's names. [194]

Owing to this partial recognition of Christianity Mohammed was

originally regarded not as the founder of a new religion, but as one of

the chief heretics. [195] The same opinion is expressed by several

modern writers, Catholic and Protestant. D�llinger says: "Isl�m must be

considered at bottom a Christian heresy, the bastard offspring of a

Christian father and a Jewish mother, and is indeed more closely allied

to Christianity than Manichaeism, which is reckoned a Christian sect."

[196] Stanley calls Isl�m an "eccentric heretical form of Eastern

Christianity," and Ewald more correctly, "the last and most powerful

offshoot of Gnosticism." [197]

The Ethics of Isl�m.

Resignation (Isl�m) to the omnipotent will of Allah is the chief

virtue. It is the most powerful motive both in action and suffering,

and is carried to the excess of fatalism and apathy.

The use of pork and wine is strictly forbidden; prayer, fasting

(especially during the whole month of Ramadh�n), and almsgiving are

enjoined. Prayer carries man half-way to God, fasting brings him to the

door of God's palace, alms secure admittance. The total abstinence from

strong drink by the whole people, even in countries where the vine

grows in abundance, reveals a remarkable power of self-control, which

puts many Christian nations to shame. Mohammedanism is a great

temperance society. Herein lies its greatest moral force.

Polygamy.

But on the other hand the heathen vice of polygamy and concubinage is

perpetuated and encouraged by the example of the prophet. He restrained

and regulated an existing practice, and gave it the sanction of

religion. Ordinary believers are restricted to four wives (exclusive of

slaves), and generally have only one or two. But Califs may fill their

harems to the extent of their wealth and lust. Concubinage with female

slaves is allowed to all without limitation. The violation of captive

women of the enemy is the legitimate reward of the conqueror. The laws

of divorce and prohibited degrees are mostly borrowed from the Jews,

but divorce is facilitated and practiced to an extent that utterly

demoralizes married life.

Polygamy and servile concubinage destroy the dignity of woman, and the

beauty and peace of home. In all Mohammedan countries woman is ignorant

and degraded; she is concealed from public sight by a veil (a sign of

degradation as well as protection); she is not commanded to pray, and

is rarely seen in the mosques; it is even an open question whether she

has a soul, but she is necessary even in paradise for the gratification

of man's passion. A Moslem would feel insulted by an inquiry after the

health of his wife or wives. Polygamy affords no protection against

unnatural vices, which are said to prevail to a fearful extent among

Mohammedans, as they did among the ancient heathen. [198]

In nothing is the infinite superiority of Christianity over Isl�m so

manifest as in the condition of woman and family life. Woman owes

everything to the religion of the gospel.

The sensual element pollutes even the Mohammedan picture of heaven from

which chastity is excluded. The believers are promised the joys of a

luxuriant paradise amid blooming gardens, fresh fountains, and

beautiful virgins. Seventy-two Houris, or black-eyed girls of blooming

youth will be created for the enjoyment of the meanest believer; a

moment of pleasure will be prolonged to a thousand years; and his

faculties will be increased a hundred fold. Saints and martyrs will be

admitted to the spiritual joys of the divine vision. But infidels and

those who refuse to fight for their faith will be cast into hell.

The Koran distinguishes seven heavens, and seven hells (for wicked or

apostate Mohammedans, Christians, Jews, Sabians, Magians, idolaters,

hypocrites). Hell (Jahennem=Gehenna) is beneath the lowest earth and

seas of darkness; the bridge over it is finer than a hair and sharper

than the edge of a sword; the pious pass over it in a moment, the

wicked fall from it into the abyss.

Slavery.

Slavery is recognized and sanctioned as a normal condition of society,

and no hint is given in the Koran, nor any effort made by Mohammedan

rulers for its final extinction. It is the twin-sister of polygamy;

every harem is a slave-pen or a slave-palace. "The Koran, as a

universal revelation, would have been a perpetual edict of servitude."

Mohammed, by ameliorating the condition of slaves, and enjoining kind

treatment upon the masters, did not pave the way for its abolition, but

rather riveted its fetters. The barbarous slave-trade is still carried

on in all its horrors by Moslems among the negroes in Central Africa.

War.

War against unbelievers is legalized by the Koran. The fighting men are

to be slain, the women and children reduced to slavery. Jews and

Christians are dealt with more leniently than idolaters; but they too

must be thoroughly humbled and forced to pay tribute.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[184] Luther said of the religion of the Turks: "Also ist's ein Glaub

zusammengeflickt aus der J�den, Christen und Heiden Glaube." Milman

(II. 139) calls Mohammedanism "the republication of a more

comprehensive Judaism with some depraved forms of Christianity." Renan

describes it as "the least original" of the religious creations of

humanity. Geiger and Deutsch (both Hebrews) give prominence to the

Jewish element. "It is not merely parallelisms," says Deutsch,

"reminiscences, allusions, technical terms, and the like, of Judaism,

its lore and dogma and ceremony, its Halacha and Haggadah (which may

most briefly be rendered by 'Law' and 'Legend'), which we find in the

Koran; but we think Isl�m neither more nor less than Judaism as adapted

to Arabia--plus the apostleship of Jesus and Mohammed. Nay, we verily

believe that a great deal of such Christianity as has found its way

into the Koran, has found it through Jewish channels" (l.c. p. 64).

[185] L� il�ha ill' All�h, wa Muhammeda rras�l� 'll�h. All�h is

composed of the article al, "the," and il�h, "a god," and is equivalent

to the Hebrew Eli and Elohim. He was known to the Arabs before

Mohammed, and regarded as the chief god in their pantheon.

[186] A similar idea is presented in the pseudo-Clementine Homilies.

[187] Mesich Isa ben Mariam.

[188] In rude misconception or wilful perversion, Mohammed seems to

have understood the Christian doctrine of the trinity to be a trinity

of Father, Mary, and Jesus. The Holy Spirit is identified with Gabriel.

"God is only one God! Far be it from his glory that he should have a

son!" Sura 4, ver. 169; comp. 5, ver. 77. The designation and worship

of Mary as "the mother of God" may have occasioned this strange

mistake. There was in Arabia in the fourth century a sect of fanatical

women called Collyridians (Kollurides), who rendered divine worship to

Mary. Epiphanius, Haer. 79.�

[189] As the Protevangelium Jacobi, the Evang. de Nativitate Mariae,

the Evang. Infantis Servatoris, etc. Gibbon (ch. 50) and Stanley (p.

367) trace the doctrine of the immaculate conception directly to the

Koran. It is said of Mary: "Remember when the angel said: 'O Mary!

verily hath God chosen thee, and purified thee, and chosen thee above

the women of the worlds.' " But this does not necessarily mean more

than Luke i. 28. The Koran knows nothing of original sin in the

Christian sense.

[190] Gerok, l.c. pp. 22-28. This would be a modification of the

rabbinical fable that ordinary death and corruption had as little power

over Miriam as over Moses, and that both died by the breath of Jehovah.

[191] R�sch (l.c., p. 439) Die Geburtsgeschichte Jesu im Koran ist

nichts anderes als ein mythologischer Mythus aus Ezech. 47 mit

eingewobenen j�dischen Z�gen, der seine Heimath im Ebionismus hat."

[192] Sura 4. This view of the crucifixion is no doubt derived from

apocryphal sources. The Gnostic sect of Basilides supposed Simon of

Cyrene, the Evangel. Barrabae, Judas, to have been that other person

who was crucified instead of Jesus. Mani (Epist. Fund.) says that the

prince of darkness was nailed to the cross, and wore the crown of

thorns.

[193] Sura 61.

[194] The Moslems refer also some other passages of Scripture to

Mohammed and his religion, e.g. Gen. xvi. 10; xvii. 20; xxi. 12, 13;

xxvii. 20 (the promise of God to bless Hagar and Ishmael); Deut. xviii.

15, 18 (the promise to raise up a prophet like Moses); Isa. xxi. 67

(where Mohammed is supposed to be meant by the "rider on the camel," as

distinct from Jesus, "the rider on the ass"); John iv. 21; 1 John iv.

23 (where he is the spirit that is of God, because he proclaimed that

Jesus was a true man, not God); Deut. xxxii.2 (where Sinai is said to

mean the Jewish, Seir the Christian, and Paran the Mohammedan

revelation).

[195] So by John of Damascus and the mediaeval writers against Isl�m.

Peter of Clugny speaks of "haereses Saracenorum sive

Ismaelitarum."Comp. Gass, Gennadius und Pletho, p. 109.

[196] Lectures on the Reunion of Churches, p. 7 (transl. by Oxenham,

1872).

[197] Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott, Vol. I. (1871), p. 418.

[198] Rom. i. 24sqq. See the statements of Dr. Jessup of Beir�t, l.c.,

p. 47.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 46. Mohammedan Worship.

"A simple, unpartitioned room,

Surmounted by an ample dome,

Or, in some Iands that favored he,

With centre open to the sky,

But roofed with arched cloisters round,

That mark the consecrated bound,

And shade the niche to Mecca turned,

By which two massive lights are burned;

With pulpit whence the sacred word

Expounded on great days is heard;

With fountains fresh, where, ere they pray,

Men wash the soil of earth away;

With shining minaret, thin and high,

From whose fine trellised balcony,

Announcement of the hour of prayer

Is uttered to the silent air:

Such is the Mosque--the holy place,

Where faithful men of every race

Meet at their ease and face to face."

(From Milnes, "Palm Leaves.")

In worship the prominent feature of Isl�m is its extreme iconoclasm and

puritanism. In this respect, it resembles the service of the synagogue.

The second commandment is literally understood as a prohibition of all

representations of living creatures, whether in churches or elsewhere.

The only ornament allowed is the "Arabesque," which is always taken

from inanimate nature. [199]

The ceremonial is very simple. The mosques, like Catholic churches, are

always open and frequented by worshippers, who perform their devotions

either alone or in groups with covered head and bare feet. In entering,

one must take off the shoes according to the command: "Put off thy

shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy

ground." Slippers or sandals of straw are usually provided for

strangers, and must be paid for. There are always half a dozen

claimants for "backsheesh"--the first and the last word which greets

the traveller in Egypt and Syria. Much importance is attached to

preaching. [200]

Circumcision is retained from the Jews, although it is not mentioned in

the Koran. Friday is substituted for the Jewish Sabbath as the sacred

day (perhaps because it was previously a day for religious assemblage).

It is called the prince of days, the most excellent day on which man

was created, and on which the last judgment will take place; but the

observance is less strict than that of the Jewish Sabbath. On solemn

occasions sacrifice, mostly in the nature of a thank-offering, is

offered and combined with an act of benevolence to the poor. But there

is no room in Isl�m for the idea of atonement; God forgives sins

directly and arbitrarily, without a satisfaction of justice. Hence

there is no priesthood in the sense of a hereditary or perpetual caste,

offering sacrifices and mediating between God and the people. [201] Yet

there are Mufties and Dervishes, who are as powerful as any class of

priests and monks. The Mussulmans have their saints, and pray at their

white tombs. In this respect, they approach the Greeks and Roman

Catholics; yet they abhor the worship of saints as idolatry. They also

make much account of religious processions and pilgrimages. Their chief

place of pilgrimage is Mecca. Many thousands of Moslems from Egypt and

all parts of Turkey pass annually through the Arabian desert to worship

at the holy Kaaba, and are received in triumph on their return. The

supposed tomb of Moses, also, which is transferred to the Western shore

of the Dead Sea, is visited by the Moslems of Jerusalem and the

neighboring country in the month of April.

Prayer with prostrations is reduced to a mechanical act which is

performed with the regularity of clock work. Washing of hands is

enjoined before prayer, but in the desert, sand is permitted as a

substitute for water. There are five stated seasons for prayer: at

day-break, near noon, in the afternoon, a little after sunset (to avoid

the appearance of sun-worship), and at night-fall, besides two night

prayers for extra devotion. The mu�ddin or mu�zzin (crier) announces

the time of devotion from the minaret of the mosque by chanting the

"Adan" or call to prayer, in these words:

God is great!" (four times). "I bear witness that there is no god but

God" (twice). "I bear witness that Mohammed is the Apostle of God"

(twice). "Come hither to prayers!" (twice). "Come hither to salvation!"

(twice). "God is great! There is no other God!" And in the early

morning the crier adds: "Prayer is better than sleep!"

A devout Mussulman is never ashamed to perform his devotion in public,

whether in the mosque, or in the street, or on board the ship.

Regardless of the surroundings, feeling alone with God in the midst of

the crowd, his face turned to Mecca, his hands now raised to heaven,

then laid on the lap, his forehead touching the ground, he goes through

his genuflexions and prostrations, and repeats the first Sura of the

Koran and the ninety-nine beautiful names of Allah, which form his

rosary. [202] The mosques are as well filled with men, as many

Christian churches are with women. Isl�m is a religion for men; women

are of no account; the education and elevation of the female sex would

destroy the system.

With all its simplicity and gravity, the Mohammedan worship has also

its frantic excitement of the Dervishes. On the celebration of the

birthday of their prophet and other festivals, they work themselves, by

the constant repetition of "Allah, Allah," into a state of unconscious

ecstacy, "in which they plant swords in their breasts, tear live

serpents with their teeth, eat bottles of glass, and finally lie

prostrate on the ground for the chief of their order to ride on

horseback over their bodies." [203]

I will add a brief description of the ascetic exercises of the

"Dancing" and "Howling" Dervishes which I witnessed in their convents

at Constantinople and Cairo in 1877.

The Dancing or Turning Dervishes in Pera, thirteen in number, some

looking ignorant and stupid, others devout and intensely fanatical,

went first through prayers and prostrations, then threw off their outer

garments, and in white flowing gowns, with high hats of stiff woolen

stuff, they began to dance to the sound of strange music, whirling

gracefully and skilfully on their toes, ring within ring, without

touching each other or moving out of their circle, performing, in four

different acts, from forty to fifty turnings in one minute, their arms

stretched out or raised to heaven their eyes half shut, their mind

apparently lost in a sort of Nirwana or pantheistic absorption in

Allah. A few hours afterward I witnessed the rare spectacle of one of

these very Dervishes reeling to and fro in a state of intoxication on

the street and the lower bridge of the Golden Horn.

The Howling Dervishes in Scutari present a still more extraordinary

sight, and a higher degree of ascetic exertion, but destitute of all

grace and beauty. The performance took place in a small, plain, square

room, and lasted nearly two hours. As the monks came in, they kissed

the hand of their leader and repeated with him long prayers from the

Koran. One recited with melodious voice an Arabic song in praise of

Mohammed. Then, standing in a row, bowing, and raising their heads,

they continued to howl the fundamental dogma of Mohammedanism, L� il�ha

ill' All�h for nearly an hour. Some were utterly exhausted and wet with

perspiration. The exercises I saw in Cairo were less protracted, but

more dramatic, as the Dervishes had long hair and stood in a circle,

swinging their bodies backward and forward in constant succession, and

nearly touching the ground with their flowing hair. In astounding feats

of asceticism the Moslems are fully equal to the ancient Christian

anchorites and the fakirs of India.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[199] The lions in the court of the Alhambra farm an exception.

[200] For an interesting description of a sermon from the pulpit of

Mecca, see Burton's Pilgrimage, II. 314; III. 117, quoted by Stanley,

p. 379. Burton says, he had never and nowhere seen so solemn, so

impressive a religious spectacle. Perhaps he has not heard many

Christian sermons.

[201] Gibbon's statement that "the Mohammedan religion has no priest

and no sacrifice;" is substantially correct.

[202] They are given in Arabic and English by Palmer, l.c. I., Intr, p.

lxvii. sq. The following are the first ten: 1. ar-Ra'hm�n, the

Merciful. 2. ar-Ra'h�m, the Compassionate. 3. al-M�lik, the Ruler. 4 .

al-Quadd�s, the Holy. 5. as-Sal�m, Peace. 6. al-M�'min, the Faithful.

7. al-Muh�imun, the Protector. 8. al-Haziz the Mighty. 9. al-Gabb�r,

the Repairer. 10. al-Mutakabbir, the Great.

[203] Description of Dean Stanley from his own observation in Cairo,

l.c., p. 385.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 47. Christian Polemics against Mohammedanism. Note on Mormonism.

See the modern Lit. in � 38.

For a list of earlier works against Mohammedanism, see J. Alb.

Fabricius: Delectus argumentorum et syllabus scriptorum, qui veritatem

Christ. Adv. Atheos, ... Judaeos et Muhammedanos ... asseruerunt.

Hamb., 1725, pp. 119 sqq., 735 sqq. J. G. Walch: Bibliotheca Theolog.

Selecta (Jenae, 1757), Tom. I. 611 sqq. Appendix to Prideaux's Life of

Mahomet.

Theod. Bibliander, edited at Basle, in 1543, and again in 1550, with

the Latin version of the Koran, a collection of the more important

works against Mohammed under the title: Machumetis Saracenorum

principis ejusque successorum vitae, doctrinae, ac ipse Alcoran., I

vol. fol.

Richardus (about 1300): Confutatio Alcorani, first publ. in Paris,

1511.

Joh. de Turrecremata: Tractatus contra principales errores perfidi

Mahometis et Turcorum. Rom., 1606.

Lud. Maraccius (Maracci): Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani; in quo,

per IV. praecipuas verae religionis notas, mahumetanae sectae falsitas

ostenditur, christianae religionis veritas comprobatur. Rom. (typis

Congreg. de Propaganda Fide), 1691. 4 vols., small oct.; also Pref. to

his Alcorani textus universus, Petav., 1698, 2 vols. fol.

Hadr. Reland: De Religione Mohammedica. Utrecht, 1705; 2nd ed. 1717;

French transl., Hague, 1721.

W. Gass: Gennadius und Pletho. Breslau, 1844, Part I., pp. 106-181.

(Die Bestreitung des Isl�m im Mittelalter.)

The argument of Mohammedanism against other religions was the sword.

Christian Europe replied with the sword in the crusades, but failed.

Greek and Latin divines refuted the false prophet with superior

learning, but without rising to a higher providential view, and without

any perceptible effect. Christian polemics against Mohammed and the

Koran began in the eighth century, and continued with interruptions to

the sixteenth and seventeenth.

John of Damascus, who lived among the Saracens (about a.d. 750), headed

the line of champions of the cross against the crescent. He was

followed, in the Greek Church, by Theodor of Abukara, who debated a

good deal with Mohammedans in Mesopotamia, by Samonas, bishop of Gaza,

Bartholomew of Edessa, John Kantakuzenus (or rather a monk Meletius,

formerly a Mohammedan, who justified his conversion, with the aid of

the emperor, in four apologies and four orations), Euthymius Zigabenus,

Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople. Prominent in the Latin church

were Peter, Abbot of Clugny (twelfth century), Thomas Aquinas, Alanus

ab Insulis, Raimundus LulIus, Nicolaus of Cusa, Ricold or Richard (a

Dominican monk who lived long in the East), Savonarola, Joh. de

Turrecremata.

The mediaeval writers, both Greek and Latin, represent Mohammed as an

impostor and arch-heretic, who wove his false religion chiefly from

Jewish (Talmudic) fables and Christian heresies. They find him foretold

in the Little Horn of Daniel, and the False Prophet of the Apocalypse.

They bring him in connection with a Nestorian monk, Sergius, or

according to others, with the Jacobite Bahira, who instructed Mohammed,

and might have converted him to the Christian religion, if malignant

Jews had not interposed with their slanders. Thus he became the shrewd

and selfish prophet of a pseudo-gospel, which is a mixture of apostate

Judaism and apostate Christianity with a considerable remnant of his

native Arabian heathenism. Dante places him, disgustingly torn and

mutilated, among the chief heretics and schismatics in the ninth gulf

of Hell,

"Where is paid the fee

By those who sowing discord win their burden." [204]

This mediaeval view was based in part upon an entire ignorance or

perversion of facts. It was then believed that Mohammedans were pagans

and idolaters, and cursed the name of Christ, while it is now known,

that they abhor idolatry, and esteem Christ as the highest prophet next

to Mohammed.

The Reformers and older Protestant divines took substantially the same

view, and condemn the Koran and its author without qualification. We

must remember that down to the latter part of the seventeenth century

the Turks were the most dangerous enemies of the peace of Europe.

Luther published, at Wittenberg, 1540, a German translation of

Richard's Confutatio Alcorani, with racy notes, to show "what a

shameful, lying, abominable book the Alcoran is." He calls Mohammed "a

devil and the first-born child of Satan." He goes into the question,

whether the Pope or Mohammed be worse, and comes to the conclusion,

that after all the pope is worse, and the real Anti-Christ

(Endechrist). "Wohlan," he winds up his epilogue, "God grant us his

grace and punish both the Pope and Mohammed, together with their

devils. I have done my part as a true prophet and teacher. Those who

won't listen may leave it alone." Even the mild and scholarly

Melanchthon identifies Mohammed with the Little Horn of Daniel, or

rather with the Gog and Magog of the Apocalypse, and charges his sect

with being a compound of "blasphemy, robbery, and sensuality." It is

not very strange. that in the heat of that polemical age the Romanists

charged the Lutherans, and the Lutherans the Calvinists, and both in

turn the Romanists, with holding Mohammedan heresies. [205]

In the eighteenth century this view was gradually corrected. The

learned Dean Prideaux still represented Mohammed as a vulgar impostor,

but at the same time as a scourge of God in just punishment of the sins

of the Oriental churches who turned our holy religion "into a firebrand

of hell for contention, strife and violence." He undertook his "Life of

Mahomet" as a part of a "History of the Eastern Church," though he did

not carry out his design.

Voltaire and other Deists likewise still viewed Mohammed as an

impostor, but from a disposition to trace all religion to priestcraft

and deception. Spanheim, Sale, and Gagnier began to take a broader and

more favorable view. Gibbon gives a calm historical narrative; and in

summing up his judgment, he hesitates whether "the title of enthusiast

or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man .... From

enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery; the daemon

of Socrates affords a memorable instance how a wise man may deceive

himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may

slumber in a mixed and middle state between self-illusion and voluntary

fraud."

Dean Milman suspends his judgment, saying: "To the question whether

Mohammed was hero, sage, impostor, or fanatic, or blended, and blended

in what proportions, these conflicting elements in his character? the

best reply is the reverential phrase of Isl�m: God knows.' " [206]

Goethe and Carlyle swung from the orthodox abuse to the opposite

extreme of a pantheistic hero-worshiping over-estimate of Mohammed and

the Koran by extending the sphere of revelation and inspiration, and

obliterating the line which separates Christianity from all other

religions. Stanley, R. Bosworth Smith, Emanuel Deutsch, and others

follow more or less in the track of this broad and charitable

liberalism. Many errors and prejudices have been dispelled, and the

favorable traits of Isl�m and its followers, their habits of devotion,

temperance, and resignation, were held up to the shame and admiration

of the Christian world. Mohammed himself, it is now generally conceded,

began as an honest reformer, suffered much persecution for his faith,

effectually destroyed idolatry, was free from sordid motives, lived in

strict monogamy during twenty-four years of his youth and manhood, and

in great simplicity to his death. The polygamy which disfigured the

last twelve years of his life was more moderate than that of many other

Oriental despots, Califs and Sultans, and prompted in part by motives

of benevolence towards the widows of his followers, who had suffered in

the service of his religion. [207]

But the enthusiasm kindled by Carlyle for the prophet of Mecca has been

considerably checked by fuller information from the original sources as

brought out in the learned biographies of Weil, N�ldeke, Sprenger and

Muir. They furnish the authentic material for a calm, discriminating

and impartial judgment, which, however, is modified more or less by the

religious standpoint and sympathies of the historian. Sprenger

represents Mohammed as the child of his age, and mixes praise and

censure, without aiming at a psychological analysis or philosophical

view. Sir William Muir concedes his original honesty and zeal as a

reformer and warner, but assumes a gradual deterioration to the

judicial blindness of a self-deceived heart, and even a kind of Satanic

inspiration in his later revelations. "We may readily admit," he says,

"that at the first Mahomet did believe, or persuaded himself to

believe, that his revelations were dictated by a divine agency. In the

Meccan period of his life, there certainly can be traced no personal

ends or unworthy motives to belie this conclusion. The Prophet was

there, what he professed to be, 'a simple Preacher and a Warner;' he

was the despised and rejected teacher of a gainsaying people; and he

had apparently no ulterior object but their reformation .... But the

scene altogether changes at Medina. There the acquisition of temporal

power, aggrandizement, and self-glorification mingled with the grand

object of the Prophet's previous life; and they were sought after and

attained by precisely the same instrumentality. Messages from heaven

were freely brought forward to justify his political conduct, equally

with his religious precepts. Battles were fought, wholesale executions

inflicted, and territories annexed, under pretext of the Almighty's

sanction. Nay, even baser actions were not only excused but encouraged,

by the pretended divine approval or command .... The student of history

will trace for himself how the pure and lofty aspirations of Mahomet

were first tinged, and then gradually debased by a half unconscious

self-deception, and how in this process truth merged into falsehood,

sincerity into guile,--these opposite principles often co-existing even

as active agencies in his conduct. The reader will observe that

simultaneously with the anxious desire to extinguish idolatry and to

promote religion and virtue in the world, there was nurtured by the

Prophet in his own heart a licentious self-indulgence; till in the end,

assuming to be the favorite of Heaven, he justified himself by

'revelations' from God in the most flagrant breaches of morality. He

will remark that while Mahomet cherished a kind and tender disposition,

'Weeping with them that wept,' and binding to his person the hearts of

his followers by the ready and self-denying offices of love and

friendship, he could yet take pleasure in cruel and perfidious

assassination, could gloat over the massacre of entire tribes, and

savagely consign the innocent babe to the fires of hell.

Inconsistencies such as these continually present themselves from the

period of Mahomet's arrival at Medina; and it is by, the study of these

inconsistencies that his character must be rightly comprehended. The

key, to many difficulties of this description may be found, I believe,

in the chapter 'on the belief of Mahomet in his own inspiration.' When

once he had dared to forge the name of the Most High God as the seal

and authority of his own words and actions, the germ was laid from

which the errors of his after life freely and fatally developed

themselves." [208]

Note on Mormonism.

Sources.

The Book of Mormon. First printed at Palmyra, N. Y., 1830. Written by

the Prophet Mormon, three hundred years after Christ, upon plates of

gold in the "Reformed Egyptian" (?) language, and translated by the

Prophet Joseph Smith, Jun., with the aid of Urim and Thummim, into

English. As large as the Old Testament. A tedious historical romance on

the ancient inhabitants of the American Continent, whose ancestors

emigrated from Jerusalem b.c. 600, and whose degenerate descendants are

the red Indians. Said to have been written as a book of fiction by a

Presbyterian minister, Samuel Spalding.

The Doctrines and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter

Day Saints. Salt Lake City, Utah Territory. Contains the special

revelations given to Joseph Smith and Brigham Young at different times.

Written in similar style and equally insipid as the Book of Mormon.

A Catechism for Children by Elder John Jaques. Salt Lake City. 25th

thousand, 1877.

We cannot close this chapter on Oriental Mohammedanism without some

remarks on the abnormal American phenomenon of Mormonism, which arose

in the nineteenth century, and presents an instructive analogy to the

former. Joseph Smith (born at Sharon, Vt., 1805; shot dead at Nauvoo,

in Illinois, 1844), the first founder, or rather Brigham Young (d.

1877), the organizer of the sect, may be called the American Mohammed,

although far beneath the prophet of Arabia in genius and power.

The points of resemblance are numerous and striking: the claim to a

supernatural revelation mediated by an angel; the abrogation of

previous revelations by later and more convenient ones; the embodiment

of the revelations in an inspired book; the eclectic character of the

system, which is compounded of Jewish, heathenish, and all sorts of

sectarian Christian elements; the intense fanaticism and heroic

endurance of the early Mormons amidst violent abuse and persecution

from state to state, till they found a refuge in the desert of Utah

Territory, which they turned into a garden; the missionary zeal in

sending apostles to distant lands and importing proselytes to their

Eldorado of saints from the ignorant population of England, Wales,

Norway, Germany, and Switzerland; the union of religion with civil

government, in direct opposition to the American separation of church

and state; the institution of polygamy in defiance of the social order

of Christian civilization. In sensuality and avarice Brigham Young

surpassed Mohammed; for he left at his death in Salt Lake City

seventeen wives, sixteen sons, and twenty-eight daughters (having had

in all fifty-six or more children), and property estimated at two

millions of dollars. [209]

The government of the United States cannot touch the Mormon religion;

but it can regulate the social institutions connected therewith, as

long as Utah is a Territory under the immediate jurisdiction of

Congress. Polygamy has been prohibited by law in the Territories under

its control, and President Hayes has given warning to foreign

governments (in 1879) that Mormon converts emigrating to the United

States run the risk of punishment for violating the laws of the land.

President Garfield (in his inaugural address, March 4, 1881) took the

same decided ground on the Mormon question, saying: "The Mormon church

not only offends the moral sense of mankind by sanctioning polygamy,

but prevents the administration of justice through the ordinary

instrumentalities of law. In my judgment it is the duty of Congress,

while respecting to the uttermost the conscientious convictions and

religious scruples of every citizen, to prohibit within its

jurisdiction all criminal practices, especially of that class which

destroy the family relations and endanger social order. Nor can any

ecclesiastical organization be safely permitted to usurp in the

smallest degree the functions and powers of the National Government."

His successor, President Arthur, in his last message to Congress, Dec.

1884, again recommends that Congress "assume absolute political control

of the Territory of Utah," and says: "I still believe that if that

abominable practice [polygamy] can be suppressed by law it can only be

by the most radical legislation consistent with the restraints of the

Constitution." The secular and religious press of America, with few

exceptions, supports these sentiments of the chief magistrate.

Since the annexation of Utah to the United States, after the Mexican

war, "Gentiles" as the Christians are called, have entered the Mormon

settlement, and half a dozen churches of different denominations have

been organized in Salt Lake City. But the "Latter Day Saints" are

vastly in the majority, and are spreading in the adjoining Territories.

Time will show whether the Mormon problem can be solved without resort

to arms, or a new emigration of the Mormons.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[204] Inferno, Canto XXVIII. 22 sqq. (Longfellow's translation): "A

cask by losing centre-piece or cant Was never shattered so, as I saw

one Rent from the chin to where one breaketh wind. Between his legs

were hanging down his entrails; His heart was visible, and the dismal

sack That maketh excrement of what is eaten. While I was all absorbed

in seeing him, He looked at me, and opened with his hands His bosom,

saying: 'See now how I rend me; How mutilated, am, is Mahomet; In front

of me doth Ali weeping go, Cleft in the face from forelock unto chin;

And all the others whom thou here beholdest Sowers of scandal and of

schism have been While living, and therefore are thus cleft asunder.' "

[205] Maracci, Vivaldus, and other Roman writers point out thirteen or

more heresies in which Mohammedanism and Lutheranism agree, such as

iconoclasm, the rejection of the worship of saints, polygamy (in the

case of Philip of Hesse), etc. A fanatical Lutheran wrote a book to

prove that "the damned Calvinists hold six hundred and sixty-six theses

(the apocalyptic number) in common with the Turks!" The Calvinist

Reland, on the other hand, finds analogies to Romish errors in the

Mohammedan prayers for the dead, visiting the graves of prophets,

pilgrimages to Mecca, intercession of angels, fixed fasts, meritorious

almsgiving, etc.

[206] Lat. Christianity, II. 120.

[207] The Mohammedan apologist, Syed Ameer Ali (The Life and Teachings

of Mohammed, London, 1873, pp. 228 sqq.), makes much account of this

fact, and entirely justifies Mohammed's polygamy. But the motive of

benevolence and generosity can certainly not be shown in the marriage

of Ayesha (the virgin-daughter of Abu-Bakr), nor of Zeynab (the lawful

wife of his freedman Zeyd), nor of Safiya (the Jewess). Ali himself

must admit that "some of Mohammed's marriages may possibly have arisen

from a desire for male offspring." The motive of sensuality he entirely

ignores.

[208] Life of Mah., IV. 317, 322.

[209] As stated in the New York Tribune for Sept. 3, 1877.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAPAL HIERARCHY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 48. General Literature on the Papacy.

\*Bullarium Magnum Romanum a Leone M. usque ad Benedictum XIV. Luxemb.,

1727-1758. 19 vols., fol. Another ed., of superior typography, under

the title: Bullarum ... Romanorum Pontificum amplissima Collectio,

opera et studio C. Cocquelines, Rom., 1738-1758, 14 Tomi in 28 Partes

fol.; new ed., 1847-'72, 24 vols. Bullarii Romani continuatio, ed. A.

A. Barberi, from Clement XIII. to Gregory XVI., Rom., 1835-1857, 18

vols.

\*Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque

ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum; ed. by G. H. Pertz (royal

librarian at Berlin, d. 1876), continued by G. Waitz. Hannoverae,

1826-1879, 24 vols. fol. A storehouse for the authentic history of the

German empire.

\*Anastasius (librarian and abbot in Rome about 870): Liber Pontificalis

(or, De Vitis Roman. Pontificum). The oldest collection of biographies

of popes down to Stephen VI., a.d. 885, but not all by Anastasius. This

book, together with later collections, is inserted in the third volume

of Muratori, Rerum Ital. Scriptores (Mediol., 1723-'51, in 25 vols.

fol.); also in Migne, Patrol. L. Tom. cxxvii. (1853).

Archibald Bower (b. 1686 at Dundee, Scotland, d. 1766): The History of

the Popes, from the foundation of the See of Rome to the present time.

3rd ed. Lond., 1750-'66. 7 vols., 4to. German transl. by Rambach, 1770.

Bower changed twice from Protestantism to Romanism, and back again, and

wrote in bitter hostility, to the papacy, but gives very ample

material. Bp. Douglas of Salesbury wrote against him.

Chr. F. Walch: Entwurf einer vollst�ndigen Historie der r�mischen

P�pste. G�ttingen, 2d ed., 1758.

G. J. Planck: Geschichte des Papstthums. Hanover, 1805. 3 vols.

L. T. Spittler: Geschichte des Papstthums; with Notes by J. Gurlitt,

Hamb., 1802, new ed. by H. E. G. Paulus. Heidelberg, 1826.

J. E. Riddle: The History of the Papacy to the Period of the

Reformation. London, 1856. 2 vols.

F. A. Gfr�rer: Geschichte der Karolinger. (Freiburg, 1848. 2 vols.);

Allgemeine Kirchengeschichte (Stuttgart, 1841-'46, 4 vols.); Gregor

VII. und sein Zeitalter (Schaffhausen, 1859-64, 8 vols.). Gfr�rer began

as a rationalist, but joined the Roman church, 1853, and died in 1861.

\*Phil. Jaff�: Regesta Pontificum Roman. ad annum 1198. Berol., 1851;

revised ed. by Wattenbach, etc. Lips. 1881 sqq. Continued by Potthast

from 1198-1304, and supplemented by Harttung (see below). Important for

the chronology and acts of the popes.

J. A. Wylie: The Papacy. Lond., 1852.

\*Leopold Ranke: Die r�mischen P�pste, ihre Kirche und ihr Staat im 16

und 17ten Jahrhundert. 4 ed., Berlin, 1857. 3 vols. Two English

translations, one by Sarah Austin (Lond., 1840), one by E. Foster

(Lond., 1847). Comp. the famous review of Macaulay in the Edinb.

Review.

D�llinger. (R.C.): Die Papstfabeln des Mittelalters. Munchen, 1863.

English translation by A. Plummer, and ed. with notes by H. B. Smith.

New York, 1872.

\*W. Giesebrecht: Geschichte der Deutschen Kaiserzeit. Braunschweig,

1855. 3rd ed., 1863 sqq., 5 vols. A political history of the German

empire, but with constant reference to the papacy in its close contact

with it.

\*Thomas Greenwood: Cathedra Petri. A Political History of the great

Latin Patriarchate. London, 1856-'72, 6 vols.

C. de Cherrier: Histoire de la lutte des papes el des empereurs de la

maison de swabe, de ces causes et des ses effets. Paris, 1858. 3 vols.

\*Rud. Baxmann: Die Politik der P�pste von Gregor I. bis Gregor VII.

Elberfeld, 1868, '69. 2 vols.

\*F. Gregorovius: Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter, vom 5. bis

zum 16. Jahrh. 8 vols. Stuttgart, 1859-1873 .2 ed., 1869 ff.

A. v. Reumont: Geschichte der Stadt Rom. Berlin, 1867-'70, 3 vols.

C. H�fler (R.C.): Die Avignonischen P�pste, ihre Machtfulle und ihr

Untergang. Wien, 1871.

R. Z�pffel: Die Papstwahlen und die mit ihnen im n�chsten Zusammenhange

stehenden Ceremonien in ihrer Entwicklung vom 11 bis 14. Jahrhundert.

G�ttingen, 1872.

\*James Bryce (Prof. of Civil Law in Oxford): The Holy Roman Empire,

London, 3rd ed., 1871, 8th ed. enlarged, 1880.

W. Wattenbach: Geschicte des r�mischen Papstthums. Berlin, 1876.

\*Jul. von Pflugk-Harttung: Acta Pontificum Romanorum inedita. Bd. I.

Urkunden der P�pste a.d. 748-1198. Gotha, 1880.

O. J. Reichel: The See of Rome in the Middle Ages. Lond. 1870.

Mandell Creighton: History of the Papacy during the Reformation. London

1882. 2 vols.

J. N. Murphy (R.C.): The Chair of Peter, or the Papacy and its

Benefits. London 1883.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 49. Chronological Table of the Popes, Anti-Popes, and Roman Emperors

from Gregory I. to Leo XIII.

We present here, for convenient reference, a complete list of the

Popes, Anti-Popes, and Roman Emperors, from Pope Gregory I. to Leo

XIII., and from Charlemagne to Francis II., the last of the

German-Roman emperors: [210]

----------

a.d.

POPES.

ANTI-POPES.

EMPERORS.

a.d.

(Greek Emperors)

590-604

St. Gregory I

Maurice

582

(the Great)

Phocas

602

604-606

Sabinianus

607

Boniface III

608-615

Boniface IV

Heraclius

610

615-618

Deusdedit

619-625

Boniface V

625-638

Honorius I

638(?)-640

Severinus

640-642

John IV

Constantine III

Constans II

641

642-649

Theodorus I

649-653 [655]

St. Martin I

Constantine IV

654-657

Eugenius I

(Pogonatus)

668

657-672

Vitalianus

672-676

Adeodatus

676-678

Donus or Domnus I

678-681

Agatho

682-683

Leo II

683-685

Benedict II

685-686

John V

Justinian II

685

686-687

Conon

687-692

Paschal

Leontius

694

687

Theodorus.

Tiberius III

697

687-701

Sergius I

Justinus II restored

705

701-705

John VI

Philippicus Bardanes

711

705-707

John VII

Anastasius II

713

708

Sisinnius

Theodosius III

716

708-715

Constantine I

Leo III. (the Isaurian)

718

715-731

Gregory II

731-741

Gregory III

(Charles Martel, d. 741, defeated the Saracens at Tours 732.)

741-752

Zacharias

(Pepin the Short,

752

Stephen II

Roman(Patricius).

741

752-757

Stephen III (II)

757-767

Paul I

767-768

Constantine II

Roman Emperors.

768

Philippus

768-772

Stephen IV

772-795

Adrian I

\* Charlemagne

768-814

795-816

Leo III

Crowned emperor at Rome

800

816-817

Stephen V

817-824

Paschal I

\* Louis the Pious (le D�bonnaire)

814-840

824-827

Eugenius II

Crowned em. at Rheims

816

827

Valentinus

827-844

Gregory IV

\* Lothaire I (crowned 823)

840-855

844

John (diaconus)

844-847

Sergius II

(Louis the German, King of Germany, 840-876)

847-855

Leo IV

The mythical papess Joan or John VIII

855-858

Benedict III

855

Anastasius.

\* Louis II (in Italy)

855-875

858-867

Nicolas I

867-872

Adrian II

872-882

John VIII

\* Charles the Bald

875-881

882-884

Marinus I

\* Charles the Fat

881-887

884-885

Adrian III

885-891

Stephen VI

\* Arnulf

887-899

891-896

Formosus

Crowned emperor

896

896

Boniface VI

896-897

Ste

897

Romanus

897

Theodorus II

898-900

John IX

(Louis the Child)

899

900-903

Benedict IV

903

Leo V

Louis III of Provence (in Italy)

901

903-904

Christophorus (deposed)

904-911

Sergius III

911-913

Anstasius III

Conrad I (of Franconia) King of Germany.

911-918

913-914

Lando

914-928

John X

Berengar (in Italy).

915

928-929

Leo VI

Henry I. (the Fowler) King of Germany. The House of Saxony.

918-926

929-931

Stephen VIII

931-936

John XI

936-939

Leo VII

939-942

Stephen IX

\* Otto I (the Great)

936-973

942-946

Marinus II

Crowned emperor

962

946-955

Agapetus II

955-963

John XII (deposed)

963-965

Leo VIII

964

Benedict V (deposed)

965-972

John XIII

972-974

Benedict VI

\* Otto II

973-983

974-983

Benedict VII

(Boniface VII?)

983-984

John XIV (murdered)

\* Otto III

983-1002

984-985

Boniface VII

Crowned emperor

996

985-996

John XV

996-999

Gregory V

997-998

Calabritanus John XVI

\*Henry II (the Saint, the last of the Saxon emperors).

1002-1024

998-1003

Silvester II

Crowned emperor

1014

1003

John XVII

1003-1009

John XVIII

1009-1012

Sergius IV

1012-1024

Benedict VIII

1024-1039

1012

Gregory

\* Conrad II, The House of Franconia.

1024-1033

John XIX

Crowned emperor

1027

1033-1046

Benedict IX (deposed)

1044-1046

Silvester III

\* Henry III

1039-1056

1045-1046

Gregory VI

Crowned emperor

1046

1046-1047

Clement II

1047-1048

Damasus II

1048-1054

Leo IX

1054-1057

Victor II

\* Henry IV

1056-1106

1057-1058

Stephen X

Crowned by the Antipope Clement

1084

1058-1059

Benedict X (deposed)

1058-1061

Nicolas II

1061-1073

Alexander II

1061

Cadalous (Honorius II)

(Rudolf of Swabia rival)

1077

1073-1085

Gregory VII (Hildebrand)

1080-1100

Wibertus (Clement III)

(Hermann of Luxemburg rival)

1081

1086-1087

Victor III

1088-1099

Urban II

1099-1118

Paschal II

1100

Theodoricus

1102

Albertus

\* Henry V

1106-1125

1105-1111

Maginulfus (Silvester IV)

1118-1119

Gelasius II

1118-1121

Burdinus (Gregory VIII)

\* Lothaire II (the Saxon

1125-1137

1119-1124

Calixtus II

1124

Theobaldus Buccapecus (Celestine)

\* Conrad III, The House of Hohenstaufen. (The Swabian emperors.)

1138-1152

1124-1130

Honorius II.

Crowned Em. at Aix

1130-1143

Innocent II

1130-1138

Anacletus II

1138

Gregory (Victor IV)

1143-1144

Celestine II

1144-1145

Lucius II

1145-1153

Eugenius III

\*Frederick I (Barbarossa)

1152-1190

1153-1154

Anastasius IV

Crowned emperor

1155

1154-1159

Adrian IV

1159-1181

Alexander III

1159-1164

Octavianus (Victor IV)

Guido Cremensis (Paschal III)

1164-1168

Johannes de Struma (Calixtus III)

1168-1178

1178-1180

Landus Titinus (Innocent III)

1181-1185

Lucius III

1185-1187

Urban III

1187

Gregory VIII

1187-1191

Clement III

\*Henry VI

1190-1197

1191-1198

Celestine III

1198-1216

Innocent III

Philip of Swabia and Otto IV (rivals)

1198

\*Otto IV

1209-1215

1216-1227

Honorius III

\*Frederick II.

1215-1250.

1227-1241

Gregory IX

Crowned emperor

1220

1241

Celestine IV

(Henry Raspe rival)

1241-1254

Innocent IV

(William of Holland rival)

Conrad IV

1250-1254

1254-1261

Alexander IV

Interregnum

1254-1273

Richard (Earl of Cornwall)

1261-1264

Urban IV

Alfonso (King of Castile) (rivals)

1257

1265-1268

Clement IV

1271-1276

Gregory X

1276

Innocent V

Rudolf I (of Hapsburg)

1276

Adrian V

House of Austria

1272-1291

1276-1277

John XXI

1277-1280

Nicolas III

1281-1285

Martin IV

1285-1287

Honorius IV

1288-1292

Nicolas IV

Adolf (of Nassau)

1292-1298

1294

St. Celestine V (abdicated)

1294-1303

Boniface VIII

Albert I (of Hapsburg)

1298-1308

1303-1304

Benedict XI

1305-1314

Clement V [211]

\*Henry VII (of Luxemburg)

1308-1313

1316-1334

John XXII

\*Lewis IV (of Bavaria)

1314-1347

1334-1342

Benedict XII

(Frederick the Fair of Austria, rival 1314-1330)

1342-1352

Clement VI

1352-1362

Innocent VI

1362-1370

Urban V

\*Charles IV (of Luxemburg)

1347-1437

1370-1378

Gregory XI

(Gunther of Schwarzburg, rival)

1378-1389

Urban VI

1378-1394

Clement VII

1389-1404

Boniface IX

Wenzel (of Luxemburg)

1378-1400

1394-1423

Benedict XIII

(deposed 1409)

1404-1406

Innocent VII

Rupert (of the Palatinate)

1400-1410

1406-1409

Gregory XII (deposed)

1410-1415

Alexander V

1410-1415

John XXIII (deposed)

Sigismund (of Luxemburg)

1410-1437

(Jobst of Moravia rival)

1417-1431

Martin V

Clement VIII

1431-1447

Eugene IV

1439-1449

Felix V

Albert II (of Hapsburg)

1438-1439

1447-1455

Nicolas

\*Frederick III. [212]

1440-1493

1455-1458

Calixtus IV

Crowned emperor

1452

1458-1464

Pius II

1464-1471

Paul II

1471-1484

Sixtus IV

1484-1492

Innocent VIII

Maximilian I

1493-1519

1492-1503

Alexander VI.

1503

Pius III.

1503-1513

Julius II.

\* Charles V

1519-1558

1513-1521

Leo X.

Crowned emperor at Bologna not in Rome

1530

1522-1523

Hadrian VI

1523-1534

Clement VII

1534-1549

Paul III

1550-1555

Julius III

1555

Marcellus II

Ferdinand I

1558-1564

1555-1559

Paul IV

1559-1565

Pius IV

1566-1572

Pius V

1572-1585

Gregory XIII

Maximilian II

1564-1576

1585-1590

Sixtus V

1590

Urban VII

1590-1591

Gregory XIV

1591

Innocent IX

1592-1605

Clement VIII

Rudolf II

1576-1612

1605

Leo XI

1605-1621

Paul V

Matthias

1612-1619

1621-1623

Gregory XV

Ferdinand II

1619-1637

1623-1644

Urban VIII

1644-1655

Innocent X

Ferdinand III

1637-1657

1655-1667

Alexander VIII

1667-1669

Clement IX

Leopold I

1657-1705

1669-1676

Clement X

1676-1689

Innocent XI

1689-1691

Alex'der VIII

1691-1700

Innocent XII

1700-1721

Clement XI

Joseph I

1705-1711

1721-1724

Innocent XIII

Charles VI.

1711-1740

1724-1730

Benedict XIII

Charles VII (of Ba

1730-1740

Clement XII

varia)

1742-1745

1740-1758

Benedict XIV

Francis I (of Lorraine)

1745-1765

1758-1769

Clement XIII

Joseph II

1765-1790

1769-1774

Clement XIV

1775-1799

Pius VI

Leopold II

1790-1792

Francis II

1792-1806

1800-1823

Pius VII

Abdication of Francis II

1806

1823-1829

Leo XII

1829-1830

Pius VIII

(Francis I, E

----------

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[210] This list is compiled from Jaff� (Regesta), Potthast (Bibl. Hist.

Medii AEvi, Supplement, 259-267), and other sources. The whole number

of popes from the Apostle Peter to Leo XIII. is 263. The emperors

marked with an asterisk were crowned by the pope, the others were

simply kings and emperors of Germany.

[211] Clement V. moved the papal see to Avignon in 1309, and his

successors continued to reside there for seventy years, till Gregory

XI. After that date arose a forty years' schism between the Roman popes

and the Avignon popes.

[212] Frederick III. was the last emperor crowned in Rome. All his

successors, except Charles VII. and Francis I. were of the House of

Hapsburg.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 50. Gregory the Great. a.d. 590-604.

Literature.

I. Gregorii M. Opera.: The best is the Benedictine ed. of Dom de Ste

Marthe (Dionysius Samarthanus e congregatione St, Mauri), Par., 1705, 4

vols. fol. Reprinted in Venice, 1768-76, in 17 vols. 4to.; and, with

additions, in Migne's Patrologia, 1849, in 5 vols. (Tom. 75-79).

Especially valuable are Gregory's Epistles, nearly 850 (in third vol.

of Migne's ed.). A new ed. is being prepared by Paul Ewald.

II. Biographies of Gregory I

(1) Older biographies: in the "Liber Pontificalis;" by Paulus Diaconus

( 797), in Opera I. 42 (ed. Migne); by Johannes Diaconus (9th cent.),

ibid., p. 59, and one selected from his writings, ibid., p. 242.

Detailed notices of Gregory in the writings of Gregory of Tours, Bede,

Isidorus Hispal., Paul Warnefried (730).

(2) Modern biographies:

G. Lau: Gregor I. nach seinem Leben und nach seiner Lehre. Leipz.,

1845.

B�hringer: Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen. Bd. I., Abth. IV.

Zurich, 1846.

G. Pfahler: Gregor der Gr. und seine Zeit. Frkf a. M., 1852.

James Barmby: Gregory the Great. London, 1879. Also his art. "Gregorius

I." in Smith & Wace, "Dict. of Christ. Biogr.," II. 779 (1880).

Comp. Jaff�, Neander, Milman (Book III., ch. 7, vol. II., 39 sqq.);

Greenwood (Book III., chs. 6 and 7); Montalembert (Les moines

d'Occident, bk. V., Engl. transl., vol. II., 69 sqq.); Baxmann (Politik

der P�pste, I. 44 sqq.); Z�pffel (art. Gregor I. in the, new ed. of

Herzog).

Whatever may be thought of the popes of earlier times," says Ranke,

[213] "they always had great interests in view: the care of oppressed

religion, the conflict with heathenism, the spread of Christianity

among the northern nations, the founding of an independent hierarchy.

It belongs to the dignity of human existence to aim at and to execute

something great; this tendency the popes kept in upward motion."

This commendation of the earlier popes, though by no means applicable

to all, is eminently true of the one who stands at the beginning of our

period.

Gregory the First, or the Great, the last of the Latin fathers and the

first of the popes, connects the ancient with the mediaeval church, the

Graeco-Roman with the Romano-Germanic type of Christianity. He is one

of the best representatives of mediaeval Catholicism: monastic,

ascetic, devout and superstitious; hierarchical, haughty, and

ambitious, yet humble before God; indifferent, if not hostile, to

classical and secular culture, but friendly to sacred and

ecclesiastical learning; just, humane, and liberal to ostentation; full

of missionary zeal in the interest of Christianity, and the Roman see,

which to his mind were inseparably connected. He combined great

executive ability with untiring industry, and amid all his official

cares he never forgot the claims of personal piety. In genius he was

surpassed by Leo I., Gregory VII., Innocent III.; but as a man and as a

Christian, he ranks with the purest and most useful of the popes.

Goodness is the highest kind of greatness, and the church has done

right in according the title of the Great to him rather than to other

popes of superior intellectual power.

The times of his pontificate (a.d. Sept. 3, 590 to March 12, 604) were

full of trouble, and required just a man of his training and character.

Italy, from a Gothic kingdom, had become a province of the Byzantine

empire, but was exhausted by war and overrun by the savage Lombards,

who were still heathen or Arian heretics, and burned churches, slew

ecclesiastics, robbed monasteries, violated nuns, reduced cultivated

fields into a wilderness. Rome was constantly exposed to plunder, and

wasted by pestilence and famine. All Europe was in a chaotic state, and

bordering on anarchy. Serious men, and Gregory himself, thought that

the end of the world was near at hand. "What is it," says he in one of

his sermons, "that can at this time delight us in this world?

Everywhere we see tribulation, everywhere we hear lamentation. The

cities are destroyed, the castles torn down, the fields laid waste the

land made desolate. Villages are empty, few inhabitants remain in the

cities, and even these poor remnants of humanity are daily cut down.

The scourge of celestial justice does not cease, because no repentance

takes place under the scourge. We see how some are carried into

captivity, others mutilated, others slain. What is it, brethren, that

can make us contented with this life? If we love such a world, we love

not our joys, but our wounds. We see what has become of her who was

once the mistress of the world .... Let us then heartily despise the

present world and imitate the works of the pious as well as we can."

Gregory was born about a.d. 540, from an old and wealthy senatorial

(the Anician) family of Rome, and educated for the service of the

government. He became acquainted with Latin literature, and studied

Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustin, but was ignorant of Greek. His mother

Sylvia, after the death of Gordianus her husband, entered a convent and

so excelled in sanctity that she was canonized. The Greek emperor

Justin appointed him to the highest civil office in Rome, that of

imperial prefect (574). But soon afterwards he broke with the world,

changed the palace of his father near Rome into a convent in honor of

St. Andrew, and became himself a monk in it, afterwards abbot. He

founded besides six convents in Sicily, and bestowed his remaining

wealth on the poor. He lived in the strictest abstinence, and

undermined his health by ascetic excesses. Nevertheless he looked back

upon this time as the happiest of his life.

Pope Pelagius II. made him one of the seven deacons of the Roman

Church, and sent him as ambassador or nuntius to the court of

Constantinople (579). [214] His political training and executive

ability fitted him eminently for this post. He returned in 585, and was

appointed abbot of his convent, but employed also for important public

business.

It was during his monastic period (either before or, more probably,

after his return from Constantinople) that his missionary zeal was

kindled, by an incident on the slave market, in behalf of the

Anglo-Saxons. The result (as recorded in a previous chapter) was the

conversion of England and the extension of the jurisdiction of the

Roman see, during his pontificate. This is the greatest event of that

age, and the brightest jewel in his crown. Like a Christian Caesar, he

re-conquered that fair island by an army of thirty monks, marching

under the sign of the cross. [215]

In 590 Gregory was elected pope by the unanimous voice of the clergy,

the senate, and the people, notwithstanding his strong remonstrance,

and confirmed by his temporal sovereign, the Byzantine emperor

Mauricius. Monasticism, for the first time, ascended the papal throne.

Hereafter till his death he devoted all his energies to the interests

of the holy see and the eternal city, in the firm consciousness of

being the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Christ. He continued

the austere simplicity of monastic life, surrounded himself with monks,

made them bishops and legates, confirmed the rule of St. Benedict at a

council of Rome, guaranteed the liberty and property of convents, and

by his example and influence rendered signal services to the monastic

order. He was unbounded in his charities to the poor. Three thousand

virgins, impoverished nobles and matrons received without a blush alms

from his hands. He sent food from his table to the hungry before he sat

down for his frugal meal. He interposed continually in favor of injured

widows and orphans. He redeemed slaves and captives, and sanctioned the

sale of consecrated vessels for objects of charity.

Gregory began his administration with a public act of humiliation on

account of the plague which had cost the life of his predecessor. Seven

processions traversed the streets for three days with prayers and

hymns; but the plague continued to ravage, and demanded eighty victims

during the procession. The later legend made it the means of staying

the calamity, in consequence of the appearance of the archangel Michael

putting back the drawn sword into its sheath over the Mausoleum of

Hadrian, since called the Castle of St. Angelo, and adorned by the

statue of an angel.

His activity as pontiff was incessant, and is the more astonishing as

he was in delicate health and often confined to bed. "For a long time,"

he wrote to a friend in 601, "I have been unable to rise from my bed. I

am tormented by the pains of gout; a kind of fire seems to pervade my

whole body: to live is pain; and I look forward to death as the only

remedy." In another letter he says: "I am daily dying, but never die."

Nothing seemed too great, nothing too little for his personal care. He

organized and completed the ritual of the church, gave it greater

magnificence, improved the canon of the mass and the music by a new

mode of chanting called after him. He preached often and effectively,

deriving lessons of humility and piety, from the calamities of the

times, which appeared to him harbingers of the judgment-day. He

protected the city of Rome against the savage and heretical Lombards.

He administered the papal patrimony, which embraced large estates in

the neighborhood of Rome, in Calabria, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily,

Dalmatia, and even in Gaul and Africa. He encouraged and advised

missionaries. As patriarch of the West, he extended his paternal care

over the churches in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and sent the

pallium to some metropolitans, yet without claiming any legal

jurisdiction. He appointed, he also reproved and deposed bishops for

neglect of duty, or crime. He resolutely opposed the prevalent practice

of simony, and forbade the clergy to exact or accept fees for their

services. He corresponded, in the interest of the church, with nobles,

kings and queens in the West, with emperors and patriarchs in the East.

He hailed the return of the Gothic kingdom of Spain under Reccared from

the Arian heresy to the Catholic faith, which was publicly proclaimed

by the Council of Toledo, May 8, 589. He wrote to the king a letter of

congratulation, and exhorted him to humility, chastity, and mercy. The

detested Lombards likewise cast off Arianism towards the close of his

life, in consequence partly of his influence over Queen Theodelinda, a

Bavarian princess, who had been reared in the trinitarian faith. He

endeavored to suppress the remnants of the Donatist schism in Africa.

Uncompromising against Christian heretics and schismatics be was a step

in advance of his age in liberality towards the Jews. He censured the

bishop of Terracina and the bishop of Cagliari for unjustly depriving

them of their synagogues; he condemned the forcible baptism of Jews in

Gaul, and declared conviction by preaching the only legitimate means of

conversion; he did not scruple, however, to try the dishonest method of

bribery, and he inconsistently denied the Jews the right of building

new synagogues and possessing Christian slaves. He made efforts, though

in vain, to check the slave-trade, which was chiefly in the hands of

Jews.

After his death, the public distress, which he had labored to

alleviate, culminated in a general famine, and the ungrateful populace

of Rome was on the point of destroying his library, when the archdeacon

Peter stayed their fury by asserting that he had seen the Holy Spirit

in the form of a dove hovering above Gregory's head as he wrote his

books. Hence he is represented with a dove. He was buried in St.

Peter's under the altar of St. Andrew.

Note. Estimates of Gregory I.

Bishop Bossuet (as quoted by Montalembert, II. 173) thus tersely sums

up the public life of Gregory: "This great pope ... subdued the

Lombards; saved Rome and Italy, though the emperors could give him no

assistance; repressed the new-born pride of the patriarchs of

Constantinople; enlightened the whole church by his doctrine; governed

the East and the West with as much vigor as humility; and gave to the

world a perfect model of ecclesiastical government."

To this Count Montalembert (likewise a Roman Catholic) adds: "It was

the Benedictine order which gave to the church him whom no one would

have hesitated to call the greatest of the popes, had not the same

order, five centuries later, produced St. Gregory VII .... He is truly

Gregory the Great, because he issued irreproachable from numberless and

boundless difficulties; because he gave as a foundation to the

increasing grandeur of the Holy See, the renown of his virtue, the

candor of his innocence, the humble and inexhaustible tenderness of his

heart."

"The pontificate of Gregory the Great," says Gibbon (ch. 45), "which

lasted thirteen years, six months, and ten days, is one of the most

edifying periods of the history of the church. His virtues, and even

his faults, a singular mixture of simplicity and cunning, of pride and

humility, of sense and superstition, were happily suited to his station

and to the temper of the times."

Lau says (in his excellent monograph, pp. 302, 306): "The spiritual

qualities of Gregory's character are strikingly apparent in his

actions. With a clear, practical understanding, he combined a kind and

mild heart; but he was never weak. Fearful to the obstinate

transgressor of the laws, on account of his inflexible justice, he was

lenient to the repentant and a warm friend to his friends, though,

holding, as he did, righteousness and the weal of the church higher

than friendship, he was severe upon any neglect of theirs. With a great

prudence in managing the most different circumstances, and a great

sagacity in treating the most different characters, he combined a moral

firmness which never yielded an inch of what he had recognized as

right; but he never became stubborn. The rights of the church and the

privileges of the apostolical see he fought for with the greatest

pertinacity; but for himself personally, he wanted no honors. As much

as he thought of the church and the Roman chair, so modestly he

esteemed himself. More than once his acts gave witness to the humility

of his heart: humility was, indeed, to him the most important and the

most sublime virtue. His activity was prodigious, encompassing great

objects and small ones with equal zeal. Nothing ever became too great

for his energy or too small for his attention. He was a warm patriot,

and cared incessantly for the material as well as for the spiritual

welfare of his countrymen. More than once he saved Rome from the

Lombards, and relieved her from famine .... He was a great character

with grand plans, in the realization of which he showed as much insight

as firmness, as much prudent calculation of circumstances as sagacious

judgment of men. The influence he has exercised is immense, and when

this influence is not in every respect for the good, his time is to

blame, not he. His goal was always that which he acknowledged as the

best. Among all the popes of the sixth and following centuries, he

shines as a star of the very first magnitude."

Rud. Baxmann (l.c., I. 45 sq.): "Amidst the general commotion which the

invasion of the Lombards caused in Italy, one man stood fast on his

post in the eternal city, no matter how high the surges swept over it.

As Luther, in his last will, calls himself an advocate of God, whose

name was well known in heaven and on earth and in hell, the epitaph

says of Gregory I. that he ruled as the consul Dei. He was the chief

bishop of the republic of the church, the fourth doctor ecclesiae,

beside the three other powerful theologians and columns of the Latin

church: Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome. He is justly called the pater

ceremoniarum, the pater monachorum, and the Great. What the preceding

centuries had produced in the Latin church for church government and

dogmatics, for pastoral care and liturgy, he gathered together, and for

the coming centuries he laid down the norms which were seldom deviated

from."

To this we add the judgment of James Barmby, the latest biographer of

Gregory (Greg., p. 191): "Of the loftiness of his aims, the earnestness

of his purpose, the fervor of his devotion, his unwearied activity, and

his personal purity, there can be no doubt. These qualities are

conspicuous through his whole career. If his religion was of the

strongly ascetic type, and disfigured by superstitious credulity, it

bore in these respects the complexion of his age, inseparable then from

aspiration after the highest holiness. Nor did either superstition or

asceticism supersede in him the principles of a true inward

religion-justice, mercy, and truth. We find him, when occasion

required, exalting mercy above sacrifice; he was singularly kindly and

benevolent, as well as just, and even his zeal for the full rigor of

monastic discipline was tempered with much gentleness and allowance for

infirmity. If, again, with singleness of main purpose was combined at

times the astuteness of the diplomatist, and a certain degree of

politic insincerity in addressing potentates, his aims were never

personal or selfish. And if he could stoop, for the attainment of his

ends, to the then prevalent adulation of the great, he could also speak

his mind fearlessly to the greatest, when he felt great principles to

be at stake."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[213] Die R�mischen Paepste des 16und 17ten Jahrhunderts, Th. I., p. 44

(2nd ed.).

[214] Apocrisiarius (apokrisiarios,or angelos), responsalis. Du Cange

defines it: "Nuntius, Legatus ... praesertim qui a pontifice Romano,

vel etiam ab archiepiscopis ad comitatum mittebantur, quo res

ecclesiarum suarum peragerent, et de iis ad principem referrent." The

Roman delegates to Constantinople were usually taken from the deacons.

Gregory is the fifth Roman deacon who served in this capacity at

Constantinople, according to Du Cange s. v. Apocrisiarius.

[215] See above � 10.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 51. Gregory and the Universal Episcopate.

The activity, of Gregory tended powerfully to establish the authority

of the papal chair. He combined a triple dignity, episcopal,

metropolitan, and patriarchal. He was bishop of the city of Rome,

metropolitan over the seven suffragan (afterwards called cardinal)

bishops of the Roman territory, and patriarch of Italy, in fact of the

whole West, or of all the Latin churches. This claim was scarcely

disputed except as to the degree of his power in particular cases. A

certain primacy of honor among all the patriarchs was also conceded,

even by the East. But a universal episcopate, including an authority of

jurisdiction over the Eastern or Greek church, was not acknowledged,

and, what is more remarkable, was not even claimed by him, but

emphatically declined and denounced. He stood between the patriarchal

and the strictly papal system. He regarded the four patriarchs of

Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, to whom he

announced his election with a customary confession of his faith, as

co-ordinate leaders of the church under Christ, the supreme head,

corresponding as it were to the four oecumenical councils and the four

gospels, as their common foundation, yet after all with a firm belief

in a papal primacy. His correspondence with the East on this subject is

exceedingly important. The controversy began in 595, and lasted several

years, but was not settled.

John IV., the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, repeatedly used in

his letters the title "oecumenical" or "universal bishop." This was an

honorary, title, which had been given to patriarchs by the emperors Leo

and Justinian, and confirmed to John and his successors by a

Constantinopolitan synod in 588. It had also been used in the Council

of Chalcedon of pope Leo I. [216] But Gregory I. was provoked and

irritated beyond measure by the assumption of his Eastern rival, and

strained every nerve to procure a revocation of that title. He

characterized it as a foolish, proud, profane, wicked, pestiferous,

blasphemous, and diabolical usurpation, and compared him who used it to

Lucifer. He wrote first to Sabinianus, his apocrisiarius or ambassador

in Constantinople, then repeatedly to the patriarch, to the emperor

Mauricius, and even to the empress; for with all his monkish contempt

for woman, he availed himself on every occasion of the female influence

in high quarters. He threatened to break off communion with the

patriarch. He called upon the emperor to punish such presumption, and

reminded him of the contamination of the see of Constantinople by such

arch-heretics as Nestorius. [217]

Failing in his efforts to change the mind of his rival in New Rome, he

addressed himself to the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and

played upon their jealousy; but they regarded the title simply as a

form of honor, and one of them addressed him as oecumenical pope, a

compliment which Gregory could not consistently accept. [218]

After the death of John the Faster in 596 Gregory instructed his

ambassador at Constantinople to demand from the new patriarch,

Cyriacus, as a condition of intercommunion, the renunciation of the

wicked title, and in a letter to Maurice he went so far as to declare,

that "whosoever calls himself universal priest, or desires to be called

so, was the forerunner of Antichrist." [219]

In opposition to these high-sounding epithets, Gregory called himself,

in proud humility, "the servant of the servants of God." [220] This

became one of the standing titles of the popes, although it sounds like

irony in conjunction with their astounding claims.

But his remonstrance was of no avail. Neither the patriarch nor the

emperor obeyed his wishes. Hence he hailed a change of government which

occurred in 602 by a violent revolution.

When Phocas, an ignorant, red-haired, beardless, vulgar, cruel and

deformed upstart, after the most atrocious murder of Maurice and his

whole family (a wife, six sons and three daughters), ascended the

throne, Gregory hastened to congratulate him and his wife Leontia (who

was not much better) in most enthusiastic terms, calling on heaven and

earth to rejoice at their accession, and vilifying the memory of the

dead emperor as a tyrant, from whose yoke the church was now

fortunately freed. [221] This is a dark spot, but the only really dark

and inexcusable spot in the life of this pontiff. He seemed to have

acted in this case on the infamous maxim that the end justifies the

means. [222] His motive was no doubt to secure the protection and

aggrandizement of the Roman see. He did not forget to remind the

empress of the papal proof-text: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I

will build my church," and to add: "I do not doubt that you will take

care to oblige and bind him to you, by whom you desire to be loosed

from your sins."

The murderer and usurper repaid the favor by taking side with the pope

against his patriarch (Cyriacus), who had shown sympathy with the

unfortunate emperor. He acknowledged the Roman church to be "the head

of all churches." [223] But if he ever made such a decree at the

instance of Boniface III., who at that time was papal nuntius at

Constantinople, he must have meant merely such a primacy of honor as

had been before conceded to Rome by the Council of Chalcedon and the

emperor Justinian. At all events the disputed title continued to be

used by the patriarchs and emperors of Constantinople. Phocas, after a

disgraceful reign (602-610), was stripped of the diadem and purple,

loaded with chains, insulted, tortured, beheaded and cast into the

flames. He was succeeded by Heraclius.

In this whole controversy the pope's jealousy of the patriarch is very

manifest, and suggests the suspicion that it inspired the protest.

Gregory displays in his correspondence with his rival a singular

combination of pride and humility. He was too proud to concede to him

the title of a universal bishop, and yet too humble or too inconsistent

to claim it for himself. His arguments imply that he would have the

best right to the title, if it were not wrong in itself. His real

opinion is perhaps best expressed in a letter to Eulogius of

Alexandria. He accepts all the compliments which Eulogius paid to him

as the successor of Peter, whose very name signifies firmness and

solidity; but he ranks Antioch and Alexandria likewise as sees of

Peter, which are nearly, if not quite, on a par with that of Rome, so

that the three, as it were, constitute but one see. He ignores

Jerusalem. "The see of the Prince of the Apostles alone," he says, "has

acquired a principality of authority, which is the see of one only,

though in three places (quae in tribus locis unius est). For he himself

has exalted the see in which he deigned to rest and to end his present

life [Rome]. He himself adorned the see [Alexandria] to which he sent

his disciple [Mark] as evangelist. He himself established the see in

which he sat for seven years [Antioch]. Since, then, the see is one,

and of one, over which by divine authority three bishops now preside,

whatever good I hear of you I impute to myself. If you believe anything

good of me, impute this to your own merits; because we are one in Him

who said: 'That they all may be one, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I

in Thee, that all may be one in us' (John xvii. 21)." [224]

When Eulogius, in return for this exaltation of his own see, afterwards

addressed Gregory as "universal pope," he strongly repudiated the

title, saying: "I have said that neither to me nor to any one else (nec

mihi, nec cuiquam alteri) ought you to write anything of the kind. And

lo! in the preface of your letter you apply to me, who prohibited it,

the proud title of universal pope; which thing I beg your most sweet

Holiness to do no more, because what is given to others beyond what

reason requires is subtracted from you. I do not esteem that an honor

by which I know my brethren lose their honor. My honor is that of the

universal Church. My honor is the solid strength of my brethren. I am

then truly honored when all and each are allowed the honor that is due

to them. For, if your Holiness calls me universal pope, you deny

yourself to be that which you call me universally [that is, you own

yourself to be no pope]. But no more of this: away with words which

inflate pride and wound charity!" He even objects to the expression,

"as thou hast commanded," which had occurred in hid correspondent's

letter. "Which word, 'commanded,' I pray you let me hear no more; for I

know what I am, and what you are: in position you are my brethren, in

manners you are my, fathers. I did not, therefore, command, but desired

only to indicate what seemed to me expedient." [225]

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that Gregory, while he protested

in the strongest terms against the assumption by the Eastern patriarchs

of the antichristian and blasphemous title of universal bishop, claimed

and exercised, as far as he had the opportunity and power, the

authority and oversight over the whole church of Christ, even in the

East. "With respect to the church of Constantinople," he asks in one of

his letters, "who doubts that it is subject to the apostolic see?" And

in another letter: "I know not what bishop is not subject to it, if

fault is found in him." "To all who know the Gospels," he writes to

emperor Maurice, "it is plain that to Peter, as the prince of all the

apostles, was committed by our Lord the care of the whole church

(totius ecclesiae cura) .... But although the keys of the kingdom of

heaven and the power to bind and to loose, were intrusted to him, and

the care and principality of the whole church (totius ecclesiae cura et

principatus), he is not called universal bishop; while my most holy

fellow-priest (vir sanctissimus consacerdos meus) John dares to call

himself universal bishop. I am compelled to exclaim: O tempora, O

mores!" [226]

We have no right to impeach Gregory's sincerity. But he was clearly

inconsistent in disclaiming the name, and yet claiming the thing

itself. The real objection is to the pretension of a universal

episcopate, not to the title. If we concede the former, the latter is

perfectly legitimate. And such universal power had already been claimed

by Roman pontiffs before Gregory, such as Leo I., Felix, Gelasius,

Hormisdas, in language and acts more haughty and self-sufficient than

his.

No wonder, therefore that the successors of Gregory, less humble and

more consistent than he, had no scruple to use equivalent and even more

arrogant titles than the one against which he so solemnly protested

with the warning: "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the

humble." [227] But it is a very remarkable fact, that at the beginning

of the unfolding of the greatest power of the papacy one of the best of

popes should have protested against the antichristian pride and

usurpation of the system.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[216] Gregory alludes to this fact in a letter to John (Lib. V. 18, in

Migne's ed. of Greg. Opera, vol. III. 740) and to the emperor Mauricius

(Lib. V. 20, in Migne III. 747), but says in both that the popes never

claimed nor used "hoc temerarium nomen." ... "Certe pro beati Petri

apostolorum principis honore, per venerandam Chalcedonensem synodum

Romano pontifici oblatum est [nomen istud blasphemiae]. Sed nullus

eorum unquam hoc singularitatis nomine uti consensit, dum privatum

aliquid daretur uni, honore debito sacerdotes privarentur universi.

Quid est ergo quod nos huius vocabuli gloriam et oblatam non quaerimus,

et alter sibi hanc arripere at non oblatam praesumit?" Strictly

speaking, however, the fact assumed by Gregory is not quite correct.

Leo was styled oikoumenikosarchiepiskoposonly in an accusation against

Dioscurus, in the third session of Chalcedon. The papal delegates

subscribed: Vicarii apostolici universalis ecclesiae Papae, which was

translated by the Greeks: tesoikoumenikesekklesiasepiskopou. The popes

claimed to be popes (but not bishops) of the universal church. See

Hefele, Conciliengesch. II. 526. Boniface III is said to have openly

assumed the title universalis episcopis in 606, when he obtained from

the emperor Phocas a decree styling the see of Peter "caput omnium

ecclesiarum." It appears as self-assumed in the Liber Diurnus,

a.d.682-'5, and is frequent after the seventh century. The canonists,

however, make a distinction between "universalis ecclesiae episcopus."

and "episcopus universalis" or "oecumenicus," meaning by the latter an

immediate jurisdiction in the diocese of other bishops, which was

formerly denied to the pope. But according to the Vatican system of

1870, he is the bishop of bishops, over every single bishop, and over

all bishops put together, and all bishops are simply his vicars, as he

himself is the vicar of Christ. See my Creeds of Christendom, I. 151.

[217] See the letters in Lib. V. 18-21 (Migne III. 738-751). His

predecessor, Pelagius II. (578-590), had already strongly denounced the

assumption of the title by John, and at the same time disclaimed it for

himself, while yet clearly asserting the universal primacy of the see

of Peter. See Migne, Tom. LXXII. 739, and Baronius, ad ann. 587.

[218] Ep. V. 43: ad Eulogium et Anastasium episcopos; VI. 60; VII. 34,

40.

[219] Ep. VII. 13: "Ego autem confidenter dico quia quisquis se

universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua

Antichristum praecurrit, quia superbiendo se caeteris praeponit."

[220] "Servus servorum Dei." See Joa. Diaconus, Vit. Greg. II. 1, and

Lib. Diurnus, in Migne, Tom. CV. 23. Augustin (Epist. 217, ad Vitalem)

had before subscribed himself: "Servus Christi, et per ipsum servus

servorum ejus." Comp. Matt. xx. 26; xxiii. II. Fulgentius styled

himself "Servorum Christi famulus." The popes ostentatiously wash the

beggars' feet at St. Peter's in holy week, in imitation of Christ's

example, but expect kings and queens to kiss their toe.

[221] His letter "ad Phocam imperatorem," Ep. XIII. 31 (III. 1281 in

Migne) begins with "Gloria in excelsis Deo, qui juxta quod scriptum

est, immutat tempora et transfert regna." Comp. his letter "ad Leontiam

imperatricen" (Ep. XIII. 39).

[222] Gibbon (ch. 46): "As a subject and a Christian, it was the duty

of Gregory to acquiesce in the established government; but the joyful

applause with which he salutes the fortune of the assassin, has

sullied, with indelible disgrace, the character of the saint." Milman

(II. 83): "The darkest stain on the name of Gregory is his cruel and

unchristian triumph in the fall of the Emperor Maurice-his base and

adulatory praise of Phocas, the most odious and Sanguinary tyrant who

had ever seized the throne of Constantinople." Montalembert says (II.

116): "This is the only stain in the life of Gregory. We do not attempt

either to conceal or excuse it .... Among the greatest and holiest of

mortals, virtue, like wisdom, always falls short in some respect." It

is charitable to assume, with Baronius and other Roman Catholic

historians, that Gregory, although usually very well informed, at the

time he expressed his extravagant joy at the elevation of Phocas, knew

only the fact, and not the bloody means of the elevation. The same

ignorance must be assumed in the case of his flattering letters to

Brunhilde, the profligate and vicious fury of France. Otherwise we

would have here on a small scale an anticipation of the malignant joy

with which Gregory XIII. hailed the fearful slaughter of the Huguenots.

[223] The words run thus: "Hic [Phocas] rogante papa Bonifacio statuit

Romanae et apostolicae ecclesia caput esse omniuim ecclesiarum,quia

ecclesia Constantinopolitana primam se omnium rum scribebat." Paulus

Diaconus, De Gest. Lomb. IV., cap. 7, in Muratori, Rer. Ital., I. 465.

But the authenticity of this report which was afterwards frequently

copied, is doubtful. It has been abused by controversialists on both

sides. It is not the first declaration of the Roman primacy, nor is it

a declaration of an exclusive primacy, nor an abrogation of the title

of "oecumenical patriarch" on the part of the bishop of Constantinople.

Comp. Greenwood, vol. II. 239 sqq.

[224] Ep. VII. 40 (Migne III. 899). This parallel between the three

great sees of Peter--a hierarchical tri-personality in unity of

essence--seems to be entirely original with Gregory, and was never used

afterwards by a Roman pontiff. It is fatal to the sole primacy of the

Roman chair of Peter, and this is the very essence of popery.

[225] Ep. VIII. 30 (III. 933).

[226] Epist. V. 20 (III. 745). He quotes in proof the pet-texts of

popery, John xxi. 17; Luke xxii. 31; Matt. xvi. 18.

[227] Such titles as Universalis Episcopus (used by Boniface III., a

year after Gregory's death), Pontifex Maximus, Summus Pontifex,

Virarius Christi, and even "ipsius Dei in terris Virarius" (Conc. Trid.

VI. De reform., c. 1). First Vicar of Peter, then Vicar of Christ, at

last Vicar of God Almighty!

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 52. The Writings of Gregory.

Comp. the second part of Lau's biography, pp. 311 sqq., and Adolf

Ebert: Geschichte der Christlich-Lateinischen Literatur, bis zum

Zeitalter Karls der Grossen. Leipzig, 1874 sqq., vol. I. 516 sqq.

With all the multiplicity of his cares, Gregory found time for literary

labor. His books are not of great literary merit, but were eminently

popular and useful for the clergy of the middle ages.

His theology was based upon the four oecumenical councils and the four

Gospels, which he regarded as the immovable pillars of orthodoxy; he

also accepted the condemnation of the three chapters by the fifth

oecumenical council. He was a moderate Augustinian, but with an

entirely practical, unspeculative, uncritical, traditional and

superstitious bent of mind. His destruction of the Palatine Library, if

it ever existed, is now rejected as a fable; but it reflects his

contempt for secular and classical studies as beneath the dignity of a

Christian bishop. Yet in ecclesiastical learning and pulpit eloquence

he had no superior in his age.

Gregory is one of the great doctors or authoritative fathers of the

church. His views on sin and grace are almost semi-Pelagian. He makes

predestination depend on fore-knowledge; represents the fallen nature

as sick only, not as dead; lays great stress on the meritoriousness of

good works, and is chiefly responsible for the doctrine of a

purgatorial fire, and masses for the benefit of the souls in purgatory.

His Latin style is not classical, but ecclesiastical and monkish; it

abounds in barbarisms; it is prolix and chatty, but occasionally

sententious and rising to a rhetorical pathos, which he borrowed from

the prophets of the Old Testament.

The following are his works:

1. Magna Moralia, in thirty-five books. This large work was begun in

Constantinople at the instigation of Leander, bishop of Seville, and

finished in Rome. It is a three-fold exposition of the book of Job

according to its historic or literal, its allegorical, and its moral

meaning. [228]

Being ignorant of the Hebrew and Greek languages, and of Oriental

history and customs (although for some time a resident of

Constantinople), Gregory lacked the first qualifications for a

grammatical and historical interpretation.

The allegorical part is an exegetical curiosity he reads between or

beneath the lines of that wonderful poem the history of Christ and a

whole system of theology natural and revealed. The names of persons and

things, the numbers, and even the syllables, are filled with mystic

meaning. Job represents Christ; his wife the carnal nature; his seven

sons (seven being the number of perfection) represent the apostles, and

hence the clergy; his three daughters the three classes of the faithful

laity who are to worship the Trinity; his friends the heretics; the

seven thousand sheep the perfect Christians; the three thousand camels

the heathen and Samaritans; the five hundred yoke of oxen and five

hundred she-asses again the heathen, because the prophet Isaiah says:

"The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel

doth not know, my people doth not consider."

The moral sense, which Gregory explains last, is an edifying

homiletical expansion and application, and a sort of compend of

Christian ethics.

2. Twenty-two Homilies on Ezekiel, delivered in Rome during the siege

by Agilulph, and afterwards revised.

3. Forty Homilies on the Gospels for the day, preached by Gregory at

various times, and afterwards edited.

4. Liber Regulae Pastoralis, in four parts. It is a pastoral theology,

treating of the duties and responsibilities of the ministerial office,

in justification of his reluctance to undertake the burden of the papal

dignity. It is more practical than Chrysostom's "Priesthood." It was

held in the highest esteem in the Middle Ages, translated into Greek by

order of the emperor Maurice, and into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, and

given to the bishops in France at their ordination, together with the

book of canons, as a guide in the discharge of their duties. Gregory,

according to the spirit of his age, enjoins strict celibacy even upon

sub-deacons. But otherwise he gives most excellent advice suitable to

all times. He makes preaching one of the chief duties of pastors, in

the discharge of which he himself set a good example. He warns them to

guard against the besetting sin of pride at the very outset; for they

will not easily learn humility in a high position. They should preach

by their lives as well as their words. "He who, by the necessity of his

position, is required to speak the highest things, is compelled by the

same necessity to exemplify the highest. For that voice best penetrates

the hearts of hearers which the life of the speaker commends, because

what he commends in his speech he helps to practice by his example." He

advises to combine meditation and action. "Our Lord," he says,

"continued in prayer on the mountain, but wrought miracles in the

cities; showing to pastors that while aspiring to the highest, they

should mingle in sympathy with the necessities of the infirm. The more

kindly charity descends to the lowest, the more vigorously it recurs to

the highest." The spiritual ruler should never be so absorbed in

external cares as to forget the inner life of the soul, nor neglect

external things in the care for his inner life. "The word of doctrine

fails to penetrate the mind of the needy, unless commended by the hand

of compassion."

5. Four books of Dialogues on the lives and miracles of St. Benedict of

Nursia and other Italian saints, and on the immortality of the soul

(593). These dialogues between Gregory and the Roman archdeacon Peter

abound in incredible marvels and visions of the state of departed

souls. He acknowledges, however, that he knew these stories only from

hearsay, and defends his recording them by the example of Mark and

Luke, who reported the gospel from what they heard of the

eye-witnesses. His veracity, therefore, is not at stake; but it is

strange that a man of his intelligence and good sense should believe

such grotesque and childish marvels. The Dialogues are the chief source

of the mediaeval superstitions about purgatory. King Alfred ordered

them to be translated into the Anglo-Saxon.

6. His Epistles (838 in all) to bishops, princes, missionaries, and

other persons in all parts of Christendom, give us the best idea of his

character and administration, and of the conversion of the

Anglo-Saxons. They treat of topics of theology, morals, politics,

diplomacy, monasticism, episcopal and papal administration, and give us

the best insight into his manifold duties, cares, and sentiments.

7. The Gregorian Sacramentary is based upon the older Sacramentaries of

Gelasius and Leo I., with some changes in the Canon of the Mass. His

assertion that in the celebration of the eucharist, the apostles used

the Lord's Prayer only (solummodo), has caused considerable discussion.

Probably he meant no other prayer, in addition to the words of

institution, which he took for granted.

8. A collection of antiphons for mass (Liber Antiphonarius). It

contains probably later additions. Several other works of doubtful

authenticity, and nine Latin hymns are also attributed to Gregory. They

are in the metre of St. Ambrose, without the rhyme, except the "Rex

Christe, factor omnium" (which is very highly spoken of by Luther).

They are simple, devout, churchly, elevated in thought and sentiment,

yet without poetic fire and vigor. Some of them as "Blest Creator of

the Light" (Lucis Creator optime), "O merciful Creator, hear" (Audi,

beate Conditor), "Good it is to keep the fast" (Clarum decus jejunii),

have recently been made familiar to English readers in free

translations from the Anglo-Catholic school. [229] He was a great

ritualist (hence called "Master of Ceremonies"), but with considerable

talent for sacred poetry and music. The "Cantus Gregorianus" so called

was probably a return from the artistic and melodious antiphonal

"Cantus Ambrosianus" to the more ancient and simple mode of chanting.

He founded a school of singers, which became a nursery of similar

schools in other churches. [230]

Some other writings attributed to him, as an Exposition of the First

Book of Kings, and an allegorical Exposition of the Canticles, are of

doubtful genuineness.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[228] Ep. missoria, cap. 3 (ed. Migne I. 513): "Primum quidem

fundamenta historice ponimus; deinde per significatinem typicam in

artem fidei fabricam mentis erigimus; ad extremum per moralitatus

gratiam, quasi superducto aedificium colore vestimus."

[229] See "Hymns Ancient and Modem."

[230] � Comp. Barmby, Greg. the Gr., pp. 188-190; Lau, p. 262; Ebert I.

519.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 53. The Papacy from Gregory I to Gregory II a.d. 604-715.

The successors of Gregory I. to Gregory II. were, with few exceptions,

obscure men, and ruled but a short time. They were mostly Italians,

many of them Romans; a few were Syrians, chosen by the Eastern emperors

in the interest of their policy and theology.

Sabinianus (604) was as hard and avaricious as Gregory was benevolent

and liberal, and charged the famine of his reign upon the prodigality

of his sainted predecessor. Boniface III. (606607) did not scruple to

assume the title of It universal bishop, "against which Gregory, in

proud humility, had so indignantly protested as a blasphemous

antichristian assumption. Boniface IV. converted the Roman Pantheon

into a Christian church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and all the

Martyrs (608). Honorius l. (625-638) was condemned by an oecumenical

council and by his own successors as a Monothelite heretic; while

Martin I. (649-655) is honored for the persecution he endured in behalf

of the orthodox doctrine of two wills in Christ. Under Gregory II. and

III., Germany was converted to Roman Christianity.

The popes followed the missionary policy of Gregory and the instinct of

Roman ambition and power. Every progress of Christianity in the West

and the North was a progress of the Roman Church. Augustin, Boniface,

Ansgar were Roman missionaries and pioneers of the papacy. As England

had been annexed to the triple crown under Gregory I., so France, the

Netherlands, Germany and Scandinavia were annexed under his successors.

The British and Scotch-Irish independence gave way gradually to the

irresistible progress of Roman authority and uniformity. Priests,

noblemen and kings from all parts of the West were visiting Rome as the

capital of Christendom, and paid homage to the shrine of the apostles

and to the living successor of the Galilaean fisherman.

But while the popes thus extended their spiritual dominion over the new

barbarous races, they were the political subjects of the Eastern

emperor as the master of Italy, and could not be consecrated without

his consent. They were expected to obey the imperial edicts even in

spiritual matters, and were subject to arrest and exile. To rid

themselves of this inconvenient dependence was a necessary step in the

development of the absolute papacy. It was effected in the eighth

century by the aid of a rising Western power. The progress of

Mohammedanism and its encroachment on the Greek empire likewise

contributed to their independence.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 54. From Gregory II to Zacharias. a.d. 715-741.

Gregory II. (715-731) marks the transition to this new state of things.

He quarreled with the iconoclastic emperor, Leo the Isaurian, about the

worship of images. Under his pontificate, Liutprand, [231] the ablest

and mightiest king of the Lombards, conquered the Exarchate of Ravenna,

and became master of Italy.

But the sovereignty of a barbarian and once Arian power was more odious

and dangerous to the popes than that of distant Constantinople. Placed

between the heretical emperor and the barbarian robber, they looked

henceforth to a young and rising power beyond the Alps for deliverance

and protection. The Franks were Catholics from the time of their

conversion under Clovis, and achieved under Charles Martel (the Hammer)

a mighty victory over the Saracens (732), which saved Christian Europe

against the invasion and tyranny of Isl�m. They had thus become the

protectors of Latin Christianity. They also lent their aid to Boniface

in the conversion of Germany.

Gregory, III. (731-741) renewed the negotiations with the Franks, begun

by his predecessor. When the Lombards again invaded the territory, of

Rome, and were ravaging by fire and sword the last remains of the

property of the church, he appealed in piteous and threatening tone to

Charles Martel, who had inherited from his father, Pepin of Herstal,

the mayoralty of France, and was the virtual ruler of the realm. "Close

not your ears," he says, "against our supplications, lest St. Peter

close against you the gates of heaven." He sent him the keys of the

tomb of St. Peter as a symbol of allegiance, and offered him the titles

of Patrician and Consul of Rome. [232] This was virtually a declaration

of independence from Constantinople. Charles Martel returned a

courteous answer, and sent presents to Rome, but did not cross the

Alps. He was abhorred by the clergy of his own country as a

sacrilegious spoiler of the property of the church and disposer of

bishoprics to his counts and dukes in the place of rightful incumbents.

[233]

The negotiations were interrupted by the death of Charles Martel Oct.

21, 741, followed by that of Gregory III., Nov. 27 of the same year.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[231] Or Luitprand, born about 690, died 744. There is also a Lombard

historian of that name, a deacon of the cathedral of Pavia, afterwards

bishop of Cremona, died 972.

[232] Gibbon actually attributes these titles to Charles Martel; while

Bryce (p. 40) thinks that they were first given to Pepin. Gregory II.

had already (724) addressed Charles Martel as "Patricius" (see Migne,

Opera Caroli M. II. 69). Gregory III. sent him in 739 ipsas

sacratissimas claves confessionis beati Petri quas vobus ad regnum

dimisimus (ib. p. 66), which implies the transfer of civil authority

over Rome.

[233] Milman (Book IV., ch. 9) says that Dante, the faithful recorder

of popular Catholic tradition, adopts the condemnatory legend which

puts Charles "in the lowest pit of hell." But I can find no mention of

him in Dante. The Charles Martel of Parad. VIII. and IX. is a very,

different person, a king of Hungary, who died 1301. See Witte's Dante,

p. 667, and Carey's note on Par. VIII. 53. On the relations of Charles

Martel to Boniface see Rettberg, Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, I. 306

sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 55. Alliance of the Papacy with the New Monarchy of the Franks. Pepin

and the Patrimony of St. Peter. a.d. 741-755.

Pope Zacharias (741-752), a Greek, by the weight of his priestly

authority, brought Liutprand to terms of temporary submission. The

Lombard king suddenly paused in the career of conquest, and died after

a reign of thirty years (743).

But his successor, Astolph, again threatened to incorporate Rome with

his kingdom. Zacharias sought the protection of Pepin the Short, [234]

the Mayor of the Palace, son of Charles Martel, and father of

Charlemagne, and in return for this aid helped him to the crown of

France. This was the first step towards the creation of a Western

empire and a new political system of Europe with the pope and the

German emperor at the head.

Hereditary succession was not yet invested with that religious sanctity

among the Teutonic races as in later ages. In the Jewish theocracy

unworthy kings were deposed, and new dynasties elevated by the

interposition of God's messengers. The pope claimed and exercised now

for the first time the same power. The Mayor, or high steward, of the

royal household in France was the prime minister of the sovereign and

the chief of the official and territorial nobility. This dignity became

hereditary in the family of Pepin of Laudon, who died in 639, and was

transmitted from him through six descents to Pepin the Short, a gallant

warrior and an experienced statesman. He was on good terms with

Boniface, the apostle of Germany and archbishop of Mayence, who,

according to the traditional view, acted as negotiator between him and

the pope in this political coup d'etat. [235]

Childeric III., the last of the hopelessly degenerate Merovingian line,

was the mere shadow of a monarch, and forced to retire into a

monastery. Pepin, the ruler in fact now assumed the name, was elected

at Soissons (March, 752) by the acclamation and clash of arms of the

people, and anointed, like the kings of Israel, with holy oil, by

Boniface or some other bishop, and two years after by the pope himself,

who had decided that the lawful possessor of the royal power may also

lawfully assume the royal title. Since that time he called himself "by

the grace of God king of the Franks." The pope conferred on him the

title of "Patrician of the Romans" (Patricius Romanorum), which implies

a sort of protectorate over the Roman church, and civil sovereignty,

over her territory. For the title "Patrician," which was introduced by

Constantine the Great signified the highest rank next to that of the

emperor, and since the sixth century was attached to the Byzantine

Viceroy, of Italy. On the other hand, this elevation and coronation was

made the basis of papal superiority over the crowns of France and

Germany.

The pope soon reaped the benefit of his favor. When hard pressed again

by the Lombards, he called the new king to his aid.

Stephen III., who succeeded Zacharias in March, 752, and ruled till

757, visited Pepin in person, and implored him to enforce the

restoration of the domain of St. Peter. He anointed him again at St.

Denys, together with his two sons, and promised to secure the

perpetuity of his dynasty by the fearful power of the interdict and

excommunication. Pepin accompanied him back to Italy and defeated the

Lombards (754). When the Lombards renewed the war, the pope wrote

letter upon letter to Pepin, admonishing and commanding him in the name

of Peter and the holy Mother of God to save the city of Rome from the

detested enemies, and promising him long life and the most glorious

mansions in heaven, if he speedily obeyed. To such a height of

blasphemous assumption had the papacy risen already as to identify

itself with the kingdom of Christ and to claim to be the dispenser of

temporal prosperity and eternal salvation.

Pepin crossed the Alps again with his army, defeated the Lombards, and

bestowed the conquered territory upon the pope (755). He declared to

the ambassadors of the East who demanded the restitution of Ravenna and

its territory to the Byzantine empire, that his sole object in the war

was to show his veneration for St. Peter. The new papal district

embraced the Exarchate and the Pentapolis, East of the Apennines, with

the cities of Ravenna, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, lesi,

Forlimpopoli, Forli, Montefeltro, Acerra, Monte di Lucano, Serra, San

Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luciolo, Gubbio, Comachio, and Narni.

[236]

This donation of Pepin is the foundation of "the Patrimony of St.

Peter." The pope was already in possession of tracts of land in Italy

and elsewhere granted to the church. But by this gift of a foreign

conqueror he became a temporal sovereign over a large part of Italy,

while claiming to be the successor of Peter who had neither silver nor

gold, and the vicar of Christ who said: "My kingdom is not of this

world." The temporal power made the papacy independent in the exercise

of its jurisdiction, but at the expense of its spiritual character. It

provoked a long conflict with the secular power; it involved it in the

political interests, intrigues and wars of Europe, and secularized the

church and the hierarchy. Dante, who shared the mediaeval error of

dating the donation of Pepin back to Constantine the Great, [237] gave

expression to this view in the famous lines:

"Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was mother,

Not thy conversion, but that marriage-dower

Which the first wealthy Father took from thee." [238]

Yet Dante places Constantine, who "from good intent produced evil

fruit," in heaven; where

"Now he knows how all the ill deduced

From his good action is not harmful to him,

Although the world thereby may be destroyed."

And he speaks favorably of Charlemagne's intervention in behalf of the

pope:

"And when the tooth of Lombardy had bitten

The Holy Church, then underneath its wings

Did Charlemagne victorious succor her." [239]

The policy of Pepin was followed by Charlemagne, the German, and

Austrian emperors, and modern French rulers who interfered in Italian

affairs, now as allies, now as enemies, until the temporal power of the

papacy was lost under its last protector, Napoleon III., who withdrew

his troops from Rome to fight against Germany, and by his defeat

prepared the way for Victor Emanuel to take possession of Rome, as the

capital of free and united Italy (1870). Since that time the pope who a

few weeks before had proclaimed to the world his own infallibility in

all matters of faith and morals, is confined to the Vatican, but with

no diminution of his spiritual power as the bishop of bishops over two

hundred millions of souls.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[234] Or Pipin, Pippin, Pippinus. The last is the spelling in his

documents.

[235] Rettberg, however (I. 385 sqq.), disconnects Boniface from all

participation in the elevation and coronation of Pepin, and represents

him as being rather opposed to it. He argues from the silence of some

annalists, and from the improbability that the pope should have

repeated the consecration if it had been previously performed by his

legate.

[236] This is the enumeration of Baronius ad ann. 755. Others define

the extent differently. Comp. Wiltsch, Kirchl. Geographie und

Statistik, I. pp. 246 sqq.

[237] Constantine bestowed upon the pope a portion of the Lateran

palace for his residence, and upon the church the right to hold real

estate and to receive bequests of landed property from individuals.

This is the slender foundation for the fable of the Donatio

Constantini.

[238] Inferno xix. 115-118: "Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre, Non

la tua conversion, ma quella dote, Che da te presse il primo ricco

patre!"

[239] Paradiso XX. 57-60; VI. 94-97. Longfellow's translation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 56. Charles the Great. a.d. 768-814.

Sources.

Beati Caroli Magni Opera omnia. 2 vols. In Migne's Patrol. Lat. Tom. 97

and 98. The first vol. contains the Codex Diplomaticus, Capitularia,

and Privilegia; the second vol., the Codex Carolinus, the Libri

Carolini (on the image controversy), the Epistolae, Carmin�, etc.

1. The Letters of Charles, of Einhard, and of Alcuin. Also the letters

of the Popes to Charles and his two predecessors, which he had

collected, and which are called the Codex Carolinus, ed. by Muratori,

Cenni, ad Migne (Tom. 98, pp. 10 sqq.).

2. The Capitularies and Laws of Charlemagne, contained in the first

vol. of the Leges in the Mon. Germ., ed. by Pertz, and in the

Collections of Baluzius and Migne.

3. Annals. The Annales Laurissenses Majores (probably the official

chronicle of the court) from 788 to 813; the Annales Einhardi, written

after 829; the Annales Petaviani, Laureshamenses, Mosellani, and

others, more of local than general value. All in the first and second

vol. of Pertz, Monumenta Germanica Hist. Script.

4. Biographies: Einhard or Eginhard (b. 770, educated at Fulda, private

secretary of Charlemagne, afterwards Benedictine monk): Vita Caroli

Imperatoris (English translation by S. S. Turner, New York, 1880). A

true sketch of what Charles was by an admiring and loving hand in

almost classical Latin, and after the manner of Sueton's Lives of the

Roman emperors. It marks, as Ad. Ebert says (II. 95), the height of the

classical studies of the age of Charlemagne. Milman (II. 508) calls it

"the best historic work which had appeared in the Latin language for

centuries."--Poeta Saxo: Annales de Gestis Caroli, from the end of the

ninth century. An anonymous monk of St. Gall: De Gestis Caroli, about

the same time. In Pertz, l.c., and Jaffe's Monumenta Carolina (Bibl.

Rer. Germ., T. IV.), also in Migne, Tom. I., Op. Caroli.

Comp. on the sources Abel's Jahrbucher des Fr�nk. Reichs (Berlin, 1866)

and Wattenbach's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter (Berlin, 1858; 4th

ed. 1877-78, 2 vols.)

Literature.

J. G. Walch: Historia Canonisationis Caroli M. Jen., 1750.

Putter: De Instauratione Imp. Rom. G�tt., 1766.

Gaillard: Histoire de Charlemagne. Paris, 1784, 4 vols. secd ed. 1819.

Gibbon: Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Ch. 49.

J. Ellendorf: Die Karolinger und die Hierarchie ihrer Zeit. Essen.,

1838, 2 vols.

Hegewisch: Geschichte der Regierung Kaiser Karls des Gr. Hamb., 1791.

Dippolt: Leben K. Karls des Gr. Tub., 1810.

G. P. R. James: The History of Charlemagne. London, 2nd ed. 1847.

B�hr: Gesch. der r�m. Lit. im Karoling. Zeitalter. Carlsruhe, 1840.

Gfr�rer: Geschichte der Karolinger. Freiburg i. B., 1848, 2 vols.

Capefigue: Charlemagne. Paris, 1842, 2 vols.

Warnk�nig et Gerard: Hist. des Carolingians. Brux. and Paris, 1862, 2

vols.

Waitz: Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte, vols. III. and IV.

W. Giesebrecht: Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit. Braunschweig, 1863

sqq. (3rd ed.). Bd. I., pp. 106 sqq.

D�llinger: Kaiserthum Karls des Grossen, in the Munchener Hist.

Jahrbuch for 1865.

Gaston: Histoire poetique de Charlemagne. Paris, 1865.

P. Alberdinck Thijm: Karl der Gr. und seine Zeit. Munster, 1868.

Abel: Jahrbucher des Fr�nkischen Reichs unter Karl d. Grossen. Berlin,

1866.

Wyss: Karl der Grosse als Gesetzgeber. Zurich, 1869.

Rettberg: Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I. 419 sqq., II. 382 sqq.

Alphonse V�tault: Charlemagne. Tours, 1877 (556 pp.). With fine

illustrations.

L. Stacke: Deutsche Geschichte. Leipzig, 1880. Bd. I. 169 sqq. With

illustrations and maps.

Comp. also Milman: Latin Christianity, Book IV., ch. 12, and Book V.,

ch. 1; Ad. Ebert: Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im

Abendlande (1880), vol. II. 3-108. Of French writers, Guizot, and

Martin, in their Histories of France; also Parke Godwin, History of

France, chs. xvi. and xvii. (vol. I. 410 sqq.).

With the death of Pepin the Short (Sept. 24, 768), the kingdom of

France was divided between his two sons, Charles and Carloman, the

former to rule in the Northern, the latter in the Southern provinces.

After the death of his weaker brother (771) Charles, ignoring the

claims of his infant nephews, seized the sole reign and more than

doubled its extent by his conquests.

Character and Aim of Charlemagne.

This extraordinary man represents the early history of both France and

Germany which afterwards divided into separate streams, and commands

the admiration of both countries and nations. His grand ambition was to

unite all the Teutonic and Latin races on the Continent under his

temporal sceptre in close union with the spiritual dominion of the

pope; in other words, to establish a Christian theocracy, co�xtensive

with the Latin church (exclusive of the British Isles and Scandinavia).

He has been called the "Moses of the middle age," who conducted the

Germanic race through the desert of barbarism and gave it a now code of

political, civil and ecclesiastical laws. He stands at the head of the

new Western empire, as Constantine the Great had introduced the Eastern

empire, and he is often called the new Constantine, but is as far

superior to him as the Latin empire was to the Greek. He was

emphatically a man of Providence.

Charlemagne, or Karl der Grosse, towers high above the crowned princes

of his age, and is the greatest as well as the first of the long line

of German emperors from the eighth to the nineteenth century. He is the

only prince whose greatness has been inseparably blended with his

French name. [240] Since Julius Caesar history had seen no conqueror

and statesman of such commanding genius and success; history after him

produced only two military heroes that may be compared with him)

Frederick II. of Prussia, and Napoleon Bonaparte (who took him and

Caesar for his models), but they were far beneath him in religious

character, and as hostile to the church as he was friendly to it. His

lofty intellect shines all the more brightly from the general ignorance

and barbarism of his age. He rose suddenly like a meteor in dark

midnight. We do not know even the place and date of his birth, nor the

history of his youth and education. [241]

His Reign.

His life is filled with no less than fifty-three military campaigns

conducted by himself or his lieutenants, against the Saxons (18

campaigns), Lombards (5), Aquitanians, Thuringians, Bavarians) Avars or

Huns, Danes, Slaves, Saracens, and Greeks. His incessant activity

astonished his subjects and enemies. He seemed to be omnipresent in his

dominions, which extended from the Baltic and the Elbe in the North to

the Ebro in the South, from the British Channel to Rome and even to the

Straits of Messina, embracing France, Germany, Hungary, the greater

part of Italy and Spain. His ecclesiastical domain extended over

twenty-two archbishoprics or metropolitan sees, Rome, Ravenna, Milan,

Friuli (Aquileia), Grado, Cologne, Mayence, Salzburg, Treves, Sens,

Besan�on, Lyons, Rouen, Rheims, Arles, Vienna, Moutiers-en-Tarantaise,

Ivredun, Bordeaux, Tours, Bourges, Narbonne. [242] He had no settled

residence, but spent much time on the Rhine, at Ingelheim, Mayence,

Nymwegen, and especially at Aix-la-Chapelle on account of its baths. He

encouraged trade, opened roads, and undertook to connect the Main and

the Danube by canal. He gave his personal attention to things great and

small. He introduced a settled order and unity of organization in his

empire, at the expense of the ancient freedom and wild independence of

the German tribes, although he continued to hold every year, in May,

the general assembly of the freemen (Maifeld). He secured Europe

against future heathen and Mohammedan invasion and devastation. He was

universally admired or feared in his age. The Greek emperors sought his

alliance; hence the Greek proverb, "Have the Franks for your friends,

but not for your neighbors." The Caliph Harounal-Raschid, the mightiest

ruler in the East, sent from Bagdad an embassy to him with precious

gifts. But he esteemed a good sword more than gold. He impressed the

stamp of his genius and achievements upon the subsequent history of

Germany and France.

Appearance and Habits of Charlemagne.

Charles had a commanding, and yet winning presence. His physique

betrayed the greatness of his mind. He was tall, strongly built and

well proportioned. His height was seven times the length of his foot.

He had large and animated eyes, a long nose, a cheerful countenance and

an abundance of fine hair. "His appearance," says Eginhard, "was always

stately and dignified, whether he was standing or sitting; although his

neck was thick and somewhat short, and his belly rather prominent; but

the symmetry of the rest of his body concealed these defects. His gait

was firm, his whole carriage manly, and his voice clear, but not so

strong as his size led one to expect." [243]

He was naturally eloquent, and spoke with great clearness and force. He

was simple in his attire, and temperate in eating and drinking; for,

says Eginhard, "he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in

himself and those of his household. He rarely gave entertainments, only

on great feast days, and these to large numbers of people." He was fond

of muscular exercise, especially of hunting and swimming, and enjoyed

robust health till the last four years of his life, when he was subject

to frequent fevers. During his meals he had extracts from Augustine's

"City of God" (his favorite book), and stories of olden times, read to

him. He frequently gave audience while dressing, without sacrifice of

royal dignity. He was kind to the poor, and a liberal almsgiver.

His Zeal for Education.

His greatest merit is his zeal for education and religion. He was

familiar with Latin from conversation rather than books, be understood

a little Greek, and in his old age he began to learn the art of writing

which his hand accustomed to the sword had neglected. He highly

esteemed his native language, caused a German grammar to be compiled,

and gave German names to the winds and to the months. [244] He

collected the ancient heroic songs of the German minstrels. He took

measures to correct the Latin Version of the Scriptures, and was

interested in theological questions. He delighted in cultivated

society. He gathered around him divines, scholars, poets, historians,

mostly Anglo-Saxons, among whom Alcuin was the chief. He founded the

palace school and other schools in the convents, and visited them in

person. The legend makes him the founder of the University of Paris,

which is of a much later date. One of his laws enjoins general

education upon all male children.

His Piety.

Charles was a firm believer in Christianity and a devout and regular

worshipper in the church, "going morning and evening, even after

nightfall, besides attending mass." He was very liberal to the clergy.

He gave them tithes throughout the empire appointed worthy bishops and

abbots, endowed churches and built a splendid cathedral at

Aix-la-Chapelle, in which he was buried.

His respect for the clergy culminated in his veneration for the bishop

of Rome as the successor of St. Peter. "He cherished the church of St.

Peter the apostle at Rome above all other holy and sacred places, and

filled its treasury with a vast wealth of gold, silver, and precious

stones. He sent great and countless gifts to the popes; and throughout

his whole reign the wish he had nearest at heart was to re-establish

the ancient authority of the city of Rome under his care and by his

influence, and to defend and protect the church of St. Peter, and to

beautify and enrich it out of his own store above all other churches."

[245]

His Vices.

Notwithstanding his many and great virtues, Charles was by, no means so

pure as the poetry and piety of the church represented him, and far

from deserving canonization. He sacrificed thousands of human beings to

his towering ambition and passion for conquest. He converted the Saxons

by force of arms; he waged for thirty years a war of extermination

against them; he wasted their territory with fire and sword; he crushed

out their independence; he beheaded in cold blood four thousand five

hundred prisoners in one day at Verden on the Aller (782), and when

these proud and faithless savages finally surrendered, he removed 10000

of their families from their homes on the banks of the Elbe to

different parts of Germany and Gaul to prevent a future revolt. It was

indeed a war of religion for the annihilation of heathenism, but

conducted on the Mohammedan principle: submission to the faith, or

death. This is contrary to the spirit of Christianity which recognizes

only the moral means of persuasion and conviction. [246]

The most serious defect in his private character was his incontinence

and disregard of the sanctity of the marriage tie. In this respect he

was little better than an Oriental despot or a Mohammedan Caliph. He

married several wives and divorced them at his pleasure. He dismissed

his first wife (unknown by name) to marry a Lombard princess, and he

repudiated her within a year. After the death of his fifth wife he

contented himself with three or four concubines. He is said even to

have encouraged his own daughters in dissolute habits rather than give

them in marriage to princes who might become competitors for a share in

the kingdom, but he had them carefully educated. It is not to the

credit of the popes that they never rebuked him for this vice, while

with weaker and less devoted monarchs they displayed such

uncompromising zeal for the sanctity of marriage. [247]

His Death and Burial.

The emperor died after a short illness, and after receiving the holy

communion, Jan. 28, 814, in the 71st year of his age, and the 47th of

his reign, and was buried on the same day in the cathedral of

Aix-la-Chapelle "amid the greatest lamentations of the people." [248]

Very many omens, adds Eginhard (ch. 32), had portended his approaching

end, as he had recognized himself. Eclipses both of the sun and the

moon were very frequent during the last three years of his life, and a

black spot was visible on the sun for seven days. The bridge over the

Rhine at Mayence, which he had constructed in ten years, was consumed

by fire; the palace at Aix-la-Chapelle frequently trembled; the

basilica was struck by lightning, the gilded ball on the roof shattered

by a thunderbolt and hurled upon the bishop's house adjoining; and the

word Princeps after Karolus inscribed on an arch was effaced a few

months before his decease. "But Charles despised, or affected to

despise, all these things as having no reference whatever to him."

The Charlemagne of Poetry.

The heroic and legendary poetry of the middle ages represents Charles

as a giant of superhuman strength and beauty, of enormous appetite,

with eyes shining like the morning star, terrible in war, merciful in

peace, as a victorious hero, a wise lawgiver, an unerring judge, and a

Christian saint. He suffered only one defeat, at Roncesvalles in the

narrow passes of the Pyrenees, when, on his return from a successful

invasion of Spain, his rearguard with the flower of the French

chivalry, under the command of Roland, one of his paladins and nephews,

was surprised and routed by the Basque Mountaineers (778). [249]

The name of "the Blessed Charles" is enrolled in the Roman Calendar for

his services to the church and gifts to the pope. Heathen Rome deified

Julius Caesar, Christian Rome canonized, or at least beatified

Charlemagne. Suffrages for the repose of his soul were continued in the

church of Aix-la-Chapelle until Paschal, a schismatical pope, at the

desire of Frederic Barbarossa, enshrined his remains in that city and

published a decree for his canonization (1166). The act was neither

approved nor revoked by a regular pope, but acquiesced in, and such

tacit canonization is considered equivalent to beatification.

Notes.

I. Judgments on the Personal Character of Charlemagne.

Eginhard (whose wife Emma figures in the legend as a daughter of

Charlemagne) gives the following frank account of the private and

domestic relations of his master and friend (chs. 18 and 19, in Migne,

Tom. XCVII. 42 sqq.):

"Thus did Charles defend and increase as well as beautify his kingdom;

and here let me express my admiration of his great qualities and his

extraordinary constancy alike in good and evil fortune. I will now

proceed to give the details of his private life. After his father's

death, while sharing the kingdom with his brother, he bore his

unfriendliness and jealousy most patiently, and, to the wonder of all,

could not be provoked to be angry with him. Later" [after repudiating

his first wife, an obscure person] "he married a daughter of

Desiderius, King of the Lombards, at the instance of his mother"

[notwithstanding the protest of the pope]; "but he repudiated her at

the end of a year for some reason unknown, and married Hildegard, a

woman of high birth, of Swabian origin [d. 783]. He had three sons by

her,--Charles, Pepin, and Lewis--and as many daughters,--Hruodrud,

Bertha, and Gisela." [Eginhard omits Adelaide and Hildegard.] "He had

three other daughters besides these--Theoderada, Hiltrud, and

Ruodhaid--two by his third wife, Fastrada, a woman of East Frankish

(that is to say of German) origin, and the third by a concubine, whose

name for the moment escapes me. At the death of Fastrada, he married

Liutgard, an Alemannic woman, who bore him no children. After her death

he had three [according to another reading four] concubines--Gerswinda,

a Saxon, by whom he had Adaltrud; Regina, who was the mother of Drogo

and Hugh; and Ethelind, by whom he had Theodoric. Charles's mother,

Berthrada, passed her old age with him in great honor; he entertained

the greatest veneration for her; and there was never any disagreement

between them except when he divorced the daughter of King Desiderius,

whom he had married to please her. She died soon after Hildegard, after

living to see three grandsons and as many grand-daughters in her son's

house, and he buried her with great pomp in the Basilica of St. Denis,

where his father lay. He had an only [surviving] sister, Gisela, who

had consecrated herself to a religious life from girlhood, and he

cherished as much affection for her as for his mother. She also died a

few years before him in the nunnery where she had passed her life. The

plan which he adopted for his children's education was, first of all,

to have both boys and girls instructed in the liberal arts, to which he

also turned his own attention. As soon as their years admitted, in

accordance with the custom of the Franks, the boys had to learn

horsemanship, and to practise war and the chase, and the girls to

familiarize themselves with cloth-making, and to handle distaff and

spindle, that they might not grow indolent through idleness, and he

fostered in them every virtuous sentiment. He only lost three of all

his children before his death, two sons and one daughter .... When his

sons and his daughters died, he was not so calm as might have been

expected from his remarkably strong mind, for his affections were no

less strong, and moved him to tears. Again when he was told of the

death of Hadrian, the Roman Pontiff, whom he had loved most of all his

friends, he wept as much as if he had lost a brother, or a very dear

son. He was by nature most ready to contract friendships, and not only

made friends easily, but clung to them persistently, and cherished most

fondly those with whom he had formed such ties. He was so careful of

the training of his sons and daughters that he never took his meals

without them when he was at home, and never made a journey without

them; his sons would ride at his side, and his daughters follow him,

while a number of his body-guard, detailed for their protection,

brought up the rear. Strange to say, although they were very handsome

women, and he loved them very dearly, he was never willing to marry

either of them to a man, of their own nation or to a foreigner, but

kept them all at home until his, death, saying that he could not

dispense with their society. Hence though otherwise happy, he

experienced the malignity of fortune as far as they were concerned; yet

he concealed his knowledge of the rumors current in regard to them, and

of the suspicions entertained of their honor."

Gibbon is no admirer of Charlemagne, and gives an exaggerated view of

his worst vice: "Of his moral virtues chastity is not the most

conspicuous; but the public happiness could not be materially injured

by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or

more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed

on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his

daughters, whom the father was suspected of loving with too fond a

passion." But this charge of incest, as Hallam and Milman observe,

seems to have originated in a misinterpreted passage of Eginhard quoted

above, and is utterly unfounded.

Henry Hallam (Middle Ages I. 26) judges a little more favorably: The

great qualities of Charlemagne were, indeed, alloyed by the vices of a

barbarian and a conqueror. Nine wives, whom he divorced with very

little ceremony, attest the license of his private life, which his

temperance and frugality can hardly be said to redeem. Unsparing of

blood, though not constitutionally cruel, and wholly indifferent to the

means which his ambition prescribed, he beheaded in one day four

thousand Saxons--an act of atrocious butchery, after which his

persecuting edicts, pronouncing the pain of death against those who

refused baptism, or even who ate flesh during Lent, seem scarcely

worthy of notice. This union of barbarous ferocity with elevated views

of national improvement might suggest the parallel of Peter the Great.

But the degrading habits and brute violence of the Muscovite place him

at an immense distance from the restorer of the empire.

"A strong sympathy for intellectual excellence was the leading

characteristic of Charlemagne, and this undoubtedly biassed him in the

chief political error of his conduct--that of encouraging the power and

pretensions of the hierarchy. But, perhaps, his greatest eulogy is

written in the disgraces of succeeding times and the miseries of

Europe. He stands alone, like a beacon upon a waste, or a rock in the

broad ocean. His sceptre was the bow of Ulysses, which could not be

drawn by any weaker hand. In the dark ages of European history the

reign of Charlemagne affords a solitary resting-place between two long

periods of turbulence and ignominy, deriving the advantages of contrast

both from that of the preceding dynasty and of a posterity for whom he

had formed an empire which they were unworthy and unequal to maintain."

G. P. R. James (History of Charlemagne, Lond., 1847, p. 499): "No man,

perhaps, that ever lived, combined in so high a degree those qualities

which rule men and direct events, with those which endear the possessor

and attach his contemporaries. No man was ever more trusted and loved

by his people, more respected and feared by other kings, more esteemed

in his lifetime, or more regretted at his death.

Milman (Book V. ch. 1): "Karl, according to his German appellation, was

the model of a Teutonic chieftain, in his gigantic stature, enormous

strength, and indefatigable activity; temperate in diet, and superior

to the barbarous vice of drunkenness. Hunting and war were his chief

occupations; and his wars were carried on with all the ferocity of

encountering savage tribes. But he was likewise a Roman Emperor, not

only in his vast and organizing policy, he had that one vice of the old

Roman civilization which the Merovingian kings had indulged, though not

perhaps with more unbounded lawlessness. The religious emperor, in one

respect, troubled not himself with the restraints of religion. The

humble or grateful church beheld meekly, and almost without

remonstrance, the irregularity of domestic life, which not merely

indulged in free license, but treated the sacred rite of marriage as a

covenant dissoluble at his pleasure. Once we have heard, and but once,

the church raise its authoritative, its comminatory voice, and that not

to forbid the King of the Franks from wedding a second wife while his

first was alive, but from marrying a Lombard princess. One pious

ecclesiastic alone in his dominion, he a relative, ventured to protest

aloud.')

Guizot (Histoire de la civilisation en France, le�on XX.): "Charlemagne

marque la limite � laquelle est enfin consomm�e la dissolution de

l'ancien monde romain et barbare, et o� commence la formation du monde

nouveau."

V�tault (Charlemagne, 455, 458): "Charlemagne fut, en effet, le p�re du

monde moderne et de la societ� europ�enne .... Si Ch. ne peut �tre

l�gitemement honor� comme un saint, il a droit du moins � la premi�re

place, parmis tous les h�ros, dans l'admiration des hommes; car on ne

trouverait pas un autre souverain qui ait autant aim� l'humanit� et lui

ait fait plus de bien. Il est le plus glorieux, parce que ... il a

m�rite d' �tre proclam� le plus honn�te des grands hommes."

Giesebrecht, the historian of the German emperors, gives a glowing

description of Charlemagne (I. 140): "Many high-minded rulers arose in

the ten centuries after Charles, but none had a higher aim. To be

ranked with him, satisfied the boldest conquerors, the wisest princes

of peace. French chivalry of later times glorified Charlemagne as the

first cavalier; the German burgeoisie as the fatherly friend of the

people and the most righteous judge; the Catholic Church raised him to

the number of her saints; the poetry of all nations derived ever new

inspiration and strength from his mighty person. Never perhaps has

richer life proceeded from the activity of a mortal man (Nie vielleicht

ist reicheres Leben von der Wirksamkeit eines sterblichen Menschen

ausgegangen)."

We add the eloquent testimony of an American author, Parke Godwin

(History of France, N. Y., 1860, vol. i. p. 410): "There is to me

something indescribably grand in the figure of many of the barbaric

chiefs--Alariks, Ataulfs, Theodoriks, and Euriks--who succeeded to the

power of the Romans, and in their wild, heroic way, endeavored to raise

a fabric of state on the ruins of the ancient empire. But none of those

figures is so imposing and majestic as that of Karl, the son of Pippin,

whose name, for the first and only time in history, the admiration of

mankind has indissolubly blended with the title the Great. By the

peculiarity of his position in respect to ancient and modern times--by

the extraordinary length of his reign, by the number and importance of

the transactions in which he was engaged, by the extent and splendor of

his conquests, by his signal services to the Church, and by the

grandeur of his personal qualities--he impressed himself so profoundly

upon the character of his times, that he stands almost alone and apart

in the annals of Europe. For nearly a thousand years before him, or

since the days of Julius Caesar, no monarch had won so universal and

brilliant a renown; and for nearly a thousand years after him, or until

the days of Charles V. of Germany, no monarch attained any thing like

an equal dominion. A link between the old and new, he revived the

Empire of the West, with a degree of glory that it had only enjoyed in

its prime; while, at the same time, the modern history of every

Continental nation was made to begin with him. Germany claims him as

one of her most illustrious sons; France, as her noblest king; Italy,

as her chosen emperor; and the Church as her most prodigal benefactor

and worthy saint. All the institutions of the Middle Ages--political,

literary, scientific, and ecclesiastical--delighted to trace their

traditionary origins to his hand: he was considered the source of the

peerage, the inspirer of chivalry, the founder of universities, and the

endower of the churches; and the genius of romance, kindling its

fantastic torches at the flame of his deeds, lighted up a new and

marvellous world about him, filled with wonderful adventures and heroic

forms. Thus by a double immortality, the one the deliberate award of

history, and the other the prodigal gift of fiction, he claims the

study of mankind."

II. The Canonization of Charlemagne is perpetuated in the Officium in

festo Sancti Caroli Magni imperatoris et confessoris, as celebrated in

churches of Germany, France, and Spain. Baronius (Annal. ad ann. 814)

says that the canonization was, not accepted by the Roman church,

because Paschalis was no legitimate pope, but neither was it forbidden.

Alban Butler, in his Lives of Saints, gives a eulogistic biography of

the "Blessed Charlemagne," and covers his besetting sin with the

following unhistorical assertion: "The incontinence, into which he fell

in his youth, he expiated by sincere repentance, so that several

churches in Germany and France honor him among the saints."

R

SIGNUM K + S CAROLI GLORIOSISSIMI REGIS.

L

The monogram of Charles with the additions of a scribe in a document

signed by Charles at Kufstein, Aug. 31, 790. Copied from Stacke, l.c.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[240] Joseph de Maistre: "Cet homme est si grand que, la grandeur a

p�n�tr� son nom." (ch. 4),

[241] "It would be folly," says Eginhard "to write a word about the

birth and infancy or even the boyhood of Charles, for nothing has ever

been written on the subject, and there is no one alive who can give

information about it." His birth is usually assigned to April 2, 742,

at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the legend makes him the child of illegitimate

love, who grew up wild as a miller's son in Bavaria. His name is

mentioned only twice before be assumed the reins of government, once at

a court reception given by his father to pope Stephen II., and once as

a witness in the Aquitanian campaigns.

[242] According to the enumeration of Eginhard (ch. 33), who, however,

gives only 21, omitting Narbonne. Charles bequeathed one-third of his

treasure and moveable goods to the metropolitan sees.

[243] The magnificent portrait of Charles by Albrecht D�rer is a fancy

picture, and not sustained by the oldest representations. V�tault gives

several portraits, and discusses them, p. 540.

[244] Wintermonat for January, Hornung for February, Lenz for March,

Ostermonat for April, etc. See Eginhard, ch. 29.

[245] Eginhard, ch. 27.

[246] Bossuet justified all his conquests because they were an

extension of Christianity."Les conqu�tes prodigieuses," he says,

"furent la dilatation du r�gne de Dieu, et il se moutra tr�s chr�tien

dans toutes ses aeuvres."

[247] Pope Stephen III. protested, indeed, in the most violent language

against the second marriage of Charles with Desiderata, a daughter of

the king of Lombardy, but not on the ground of divorce from his first

wife, which would have furnished a very good reason, but from

opposition to a union with the "perfidious, leprous, and fetid brood of

the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human." Charles married the

princess, to the delight of his mother, but repudiated her the next

year and sent her back to her father. See Milman, Bk. IV., ch. 12 (II.

439).

[248] 48 "Maximo totius populi luctu, " says Eginhard.

[249] The historic foundation of this defeat is given by Eginhard, ch.

9. It was then marvellously embellished, and Roland became the favorite

theme of minstrels and poets, as Th�roulde's Chanson de Roland,

Turpin's Chroniqu�, Bojardo's Orlando Innamorato, Ariosto's Orlando

Furioso, etc. His enchanted Horn sounded so loud that the birds fell

dead at its blast, and the whole Saracen army drew back terror-struck.

When he was attacked in the Pyrenees, he blew the horn for the last

time so hard that the veins of his neck started, and Charlemagne heard

it several miles off at St. Jean Pied de Port, but too late to save

"The dead who, deathless all, Were slain at famous Roncevall."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 57. Founding of the Holy Roman Empire, a.d. 800. Charlemagne and Leo

III

G. Sugenheim: Geschichte der Entstehung und Ausbildung des

Kirchenstaates. Leipz. 1854.

F. Scharpff: Die Entstehung des kirchenstaats. Freib. i. B. 1860.

TH. D. Mock: De Donatione a Carolo Mag. sedi apostolicae anno 774

oblata. Munich 1861.

James Bryce: The Holy Roman Empire. Lond. & N. York (Macmillan & Co.)

6th ed. 1876, 8th ed. 1880. German translation by Arthur Winckler.

Heinrich von Sybel: Die Schenkungen der Karolinger an die P�pste. In

Sybel's "Hist. Zeitschrift," Munchen & Leipz. 1880, pp. 46-85.

Comp. Baxmann: I. 307 sqq.; V�tault: Ch. III. pp. 113 sqq.

(Charlemagne, patrice des Romains-Formation des �tats de l'�glise).

Charlemagne inherited the protectorate of the temporal dominions of the

pope which had been wrested from the Lombards by Pepin, as the Lombards

had wrested them from the Eastern emperor. When the Lombards again

rebelled and the pope (Hadrian) again appealed to the transalpine

monarch for help, Charles in the third year of his sole reign (774)

came to the rescue, crossed the Alps with an army--a formidable

undertaking in those days--subdued Italy with the exception of a small

part of the South still belonging to the Greek empire, held a triumphal

entry in Rome, and renewed and probably enlarged his father's gift to

the pope. The original documents have perished, and no contemporary

authority vouches for the details; but the fact is undoubted. The gift

rested only on the right of conquest. Henceforward he always styled

himself "Rex Francorum et Longobardorum, et Patricius Romanorum." His

authority over the immediate territory of the Lombards in Northern

Italy was as complete as that in France, but the precise nature of his

authority over the pope's dominion as Patrician of the Romans became

after his death an apple of discord for centuries. Hadrian, to judge

from his letters, considered himself as much an absolute sovereign in

his dominion as Charles in his.

In 781 at Easter Charles revisited Rome with his son Pepin, who on that

occasion was anointed by the pope "King for Italy" ("Rex in Italiam").

On a third visit., in 787, he spent a few days with his friend,

Hadrian, in the interest of the patrimony of St. Peter. When Leo III.

followed Hadrian (796) he immediately dispatched to Charles, as tokens

of submission the keys and standards of the city, and the keys of the

sepulchre of Peter.

A few years afterwards a terrible riot broke out in Rome in which the

pope was assaulted and almost killed (799). He fled for help to

Charles, then at Paderborn in Westphalia, and was promised assistance.

The next year Charles again crossed the Alps and declared his intention

to investigate the charges of certain unknown crimes against Leo, but

no witness appeared to prove them. Leo publicly read a declaration of

his own innocence, probably at the request of Charles, but with a

protest that this declaration should not be taken for a precedent. Soon

afterwards occurred the great event which marks an era in the

ecclesiastical and political history of Europe.

The Coronation of Charles as Emperor.

While Charles was celebrating Christmas in St. Peter's, in the year of

our Lord 800, and kneeling in prayer before the altar, the pope, as

under a sudden inspiration (but no doubt in consequence of a

premeditated scheme), placed a golden crown upon his head, and the

Roman people shouted three times: "To Charles Augustus, crowned by God,

the great and pacific emperor of the Romans, life and victory!"

Forthwith, after ancient custom, he was adored by the pope, and was

styled henceforth (instead of Patrician) Emperor and Augustus. [250]

The new emperor presented to the pope a round table of silver with the

picture of Constantinople, and many gifts of gold, and remained in Rome

till Easter. The moment or manner of the coronation may have been

unexpected by Charles (if we are to believe his word), but it is hardly

conceivable that it was not the result of a previous arrangement

between him and Leo. Alcuin seems to have aided the scheme. In his view

the pope occupied the first, the emperor the second, the king the third

degree in the scale of earthly dignities. He sent to Charles from Tours

before his coronation a splendid Bible with the inscription: Ad

splendorem imperialis potentiae. [251]

On his return to France Charles compelled all his subjects to take a

new oath to him as "Caesar." He assumed the full title "Serenssimus

Augustus a Deo coronatus, magnus et pacificus imperator, Romanum

gubernans imperium, qui et per misericordiam Dei rex Francorum et

Longobardorum."

Significance of the Act.

The act of coronation was on the part of the pope a final declaration

of independence and self-emancipation against the Greek emperor, as the

legal ruler of Rome. Charles seems to have felt this, and hence he

proposed to unite the two empires by marrying Irene, who had put her

son to death and usurped the Greek crown (797). But the same rebellion

had been virtually committed before by the pope in sending the keys of

the city to Pepin, and by the French king in accepting this token of

temporal sovereignty. Public opinion justified the act on the principle

that might makes right. The Greek emperor, being unable to maintain his

power in Italy and to defend his own subjects, first against the

Lombards and then against the Franks, had virtually forfeited his

claim.

For the West the event was the re-establishment, on a Teutonic basis,

of the old Roman empire, which henceforth, together with the papacy,

controlled the history of the middle ages. The pope and the emperor

represented the highest dignity and power in church and state. But the

pope was the greater and more enduring power of the two. He continued,

down to the Reformation, the spiritual ruler of all Europe, and is to

this day the ruler of an empire much vaster than that of ancient Rome.

He is, in the striking language of Hobbes, "the ghost of the deceased

Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof."

The Relation of the Pope and the Emperor.

What was the legal and actual relation between these two sovereignties,

and the limits of jurisdiction of each? This was the struggle of

centuries. It involved many problems which could only be settled in the

course of events. It was easy enough to distinguish the two in theory

by, confining the pope to spiritual, and the emperor to temporal

affairs. But on the theocratic theory of the union of church and state

the two will and must come into frequent conflict.

The pope, by voluntarily conferring the imperial crown upon Charles,

might claim that the empire was his gift, and that the right of

crowning implied the right of discrowning. And this right was exercised

by popes at a later period, who wielded the secular as well as the

spiritual sword and absolved nations of their oath of allegiance. A

mosaic picture in the triclinium of Leo III. in the Lateran (from the

ninth century) represents St. Peter in glory, bestowing upon Leo

kneeling at his right hand the priestly stole, and upon Charles

kneeling at his left, the standard of Rome. [252] This is the mediaeval

hierarchical theory, which derives all power from God through Peter as

the head of the church. Gregory VII. compared the church to the sun,

the state to the moon who derives her light from the sun. The popes

will always maintain the principle of the absolute supremacy of the

church over the state, and support or oppose a government--whether it

be an empire or a kingdom or a republic--according to the degree of its

subserviency to the interests of the hierarchy. The papal Syllabus of

1864 expresses the genuine spirit of the system in irreconcilable

conflict with the spirit of modern history and civilization. The

Vatican Palace is the richest museum of classical and mediaeval

curiosities, and the pope himself, the infallible oracle of two hundred

millions of souls, is by far the greatest curiosity in it.

On the other hand Charles, although devotedly attached to the church

and the pope, was too absolute a monarch to recognize a sovereignty

within his sovereignty. He derived his idea of the theocracy from the

Old Testament, and the relation between Moses and Aaron. He understood

and exercised his imperial dignity pretty much in the same way as

Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Great had done in the

Byzantine empire, which was caesaro-papal in principle and practice,

and so is its successor, the Russian empire. Charles believed that he

was the divinely appointed protector of the church and the regulator of

all her external and to some extent also the internal affairs. He

called the synods of his empire without asking the pope. He presided at

the Council of Frankfort (794), which legislated on matters of doctrine

and discipline, condemned the Adoption heresy, agreeably to the pope,

and rejected the image worship against the decision of the second

oecumenical Council of Nicaea (787) and the declared views of several

popes. [253] He appointed bishops and abbots as well as counts, and if

a vacancy in the papacy, had occurred during the remainder of his life,

he would probably have filled it as well as the ordinary bishoprics.

The first act after his coronation was to summon and condemn to death

for treason those who had attempted to depose the pope. He thus acted

as judge in the case. A Council at Mayence in 813 called him in an

official document "the pious ruler of the holy church." [254]

Charles regarded the royal and imperial dignity as the hereditary

possession of his house and people, and crowned his son, Louis the

Pious, at Aix-la-Chapelle in 813, without consulting the pope or the

Romans. [255] He himself as a Teuton represented both France and

Germany. But with the political separation of the two countries under

his successors, the imperial dignity was attached to the German crown.

Hence also the designation: the holy German Roman empire.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[250] Annales Laurissenses ad ann. 801: "Ipsa die sacratissima natalis

Domini cum Rex ad Missam ante confessionem b. Petri Apostoli ab

oratione surgeret, Leo P. coronam capriti ejus imposuit, et a cuncto

Romanorum populo acclamatum est:, Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno

et pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria!' Et post Laudes ab

Apostolico more antiquorum principum adoratus est, atque, ablato

Patricii nomine, Imperator et Augustus est appellatus." Comp. Eginhard,

Annal. ad ann. 800, and Vita Car., c. 28.

[251] But the date of the letter and the meaning of imperialis are not

quite certain. See Rettberg, Kirchengesch. Deutschlands, I. 430, and

Baxmann, Politik der P�pste, I. 313 sqq.

[252] The picture is reproduced in the works of V�tault and Stacke

above quoted.

[253] Milman (II. 497): "The Council of Frankfort displays most fully

the power assumed by Charlemagne over the hierarchy as well as the

nobility of the realm, the mingled character, the all-embracing

comprehensiveness of his legislation. The assembly at Frankfort was at

once a Diet or Parliament of the realm and an ecclesiastical Council.

It took cognizance alternately of matters purely ecclesiastical and of

matters as clearly, secular. Charlemagne was present and presided in

the Council of Frankfort. The canons as well as the other statutes were

issued chiefly in his name."

[254] Sanctae Ecclesiae tam pium ac devotum in servitio Dei rectorem.

Also, in his own language, Devotus Ecclesiae defensor atque adjutor in

omnibus apostolicae sedis. Rettberg I. 425, 439 sqq.

[255] 55 Ann. Einhardi, ad. ann. 813 (in Migne's Patrol. Tom. 104, p.

478): Evocatum ad se apud Aquasgrani filium suum Illudovicum Aquitaniae

regem, coronam illi imposuit et imperialis nominis sibi consortem

fecit.' When Stephen IV. visited Louis in 816, he bestowed on him

simply spiritual consecration. In the same manner Louis appointed his

son Lothair emperor who was afterwards crowned by the pope in Rome

(823).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 58. Survey of the History of the Holy Roman Empire.

The readiness with which the Romans responded to the crowning act of

Leo proves that the re-establishment of the Western empire was timely.

The Holy Roman Empire seemed to be the necessary counterpart of the

Holy Roman Church. For many, centuries the nations of Europe had been

used to the concentration of all secular power in one head. It is true,

several Roman emperors from Nero to Diocletian had persecuted

Christianity by fire and sword, but Constantine and his successors had

raised the church to dignity and power, and bestowed upon it all the

privileges of a state religion. The transfer of the seat of empire from

Rome to Constantinople withdrew from the Western church the protection

of the secular arm, and exposed Europe to the horrors of barbarian

invasion and the chaos of civil wars. The popes were among the chief

sufferers, their territory, being again and again overrun and laid

waste by the savage Lombards. Hence the instinctive desire for the

protecting arm of a new empire, and this could only be expected from

the fresh and vigorous Teutonic power which had risen beyond the Alps

and Christianized by Roman missionaries. Into this empire "all the life

of the ancient world was gathered; out of it all the life of the modern

world arose." [256]

The Empire and the Papacy, The Two Ruling Powers of the Middle Ages.

Henceforward the mediaeval history of Europe is chiefly a history of

the papacy and the empire. They were regarded as the two arms of God in

governing the church and the world. This twofold government was upon

the whole the best training-school of the barbarian for Christian

civilization and freedom. The papacy acted as a wholesome check upon

military despotism, the empire as a check upon the abuses of

priestcraft. Both secured order and unity against the disintegrating

tendencies of society; both nourished the great idea of a commonwealth

of nations, of a brotherhood of mankind, of a communion of saints. By

its connection with Rome, the empire infused new blood into the old

nationalities of the South, and transferred the remaining treasures of

classical culture and the Roman law to the new nations of the North.

The tendency of both was ultimately self-destructive; they fostered,

while seeming to oppose, the spirit of ecclesiastical and national

independence. The discipline of authority always produces freedom as

its legitimate result. The law is a schoolmaster to lead men to the

gospel.

Otho the Great.

In the opening chapter of the history of the empire we find it under

the control of a master-mind and in friendly alliance with the papacy.

Under the weak successors of Charlemagne it dwindled down to a merely

nominal existence. But it revived again in Otho I. or the Great

(936-973), of the Saxon dynasty. He was master of the pope and defender

of the Roman church, and left everywhere the impress of an heroic

character, inferior only to that of Charles. Under Henry III.

(1039-1056), when the papacy sank lowest, the empire again proved a

reforming power. He deposed three rival popes, and elected a worthy,

successor. But as the papacy rose from its degradation, it overawed the

empire.

Henry IV. and Gregory VII.

Under Henry IV. (1056-1106) and Gregory VII. (1073-1085) the two power;

came into the sharpest conflict concerning the right of investiture, or

the supreme control in the election of bishops and abbots. The papacy

achieved a moral triumph over the empire at Canossa, when the mightiest

prince kneeled as a penitent at the feet of the proud successor of

Peter (1077); but Henry recovered his manhood and his power, set up an

antipope, and Gregory died in exile at Salerno, yet without yielding an

inch of his principles and pretensions. The conflict lasted fifty

years, and ended with the Concordat of Worms (Sept. 23, 1122), which

was a compromise, but with a limitation of the imperial prerogative:

the pope secured the right to invest the bishops with the ring and

crozier, but the new bishop before his consecration was to receive his

temporal estates as a fief of the crown by the touch of the emperor's

sceptre.

The House of Hohenstaufen.

Under the Swabian emperors of the house of Hohenstaufen (1138-1254) the

Roman empire reached its highest power in connection with the Crusades,

in the palmy days of mediaeval chivalry, poetry and song. They excelled

in personal greatness and renown the Saxon and the Salic emperors, but

were too much concerned with Italian affairs for the good of Germany.

Frederick Barbarossa (Redbeard), during his long reign (1152-1190), was

a worthy successor of Charlemagne and Otho the Great. He subdued

Northern Italy, quarrelled with pope Alexander III., enthroned two

rival popes (Paschal III., and after his death Calixtus III.), but

ultimately submitted to Alexander, fell at his feet at Venice, and was

embraced by the pope with tears of joy and the kiss of peace (1177). He

died at the head of an army of crusaders, while attempting to cross the

Cydnus in Cilicia (June 10, 1190), and entered upon his long enchanted

sleep in Kyffh�user till his spirit reappeared to establish a new

German empire in 1871. [257]

Under Innocent III. (1198-1216) the papacy reached the acme of its

power, and maintained it till the time of Boniface VIII. (1294-1303).

Emperor Frederick II. (1215-1250), Barbarossa's grandson, was equal to

the best of his predecessors in genius and energy, superior to them in

culture, but more an Italian than a German, and a skeptic on the

subject of religion. He reconquered Jerusalem in the fifth crusade, but

cared little for the church, and was put under the ban by pope Gregory

IX., who denounced him as a heretic and blasphemer, and compared him to

the Apocalyptic beast from the abyss. [258] The news of his sudden

death was hailed by pope Innocent IV. with the exclamation: "Let the

heavens rejoice, and let the earth be glad." His death was the collapse

of the house of Hohenstaufen, and for a time also of the Roman empire.

His son and successor Conrad IV. ruled but a few years, and his

grandson Conradin, a bright and innocent youth of sixteen, was opposed

by the pope, and beheaded at Naples in sight of his hereditary kingdom

(October 29, 1268).

Italy was at once the paradise and the grave of German ambition.

The German Empire.

After "the great interregnum" when might was right, [259] the Swiss

count Rudolf of Hapsburg (a castle in the Swiss canton of Aargau) was

elected emperor by the seven electors, and crowned at Aachen

(1273-1291). He restored peace and order, never visited Italy, escaped

the ruinous quarrels with the pope, built up a German kingdom, and laid

the foundation of the conservative, orthodox, tenacious, and selfish

house of Austria.

The empire continued to live for more than five centuries with varying

fortunes, in nominal connection with Rome and at the head of the

secular powers in Christendom, but without controlling influence over

the fortunes of the papacy and the course of Europe. Occasionally it

sent forth a gleam of its universal aim, as under Henry VII., who was

crowned in Rome and hailed by Dante as the saviour of Italy, but died

of fever (if not of poison administered by a Dominican monk in the

sacramental cup) in Tuscany (1313); under Sigismund, the convener and

protector of the oecumenical Council at Constance which deposed popes

and burned Hus (1414), a much better man than either the emperor or the

contemporary popes; under Charles V. (1519-1558), who wore the crown of

Spain and Austria as well as of Germany, and on whose dominions the sun

never set; and under Joseph II. (1765-1790), who renounced the

intolerant policy of his ancestors, unmindful of the pope's protest,

and narrowly escaped greatness. [260] But the emperors after Rudolf,

with a few exceptions, were no more crowned in Rome, and withdrew from

Italy. [261] They were chosen at Frankfort by the Seven Electors, three

spiritual, and four temporal: the archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and

Cologne, the king of Bohemia, and the Electors of the Palatinate,

Saxony, and Brandenburg (afterwards enlarged to nine). The competition,

however, was confined to a few powerful houses, until in the 15th

century the Hapsburgs grasped the crown and held it tenaciously, with

one exception, till the dissolution. The Hapsburg emperors always cared

more for their hereditary dominions, which they steadily increased by

fortunate marriages, than for Germany and the papacy.

The Decline and Fall of the Empire.

Many causes contributed to the gradual downfall of the German empire:

the successful revolt of the Swiss mountaineers, the growth of the

independent kingdoms of Spain, France, and England, the jealousies of

the electors and the minor German princes, the discovery of a new

Continent in the West, the invasion of the Turks from the East, the

Reformation which divided the German people into two hostile religions,

the fearful devastations of the thirty years' war, the rise of the

house of Hohenzollern and the kingdom of Prussia on German soil with

the brilliant genius of Frederick II., and the wars growing out of the

French Revolution. In its last stages it became a mere shadow, and

justified the satirical description (traced to Voltaire), that the Holy

Roman Empire was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. The last of

the emperors, Francis II., in August 6th, 1806, abdicated the elective

crown of Germany and substituted for it the hereditary crown of Austria

as Francis I. (d. 1835).

Thus the holy Roman empire died in peace at the venerable age of one

thousand and six years.

The Empire of Napoleon.

Napoleon, hurled into sudden power by the whirlwind of revolution on

the wings of his military genius, aimed at the double glory of a second

Caesar and a second Charlemagne, and constructed, by arbitrary force, a

huge military empire on the basis of France, with the pope as an

obedient paid servant at Paris, but it collapsed on the battle fields

of Leipzig and Waterloo, without the hope of a resurrection. "I have

not succeeded Louis Quatorze," he said, "but Charlemagne." He dismissed

his wife and married a daughter of the last German and first Austrian

emperor; he assumed the Lombard crown at Milan; he made his ill-fated

son "King of Rome" in imitation of the German "King of the Romans." He

revoked "the donations which my predecessors, the French emperors have

made," and appropriated them to France. "Your holiness," he wrote to

Pius VII., who had once addressed him as his "very dear Son in Christ,"

"is sovereign of Rome, but I am the emperor thereof." "You are right,"

he wrote to Cardinal Fesch, his uncle, "that I am Charlemagne, and I

ought to be treated as the emperor of the papal court. I shall inform

the pope of my intentions in a few words, and if he declines to

acquiesce, I shall reduce him to the same condition in which he was

before Charlemagne." [262] It is reported that he proposed to the pope

to reside in Paris with a large salary, and rule the conscience of

Europe under the military, supremacy of the emperor, that the pope

listened first to his persuasion with the single remark: "Comedian,"

and then to his threats with the reply: "Tragedian," and turned him his

back. The papacy utilized the empire of the uncle and the nephew, as

well as it could, and survived them. But the first Napoleon swept away

the effete institutions of feudalism, and by his ruthless and scornful

treatment of conquered nationalities provoked a powerful revival of

these very nationalities which overthrew and buried his own artificial

empire. The deepest humiliation of the German nation, and especially of

Prussia, was the beginning of its uprising in the war of liberation.

The German Confederation.

The Congress of Vienna erected a temporary substitute for the old

empire in the German "Bund" at Frankfort. It was no federal state, but

a loose confederacy of 38 sovereign states, or princes rather, without

any popular representation; it was a rope of sand, a sham unity, under

the leadership of Austria; and Austria shrewdly and selfishly used the

petty rivalries and jealousies of the smaller principalities as a means

to check the progress of Prussia and to suppress all liberal movements.

The New German Empire.

In the meantime the popular desire for national union, awakened by the

war of liberation and a great national literature, made steady

progress, and found at last its embodiment in a new German empire with

a liberal constitution and a national parliament. But this great result

was brought about by great events and achievements under the leadership

of Prussia against foreign aggression. The first step was the brilliant

victory of Prussia over Austria at K�niggr�tz, which resulted in the

formation of the North German Confederation (1866). The second step was

the still more remarkable triumph of united Germany in a war of

self-defence against the empire of Napoleon III., which ended in the

proclamation of William I. as German emperor by the united wishes of

the German princes and peoples in the palace of Louis XIV. at

Versailles (1870).

Thus the long dream of the German nation was fulfilled through a series

of the most brilliant military and diplomatic victories recorded in

modern history, by the combined genius of Bismarck, Moltke, and

William, and the valor, discipline, and intelligence of the German

army.

Simultaneously with this German movement, Italy under the lead of

Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, achieved her national unity, with Rome as

the political capital.

But the new German empire is not a continuation or revival of the old.

It differs from it in several essential particulars. It is the result

of popular national aspiration and of a war of self-defence, not of

conquest; it is based on the predominance of Prussia and North Germany,

not of Austria and South Germany; it is hereditary, not elective; it is

controlled by modern ideas of liberty and progress, not by mediaeval

notions and institutions; it is essentially Protestant, and not Roman

Catholic; it is a German, not a Roman empire. Its rise is indirectly

connected with the simultaneous downfall of the temporal power of the

pope, who is the hereditary and unchangeable enemy both of German and

Italian unity and freedom. The new empire is independent of the church,

and has officially no connection with religion, resembling in this

respect the government of the United States; but its Protestant animus

appears not only in the hereditary religion of the first emperor, but

also in the expulsion of the Jesuits (1872), and the "Culturkampf"

against the politico-hierarchical aspirations of the ultramontane

papacy. When Pius IX., in a letter to William I. (1873), claimed a sort

of jurisdiction over all baptized Christians, the emperor courteously

informed the infallible pope that he, with all Protestants, recognized

no other mediator between God and man but our Lord and Saviour Jesus

Christ. The new German empire will and ought to do full justice to the

Catholic church, but "will never go to Canossa."

We pause at the close of a long and weighty chapter in history; we

wonder what the next chapter will be.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[256] Bryce, p. 396 (8th ed.)

[257] Friedrich R�ckert has reproduced this significant German legend

in a poem beginning: Der alte Barbarossa, Der Kaiser Friederich, Im

unterird'schen Schlosse H�lt er verzaubert sich.

Er ist niemals gestorben, Er lebt darin noch jetzt; Er hat im Schloss

verborgen Zum Schlaf sich hingesetzt.

Er hat hinabgenommen Des Reiches Herrlichkeit, Und wird einst

wiederkommen Mit ihr zu seiner Zeit,"etc.

[258] He alone, of all the emperors, is consigned to hell by Dante

(Inferno, x. 119): "Within here is the second Frederick."

[259] Schiller calls it "die kaiserlose, die schreckliche Zeit."

[260] The pope Pius VI. even made a journey to Vienna, but when he

extended his hand to the minister Kaunitz to kiss, the minister took it

and shook it. Joseph in turn visited Rome, and was received by the

people with the shout: "Evviva il nostro imperatore!"

[261] Dante (Purgat. VII. 94) represents Rudolf of Hapsburg as seated

gloomily apart in purgatory, and mourning his sin of neglecting

"To heal the wounds that Italy have slain."

Weary of the endless strife of domestic tyrants and factions in every

city, Dante longed for some controlling power that should restore unity

and peace to his beloved but unfortunate Italy. He expounded his

political ideas in his work De Monarchia.

[262] 2 In another letter to Fesch (Correspond. de l' empereur Napol.

Ier, Tom. xi. 528), he writes, "Pour le pape je suis Charemagne. parce

que comme Charlemagne je r�unis la couronne de Prance � celle du

Lombards et que mon empire confine avec l' Orient." Quoted by Bryce.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 59. The Papacy and the Empire from the Death of Charlemagne to

Nicolas I a.d. 814-858). Note on the Myth of the Papess Joan.

The power of Charlemagne was personal. Under his weak successors the

empire fell to pieces, and the creation of his genius was buried in

chaotic confusion; but the idea survived. His son and successor, Louis

the Pious, as the Germans and Italians called him, or Louis the Gentle

(le d�bonnaire) in French history (814-840), inherited the piety, and

some of the valor and legislative wisdom, but not the genius and

energy, of his father. He was a devoted and superstitious servant of

the clergy. He began with reforms, he dismissed his father's concubines

and daughters with their paramours from the court, turned the palace

into a monastery, and promoted the Scandinavian mission of St. Ansgar.

In the progress of his reign, especially after his second marriage to

the ambitious Judith, he showed deplorable weakness and allowed his

empire to decay, while he wasted his time between monkish exercises and

field-sports in the forest of the Ardennes. He unwisely shared his rule

with his three sons who soon rebelled against their father and engaged

in fraternal wars.

After his death the treaty of Verdun was concluded in 843. By this

treaty the empire was divided; Lothair received Italy with the title of

emperor, France fell to Charles the Bald, Germany to Louis the German.

Thus Charlemagne's conception of a Western empire that should be

commensurate with the Latin church was destroyed, or at least greatly

contracted, and the three countries have henceforth a separate history.

This was better for the development of nationality. The imperial

dignity was afterwards united with the German crown, and continued

under this modified form till 1806.

During this civil commotion the papacy had no distinguished

representative, but upon the whole profited by it. Some of the popes

evaded the imperial sanction of their election. The French clergy

forced the gentle Louis to make at Soissons a most humiliating

confession of guilt for all the slaughter, pillage, and sacrilege

committed during the civil wars, and for bringing the empire to the

brink of ruin. Thus the hierarchy assumed control even over the civil

misconduct of the sovereign and imposed ecclesiastical penance for ft.

Note. The Myth of Johanna Papissa.

We must make a passing mention of the curious and mysterious myth of

papess Johanna, who is said during this period between Leo IV. (847)

and Benedict III. (855) to have worn the triple crown for two years and

a half. She was a lady of Mayence (her name is variously called Agnes,

Gilberta, Johanna, Jutta), studied in disguise philosophy in Athens

(where philosophy had long before died out), taught theology in Rome,

under the name of Johannes Anglicus, and was elevated to the papal

dignity as John VIII., but died in consequence of the discovery of her

sex by a sudden confinement in the open street during a solemn

procession from the Vatican to the Lateran. According to another

tradition she was tied to the hoof of a horse, dragged outside of the

city and stoned to death by the people, and the inscription was put on

her grave:

"Parce pater patrum papissae edere partum."

The strange story originated in Rome, and was first circulated by the

Dominicans and Minorites, and acquired general credit in the 13th and

14th centuries. Pope John XX. (1276) called himself John XXI. In the

beginning of the 15th century the bust of this woman-pope was placed

alongside with the busts of the other popes at Sienna, and nobody took

offence at it. Even Chancellor Gerson used the story as an argument

that the church could err in matters of fact. At the Council in

Constance it was used against the popes. Torrecremata, the upholder of

papal despotism, draws from it the lesson that if the church can stand

a woman-pope, she might stand the still greater evil of a heretical

pope.

Nevertheless the story is undoubtedly a mere fiction, and is so

regarded by nearly all modern historians, Protestant as well as Roman

Catholic. It is not mentioned till four hundred years later by Stephen,

a French Dominican (who died 1261). [263] It was unknown to Photius and

the bitter Greek polemics during the ninth and tenth centuries, who

would not have missed the opportunity to make use of it as an argument

against the papacy. There is no gap in the election of the popes

between Leo and Benedict, who, according to contemporary historians,

was canonically elected three days after the death of Leo IV. (which

occurred July 17th, 855), or at all events in the same month, and

consecrated two months after (Sept. 29th). See Jaff�, Regesta, p. 235.

The myth was probably an allegory or satire on the monstrous government

of women (Theodora and Marozia) over several licentious popes--Sergius

III., John X., XI., and XII.--in the tenth century. So Heumann,

Schr�ckh, Gibbon, Neander. The only serious objection to this solution

is that the myth would be displaced from the ninth to the tenth

century.

Other conjectures are these: The myth of the female pope was a satire

on John VIII. for his softness in dealing with Photius (Baronius); the

misunderstanding of a fact that some foreign bishop (pontifex) in Rome

was really a woman in disguise (Leibnitz); the papess was a widow of

Leo IV. (Kist); a misinterpretation of the stella stercoraria

(Schmidt); a satirical allegory on the origin and circulation of the

false decretals of Isidor (Henke and Gfr�rer); an impersonation of the

great whore of the Apocalypse, and the popular expression of the belief

that the mystery of iniquity was working in the papal court

(Baring-Gould).

David Blondel, first destroyed the credit of this mediaeval fiction, in

his learned French dissertation on the subject (Amsterdam, 1649).

spanheim defended it, and Mosheim credited it much to his discredit as

an historian. See the elaborate discussion of D�llinger, Papst-Fabeln

des Mittelalters, 2d ed. Munchen, 1863 (Engl. transl. N. Y., 1872, pp.

4-58 and pp. 430-437). Comp. also Bianchi-Giovini, Esame critico degli

atti e documenti della papessa Giovanna, Mil. 1845, and the long note

of Gieseler, II. 30-32 (N. Y. ed.), which sums up the chief data in the

case.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[263] The oldest testimony in the almost contemporary "Liber

Pontificalis" of Anastasius is wanting in the best manuscripts, and

must be a later interpolation. D�llinger shows that the myth, although

it may have circulated earlier in the mouth of the people, was not

definitely put into writing before the middle of the thirteenth

century.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 60. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.

I. Sources.

The only older ed. of Pseudo-Isidor is that of Jacob Merlin in the

first part of his Collection of General Councils, Paris, 1523, Col.,

1530, etc., reprinted in Migne's Patrol. Tom. CXXX., Paris, 1853.

Far superior is the modem ed. of P. Hinschius: Decretales

Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni. Lips. 1863. The only

critical ed, taken from the oldest and best MSS. Comp. his Commentatio

de, Collectione Isidori Mercatoris in this ed. pp. xi-ccxxxviii.

II. Literature.

Dav. Blondel: Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes. Genev. 1628.

F. Knust: De Fontibus et Consilio Pseudo-Isidorianae collectionis.

G�tt. 1832.

A. M�hler (R.C.): Fragmente aus und uber Isidor, in his "Vermischte

Schriften" (ed. by D�llinger, Regensb. 1839), I. 285 sqq.

H. Wasserschleben: Beitr�ge zur Gesch. der falschen Decret. Breslau,

1844. Comp. also his art. in Herzog.

C. Jos. Hefele (R.C.): Die pseudo-Isidor. Frage, in the "Tubinger

Quartalschrift, "1847.

Gfr�rer: Alter, Ursprung, Zweck der Decretalen des falschen Isodorus.

Freib. 1848.

Jul. Weizs�cker: Hinkmar und Pseudo-Isidor, in Niedner's "Zeitschrift

fur histor. Theol.," for 1858, and Die pseudo-isid. Frage, in Sybel's

"Hist. Zeitschrift, "1860.

C. von Noorden: Ebo, Hinkmar und Pseudo-Isidor, in Sybel's "Hist.

Zeitschrift," 1862.

D�llinger in Janus, 1869. It appeared in several editions and

languages.

Ferd. Walter (R.C.): Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts aller christl.

Confessionen. Bonn (1822), 13th ed. 1861. The same transl. into French,

Italian, and Spanish.

J. W. Bickell: Geschichte des Kirchenrechts. Giessen, 1843, 1849.

G. Phillips (R.C.): Kirchenrecht. Regensburg (1845), 3rd ed. 1857 sqq.

6 vols. (till 1864). His Lehrbuch, 1859, P. II. 1862.

Jo. Fr. von Schulte (R.C., since 1870 Old Cath.): Das Katholische

Kirchenrecht. Giessen, P. I. 1860. Lehrbuch, 1873. Die Geschichte der

Quellen und Literatur des Canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die

Gegenwart. Stuttgart, 1875 sqq.3 vols.

Aem. L. Richter: Lehrbuch des kath. und evang. Kirchenrechts. Leipz.,

sixth ed. by Dove, 1867 (on Pseudo-Isidor, pp. 102-133).

Henry C. Lea: Studies in Church History. Philad. 1869 (p. 43-102 on the

False Decretals).

Friedr. Maassen (R.C.): Geschichte der Quellen und d. Literatur des

canonischen Rechts im Abendlande. 1st vol., Gratz, 1870.

Comp. also for the whole history the great work of F. C. von Savigny:

Geschichte des R�m. Rechts im Mittelalter. Heidelb. 2nd ed. 1834-'51, 7

vols.

See also the Lit. in vol. II. � 67.

During the chaotic confusion under the Carolingians, in the middle of

the ninth century, a mysterious book made its appearance, which gave

legal expression to the popular opinion of the papacy, raised and

strengthened its power more than any other agency, and forms to a large

extent the basis of the canon law of the church of Rome. This is a

collection of ecclesiastical laws under the false name of bishop Isidor

of Seville (died 636), hence called the "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals."

[264] He was the reputed (though not the real) author of an earlier

collection, based upon that of the Roman abbot, Dionysius Exiguus, in

the sixth century, and used as the law-book of the church in Spain,

hence called the "Hispana." In these earlier collections the letters

and decrees (Epistolae Decretales) of the popes from the time of

Siricius (384) occupy a prominent place. [265] A decretal in the

canonical sense is an authoritative rescript of a pope in reply to some

question, while a decree is a papal ordinance enacted with the advice

of the Cardinals, without a previous inquiry. A canon is a law ordained

by a general or provincial synod. A dogma is an ecclesiastical law

relating to doctrine. The earliest decretals had moral rather than

legislative force. But as the questions and appeals to the pope

multiplied, the papal answers grew in authority. Fictitious documents,

canons, and decretals were nothing new; but the Pseudo-Isidorian

collection is the most colossal and effective fraud known in the

history of ecclesiastical literature.

1. The contents of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. The book is divided

into three parts. The first part contains fifty Apostolical Canons from

the collection of Dionysius, sixty spurious decretals of the Roman

bishops from Clement (d. 101) to Melchiades (d. 314). The second part

comprehends the forged document of the donation of Constantine, some

tracts concerning the Council of Nicaea, and the canons of the Greek,

African, Gallic, and Spanish Councils down to 683, from the Spanish

collection. The third part, after a preface copied from the Hispana,

gives in chronological order the decretals of the popes from Sylvester

(d. 335) to Gregory II. (d. 731), among which thirty-five are forged,

including all before Damasus; but the genuine letters also, which are

taken from the Isidorian collection, contain interpolations. In many

editions the Capitula Angilramni are appended.

All these documents make up a manual of orthodox doctrine and clerical

discipline. They give dogmatic decisions against heresies, especially

Arianism (which lingered long in Spain), and directions on worship, the

sacraments, feasts and fasts, sacred rites and costumes, the

consecration of churches, church property, and especially on church

polity. The work breathes throughout the spirit of churchly and

priestly piety and reverence.

2. The sacerdotal system. Pseudo-Isidor advocates the papal theocracy.

The clergy is a divinely instituted, consecrated, and inviolable caste,

mediating between God and the people, as in the Jewish dispensation.

The priests are the "familiares Dei," the "spirituales," the laity the

"carnales." He who sins against them sins against God. They are subject

to no earthly tribunal, and responsible to God alone, who appointed

them judges of men. The privileges of the priesthood culminate in the

episcopal dignity, and the episcopal dignity culminates in the papacy.

The cathedra Petri is the fountain of all power. Without the consent of

the pope no bishop can be deposed, no council be convened. He is the

ultimate umpire of all controversy, and from him there is no appeal. He

is often called "episcopus universalis" notwithstanding the protest of

Gregory I.

3. The aim of Pseudo-Isidor is, by such a collection of authoritative

decisions to protect the clergy against the secular power and against

moral degeneracy. The power of the metropolitans is rather lowered in

order to secure to the pope the definitive sentence in the trials of

bishops. But it is manifestly wrong if older writers have put the chief

aim of the work in the elevation of the papacy. The papacy appears

rather as a means for the protection of episcopacy in its conflict with

the civil government. It is the supreme guarantee of the rights of the

bishops.

4. The genuineness of Pseudo-Isidor was not doubted during the middle

ages (Hincmar only denied the legal application to the French church),

but is now universally given up by Roman Catholic as well as Protestant

historians.

The forgery is apparent. It is inconceivable that Dionysius Exiguus,

who lived in Rome, should have been ignorant of such a large number of

papal letters. The collection moreover is full of anachronisms: Roman

bishops of the second and third centuries write in the Frankish Latin

of the ninth century on doctrinal topics in the spirit of the

post-Nicene orthodoxy and on mediaeval relations in church and state;

they quote the Bible after the; version of Jerome as amended under

Charlemagne; Victor addresses Theophilus of Alexandria, who lived two

hundred years later, on the paschal controversies of the second

century. [266]

The Donation of Constantine which is incorporated in this collection,

is an older forgery, and exists also in several Greek texts. It affirms

that Constantine, when he was baptized by pope Sylvester, a.d. 324 (he

was not baptized till 337, by the Arian bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia),

presented him with the Lateran palace and all imperial insignia,

together with the Roman and Italian territory. [267] The object of this

forgery was to antedate by five centuries the temporal power of the

papacy, which rests on the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. [268]

The only foundation in fact is the donation of the Lateran palace,

which was originally the palace of the Lateran family, then of the

emperors, and last of the popes. The wife of Constantine, Fausta,

resided in it, and on the transfer of the seat of empire to

Constantinople, he left it to Sylvester, as the chief of the Roman

clergy and nobility. Hence it contains to this day the pontifical

throne with the inscription: "Haec est papalis sedes et pontificalis."

There the pope takes possession of the see of Rome. But the whole

history of Constantine and his successors shows conclusively that they

had no idea of transferring any part of their temporal sovereignty to

the Roman pontiff.

5. The authorship must be assigned to some ecclesiastic of the Frankish

church, probably of the diocese of Rheims, between 847 and 865 (or

857), but scholars differ as to the writer. [269] Pseudo-Isidor

literally quotes passages from a Paris Council of 829, and agrees in

part with the collection of Benedictus Levita, completed in 847; on the

other hand he is first quoted by a French Synod at Chiersy in 857, and

then by Hincmar of Rheims repeatedly since 859. All the manuscripts are

of French origin. The complaints of ecclesiastical disorders,

depositions of bishops without trial, frivolous divorces, frequent

sacrilege, suit best the period of the civil wars among the grandsons

of Charlemagne. In Rome the Decretals were first known and quoted in

865 by pope Nicolaus I. [270]

From the same period and of the same spirit are several collections of

Capitula or Capitularia, i.e., of royal ecclesiastical ordinances which

under the Carolingians took the place of synodical decisions. Among

these we mention the collection of Ansegis, abbot of Fontenelles (827),

of Benedictus Levita of Mayence (847), and the Capitula Angilramni,

falsely ascribed to bishop Angilramnus of Metz (d. 701).

6. Significance of Pseudo-Isidor. It consists not so much in the

novelty of the views and claims of the mediaeval priesthood, but in

tracing them back from the ninth to the third and second centuries and

stamping them with the authority of antiquity. Some of the leading

principles had indeed been already asserted in the letters of Leo I.

and other documents of the fifth century, yea the papal animus may be

traced to Victor in the second century and to the Judaizing opponents

of St. Paul. But in this collection the entire hierarchical and

sacerdotal system, which was the growth of several centuries, appears

as something complete and unchangeable from the very beginning. We have

a parallel phenomenon in the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons which

gather into one whole the ecclesiastical decisions of the first three

centuries, and trace them directly to the apostles or their disciple,

Clement of Rome.

Pseudo-Isidorus was no doubt a sincere believer in the hierarchical

system; nevertheless his Collection is to a large extent a conscious

high church fraud, and must as such be traced to the father of lies. It

belongs to the Satanic element in the history of the Christian

hierarchy, which has as little escaped temptation and contamination as

the Jewish hierarchy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[264] The preface begins: "Isidorus Mercator servus Christi lectori

conservo suo et parenti suo in Domino fideli (al. fidei) salutem.' The

byname "Mercator," which is found in 30 of the oldest codices, is so

far unexplained. Some refer it to Marius Mercator, a learned Occidental

layman residing in Constantinople, who wrote against Pelagius and

translated ecclesiastical records which pseudo-Isidorus made use of.

Others regard it as a mistake for " Peccator" (a title of humility

frequently used by priests and bishops, e.g. by St. Patrick in his "

Confession"), which is found in 3 copies. " Mercatus" also occurs it,

several copies, and this would be equivalent to redemptus, " Isidorus,

the redeemed servant of Christ." See Hinschius and Richter, l.c.

[265] The original name was decretale constitutum or decretalis

epistola, afterwards decretalis. See Richter, l.c. p. 80.

[266] The forgery was first suggested by Nicolaus de Cusa, in the

fifteenth century, and Calvin (Inst. IV. 7, 11, 20), and then proved by

the Magdeburg Centuries, and more conclusively by the Calvinistic

divine David Blondel (1628) against the attempted vindication of the

Jesuit Torres (Turrianus, 1572). The brothers Ballerini, Baronius,

Bellarmin, Theiner, Walter, M�hler, Hefele, and other Roman Catholic

scholars admit the forgery, but usually try to mitigate it and to

underrate the originality and influence of Pseudo-Isidor. Some

Protestant divines have erred in the opposite direction (as Richter

justly observes, l.c. p. 117).

[267] "Dominis meis beatissimis Petro et Paulo, et per eos etiam beato

Sylvestro Patri nostro summo pontifici, et universalis urbis Romae

papae, et omnibus ejus successoribus pontificibus . . concedimus

palatium imperii nostri Lateranense ... deinde diadema, videlicet

coronam capitis nostri simulque pallium, vel mitram .... . et omnia

imperialia indumenta ... et imperialia sceptra . . et omnem

possessionem imperialis culminis et gloriam potestatis nostrae ... Unde

ut pontificalis apex non vilescat, sed magis amplius quam terreni

imperii dignitas et gloriae potentia decoretur, ecce tam palatium

nostrum, ut praedictum est, quamque Pomanae vobis et omnes Italiae seu

occidentalium regionum provincias, loca et civitates beatissimo

pontifici nostro, Sylvestro universali papae, concedimus atque

relinquimus." In Migne, Tom. 130, p. 249 sq.

[268] That Constantine made donations to Sylvester on occasion of his

pretended baptism is related first in the Acta Sylvestri, then by

Hadrian I. in a letter to Charlemagne (780). In the ninth century the

spurious document appeared. The spuriousness was perceived as early as

999 by the emperor Otho III. and proven by Laurentius Valla about 1440

in De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione. The document is

universally given up as a fiction, though Baronius defended the

donation itself.

[269] The following persons have been suggested as authors: Benedictus

Levita (Deacon) of Mayence, whose Capitularium of about 847 agrees in

several passages literally with the Decretals (Blondel, Knust, Walter);

Rothad of Soissons (Phillips, Gfr�rer); Otgar, archbishop of Mayence,

who took a prominent part in the clerical rebellion against Louis the

Pious (Ballerinii, Wasserschleben); Ebo, archbishop of Rheims, the

predecessor of Hincmar and leader in that rebellion, or some unknown

ecclesiastic in that diocese (Weizs�cker, von Noorden, Hinschius,

Richter, Baxmann). The repetitions suggest a number of authors and a

gradual growth.

[270] Nicolai I. Epist. ad universos episcopos Galliae ann. 865 (Mansi

xv. p. 694 sq.): "Decretales epistolae Rom. Pontificum sunt

recipiendae, etiamsi non sunt canonum codici compaginatae: quoniam

inter ipsos canones unum b. Leonis capitulum constat esse permixtum,

quo omnia decretalia constituta sedes apostolicae custodiri

mandantur.--Itaque nihil interest, utrum sint omnia decretalia sedis

Apost. constituta inter canones conciliorum immixta, cum omnia in uno

copore compaginare non possint et illa eis intersint, quae firmitatem

his quae desunt et vigorem suum assignet.--Sanctus Gelasius (quoque)

non dixit suscipiendas decretales epistolas quae inter canones

habentur, nec tantum quas moderni pontifices ediderunt, sed quas

beatissimi Papae diversis temporibus ab urbe Roma dederunt."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 61. Nicolas I., April, 858-Nov. 13, 867.

I. The Epistles of Nicolas I. in Mansi's Conc. XV., and in Migne's

Patrol. Tom. CXIX. Comp. also Jaff�, Regesta, pp. 237-254.

Hincmari (Rhemensis Archiepiscopi) Oper. Omnia. In Migne's Patrol. Tom.

125 and 126. An older ed. by J. Sirmond, Par. 1645, 2 vols. fol.

Hugo Laemmer: Nikolaus I. und die Byzantinische Staatskirche seiner

Zeit. Berlin, 1857.

A. Thiel: De Nicolao Papa. Comment. duae Hist. canonicae. Brunzberg,

1859.

Van Noorden: Hincmar, Erzbischof von Rheims. Bonn, 1863.

Hergenr�ther (R.C. Prof at Wurzburg, now Cardinal): Photius.

Regensburg, 1867-1869, 3 vols.

Comp. Baxmann II. 1-29; Milman, Book V. ch.4 (vol. III. 24-46); Hefele,

Conciliengesch. vol. IV., (2nd ed.), 228 sqq; and other works quoted �

48.

By a remarkable coincidence the publication of the Pseudo-Isidorian

Decretals synchronized with the appearance of a pope who had the

ability and opportunity to carry the principles of the Decretals into

practical effect, and the good fortune to do it in the service of

justice and virtue. So long as the usurpation of divine power was used

against oppression and vice, it commanded veneration and obedience, and

did more good than harm. It was only the pope who in those days could

claim a superior authority in dealing with haughty and oppressive

metropolitans, synods, kings and emperors.

Nicolas I. is the greatest pope, we may say the only great pope between

Gregory I. and Gregory VII. He stands between them as one of three

peaks of a lofty mountain, separated from the lower peak by a plane,

and from the higher peak by a deep valley. He appeared to his younger

contemporaries as a "new Elijah," who ruled the world like a sovereign

of divine appointment, terrible to the evil-doer whether prince or

priest, yet mild to the good and obedient. He was elected less by the

influence of the clergy than of the emperor Louis II., and consecrated

in his presence; he lived with him on terms of friendship, and was

treated in turn with great deference to his papal dignity. He

anticipated Hildebrand in the lofty conception of his office; and his

energy and boldness of character corresponded with it. The pope was in

his view the divinely appointed superintendent of the whole church for

the maintenance of order, discipline and righteousness, and the

punishment of wrong and vice, with the aid of the bishops as his

executive organs. He assumed an imperious tone towards the

Carolingians. He regarded the imperial crown a grant of the vicar of

St. Peter for the protection of Christians against infidels. The empire

descended to Louis by hereditary right, but was confirmed by the

authority of the apostolic see.

The pontificate of Nicolas was marked by three important events: the

controversy with Photius, the prohibition of the divorce of King

Lothair, and the humiliation of archbishop Hincmar. In the first he

failed, in the second and third he achieved a moral triumph.

Nicolas and Photius.

Ignatius, patriarch of Constantinople, of imperial descent and of

austere ascetic virtue, was unjustly deposed and banished by the

emperor Michael III. for rebuking the immorality of Caesar Bardas, but

he refused to resign. Photius, the greatest scholar of his age, at home

in almost every branch of knowledge and letters, was elected his

successor, though merely a layman, and in six days passed through the

inferior orders to the patriarchal dignity (858). The two parties

engaged in an unrelenting warfare, and excommunicated each other.

Photius was the first to appeal to the Roman pontiff. Nicolas, instead

of acting as mediator, assumed the air of judge, and sent delegates to

Constantinople to investigate the case on the spot. They were

imprisoned and bribed to declare for Photius; but the pope annulled

their action at a synod in Rome, and decided in favor of Ignatius

(863). Photius in turn pronounced sentence of condemnation on the pope

and, in his Encyclical Letter, gave classical expression to the

objections of the Greek church against the Latin (867). The controversy

resulted in the permanent alienation of the two churches. It was the

last instance of an official interference of a pope in the affairs of

the Eastern church.

Nicolas and Lothair.

Lothair II., king of Lorraine and the second son of the emperor

Lothair, maltreated and at last divorced his wife, Teutberga of

Burgundy, and married his mistress, Walrada, who appeared publicly in

all the array and splendor of a queen. Nicolas, being appealed to by

the injured lady, defended fearlessly the sacredness of matrimony; he

annulled the decisions of synods, and deposed the archbishops of

Cologne and Treves for conniving at the immorality of their sovereign.

He threatened the king with immediate excommunication if he did not

dismiss the concubine and receive the lawful wife. He even refused to

yield when Teutberga, probably under compulsion, asked him to grant a

divorce. Lothair, after many equivocations, yielded at last (865). It

is unnecessary to enter into the complications and disgusting details

of this controversy.

Nicolas and Hincmar.

In his controversy with Hincmar, Nicolas was a protector of the bishops

and lower clergy against the tyranny of metropolitans. Hincmar,

archbishop of Rheims, was the most powerful prelate of France, and a

representative of the principle of Gallican independence. He was

energetic, but ambitious and overbearing. He came three times in

conflict with the pope on the question of jurisdiction. The principal

case is that of Rothad, bishop of Soissons, one of his oldest

suffragans, whom he deposed without sufficient reason and put into

prison, with the aid of Charles the Bald (862). The pope sent his

legate "from the side," Arsenius, to Charles, and demanded the

restoration of the bishop. He argued from the canons of the Council of

Sardica that the case must be decided by Rome even if Rothad had not

appealed to him. He enlisted the sympathies of the bishops by reminding

them that they might suffer similar injustice from their metropolitan,

and that their only refuge was in the common protection of the Roman

see. Charles desired to cancel the process, but Nicolas would not

listen to it. He called Rothad to Rome, reinstated him solemnly in the

church of St. Maria Maggiore, and sent him back in triumph to France

(864) [271] Hincmar murmured, but yielded to superior power. [272]

In this controversy Nicolas made use of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals,

a copy of which came into his hands probably through Rotbad. He thus

gave them the papal sanction; yet he must have known that a large

portion of this forged collection, though claiming to proceed from

early popes, did not exist in the papal archives. Hincmar protested

against the validity of the new decretals and their application to

France, and the protest lingered for centuries in the Gallican

liberties till they were finally buried in the papal absolutism of the

Vatican Council of 1870.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[271] Jaff�, 246 and 247, and Mansi, XV. 687 sqq.

[272] Rotha dum canonice ... dejectum et a Nicolao papa non

regulariter, sed potentialiter restitutum." See Baxmann, II. 26.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 62. Hadrian II. and John VIII a.d. 867 to 882.

Mansi: Conc. Tom. XV.-XVII.

Migne: Patrol. Lat. Tom. CXXII. 1245 sqq. (Hadrian II.); Tom. CXXVI.

647 sqq. (John VIII.); also Tom. CXXIX., pp. 823 sqq., and 1054 sqq.,

which contain the writings of Auxilius and Vulgarius, concerning pope

Formosus.

Baronius: Annal. ad ann. 867-882.

Jaff�: Regesta, pp. 254-292.

Milman: Lat. Christianity, Book V., chs.5 and 6.

Gfr�rer: Allg. Kirchengesch., Bd. III. Abth. 2, pp. 962 sqq.

Baxmann: Politik der P�pste, II. 29-57.

For nearly two hundred years, from Nicolas to Hildebrand (867-1049),

the papal chair was filled, with very few exceptions, by ordinary and

even unworthy occupants.

Hadrian II. (867-872) and John VIII. (872-882) defended the papal power

with the same zeal as Nicolas, but with less ability, dignity, and

success, and not so much in the interests of morality as for

self-aggrandizement. They interfered with the political quarrels of the

Carolingians, and claimed the right of disposing royal and imperial

crowns.

Hadrian was already seventy-five years of age, and well known for great

benevolence, when he ascended the throne (he was born in 792). He

inherited from Nicolas the controversies with Photius, Lothair, and

Hincmar of Rheims, but was repeatedly rebuffed. He suffered also a

personal humiliation on account of a curious domestic tragedy. He had

been previously married, and his wife (Stephania) was still living at

the time of his elevation. Eleutherius, a son of bishop Arsenius (the

legate of Nicolas), carried away the pope's daughter (an old maid of

forty years, who was engaged to another man), fled to the emperor

Louis, and, when threatened with punishment, murdered both the pope's

wife and daughter. He was condemned to death.

This affair might have warned the popes to have nothing to do with

women; but it was succeeded by worse scenes.

John VIII. was an energetic, shrewd, passionate, and intriguing

prelate, meddled with all the affairs of Christendom from Bulgaria to

France and Spain, crowned two insignificant Carolingian emperors

(Charles the Bald, 875, and Charles the Fat, 881), dealt very freely in

anathemas, was much disturbed by the invasion of the Saracens, and is

said to have been killed by a relative who coveted the papal crown and

treasure. The best thing he did was the declaration, in the Bulgarian

quarrel with the patriarch of Constantinople, that the Holy Spirit had

created other languages for worship besides Hebrew, Greek, and Latin,

although he qualified it afterwards by saying that Greek and Latin were

the only proper organs for the celebration of the mass, while barbarian

tongues such as the Slavonic, may be good enough for preaching.

His violent end was the beginning of a long interregnum of violence.

The close of the ninth century gave a foretaste of the greater troubles

of the tenth. After the downfall of the Carolingian dynasty the popes

were more and more involved in the political quarrels and distractions

of the Italian princes. The dukes Berengar of Friuli (888-924), and

Guido of Spoleto (889-894), two remote descendants of Charlemagne

through a female branch, contended for the kingdom of Italy and the

imperial crown, and filled alternately the papal chair according to

their success in the conflict. The Italians liked to have two masters,

that they might play off one against the other. Guido was crowned

emperor by Stephen VI. (V.) in February, 891, and was followed by his

son, Lambert, in 894, who was also crowned. Formosus, bishop of Portus,

whom John VIII. had pursued with bitter animosity, was after varying

fortunes raised to the papal chair, and gave the imperial crown first

to Lambert, but afterwards to the victorious Arnulf of Carinthia, in

896. He roused the revenge of Lambert, and died of violence. His second

successor and bitter enemy, Stephen VII. (VI.), a creature of the party

of Lambert, caused his corpse to be exhumed, clad in pontifical robes,

arraigned in a mock trial, condemned and deposed, stripped of the

ornaments, fearfully mutilated, decapitated, and thrown into the Tiber.

But the party of Berengar again obtained the ascendency; Stephen VII.

was thrown into prison and strangled (897). This was regarded as a just

punishment for his conduct towards Formosus. John IX. restored the

character of Formosus. He died in 900, and was followed by Benedict

IV., of the Lambertine or Spoletan party, and reigned for the now

unusual term of three years and a half. [273]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[273] According to Auxentius and Vulgarius, pope Stephen VII. was the

author of the outrage on the corpse of Formosus; Liutprand traces it to

Sergius III. in 898, when he was anti-pope of John IX. Baronius

conjectures that Liutprand wrote Sergius for Stephanus. Hefele assents,

Conciliengesch. IV. 561 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 63. The Degradation of the Papacy in the Tenth Century.

Sources.

Migne's Patrol. Lat. Tom. 131-142. These vols. contain the documents

and works from Pope John IX.-Gregory VI.

Liudprandus (Episcopus Cremonensis, d. 972): Antapodoseos, seu Rerum

per Europam gestarum libri VI. From a.d. 887-950. Reprinted in Pertz:

Monum. Germ. III. 269-272; and in Migne: Patrol. Tom. CXXXVI. 769 sqq.

By the same: Historia Ottonis, sive de rebus gestis Ottonis Magni. From

a.d. 960-964. In Pertz: Monum. III. 340-346; in Migne CXXXVI. 897 sqq.

Comp. Koepke: De Liudprandi vita et scriptis, Berol., 1842; Wattenbach:

Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen, and Giesebrecht, l.c. I. p. 779.

Liudprand or Liutprand (Liuzo or Liuso), one of the chief authorities

on the history of the 10th century, was a Lombard by birth, well

educated, travelled in the East and in Germany, accompanied Otho I. to

Rome, 962, was appointed by him bishop of Cremona, served as his

interpreter at the Roman Council of 964, and was again in Rome 965. He

was also sent on an embassy to Constantinople. He describes the

wretched condition of the papacy as an eye-witness. His Antapodosis or

Retribution (written between 958 and 962) is specially directed against

king Berengar and queen Willa, whom he hated. His work on Otho treats

of the contemporary events in which he was one of the actors. He was

fond of scandal, but is considered reliable in most of his facts.

Flodoardus (Canonicus Remensis, d. 966): Historia Remensis; Annales;

Opuscula metrica, in Migne, Tom. CXXXV.

Atto (Episcopus Vercellensis, d. 960): De presauris ecclesiasticis;

Epistolae, and other books, in Migne, Tom. CXXXV.

Jaff�: Regesta, pp. 307-325.

Other sources relating more to the political history of the tenth

century are indicated by Giesebrecht, I. 817, 820, 836.

Literature.

Baronius: Annales ad ann. 900-963.

V. E. L�scher.: Historie des r�m. Hurenregiments. Leipzig, 1707. (2nd

ed. with another title, 1725.)

Constantin H�fler (R.C.): Die deutschen P�pste. Regensburg, 1839, 2

vols.

E. Dummler: Auxilius und Vulgarius. Quellen und Forschungenzur

Geschichte des Papstthums im Anfang des zehnten Jahrhunderts. Leipz.

1866. The writings of Auxilius and Vulgarius are in Migne's Patrol.,

Tom. CXXIX.

C. Jos. Von Hefele (Bishop of Rottenburg): Die P�pste und Kaiser in den

trubsten Zeiten der Kirche, in his "Beitr�ge zur Kirchengesch," etc.,

vol. I. 27-278. Also his Conciliengeschichte, IV. 571-660 (2d ed.).

Milman: Lat. Chr. bk. 5, chs. 11-14. Giesebrecht: Gesch. der deutschen

Kaiserzeit., I. 343 sqq. Gfr�rer: III. 3, 1133-1275. Baxmann: II.

58-125. Gregorovius, Vol. III. Von Reumont, Vol. II.

The tenth century is the darkest of the dark ages, a century of

ignorance and superstition, anarchy and crime in church and state. The

first half of the eleventh century was little better. The dissolution

of the world seemed to be nigh at hand. Serious men looked forward to

the terrible day of judgment at the close of the first millennium of

the Christian era, neglected their secular business, and inscribed

donations of estates and other gifts to the church with the significant

phrase "appropinquante mundi termino."

The demoralization began in the state, reached the church, and

culminated in the papacy. The reorganization of society took the same

course. No church or sect in Christendom ever sank so low as the Latin

church in the tenth century. The papacy, like the old Roman god Janus,

has two faces, one Christian, one antichristian, one friendly and

benevolent, one fiendish and malignant. In this period, it shows almost

exclusively the antichristian face. It is an unpleasant task for the

historian to expose these shocking corruptions; but it is necessary for

the understanding of the reformation that followed. The truth must be

told, with its wholesome lessons of humiliation and encouragement. No

system of doctrine or government can save the church from decline and

decay. Human nature is capable of satanic wickedness. Antichrist steals

into the very temple of God, and often wears the priestly robes. But

God is never absent from history, and His overruling wisdom always at

last brings good out of evil. Even in this midnight darkness the stars

were shining in the firmament; and even then, as in the days of Elijah

the prophet, there were thousands who had not bowed their knees to

Baal. Some convents resisted the tide of corruption, and were quiet

retreats for nobles and kings disgusted with the vanities of the world,

and anxious to prepare themselves for the day of account. Nilus,

Romuald, and the monks of Cluny raised their mighty voice against

wickedness in high places. Synods likewise deplored the immorality of

the clergy and laity, and made efforts to restore discipline. The

chaotic confusion of the tenth century, like the migration of nations

in the fifth, proved to be only the throe and anguish of a new birth.

It was followed first by the restoration of the empire under Otho the

Great, and then by the reform of the papacy under Hildebrand.

The Political Disorder.

In the semi-barbarous state of society during the middle ages, a strong

central power was needed in church and state to keep order. Charlemagne

was in advance of his times, and his structure rested on no solid

foundation. His successors had neither his talents nor his energy, and

sank almost as low as the Merovingians in incapacity and debauchery.

The popular contempt in which they were held was expressed in such

epithets as "the Bald," "the Fat," "the Stammerer," "the Simple," "the

Lazy," "the Child." Under their misrule the foundations of law and

discipline gave way. Europe was threatened with a new flood of heathen

barbarism. The Norman pirates from Denmark and Norway infested the

coasts of Germany and France, burned cities and villages, carried off

captives, followed in their light boats which they could carry on their

shoulders, the course of the great rivers into the interior; they

sacked Hamburg, Cologne, Treves, Rouen, and stabled their horses in

Charlemagne's cathedral at Aix; they invaded England, and were the

terror of all Europe until they accepted Christianity, settled down in

Normandy, and infused fresh blood into the French and English people.

In the South, the Saracens, crossing from Africa, took possession of

Sicily and Southern Italy; they are described by pope John VIII. as

Hagarenes, as children of fornication and wrath, as an army of locusts,

turning the land into a wilderness. From the East, the pagan Hungarians

or Magyars invaded Germany and Italy like hordes of wild beasts, but

they were defeated at last by Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great, and

after their conversion to Christianity under their saintly monarch

Stephen (997-1068), they became a wall of defence against the progress

of the Turks.

Within the limits of nominal Christendom, the kings and nobles

quarreled among themselves, oppressed the people, and distributed

bishoprics and abbeys among their favorites, or pocketed the income.

The metropolitans oppressed the bishops, the bishops the priests, and

the priests the laity. Bands of robbers roamed over the country and

defied punishment. Might was right. Charles the Fat was deposed by his

vassals, and died in misery, begging his bread (888). His successor,

Arnulf of Carinthia, the last of the Carolingian line of emperors

(though of illegitimate birth), wielded a victorious sword over the

Normans (891) and the new kingdom of Moravia (894), but fell into

trouble, died of Italian poison, and left the crown of Germany to his

only legitimate son, Louis the Child (899-911), who was ruled by Hatto,

archbishop of Mayence. This prelate figures in the popular legend of

the "Mouse-Tower" (on an island in the Rhine, opposite Bingen), where a

swarm of mice picked his bones and "gnawed the flesh from every limb,"

because he had shut up and starved to death a number of hungry beggars.

But documentary history shows him in a more favorable light. Louis died

before attaining to manhood, and with him the German line of the

Carolingians (911). The last shadow of an emperor in Italy, Berengar,

who had been crowned in St. Peter's, died by the dagger of an assassin

(924). The empire remained vacant for nearly forty years, until Otho, a

descendant of the Saxon duke Widukind, whom Charlemagne had conquered,

raised it to a new life.

In France, the Carolingian dynasty lingered nearly a century longer,

till it found an inglorious end in a fifth Louis called the Lazy ("le

Fain�ant"), and Count Hugh Capet became the founder of the Capetian

dynasty, based on the principle of hereditary succession (987). He and

his son Robert received the crown of France not from the pope, but from

the archbishop of Rheims.

Italy was invaded by Hungarians and Saracens, and distracted by war

between rival kings and petty princes struggling for aggrandizement.

The bishops and nobles were alike corrupt, and the whole country was a

moral wilderness. [274]

The Demoralization of the Papacy.

The political disorder of Europe affected the church and paralyzed its

efforts for good. The papacy itself lost all independence and dignity,

and became the prey of avarice, violence, and intrigue, a veritable

synagogue of Satan. It was dragged through the quagmire of the darkest

crimes, and would have perished in utter disgrace had not Providence

saved it for better times. Pope followed pope in rapid succession, and

most of them ended their career in deposition, prison, and murder. The

rich and powerful marquises of Tuscany and the Counts of Tusculum

acquired control over the city of Rome and the papacy for more than

half a century. And what is worse (incredibile, attamen verum), three

bold and energetic women of the highest rank and lowest character,

Theodora the elder (the wife or widow of a Roman senator), and her two

daughters, Marozia and Theodora, filled the chair of St. Peter with

their paramours and bastards. These Roman Amazons combined with the

fatal charms of personal beauty and wealth, a rare capacity for

intrigue, and a burning lust for power and pleasure. They had the

diabolical ambition to surpass their sex as much in boldness and

badness as St. Paula and St. Eustachium in the days of Jerome had

excelled in virtue and saintliness. They turned the church of St. Peter

into a den of robbers, and the residence of his successors into a

harem. And they gloried in their shame. Hence this infamous period is

called the papal Pornocracy or Hetaerocracy. [275]

Some popes of this period were almost as bad as the worst emperors of

heathen Rome, and far less excusable.

Sergius III., the lover of Marozia (904-911), opened the shameful

succession. Under the protection of a force of Tuscan soldiers he

appeared in Rome, deposed Christopher who had just deposed Leo V., took

possession of the papal throne, and soiled it with every vice; but he

deserves credit for restoring the venerable church of the Lateran,

which had been destroyed by an earthquake in 896 and robbed of

invaluable treasures. [276]

After the short reign of two other popes, John X., archbishop of

Ravenna, was elected, contrary to all canons, in obedience to the will

of Theodora, for the more convenient gratification of her passion

(914-928). [277] He was a man of military ability and daring, placed

himself at the head of an army--the first warrior among the popes--and

defeated the Saracens. He then announced the victory in the tone of a

general. He then engaged in a fierce contest for power with Marozia and

her lover or husband, the Marquis Alberic I. Unwilling to yield any of

her secular power over Rome, Marozia seized the Castle of St. Angelo,

had John cast into prison and smothered to death, and raised three of

her creatures, Leo VI., Stephen VII. (VIII.), and at last John XI, her

own (bastard) son of only twenty-one years, successively to the papal

chair (928-936). [278]

After the murder of Alberic I. (about 926), Marozia, who called herself

Senatrix and Patricia, offered her hand and as much of her love as she

could spare from her numerous paramours, to Guido, Markgrave of

Tuscany, who eagerly accepted the prize; and after his death she

married king Hugo of Italy, the step-brother of her late husband (932);

he hoped to gain the imperial crown, but he was soon expelled from Rome

by a rebellion excited by her own son Alberic II., who took offence at

his overbearing conduct for slapping him in the face. [279] She now

disappears from the stage, and probably died in a convent. Her son, the

second Alberic, was raised by the Romans to the dignity of Consul, and

ruled Rome and the papacy from the Castle of St. Angelo for twenty-two

years with great ability as a despot under the forms of a republic

(932-954). After the death of his brother, John XI. (936), he appointed

four insignificant pontiffs, and restricted them to the performance of

their religious duties.

John XII.

On the death of Alberic in 954, his son Octavian, the grandson of

Marozia, inherited the secular government of Rome, and was elected pope

when only eighteen years of age. He thus united a double supremacy. He

retained his name Octavian as civil ruler, but assumed, as pope, the

name John XII., either by compulsion of the clergy and people, or

because he wished to secure more license by keeping the two dignities

distinct. This is the first example of such a change of name, and it

was followed by his successors. He completely sunk his spiritual in his

secular character, appeared in military dress, and neglected the duties

of the papal office, though he surrendered none of its claims.

John XII. disgraced the tiara for eight years (955-963). He was one of

the most immoral and wicked popes, ranking with Benedict IX., John

XXIII., and Alexander VI. He was charged by a Roman Synod, no one

contradicting, with almost every crime of which depraved human nature

is capable, and deposed as a monster of iniquity. [280]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[274] H�fler (I. 16) asserts that every princely family of Italy in the

tenth century was tainted with incestuous blood, and that it was

difficult to distinguish wives and sisters mothers and daughters. See

his genealogical tables appended to the first volume.

[275] Liutprandi Antapodosis, II. 48 (Pertz, V. 297; Migne, CXXXVI.

827): Theodora, scortum impudens ... (quod dictu etiam foedissimum

est), Romanae civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat. Quae duas

habuit natas, Marotiam atque Theodoram, sibi non solum coaequales,

verum etiam Veneris exercitio promptiores. Harum Marotia ex Papa

Sergio-Joannem, qui post Joannis Ravennatis obitum Romanae Ecclesiae

obtinuit dignitatem, nefario genuit adulterio, "etc. In the same ch. he

calls the elder Theodora "meretrix satis impudentissima, Veneris calore

succensa." This Theodora was the wife of Theophylactus, Roman Consul

and Senator, probably of Byzantine origin, who appears in 901 among the

Roman judges of Louis III. She called herself " Senatrix." She was the

mistress of Adalbert of Tuscany, called the Rich (d. 926), and of pope

John X. (d. 928). And yet she is addressed by Eugenius Vulgarius as

"sanctissima et venerabilis matrona!" (See D�mmler, l.c. p. 146, and

Hefele, IV. 575.) Her daughter Marozia (or Maruccia, the diminutive of

Maria, Mariechen) was the boldest and most successful of the three. She

was the mistress of pope Sergius III. and of Alberic I., Count of

Tusculum (d. 926), and married several times. Comp. Liutprand, III. 43

and 44. She perpetuated her rule through her son, Alberic II., and her

grandson, pope John XII. With all their talents and influence, these

strong-minded women were very, ignorant; the daughters of the younger

Theodora could neither read nor write, and signed their name in 945

with a +. (Gregorovius, III. 282 sq.) The Tusculan popes and the

Crescentii, who controlled and disgraced the papacy in the eleventh

century, were descendants of the same stock. The main facts of this

shameful reign rest on good contemporary Catholic authorities (as

Liutprand, Flodoard, Ratherius of Verona, Benedict of Soracte, Gerbert,

the transactions of the Councils in Rome, Rheims, etc.), and are

frankly admitted with devout indignation by Baronius and other Roman

Catholic historians, but turned by them into an argument for the divine

origin of the papacy, whose restoration to power appears all the more

wonderful from the depth of its degradation. M�hler (Kirchgesch. ed. by

Gama, II. 183) calls Sergius III., John X., John XI., and John XII."

horrible popes," and says that " crimes alone secured the papal

dignity!" Others acquit the papacy of guilt, since it was not

independent. The best lesson which Romanists might derive from this

period of prostitution is humility and charity. It is a terrible rebuke

to pretensions of superior sanctity.

[276] Baronius, following Liutprand, calls Sergius "homo vitiorum

omnium servus." But Flodoard and the inscriptions give him a somewhat

better character. See Hefele IV. 576, Gregorovius III. 269, and von

Reumont II. 273.

[277] Gfr�rer makes him the paramour of the younger Theodora, which on

chronological grounds is more probable; but Hefele, Gregorovius, von

Peumont, and Greenwood link him with the elder Theodora. This seems to

be the meaning of Liutprand (II. 47 and 48), who says that she fell in

love with John for his great beauty, and actually forced him to sin

(secumque hunc scortari non solum voluit, verum etiam atque etiam

compulit). She could not stand the separation from her lover, and

called him to Rome. Baronius treats John X. as a pseudopapa. Muratori,

Duret, and Hefele dissent from Liutprand and give John a somewhat

better character, without, however, denying his relation to Theodora.

See Hefele, IV. 579 sq.

[278] Liutprand, Antapodosis, III. 43 (Migne, l.c., 852): "Papam [John

X.]custodia maniciparunt, in qua non multo post ea defunctus; aiunt

enim quod cervical super os eius imponerent, sicque cum pessime su

ffocarent. Quo mortuo ipsius Marotiae filium Johannem nomine [John XI.]

quem ex Sergio papa meretrix genuerat, papam constituunt." The

parentage of John XI. from pope Sergius is adopted by Gregorovius,

D�mmler, Greenwood, and Baxmann, but disputed by Muratori, Hefele, and

Gfr�rer, who maintain that John XI. was the son of Marozia's husband,

Alberic I., if they ever were married. For, according to Benedict of

Soracte, Marozia accepted him "non quasi uxor, sed in consuetudinem

malignam." Albericus Marchio was an adventurer before he became

Markgrave, about 897, and must not be confounded with Albertus Marchio

or Adalbert the Rich of Tuscany. See Gregorovius, III. 275; von

Reumont, II. 228, 231, and the genealogical tables in H�fler, Vol. I.,

Append. V. and VI.

[279] See the account in Liutprand III. 44.

[280] Among the charges of the Synod against him were that he appeared

constantly armed with sword, lance, helmet, and breastplate, that he

neglected matins and vespers, that he never signed himself with the

sign of the cross, that he was fond of hunting, that he had made a boy

of ten years a bishop, and ordained a bishop or deacon in a stable,

that he had mutilated a priest, that he had set houses on fire, like

Nero, that he had committed homicide and adultery, had violated virgins

and widows high and low, lived with his father's mistress, converted

the pontifical palace into a brothel, drank to the health of the devil,

and invoked at the gambling-table the help of Jupiter and Venus and

other heathen demons! The emperor Otho would not believe these

enormities until they, were proven, but the bishops replied, that they

were matters of public notoriety requiring no proof. Before the Synod

convened John XII. had made his escape from Rome, carrying with him the

portable part of the treasury of St. Peter. But after the departure of

the emperor he was readmitted to the city, restored for a short time,

and killed in an act of adultery ("dum se cum viri cujusdam uxore

oblectaret") by the enraged husband of his paramour. or by, the devil

("a diabolo est percussus"). Liutprand, De rebus gestis Ottonis (in

Migne, Tom. XXXVI. 898-910). Hefele (IV. 619) thinks that he died of

apoplexy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 64. The Interference of Otho the Great.

Comp., besides the works quoted in � 63, Floss: Die Papstwahl unter den

Ottonen. Freiburg, 1858, and K�pke and Dummler: Otto der Grosse.

Leipzig, 1876.

From this state of infamy the papacy was rescued for a brief time by

the interference of Otho I., justly called the Great (936973). He had

subdued the Danes, the Slavonians, and the Hungarians, converted the

barbarians on the frontier, established order and restored the

Carolingian empire. He was called by the pope himself and several

Italian princes for protection against the oppression of king Berengar

II. (or the Younger, who was crowned in 950, and died in exile, 966).

He crossed the Alps, and was anointed Roman emperor by John XII. in

962. He promised to return to the holy see all the lost territories

granted by Pepin and Charlemagne, and received in turn from the pope

and the Romans the oath of allegiance on the sepulchre of St. Peter.

Hereafter the imperial crown of Rome was always held by the German

nation, but the legal assumption of the titles of Emperor and Augustus

depended on the act of coronation by the pope.

After the departure of Otho the perfidious pope, unwilling to obey a

superior master, rebelled and entered into conspiracy with his enemies.

The emperor returned to Rome, convened a Synod of Italian and German

bishops, which indignantly deposed John XII. in his absence, on the

ground of most notorious crimes, yet without a regular trial (963).

[281]

The emperor and the Synod elected a respectable layman, the chief

secretary of the Roman see, in his place. He was hurriedly promoted

through the orders of reader, subdeacon, deacon, priest and bishop, and

consecrated as Leo VIII., but not recognized by the strictly

hierarchical party, because he surrendered the freedom of the papacy to

the empire. The Romans swore that they would never elect a pope again

without the emperor's consent. Leo confirmed this in a formal document.

[282]

The anti-imperial party readmitted John XII., who took cruel revenge of

his enemies, but was suddenly struck down in his sins by a violent

death. Then they elected an anti-pope, Benedict V., but he himself

begged pardon for his usurpation when the emperor reappeared, was

divested of the papal robes, degraded to the order of deacon, and

banished to Germany. Leo VIII. died in April, 965, after a short

pontificate of sixteen months.

The bishop of Narni was unanimously elected his successor as John XIII.

(965-972) by the Roman clergy and people, after first consulting the

will of the emperor. He crowned Otho II. emperor of the Romans

(973-983). He was expelled by the Romans, but reinstated by Otho, who

punished the rebellious city with terrible severity.

Thus the papacy was morally saved, but at the expense of its

independence or rather it had exchanged its domestic bondage for a

foreign bondage. Otho restored to it its former dominions which it had

lost during the Italian disturbances, but he regarded the pope and the

Romans as his subjects, who owed him the same temporal allegiance as

the Germans and Lombards.

It would have been far better for Germany and Italy if they had never

meddled with each other. The Italians, especially the Romans, feared

the German army, but hated the Germans as Northern semi-barbarians, and

shook off their yoke as soon as they had a chance. [283] The Germans

suspected the Italians for dishonesty and trickery, were always in

danger of fever and poison, and lost armies and millions of treasure

without any return of profit or even military glory. [284] The two

nations were always jealous of each other, and have only recently

become friends, on the basis of mutual independence and

non-interference.

Protest Against Papal Corruption.

The shocking immoralities of the popes called forth strong protests,

though they did not shake the faith in the institution itself. A

Gallican Synod deposed archbishop Arnulf of Rheims as a traitor to king

Hugo Capet, without waiting for an answer from the pope, and without

caring for the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals (991). The leading spirit of

the Synod, Arnulf, bishop of Orleans, made the following bold

declaration against the prostitution of the papal office: "Looking at

the actual state of the papacy, what do we behold? John [XII.] called

Octavian, wallowing in the sty of filthy concupiscence, conspiring

against the sovereign whom he had himself recently crowned; then Leo

[VIII.] the neophyte, chased from the city by this Octavian; and that

monster himself, after the commission of many murders and cruelties,

dying by the hand of an assassin. Next we see the deacon Benedict,

though freely elected by the Romans, carried away captive into the

wilds of Germany by the new Caesar [Otho I.] and his pope Leo. Then a

second Caesar [Otho II.], greater in arts and arms than the first [?],

succeeds; and in his absence Boniface, a very monster of iniquity,

reeking with the blood of his predecessor, mounts the throne of Peter.

True, he is expelled and condemned; but only to return again, and

redden his hands with the blood of the holy bishop John [XIV.]. Are

there, indeed, any bold enough to maintain that the priests of the Lord

over all the world are to take their law from monsters of guilt like

these-men branded with ignominy, illiterate men, and ignorant alike of

things human and divine? If, holy fathers, we be bound to weigh in the

balance the lives, the morals, and the attainments of the meanest

candidate for the sacerdotal office, how much more ought we to look to

the fitness of him who aspires to be the lord and master of all

priests! Yet how would it fare with us, if it should happen that the

man the most deficient in all these virtues, one so abject as not to be

worthy of the lowest place among the priesthood, should be chosen to

fill the highest place of all? What would you say of such a one, when

you behold him sitting upon the throne glittering in purple and gold?

Must he not be the 'Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and

showing himself as God?' Verily such a one lacketh both wisdom and

charity; he standeth in the temple as an image, as an idol, from which

as from dead marble you would seek counsel. [285]

"But the Church of God is not subject to a wicked pope; nor even

absolutely, and on all occasions, to a good one. Let us rather in our

difficulties resort to our brethren of Belgium and Germany than to that

city, where all things are venal, where judgment and justice are

bartered for gold. Let us imitate the great church of Africa, which, in

reply to the pretensions of the Roman pontiff, deemed it inconceivable

that the Lord should have invested any one person with his own plenary

prerogative of judicature, and yet have denied it to the great

congregations of his priests assembled in council in different parts of

the world. If it be true, as we are informed by, common report, that

there is in Rome scarcely a man acquainted with letters,--without

which, as it is written, one may scarcely be a doorkeeper in the house

of God,--with what face may he who hath himself learnt nothing set

himself up for a teacher of others? In the simple priest ignorance is

bad enough; but in the high priest of Rome,--in him to whom it is given

to pass in review the faith, the lives, the morals, the discipline, of

the whole body of the priesthood, yea, of the universal church,

ignorance is in nowise to be tolerated .... Why should he not be

subject in judgment to those who, though lowest in place, are his

superiors in virtue and in wisdom? Yea, not even he, the prince of the

apostles, declined the rebuke of Paul, though his inferior in place,

and, saith the great pope Gregory [I.], 'if a bishop be in fault, I

know not any one such who is not subject to the holy see; but if

faultless, let every one understand that he is the equal of the Roman

pontiff himself, and as well qualified as he to give judgment in any

matter.' " [286]

The secretary of this council and the probable framer of this

remarkable speech was Gerbert, who became archbishop of Rheims,

afterwards of Ravenna, and at last pope under the name of Sylvester II.

But pope John XV. (or his master Crescentius) declared the proceedings

of this council null and void, and interdicted Gerbert. His successor,

Gregory V., threatened the kingdom of France with a general interdict

unless Arnulf was restored. Gerbert, forsaken by king Robert I., who

needed the favor of the pope, was glad to escape from his uncomfortable

seat and to accept an invitation of Otho III. to become his teacher

(995). Arnulf was reinstated in Rheims.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[281] A full account of this Synod see in Liutprand, De rebus gestis

Ottonis, and in Baronius, Annal. ad ann 963. Comp. also Greenwood, Bk

VIII. ch. 12, Gfr�rer, vol. III., p. iii., 1249 sqq., Giesebrecht, I.

465 and 828, and Hefele, IV. 612 sqq. Gfr�rer, without defending John

XII., charges Otho with having first violated the engagement (p. 1253).

The pope was three times summoned before the Synod, but the answer came

from Tivoli that he had gone hunting. Baronius, Floss, and Hefele

regard this synod as uncanonical.

[282] Baronius, ad ann. 964, pronounced the document spurious, chiefly

because it is very inconvenient to his ultramontane doctrine. It is

printed in Mon. Germ. iv.2 (Leges, II. 167), and in a more extensive

form from a MS. at Treves in Leonis VIII. privilegium de investituris,

by H. J. Floss, Freib., 1858. This publication has changed the state of

the controversy in favor of a genuine element in the document. See the

discussion in Hefele, IV. 622 sqq.

[283] This antipathy found its last expression and termination in the

expulsion of the Austrians from Lombardy and Venice, and the formation

of a united kingdom of Italy.

[284] Ditmar of Merseburg, the historian of Henry II., expresses the

sentiment of that time when he says (Chron. IV. 22): "Neither the

climate nor the people suit our countrymen. Both in Rome and Lombardy

treason is always at work. Strangers who visit Italy expect no

hospitality: everything they require must be instantly paid for; and

even then they must submit to be over-reached and cheated, and not

unfrequently to be poisoned after all."

[285] "Quid hunc, rev. Patres, in sublimi solio residentem veste

purpurea et aurea radiantem, quid hunc, inqam, esse censetis? Nimirum

si caritate destituitur, solaque inflatur et extollitur, Antichristus

est, in templo Dei sedens, et se ostendens tamquam sit D Eus. Si autem

nec caritate fundatur, nec scientia erigitur, in templo Dei tamquam

statua, tanquam idolum est, a quo responsa petere, marmora consulere

est."

[286] The acts of this Synod were first published in the Magdeburg

Centuries, then by Mansi, Conc. XIX. 107, and Pertz, Mon. V. 658.

Baronius pronounced them spurious, and interspersed them with indignant

notes; but Mansi (p. 107) says: "Censent vulgo omnes, Gerbertum reipsa

et sincere recitasse acta concilii vere habiti." See Gieseler,

Greenwood (Book VIII. ch. 6), and Hefele (IV. 637 sqq.). Hefele

pronounces the speech schismatical.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 65. The Second Degradation of the Papacy from Otho I to Henry III.

a.d. 973-1046.

I. The sources for the papacy in the second half of the tenth and in

the eleventh century are collected in Muratori's Annali d' Italia

(Milano 1744-49); in Migne's Patrol., Tom. CXXXVII.-CL.; Leibnitz,

Annales Imp. Occid. (down to a.d. 1005; Han., 1843, 3 vols.); Pertz, .

Mon. Germ. (Auctores), Tom. V. (Leges), Tom. II.; Ranke, Jahrbucher des

deutschen Reiches unter dem S�chs. Hause (Berlin 1837-40, 3 vols.; the

second vol. by Giesebrecht and Wilmans contains the reigns of Otho II.

and Otho III.). On the sources see Giesebrecht, Gesch. der deutschen

Kaiserzeit, II. 568 sqq.

II. Stenzel: Geschichte Deutschlands unter den Fr�nkischen Kaisern.

Leipz., 1827, 1828, 2 vols.

C. F. Hock (R.C.): Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester und sein Jahrhundert.

Wien, 1837.

C. H�fler (R.C.): Die deutschen P�pste. Regensb., 1839, 2 vols.

H. J. Floss (R.C.): Die Papstwahl unter den Ottonen. Freib., 1858.

C. Will: Die Anf�nge der Restauration der Kirche im elften Jahrh.

Marburg, 1859-'62, 2 vols.

R. K�pke und E. D�mmler: Otto der Grosse. Leipz. 1876.

Comp. Baronius (Annal.); Jaffe (Reg. 325-364); Hefele

(Conciliengeschichte IV. 632 sqq., 2d ed.); Gfr�rer (vol. III., P.

III., 1358-1590, and vol. IV., 1846); Gregorovius (vols. III. and IV.);

v. Reumont (II. 292 sqq.); Baxmann (II. 125-180); and Giesebrecht (I.

569-762, and II. 1-431).

The reform of the papacy was merely temporary. It was followed by a

second period of disgrace, which lasted till the middle of the eleventh

century, but was interrupted by a few respectable popes and signs of a

coming reformation.

After the death of Otho, during the short and unfortunate reign of his

son, Otho II. (973-983), a faction of the Roman nobility under the lead

of Crescentius or Cencius (probably a son of pope John X. and Theodora)

gained the upper hand. [287] He rebelled against the imperial pope,

Benedict VI., who was murdered (974), and elected an Italian anti-pope,

Boniface VII., who had soon to flee to Constantinople, but returned

after some years, murdered another imperial pope, John XIV. (983), and

maintained himself on the blood-stained throne by a lavish distribution

of stolen money till he died, probably by violence (985). [288]

During the minority of Otho III., the imperialists, headed by Alberic,

Count of Tusculum, and the popular Roman party under the lead of the

younger Crescentius (perhaps a grandson of the infamous Theodora),

contended from their fortified places for the mastery of Rome and the

papacy. Bloodshed was a daily amusement. Issuing from their forts, the

two parties gave battle to each other whenever they met on the street.

They set up rival popes, and mutilated their corpses with insane fury.

The contending parties were related. Marozia's son, Alberic, had

probably inherited Tusculum (which is about fifteen miles from Rome).

[289] After the death of Alberic of Tusculum, Crescentius acquired the

government under the title of Consul, and indulged the Romans with a

short dream of republican freedom in opposition to the hated rule of

the foreign barbarians. He controlled pope John XV.

Gregory V.

Otho III., on his way to Rome, elected his worthy chaplain and cousin

Bruno, who was consecrated as Gregory V. (996) and then anointed Otho

III. emperor. He is the first pope of German blood. [290] Crescentius

was treated with great leniency, but after the departure of the German

army he stirred up a rebellion, expelled the German pope and elevated

Philagathus, a Calabrian Greek, under the name of John XVI. to the

chair of St. Peter. Gregory V. convened a large synod at Pavia, which

unanimously pronounced the anathema against Crescentius and his pope.

The emperor hastened to Rome with an army, stormed the castle of St.

Angelo (the mole of Hadrian), and beheaded Crescentius as a traitor,

while John XVI. by order of Gregory V. was, according to the savage

practice of that age, fearfully mutilated, and paraded through the

streets on an ass, with his face turned to the tail and with a

wine-bladder on his head.

Sylvester II.

After the sudden and probably violent death of Gregory V. (999), the

emperor elected, with the assent of the clergy and the people, his

friend and preceptor, Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims, and then of

Ravenna, to the papal throne. Gerbert was the first French pope, a man

of rare learning and ability, and moral integrity. He abandoned the

liberal views he had expressed at the Council at Rheims, [291] and the

legend says that he sold his soul to the devil for the papal tiara. He

assumed the significant name of Sylvester II., intending to aid the

youthful emperor (whose mother was a Greek princess) in the realization

of his utopian dream to establish a Graeco-Latin empire with old Rome

for its capital, and to rule from it the Christian world, as

Constantine the Great had done during the pontificate of Sylvester I.

But Otho died in his twenty-second year, of Italian fever or of poison

(1002). [292]

Sylvester II. followed his imperial pupil a year after (1003). His

learning, acquired in part from the Arabs in Spain, appeared a marvel

to his ignorant age, and suggested a connection with magic. He sent to

St. Stephen of Hungary the royal crown, and, in a pastoral letter to

Europe where Jerusalem is represented as crying for help, he gave the

first impulse to the crusades (1000), ninety years before they actually

began. [293]

In the expectation of the approaching judgment, crowds of pilgrims

flocked to Palestine to greet the advent of the Saviour. But the first

millennium passed, and Christendom awoke with a sigh of relief on the

first day of the year 1001.

Benedict VIII., and Emperor Henry II.

Upon the whole the Saxon emperors were of great service to the papacy:

they emancipated it from the tyranny of domestic political factions,

they restored it to wealth, and substituted worthy occupants for

monstrous criminals.

During the next reign the confusion broke out once more. The

anti-imperial party regained the ascendency, and John Crescentius, the

son of the beheaded consul, ruled under the title of Senator and

Patricius. But the Counts of Tusculum held the balance of power pretty

evenly, and gradually superseded the house of Crescentius. They elected

Benedict VIII. (1012-1024), a member of their family; while Crescentius

and his friends appointed an anti-pope (Gregory).

Benedict proved a very energetic pope in the defence of Italy against

the Saracens. He forms the connecting link between the Ottonian and the

Hildebrandian popes. He crowned Henry II, (1014), as the faithful

patron and protector simply, not as the liege-lord, of the pope.

This last emperor of the Saxon house was very devout, ascetic, and

liberal in endowing bishoprics. He favored clerical celibacy. He aimed

earnestly at a moral reformation of the church. He declared at a diet,

that he had made Christ his heir, and would devote all he possessed to

God and his church. He filled the vacant bishoprics and abbeys with

learned and worthy men; and hence his right of appointment was not

resisted. He died after a reign of twenty-two years, and was buried at

his favorite place, Bamberg in Bavaria, where he had founded a

bishopric (1007). He and his chaste wife, Kunigunde, were canonized by

the grateful church (1146). [294]

The Tusculan Popes. Benedict IX.

With Benedict VIII. the papal dignity became hereditary in the Tusculan

family. He had bought it by open bribery. He was followed by his

brother John XIX., a layman, who bought it likewise, and passed in one

day through all the clerical degrees.

After his death in 1033, his nephew Theophylact, a boy of only ten or

twelve years of age, [295] ascended the papal throne under the name of

Benedict IX. (1033-1045). His election was a mere money bargain between

the Tusculan family and the venal clergy and populace of Rome. Once

more the Lord took from Jerusalem and Judah the stay and the staff, and

gave children to be their princes, and babes to rule over them. [296]

This boy-pope fully equaled and even surpassed John XII. in precocious

wickedness. He combined the childishness of Caligala and the

viciousness of Heliogabalus. [297] He grew worse as he advanced in

years. He ruled like a captain of banditti, committed murders and

adulteries in open day-light, robbed pilgrims on the graves of martyrs,

and turned Rome into a den of thieves. These crimes went unpunished;

for who could judge a pope? And his brother, Gregory, was Patrician of

the city. At one time, it is reported, he had the crazy notion of

marrying his cousin and enthroning a woman in the chair of St. Peter;

but the father of the intended bride refused unless he abdicated the

papacy. [298] Desiderius, who himself afterwards became pope (Victor

III.), shrinks from describing the detestable life of this Benedict,

who, he says, followed in the footsteps of Simon Magus rather than of

Simon Peter, and proceeded in a career of rapine, murder, and every

species of felony, until even the people of Rome became weary of his

iniquities, and expelled him from the city. Sylvester III. was elected

antipope (Jan., 1044), but Benedict soon resumed the papacy with all

his vices (April 10, 1044), then sold it for one or two thousand pounds

silver [299] to an archpresbyter John Gratian of the same house (May,

1045), after he had emptied the treasury of every article of value,

and, rueing the bargain, he claimed the dignity again (Nov., 1047),

till he was finally expelled from Rome (July, 1048).

Gregory VI.

John Gratian assumed the name Gregory, VI. He was revered as a saint

for his chastity which, on account of its extreme rarity in Rome, was

called an angelic virtue. He bought the papacy with the sincere desire

to reform it, and made the monk Hildebrand, the future reformer, his

chaplain. He acted on the principle that the end sanctifies the means.

Thus there were for a while three rival popes. Benedict IX. (before his

final expulsion) held the Lateran, Gregory VI. Maria Maggiore,

Sylvester III. St. Peter's and the Vatican. [300]

Their feuds reflected the general condition of Italy. The streets of

Rome swarmed with hired assassins, the whole country with robbers, the

virtue of pilgrims was openly assailed, even churches and the tombs of

the apostles were desecrated by bloodshed.

Again the German emperor had to interfere for the restoration of order.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[287] He is called Crescentius de Theodora, and seems to have died in a

convent about 984. Some make him the son of Pope John X. and the elder

Theodora, others, of the younger Theodora. See Gregorovius, III. 407

sqq; von Reumont, II. 292 sqq.; and the genealogy of the Crescentii in

H�fler, I. 300.

[288] Gerbert (afterwards pope Sylvester II.) called this Bonifacius a

"Malefactor," (Malifacius) and "horrendum monstrum, cunctos mortales

nequitia superans, etiam prioris pontificis sanguine

cruentus."Gregorovius, III. 410.

[289] The Tusculan family claimed descent from Julius Caesar and

Octavian. See Gregorovius, IV. 10, and Giesebrecht II. 174; also the

genealogical table of H�fler at the close of Vol. I.

[290] Baronius, however, says that Stephen VIII. (939-942) was a

German, and for this reason opposed by the Romans. Bruno was only

twenty-four years old when elected. H�fler (I. 94 sqq.) gives him a

very high character.

[291] See preceding section, p. 290.

[292] According to several Italian writers he was poisoned by

Stephania, under the disguise of a loving mistress, in revenge of the

murder of Crescentius, her husband. Muratori and Milman accept the

story, but it is not mentioned by Ditmar (Chron. IV. 30), and

discredited by Leo, Gfr�rer, and Greenwood. Otho had restored to the

son of Stephania all his father's property, and made him prefect of

Rome. The same remorseless Stephania is said to have admininistered

subtle poison to pope Sylvester II.

[293] See Gfr�rer, III. P. III. 1550 sq. He regards Sylvester II. one

of the greatest of popes and statesmen who developed all the germs of

the system, and showed the way to his successors. Comp. on him Milman,

Bk. V. ch. 13; Giesebrecht, I. 613 sqq. and 690 sqq.

[294] His historian, bishop Thitmar or Ditmar of Merseburg, relates

that Henry never held carnal intercourse with his wife, and submitted

to rigid penances and frequent flagellations for the subjugation of

animal passions. But Hase (� 160, tenth ed.) remarks: "Die M�nche, die

er zu Gunsten der Bisth�mer beraubt hat, dachten ihn nur eben von der

H�lle gerettet; auch den Heiligenschein der jungfraeulichen Kaiserinhat

der Teufel zu verdunkeln gewusst." Comp. C. Schurzfleisch, De

innocentia Cunig., Wit., 1700. A. Noel, Leben der heil. Kunigunde,

Luxemb. 1856. For a high and just estimate of Henry's character see

Giesebrecht II. 94-96. "The legend," he says, "describes Henry as a

monk in purple, as a penitent with a crown, who can scarcely drag along

his lame body; it places Kunigunde at his side not as wife but as a

nun, who in prayer and mortification of the flesh seeks with him the

path to heaven. History gives a very different picture of king Henry

and his wife. It bears witness that he was one of the most active and

energetic rulers that ever sat on the German throne, and possessed a

sharp understanding and a power of organization very rare in those

times. It was a misfortune for Germany that such a statesman had to

spend most of his life in internal and external wars. Honorable as he

was in arms, he would have acquired a higher fame in times of peace."

[295] Rodulfus Glaber, Histor. sui temporis, IV. 5 (in Migne, Tom. 142,

p. 979): "puer ferme (fere) decennis;" but in V. 5: "fuerat sedi

ordinatus quidam puer circiter annorum duodecim, contra jus nefasque."

Hefele stated, in the first ed. (IV. 673), that Benedict was eighteen

when elected. In the second ed. (p. 706) he corrects himself and makes

him twelve years at his election.

[296] Isa. 3:1-4.

[297] Gregorovius, IV. 42, says: "Mit Benedict IX. erreichte das

Papstthum aussersten Grad des sittlichen Verfalls, welcher nach den

Gesetzen der menschlichen Natur den Umschlag zum Bessern erzeugt."

[298] Bonitho, ed. Jaff� p. 50: "Post multa turpia adulteria et

homicidia manibus Buis perpetrata, postremo cum vellet consobrinam

accipere coniugem, filiam scilicet Girardi de Saxo, et ille diceret:

nullo modo se daturum nisi renunciaret pontificatui ad quendam

sacerdotem Johannem se contulit." A similar report is found in the

Annales Altahenses. But Steindorff and Hefele ([V. 707) discredit the

marriage project as a malignant invention or fable.

[299] An old catalogue of popes (in Muratori, Script. III. 2, p. 345)

states the sum as mille librae denariorum Papensium, but Benno as

librae mille quingentae. Others give two thousand pounds as the sum.

Otto of Freising adds that Benedict reserved besides the Peter's pence

from England. See Giesebrecht, II. 643, and Hefele IV. 707.

[300] Migne, Tom. 141, p. 1343. Steindorff and Hefele (IV. 708) dissent

from this usual view of a three-fold schism, and consider Gregory, as

the only pope. But all three were summoned to the Synod of Sutri and

deposed; consequently they must all have claimed possession.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 66. Henry III and the Synod of Sutri. Deposition of three rival

Popes. a.d. 1046.

Bonizo (or Bonitho, bishop of Sutri, afterwards of Piacenza, and friend

of Gregory VII., d. 1089): Liber ad amicum, s. de persecutione

Ecclesiae (in Oefelii Scriptores rerum Boicarum II., 794, and better in

Jaffe's Monumenta Gregoriana, 1865). Contains in lib. V. a history, of

the popes from Benedict IX. to Gregory VII., with many errors.

Rodulfus Glaber (or Glaber Radulfus, monk of Cluny, about 1046):

Historia sui temporis (in Migne, Tom. 142).

Desiderius (Abbot of M. Cassino, afterwards pope Victor III., d. 1080):

De Miraculis a S. Benedicto aliisque monachis Cassiniensibus gestis

Dialog., in "Bibl. Patr." Lugd. XVIII. 853.

Annales Romani in Pertz, Mon. Germ. VII.

Annales Corbeienses, in Pertz, Mon. Germ. V.; and in Jaff�, Monumenta

Corbeiensia, Berlin, 1864.

Ernst Steindorff: Jahrbucher des deutschen Reichs unter Heinrich III.

Leipzig, 1874.

Hefele: Conciliengesch. IV. 706 sqq. (2d ed.).

See Lit. in � 64, especially H�fler and Will.

Emperor Henry III., of the house of Franconia, was appealed to by the

advocates of reform, and felt deeply the sad state of the church. He

was only twenty-two years old, but ripe in intellect, full of energy

and zeal, and aimed at a reformation of the church under the control of

the empire, as Hildebrand afterwards labored for a reformation of the

church under the control of the papacy.

On his way to Rome for the coronation he held (Dec. 20, 1046) a synod

at Sutri, a small town about twenty-five miles north of Rome, and a few

days afterwards another synod at Rome which completed the work. [301]

Gregory VI. presided at first. The claims of the three rival pontiffs

were considered. Benedict IX. and Sylvester III. were soon disposed of,

the first having twice resigned, the second being a mere intruder.

Gregory VI. deserved likewise deposition for the sin of simony in

buying the papacy; but as he had convoked the synod by order of the

emperor and was otherwise a worthy person, he was allowed to depose

himself or to abdicate. He did it in these words: "I, Gregory, bishop,

servant of the servants of God, do hereby adjudge myself to be removed

from the pontificate of the Holy Roman Church, because of the enormous

error which by simoniacal impurity has crept into and vitiated my

election." Then he asked the assembled fathers: "Is it your pleasure

that so it shall be?" to which they unanimously replied: "Your pleasure

is our pleasure; therefore so let it be." As soon as the humble pope

had pronounced his own sentence, he descended from the throne, divested

himself of his pontifical robes, and implored pardon on his knees for

the usurpation of the highest dignity in Christendom. He acted as pope

de facto, and pronounced himself no pope de jure. He was used by the

synod for deposing his two rivals, and then for deposing himself. In

that way the synod saved the principle that the pope was above every

human tribunal, and responsible to God alone. This view of the case of

Gregory, rests on the reports of Bonitho and Desiderius. According to

other reports in the Annales Corbeienses and Peter Damiani, who was

present at Sutri, Gregory was deposed directly by the Synod. [302] At

all events, the deposition was real and final, and the cause was the

sin of simony.

But if simony vitiated an election, there were probably few legitimate

popes in the tenth century when everything was venal and corrupt in

Rome. Moreover bribery seems a small sin compared with the enormous

crimes of several of these Judases. Hildebrand recognized Gregory VI.

by adopting his pontifical name in honor of his memory, and yet he made

relentless war the sin of simony. He followed the self-deposed pope as

upon chaplain across the Alps into exile, and buried him in peace on

the banks of the Rhine.

Henry III. adjourned the Synod of Sutri to St. Peter's in Rome for the

election of a new pope (Dec. 23 and 24, 1046). The synod was to elect,

but no Roman clergyman could be found free of the pollution of "simony

and fornication." Then the king, vested by the synod with the green

mantle of the patriciate and the plenary authority of the electors,

descended from his throne, and seated Suidger, bishop of Bamberg, a man

of spotless character, on the vacant chair of St. Peter amid the loud

hosannas of the assembly. [303] The new pope assumed the name of

Clement II., and crowned Henry emperor on the festival of Christmas, on

which Charlemagne had been crowned. The name was a reminder of the

conflict of the first Clement of Rome with Simon Magus. But he outlived

his election only nine months, and his body was transferred to his

beloved Bamberg. The wretched Benedict IX. again took possession of the

Lateran (till July 16, 1048). He died afterwards in Grotto Ferrata,

according to one report as a penitent saint, according to another as a

hardened sinner whose ghost frightened the living. A third German

pontiff, Poppo, bishop of Brixen, called Damasus II., was elected, but

died twenty-three days after his consecration (Aug. 10, 1048), of the

Roman fever, if not of poison.

The emperor, at the request of the Romans, appointed at Worms in

December, 1048, Bruno, bishop of Toul, to the papal chair. He was a man

of noble birth, fine appearance, considerable learning, unblemished

character, and sincere piety, in full sympathy with the spirit of

reform which emanated from Cluny. He accepted the appointment in

presence of the Roman deputies, subject to the consent of the clergy

and people of Rome. [304] He invited the monk Hildebrand to accompany

him in his pilgrimage to Rome. Hildebrand refused at first, because

Bruno had not been canonically elected, but by the secular and royal

power; but he was persuaded to follow him.

Bruno reached Rome in the month of February, 1049, in the dress of a

pilgrim, barefoot, weeping, regardless of the hymns of welcome. His

election was unanimously confirmed by the Roman clergy and people, and

he was solemnly consecrated Feb. 12, as Leo IX. He found the papal

treasury empty, and his own means were soon exhausted. He chose

Hildebrand as his subdeacon, financier, and confidential adviser, who

hereafter was the soul of the papal reform, till he himself ascended

the papal throne in 1073.

We stand here at the close of the deepest degradation and on the

threshold of the highest elevation of the papacy. The synod of Sutri

and the reign of Leo IX. mark the beginning of a disciplinary reform.

Simony or the sale and purchase of ecclesiastical dignities, and

Nicolaitism or the carnal sins of the clergy, including marriage,

concubinage and unnatural vices, were the crying evils of the church in

the eyes of the most serious men, especially the disciples of Cluny and

of St. Romuald. A reformation therefore from the hierarchical

standpoint of the middle ages was essentially a suppression of these

two abuses. And as the corruption had reached its climax in the papal

chair, the reformation had to begin at the head before it could reach

the members. It was the work chiefly of Hildebrand or Gregory VII.,

with whom the next period opens.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[301] The sources differ in the distribution of the work between the

two synods: some assign it to Sutri, others to Rome, others divide it.

Steindorff and Hefele (IV. 710) assume that Gregory and Sylvester were

deposed at Sutri; Benedict (who did not appear at Sutri) was deposed in

Rome. All agree that the new pope was elected in Rome.

[302] See Jaff�, Steindorff, and Hefele (IV. 711 sq.).

[303] According to the Annal. Corb., Suidger was elected "canonice as

synodice ... unanimi cleri et populi electione."

[304] So says Wibert, his friend and biographer, but Bonitho reports

that Hildebrand induced him to submit first to a Roman election, since

a pope elected by the emperor was not an apostolicus, but an

apostaticus. See Baxmann, II. 215-217. Comp. also Hunkler: Leo IX. und

seine Zeit. Mainz, 1851

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER V.

THE CONFLICT OF THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES AND THEIR SEPARATION.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 67. Sources and Literature.

The chief sources on the beginning of the controversy between Photius

and Nicolas are in Mansi: Conc. Tom. XV. and XVI.; in Harduin: Conc.

Tom. V. Hergenr�ther: Monumenta Graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam

pertinentia. Regensb. 1869.

I. On the Greek Side:

Photius: jEgkuvklio" ejpistolhv etc . and especially his Lovgo" peri;

th'" tou' aJgivou Pneuvmato" mustagwgiva", etc. See Photii Opera omnia,

ed. Migne. Paris, 1860-'61, 4 vols. (Patr. Gr. Tom. CI.-CIV.) The

Encycl. Letter is in Tom. II. 722-742; and his treatise on the

mustagwgiva tou' aJgivou Pneuvmato" in Tom. II. 279-391.

Later champions:

Caerularius, Nicetas Pectoratus, Theophylact (12th century). Euthymius

Zigabenus, Phurnus, Eustratius, and many others. In recent times

Prokopovitch (1772), Zoernicav (1774, 2 vols.).

J. G. Pitzipios: L'Egl. orientale, sa s�paration et sa r�union avec

celle de Rome. Rome, 1855. L'Orient. Les r�formes de lempire byzantin.

Paris, 1858.

A. N. Mouravieff (Russ.): Question religieuse d'Orient et d'Occident.

Moscow, 1856.

Guett�re: La papaut� schismatique. Par. 1863.

A. Picheler: Gesch. d. kirchlichen Trennung zwischen dem Orient und

Occident von den ersten Anf�ngen his zur j�ngsten Gegenwart. M�nchen,

1865, 2 Bde. The author was a Roman Catholic (Privatdocent der Theol.

in M�nchen) when he wrote this work, but blamed the West fully as much

as the East for the schism, and afterwards joined the Greek church in

Russia.

Andronicos Dimitracopulos: Istori'a tou sci'matos. Lips. 1867. Also his

Bi'blioqh'kh ekklhs. Lips. 1866.

Theodorus Lascaris Junior: De Processione Spiritus S. Oratio

Apologetica. London and Jena, 1875.

II. On the Latin (Roman Catholic) Side:

Ratramnus (Contra Graecorum Opposita); Anselm of Canterbury (De

Processione Spiritus S. 1098); Petrus Chrysolanus (1112); Thomas

Aquinas (d. 1274), etc.

Leo Allatius (Allacci, a Greek of Chios, but converted to the Roman

Church and guardian of the Vatican library, d. 1669): De ecclesiae

occident. atque orient. perpetua consensione. Cologne, 1648, 4to.; new

ed. 1665 and 1694. Also his Graecia orthodoxa, 1659, 2 vols., new ed.

by L�mmer, Freib. i. B. 1864 sq.; and his special tracts on Purgatory

(Rom. 1655), and on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Rom. 1658).

Maimburg: Hist. du schisme des Grecs. Paris, 1677, 4to.

Steph. de Altimura (Mich. le Quien): Panoplia contra schisma Graecorum.

Par. 1718, 4to.

Michael le Quien (d. 1733): Oriens Christianus. Par. 1740, 3 vols. fol.

Abb� Jager: Histoire de Photius d'apr�s les monuments originaux. 2nd

ed. Par. 1845.

Luigi Tosti: Storia dell' origine dello scisma greco. Firenze 1856. 2

vols.

H. L�mmer: Papst. Nikolaus I. und die byzantinische Staatskirche seiner

Zeit. Berlin, 1857.

Ad. d'Avril: Documents relatifs aux �glises de l'Orient, consider�e

dans leur rapports avec le saint-si�ge de Rome. Paris, 1862.

Karl Werner: Geschichte der Apol. und polemischen Literatur.

Schaffhausen, 1864, vol. III. 3 ff.

J. Hergenr�ther: (Prof. of Church History in W�rzburg, now Cardinal in

Rome): Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel. Sein Leben, seine

Schriften und das griechische Schisma. Regensburg, 1867-1869, 3 vols.

C. Jos. von Hefele (Bishop of Rottenburg): Conciliengeschichte.

Freiburg i. B., vols. IV., V., VI., VII. (revised ed. 1879 sqq.)

III. Protestant writers:

J. G. Walch (Luth.): Historia controversiae Graecorum Latinorumque de

Processione Sp. S. Jena, 1751.

Gibbon: Decline and Fall, etc., Ch. LX. He views the schism as one of

the causes which precipitated the decline and fall of the Roman empire

in the East by alienating its most useful allies and strengthening its

most dangerous enemies.

John Mason Neale (Anglican): A History of the Holy Eastern Church.

Lond. 1850. Introd. vol. II. 1093-1169.

Edmund S. Foulkes (Anglic.): An Historical Account of the Addition of

the word Filioque to the Creed of the West. Lond. 1867.

W. Gass: Symbolik der griechischen Kirche. Berlin, 1872.

H. B. Swete (Anglic.): Early History of the Doctrine of the Holy

Spirit, Cambr. 1873; and History of the Doctrine of the Procession of

the Holy Spirit from the Apost. Age to the Death of Charlemagne. Cambr.

1876.

IV. Old Catholic Writers (irenical):

Joseph Langen: Die Trinitarische Lehrdifferenz zwischen der

abendl�ndischen und der morgenl�ndischen Kirche. Bonn, 1876.

The Proceedings of the second Old Catholic Union-Conference in Bonn,

1875, ed. in German by Heinrich Reusch; English ed. with introduction

by Canon Liddon (Lond. 1876); Amer. ed. transl. by Dr. Samuel Buel,

with introduction by Dr. R. Nevin (N. Y. 1876). The union-theses of

Bonn are given in Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, vol. II., 545-550.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 68. The Consensus and Dissensus between the Greek and Latin Churches.

No two churches in the world are at this day so much alike, and yet so

averse to each other as the Oriental or Greek, and the Occidental or

Roman. They hold, as an inheritance from the patristic age, essentially

the same body of doctrine, the same canons of discipline, the same form

of worship; and yet their antagonism seems irreconcilable. The very

affinity breeds jealousy and friction. They are equally exclusive: the

Oriental Church claims exclusive orthodoxy, and looks upon Western

Christendom as heretical; the Roman Church claims exclusive

catholicity, and considers all other churches as heretical or

schismatical sects. The one is proud of her creed, the other of her

dominion. In all the points of controversy between Romanism and

Protestantism the Greek Church is much nearer the Roman, and yet there

is no more prospect of a union between them than of a union between

Rome and Geneva, or Moscow and Oxford. The Pope and the Czar are the

two most powerful rival-despots in Christendom. Where the two churches

meet in closest proximity, over the traditional spots of the birth and

tomb of our Saviour, at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, they hate each other

most bitterly, and their ignorant and bigoted monks have to be kept

from violent collision by Mohammedan soldiers.

I. Let us first briefly glance at the consensus.

Both churches own the Nicene creed (with the exception of the

Filioque), and all the doctrinal decrees of the seven oecumenical

Synods from a.d. 325 to 787, including the worship of images.

They agree moreover in most of the post-oecumenical or mediaeval

doctrines against which the evangelical Reformation protested, namely:

the authority of ecclesiastical tradition as a joint rule of faith with

the holy Scriptures; the worship of the Virgin Mary, of the saints,

their pictures (not statues), and relics; justification by faith and

good works, as joint conditions; the merit of good works, especially

voluntary celibacy and poverty; the seven sacraments or mysteries (with

minor differences as to confirmation, and extreme unction or chrisma);

baptismal regeneration and the necessity of water-baptism for

salvation; transubstantiation and the consequent adoration of the

sacramental elements; the sacrifice of the mass for the living and the

dead, with prayers for the dead; priestly absolution by divine

authority; three orders of the ministry, and the necessity of an

episcopal hierarchy up to the patriarchal dignity; and a vast number of

religious rites and ceremonies.

In the doctrine of purgatory, the Greek Church is less explicit, yet

agrees with the Roman in assuming a middle state of purification, and

the efficacy of prayers and masses for the departed. The dogma of

transubstantiation, too, is not so clearly formulated in the Greek

creed as in the Roman, but the difference is very small. As to the Holy

Scriptures, the Greek Church has never prohibited the popular use, and

the Russian Church even favors the free circulation of her authorized

vernacular version. But the traditions of the Greek Church are as

strong a barrier against the exercise of private judgment and

exegetical progress as those of Rome.

II. The dissensus of the two churches covers the following points:

1. The procession of the Holy Spirit: the East teaching the single

procession from the Father only, the West (since Augustin), the double

procession from the Father and the Son (Filioque).

2. The universal authority and infallibility of the pope, which is

asserted by the Roman, denied by the Greek Church. The former is a

papal monarchy, the latter a patriarchal oligarchy. There are,

according to the Greek theory, five patriarchs of equal rights, the

pope of Rome, the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch,

and Jerusalem. They were sometimes compared to the five senses in the

body. To them was afterwards added the patriarch of Moscow for the

Russian church (which is now governed by the "Holy Synod"). To the

bishop of Rome was formerly conceded a primacy of honor, but this

primacy passed with the seat of empire to the patriarch of

Constantinople, who therefore signed himself "Archbishop of New Rome

and Oecumenical Patriarch. [305]

3. The immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, proclaimed as a dogma

by the pope in 1854, disowned by the East, which, however, in the

practice of Mariolatry fully equals the West.

4. The marriage of the lower clergy, allowed by the Eastern, forbidden

by the Roman Church (yet conceded by the pope to the United Greeks).

5. The withdrawal of the cup from the laity. In the Greek Church the

laymen receive the consecrated bread dipped in the wine and

administered with a golden spoon.

6. A number of minor ceremonies peculiar to the Eastern Church, such as

trine immersion in baptism, the use of leavened bread in the eucharist,

infant-communion, the repetition of the holy unction (to; eujcevlion)

in sickness.

Notwithstanding these differences the Roman Church has always been

obliged to recognize the Greek Church as essentially orthodox, though

schismatic. And, certainly, the differences are insignificant as

compared with the agreement. The separation and antagonism must

therefore be explained fully as much and more from an alienation of

spirit and change of condition.

Note on the Eastern Orthodox Church.

For the sake of brevity the usual terminology is employed in this

chapter, but the proper name of the Greek Church is the Holy Oriental

Orthodox Apostolic Church. The terms mostly in use in that church are

Orthodox and Oriental (Eastern). The term Greek is used in Turkey only

of the Greeks proper (the Hellens); but the great majority of Oriental

Christians in Turkey and Russia belong to the Slavonic race. The Greek

is the original and classical language of the Oriental Church, in which

the most important works are written; but it has been practically

superseded in Asiatic Turkey by the Arabic, in Russia and European

Turkey by the Slavonic.

The Oriental or Orthodox Church now embraces three distinct divisions:

1. The Orthodox Church in Turkey (European Turkey and the Greek

islands, Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine) under the patriarchs of

Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

2. The state church of Russia, formerly under the patriarch of

Constantinople, then under the patriarch of Moscow, since 1725 under

the Holy Synod of St. Petersburg and the headship of the Czar. This is

by far the largest and most important branch.

3. The church of the kingdom of Greece under the Holy Synod of Greece

(since 1833).

There are also Greek Christians in Egypt, the Sinaitic Peninsula (the

monks of the Convent of St. Catharine), the islands of the AEgean Sea,

in Malta, Servia, Austria, etc.

Distinct from the Orthodox Church are the Oriental Schismatics, the

Nestorians, Armenians, Jacobites, Copts, and Abyssinians, who separated

from the former on the ground of the christological controversies. The

Maronites of Mount Lebanon were originally also schismatics, but

submitted to the pope during the Crusades.

The United Greeks acknowledge the supremacy of the pope, but retain

certain peculiarities of the Oriental Church, as the marriage of the

lower clergy, the native language in worship. They are found in lower

Italy, Austria, Russia, and Poland.

The Bulgarians, who likewise call themselves orthodox, and who by the

treaty of Berlin in 1878 have been formed into a distinct principality,

occupy an independent position between the Greek and the Roman

Churches.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[305] See the passages in Gieseler II. 227 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 69. The Causes of Separation.

Church history, like the world's history, moves with the sun from East

to West. In the first six centuries the Eastern or Greek church

represented the main current of life and progress. In the middle ages

the Latin church chiefly assumed the task of christianizing and

civilizing the new races which came upon the stage. The Greek church

has had no Middle Ages in the usual sense, and therefore no

Reformation. She planted Christianity among the Slavonic races, but

they were isolated from the progress of European history, and have not

materially affected either the doctrine or polity or cultus of the

church. Their conversion was an external expansion, not an internal

development.

The Greek and Latin churches were never organically united under one

government, but differed considerably from the beginning in

nationality, language, and various ceremonies. These differences,

however, did not interfere with the general harmony of faith and

Christian life, nor prevent cooperation against common foes. As long

and as far as the genuine spirit of Christianity directed them, the

diversity was an element of strength to the common cause.

The principal sees of the East were directly founded by the

apostles--with the exception of Constantinople--and had even a clearer

title to apostolic succession and inheritance than Rome. The Greek

church took the lead in theology down to the sixth or seventh century,

and the Latin gratefully learned from her. All the oecumenical Councils

were held on the soil of the Byzantine empire in or near

Constantinople, and carried on in the Greek language. The great

doctrinal controversies on the holy Trinity and Christology were fought

out in the East, yet not without the powerful aid of the more steady

and practical West. Athanasius, when an exile from Alexandria, found

refuge and support in the bishop of Rome. Jerome, the most learned of

the Latin fathers and a friend of Pope Damasus, was a connecting link

between the East and the West, and concluded his labors in Bethlehem.

Pope Leo I. was the theological master-spirit who controlled the

council of Chalcedon, and shaped the Orthodox formula concerning the

two natures in the one person of Christ. Yet this very pope strongly

protested against the action of the Council which, in conformity with a

canon of the second oecumenical Council, put him on a par with the new

bishop of Constantinople.

And here we approach the secret of the ultimate separation and

incurable antagonism of the churches. It is due chiefly to three

causes. The first cause is the politico- ecclesiastical rivalry of the

patriarch of Constantinople backed by the Byzantine empire, and the

bishop of Rome in connection with the new German empire. The second

cause is the growing centralization and overbearing conduct of the

Latin church in and through the papacy. The third cause is the

stationary character of the Greek and the progressive character of the

Latin church during the middle ages. The Greek church boasts of the

imaginary perfection of her creed. She still produced considerable

scholars and divines, as Maximus, John of Damascus, Photius,

Oecumenius, and Theophylact, but they mostly confined themselves to the

work of epitomizing and systematizing the traditional theology of the

Greek fathers, and produced no new ideas, as if all wisdom began and

ended with the old oecumenical Councils. She took no interest in the

important anthropological and soteriological controversies which

agitated the Latin church in the age of St. Augustin, and she continued

to occupy the indefinite position of the first centuries on the

doctrines of sin and grace. On the other hand she was much distracted

and weakened by barren metaphysical controversies on the abstrusest

questions of theology and christology; and these quarrels facilitated

the rapid progress of Isl�m, which conquered the lands of the Bible and

pressed hard on Constantinople. When the Greek church became

stationary, the Latin church began to develop her greatest energy; she

became the fruitful mother of new and vigorous nations of the North and

West of Europe, produced scholastic and mystic theology and a new order

of civilization, built magnificent cathedrals, discovered a new

Continent, invented the art of printing, and with the revival of

learning prepared the way for a new era in the history of the world.

Thus the Latin daughter outgrew the Greek mother, and is numerically

twice as strong, without counting the Protestant secession. At the same

time the Eastern church still may look forward to a new future among

the Slavonic races which she has christianized. What she needs is a

revival of the spirit and power of primitive Christianity.

When once the two churches were alienated in spirit and engaged in an

unchristian race for supremacy, all the little doctrinal and

ritualistic differences which had existed long before, assumed an undue

weight, and were branded as heresies and crimes. The bishop of Rome

sees in the Patriarch of Constantinople an ecclesiastical upstart who

owed his power to political influence, not to apostolic origin. The

Eastern patriarchs look upon the Pope as an anti-christian usurper and

as the first Protestant. They stigmatize the papal supremacy as "the

chief heresy of the latter days, which flourishes now as its

predecessor, Arianism, flourished in former days, and which like it,

will in like manner be cast down and vanish away." [306]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[306] Encycl. Epistle of the Eastern Patriarchs, 1844, � 5.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 70. The Patriarch and the Pope. Photius and Nicolas.

Comp. � 61, the Lit. in � 67, especially the letters of Photius and

Nicolas.

Hergenr�ther: Photius (Regensb. 1867-69, vol. I. 373 sqq.; 505 sqq.;

and the second vol.), and his Monumenta Graeca ad Photium ejusque

historiam pertinentia (Ratisb. 1869, 181 pages). Milman: Hist. of Latin

Christianity, bk. V. Ch. IV. Hefele IV. 224 sqq.; 384 sqq.; 436sqq. The

chief documents are also given by Gieseler II. 213 sqq. (Am. ed.)

The doctrinal difference on the procession of the Holy Spirit will be

considered in the chapter on the Theological Controversies. Although it

existed before the schism, it assumed a practical importance only in

connection with the broader ecclesiastical and political conflict

between the patriarch and the pope, between Constantinople and Rome.

The first serious outbreak of this conflict took place after the middle

of the ninth century, when Photius and Nicolas, two of the ablest

representatives of the rival churches, came into collision. Photius is

one of the greatest of patriarchs, as Nicolas is one of the greatest of

popes. The former was superior in learning, the latter in

statesmanship; while in moral integrity, official pride and obstinacy

both were fairly matched, except that the papal ambition towered above

the patriarchal dignity. Photius would tolerate no superior, Nicolas no

equal; the one stood on the Council of Chalcedon, the other on

Pseudo-Isidor.

The contest between them was at first personal. The deposition of

Ignatius as patriarch of Constantinople, for rebuking the immorality of

Caesar Bardas, and the election of Photius, then a mere layman, in his

place (858), were arbitrary and uncanonical acts which created a

temporary schism in the East, and prepared the way for a permanent

schism between the East and the West. Nicolas, being appealed to as

mediator by both parties (first by Photius), assumed the haughty air of

supreme judge on the basis of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, but was

at first deceived by his own legates. The controversy was complicated

by the Bulgarian quarrel. King Bogoris had been converted to

Christianity by missionaries from Constantinople (861), but soon after

applied to Rome for teachers, and the pope eagerly seized this

opportunity to extend his jurisdiction (866).

Nicolas, in a Roman Synod (863), decided in favor of the innocent

Ignatius, and pronounced sentence of deposition against Photius with a

threat of excommunication in case of disobedience. [307] Photius,

enraged by this conduct and the Bulgarian interference, held a

counter-synod, and deposed in turn the successor of St. Peter (867). In

his famous Encyclical Letter of invitation to the Eastern patriarchs,

he charged the whole Western church with heresy and schism for

interfering with the jurisdiction over the Bulgarians, for fasting on

Saturday, for abridging the time of Lent by a week, for taking

milk-food (milk, cheese, and butter) during the quadragesimal fast, for

enforcing clerical celibacy, and despising priests who lived in

virtuous matrimony, and, most of all, for corrupting the Nicene Creed

by the insertion of the Filioque, and thereby introducing two

principles into the Holy Trinity. [308]

This letter clearly indicates all the doctrinal and ritual differences

which caused and perpetuated the schism to this day. The subsequent

history is only a renewal of the same charges aggravated by the

misfortunes of the Greek church, and the arrogance and intolerance of

old Rome.

Photius fell with the murder of his imperial patron, Michael III.

(Sept. 23, 867). He was imprisoned in a convent, and deprived of

society, even of books. He bore his misfortune with great dignity, and

nearly all the Greek bishops remained faithful to him. Ignatius was

restored after ten years of exile by the emperor Basil, the Macedonian

(867-886), and entered into communication with Pope Hadrian II. (Dec.

867). He convened a general council in the church of St. Sophia

(October, 869), which is numbered by the Latins as the Eighth

Oecumenical Council. The pontifical legates presided and presented a

formula of union which every bishop was required to sign before taking

part in the proceedings, and which contained an anathema against all

heresies, and against Photius and his adherents. But the council was

poorly attended (the number of bishops being at first only eighteen).

Photius was forced to appear in the fifth session (Oct. 20), but on

being questioned he either kept silence, or answered in the words of

Christ before Caiaphas and Pilate. In the tenth and last session,

attended by the emperor and his sons, and one hundred and two bishops,

the decrees of the pope against Photius and in favor of Ignatius were

confirmed, and the anathemas against the Monothelites and Iconoclasts

renewed. The papal delegates signed "with reservation of the revision

of the pope."

But the peace was artificial, and broken up again immediately, after

the Synod by the Bulgarian question, which involved the political as

well as the ecclesiastical power of Constantinople. Ignatius himself

was unwilling to surrender that point, and refused to obey when the

imperious Pope John VIII. commanded, on pain of suspension and

excommunication, that he should recall all the Greek bishops and

priests from Bulgaria. But death freed him from further controversy

(Oct. 23, 877).

Photius was restored to the patriarchal see three days after the death

of Ignatius, with whom he had been reconciled. He convened a council in

November, 879, which lasted till March, 880, and is acknowledged by the

Orientals as the Eighth Oecumenical Council, [309] but denounced by the

Latins as the Pseudo-Synodus Photiana. It was three times as large as

the Council of Ignatius, and held with great pomp in St. Sophia under

the presidency of Photius. It annulled the Council of 869 as a fraud;

it readopted the Nicene Creed with an anathema against the Filioque,

and all other changes by addition or omission, and it closed with a

eulogy on the unrivalled virtues and learning of Photius. To the Greek

acts was afterwards added a (pretended) letter of Pope John VIII. to

Photius, declaring the Filioque to be an addition which is rejected by

the church of Rome, and a blasphemy which must be abolished calmly and

by, degrees. [310] The papal legates assented to all, and so deceived

their master by false accounts of the surrender of Bulgaria that he

thanked the emperor for the service he had done to the Church by this

synod.

But when the pope's eyes were opened, he sent the bishop Marinus to

Constantinople to declare invalid what the legates had done contrary to

his instructions. For this Marinus was shut up in prison for thirty

days. After his return Pope John VIII. solemnly pronounced the anathema

on Photius, who had dared to deceive and degrade the holy see, and had

added new frauds to the old. Marinus renewed the anathema after he was

elected pope (882). Photius denied the validity of his election, and

developed an extraordinary, literary activity.

But after the death of the Emperor Basilius (886), he was again deposed

by Leo VI., miscalled the Wise or the Philosopher, to make room for his

youngest brother Stephen, at that time only sixteen years of age.

Photius spent the last five years of his life in a cloister, and died

891. For learning, energy, position, and influence, he is one of the

most remarkable men in the history of Eastern Christianity. He

formulated the doctrinal basis of the schism, checked the papal

despotism, and secured the independence of the Greek church. He

announced in an Encyclical of 866: "God be praised for all time to

come! The Russians have received a bishop, and show a lively zeal for

Christian worship." Roman writers have declared this to be a lie, but

history has proved it to be an anticipation of an important fact, the

conversion of a new nation which was to become the chief support of the

Eastern church, and the most formidable rival of the papacy.

Greek and Roman historians are apt to trace the guilt of the schism

exclusively to one party, and to charge the other with unholy ambition

and intrigue; but we must acknowledge on the one hand the righteous

zeal of Nicolas for the cause of the injured Ignatius, and on the other

the many virtues of Photius tried in misfortune, as well as his

brilliant learning in theology, philology, philosophy, and history;

while we deplore and denounce the schism as a sin and disgrace of both

churches.

Notes.

The accounts of the Roman Catholic historians, even the best, are

colored by sectarianism, and must be accepted with caution. Cardinal

Hergenr�ther (Kirchengesch. I. 684) calls the Council of 879 a

"Photianische Pseudo-Synode," and its acts "ein aecht byzantinisches

Machwerk ganz vom Geiste des verschmitzten Photius durchdrungen."

Bishop Hefele, in the revised edition of his Conciliengesch. (IV. 464

sqq.), treats this Aftersynode, as he calls it, no better. Both follow

in the track of their old teacher, Dr. D�llinger who, in his History of

the Church (translated by Dr. Edward Cox, London 1841, vol. III. p.

100), more than forty years ago, described this Synod "in all its parts

as a worthy sister of the Council of Robbers of the year 449; with this

difference, that in the earlier Synod violence and tyranny, in the

later artifice, fraud, and falsehood were employed by wicked men to

work out their wicked designs." But when in 1870 the Vatican Council

sanctioned the historical falsehood of papal infallibility, D�llinger,

once the ablest advocate of Romanism in Germany, protested against Rome

and was excommunicated. Whatever the Latins may say against the Synod

of Photius, the Latin Synod of 869 was not a whit better, and Rome

understood the arts of intrigue fully as well as Constantinople. The

whole controversy between the Greek and the Roman churches is one of

the most humiliating chapters in the history of Christianity, and both

must humbly confess their share of sin and guilt before a

reconciliation can take place.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[307] The Synod, claiming to be the infallible organ of the Holy

Spirit, compared Photius with a robber and adulterer for obtruding

himself into the see of Constantinople during the lifetime of Ignatius,

deprived him of all priestly honors and functions "by authority of

Almighty God, St. Peter and St. Paul, the princes of the apostles, of

all saints, of the six [why not seven?] ecumenical councils, as also by

the judgment of the Holy Ghost," and threatened him and all his

adherents with the anathema and excommunication from the eucharist till

the moment of death, "that no one may dare hereafter from the state of

the laity to break into the camp of the Lord, as has often been the

case in the church of Constantinople." See on this Synod Hergenr�ther,

Phot. I. 519 sqq., and Hefele IV. 269 sqq.

[308] See the Encyclica ad Patriarchas Orientales in the original Greek

in Photius, Opera II. 722-742 (ed. Migne), also in Gieseler II. 216 sq.

Baronius (ad ann. 863 no. 34 sq.) gives it in Latin.

[309] Strictly speaking, however, the Orthodox Eastern Church counts

only seven OEcumenical Councils.

[310] The Roman Catholic historians regard this letter as a Greek

fraud. "Ich kann nicht glauben," says Hefele (IV. 482), "dass je ein

Papst seine Stellung so sehr vergessen habe, wie es Johann VIII. gethan

haben m�sste, wenn dieser Brief �cht w�re. Es ist in demselben auch

keine Spur des Papalbewusstseins, vielmehr ist die Superiorit�t des

Photius fast ausdr�cklich anerkannt."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 71. Progress and Completion of the Schism. Cerularius.

Hergenr�ther: Photius, Vol. III. 653-887; Comp. his Kirchengesch. vol.

I. 688 sq.; 690-694. Hefele: Conciliengesch. IV. 587; 765 sqq.; 771,

775 sqq. Gieseler: II. 221 sqq.

We shall briefly sketch the progress and consolidation of the schism.

The Difference About Tetragamy.

The fourth marriage of the emperor Leo the Philosopher (886-912), which

was forbidden by the laws of the Greek church, caused a great schism in

the East (905). [311] The Patriarch Nicolas Mysticus solemnly protested

and was deposed (906), but Pope Sergius III. (904-911), instead of

siding with suffering virtue as Pope Nicolas had done, sanctioned the

fourth marriage (which was not forbidden in the West) and the

deposition of the conscientious patriarch.

Leo on his death-bed restored the deposed patriarch (912). A Synod of

Constantinople in 920, at which Pope John X. was represented, declared

a fourth marriage illegal, and made no concessions to Rome. The Emperor

Constantine, Leo's son, prohibited a fourth marriage by an edict;

thereby casting a tacit imputation on his own birth. The Greek church

regards marriage as a sacrament, and a necessary means for the

propagation of the race, but a second marriage is prohibited to the

clergy, a third marriage is tolerated in laymen as a sort of legal

concubinage, and a fourth is condemned as a sin and a scandal. The pope

acquiesced, and the schism slumbered during the dark tenth century. The

venal Pope John XIX. (1024) was ready for an enormous sum to renounce

all the claim of superiority over the Eastern patriarchs, but was

forced to break off the negotiations when his treasonable plan was

discovered.

Cerularius and Leo IX.

Michael Cerularius (or Caerularius), [312] who was patriarch from 1043

to 1059, renewed and completed the schism. Heretofore the mutual

anathemas were hurled only against the contending heads and their

party; now the churches excommunicated each other. The Emperor

Constantinus Monachus courted the friendship of the pope for political

reasons, but his patriarch checkmated him. Cerularius, in connection

with the learned Bulgarian metropolitan Leo of Achrida, addressed in

1053 a letter to John, bishop of Trani, in Apulia (then subject to the

Eastern rule), and through him to all the bishops of France and to the

pope himself, charging the churches of the West that, following the

practice of the Jews, and contrary to the usage of Christ, they employ

in the eucharist unleavened bread; that they fast on Saturday in Lent;

that they eat blood and things strangled in violation of the decree of

the Council of Jerusalem (Acts, ch. 15); and that during the fast they

do not sing the hallelujah. He invented the new name Azymites for the

heresy of using unleavened bread (azyma) instead of common bread. [313]

Nothing was said about the procession of the Spirit. This letter is

only extant in the Latin translation of Cardinal Humbert. [314]

Pope Leo IX. sent three legates under the lead of the imperious Humbert

to Constantinople, with counter-charges to the effect that Cerularius

arrogated to himself the title of "oecumenical" patriarch; that he

wished to subject the patriarchs of Alexandria and of Antioch; that the

Greeks rebaptized the Latins; that, like the Nicolaitans, they

permitted their priests to live in wedlock; [315] that they neglected

to baptize their children before the eighth day after birth; that, like

the Pneumatomachi or Theomachi, they cut out of the symbol the

Procession of the Spirit from the Son. [316] The legates were lodged in

the imperial palace, but Cerularius avoided all intercourse with them.

Finally, on the 16th of July, 1054, they excommunicated the patriarch

and all those who should persistently censure the faith of the church

of Rome or its mode of offering the holy sacrifice. They placed the

writ on the altar of the church of Hagia Sophia with the words: "Videat

Deus et judicet."

Cerularius, supported by his clergy and the people, immediately

answered by a synodical counter-anathema on the papal legates, and

accused them of fraud. In a letter to Peter, the patriarch of Antioch

(who at first acted the part of a mediator), he charged Rome with other

scandals, namely, that two brothers were allowed to espouse two

sisters; that bishops wore rings and engaged in warfare; that baptism

was administered by a single immersion; that salt was put in the mouth

of the baptized; that the images and relics of saints were not honored;

and that Gregory the Theologian, Basil, and Chrysostom were not

numbered among the saints. The Filioque was also mentioned. [317]

The charge of the martial spirit of the bishops was well founded in

that semi-barbarous age. Cerularius was all-powerful for several years;

he dethroned one emperor and crowned another, but died in exile (1059).

The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem adhered to the see

of Constantinople. Thus the schism between the Christian East and West

was completed. The number of episcopal sees at that time was nearly

equal on both sides, but in the course of years the Latin church far

outgrew the East.

The Latin Empire in the East. 1204-1261.

During the Crusades the schism was deepened by the brutal atrocities of

the French and Venetian soldiers in the pillage of Constantinople

(1204), the establishment of a Latin empire, and the appointment by the

pope of Latin bishops in Greek sees. [318] Although this artificial

empire lasted only half a century (1204-1261), it left a legacy of

burning hatred in the memories of horrible desecrations and innumerable

insults and outrages, which the East had to endure from the Western

barbarians. Churches and monasteries were robbed and desecrated, the

Greek service mocked, the clergy persecuted, and every law of decency

set at defiance. In Constantinople "a prostitute was seated on the

throne of the patriarch; and that daughter of Belial, as she is styled,

sung and danced in the church to ridicule the hymns and processions of

the Orientals." Even Pope Innocent III. accuses the pilgrims that they

spared in their lust neither age nor sex, nor religious profession, and

that they committed fornication, adultery, and incest in open day (in

oculis omnium), "abandoning matrons and virgins dedicated to God to the

lewdness of grooms." And yet this great pope insulted the Eastern

church by the establishment of a Latin hierarchy on the ruins of the

Byzantine empire. [319]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[311] Leo himself had forbidden not only tetragamy, but even trigamy.

His four wives were Theophano, Zo� (his former mistress), Eudokia, and

Zo� Karbonopsyne, who in 905 bore him a son, Constantine

Porphyrogenitus (or Porphyrogennetos, d. 959). See Hergenr�ther, Phot.

III. 656 sq.

[312] Keroularios, probably from the Latin cerula (keriolos),

ceriolarium, a candelabrum for wax-tapers.

[313] Azyma is from azumos, unleavened (zume, leaven); hence he heorte

ton azumon(arton), the feast of unleavened bread (the passover), during

which the Jews were to eat unleavened bread. The Greeks insist that our

Lord in instituting the eucharist after the passover-meal used true,

nourishing bread (artosfromairo), as the sign of the new dispensation

of joy and gladness; while the lifeless, unleavened bread (azumon)

belongs to the Jewish dispensation. The Latins argued that artosmeans

unleavened as well as leavened bread, and that Christ during the feast

of the passover could not get any other but unleavened bread. They

called the Greeks in turn Fermentarei in opposition to Azmitae. See

Nicetas Stethatus (a cotemporary of Cerularius): De Fermentato et

Azymis, publ. in Greek by Dimitracopulos, Lips. 1866 (Biblioth. ekkl.I.

18-36), and in Greek and Latin by Hergenr�ther, in Monumenta Graeca,

etc., p. 139-154. Comp. also the Dissertation concerning Azymes in

Neale's Eastern Church, Introd. II. 1051 sqq.; J. G. Hermann, Hist.

concertationis de pane azymo et fermentato in caena Domini, Lips. 1737;

and Hergenr�ther, Photius III. 739 sqq.

[314] Baronius Annal. ad ann. 1053 no. 22; and Gieseler II. 222 sq.

[315] "Sicut Nicolaitae carnales nuptias concedunt et defendunt sacri

altaris ministris." On the other hand, Photius and the Greeks traced to

the clerical celibacy the fact that the West had "so many children who

knew not their fathers."

[316] See a full r�sum� of Humbert's arguments in Hergenr�ther, III.

741-756.

[317] See the documents in Gieseler II. 225 sqq.

[318] Cardinal Hergenr�ther (Kirchengesch. I. 903) admits that it was

largely (he ought to say, chiefly) through the guilt of the Latin

conquerors ("grossentheils durch Schuld der lateinischen Eroberer")

that "the hatred of the Greeks at the conquest of Constantinople, 1204,

assumed gigantic dimensions."

[319] See Gibbon's graphic description (in ch. LX.) of the horrors of

the sack of Constantinople, gathered from the concurrent accounts of

the French marshall Villehardouin (who does not betray a symptom of

pity or remorse) and the Byzantine senator Nicetas (one of the

sufferers). On the barbarities previously committed at Thessalonica by

the Normans in 1186, see Eustathius De capta Thessalonica (ed. Bonnae

1842, quoted by Gieseler II. 609); on the barbarities in the island of

Cyprus after its delivery by Richard to Guy, king of Jerusalem, in

1192, see the anonymous account in Allatius, De eccles. occident. et

orient. perpet. consens. 1. II. c. XIII. 693 sq. Leo Allatius was a

Greek convert to the Roman church, and found no fault with these

cruelties against the church of his fathers; on the contrary he says:

"Opus erat, effraenes propriaeque fidei rebelles et veritatis

oppugnatores non exilio, sed ferro et igne in saniorem mentem reducere.

Haeretici proscribendi sunt, exterminandi sunt, puniendi sunt et

pertinaces occidendi, cremandi. Ita leges sanciunt, ita observavit

antiquitas, nec alius mos est recentioris ecclesiae tum Graecae tum

Latinae."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 72. Fruitless Attempts at Reunion.

The Greek emperors, hard pressed by the terrible Turks, who threatened

to overthrow their throne, sought from time to time by negotiations

with the pope to secure the powerful aid of the West. But all the

projects of reunion split on the rock of papal absolutism and Greek

obstinacy.

The Council of Lyons. a.d. 1274. [320]

Michael Palaeologus (1260-1282), who expelled the Latins from

Constantinople (July 25, 1261), restored the Greek patriarchate, but

entered into negotiations with Pope Urban IV. to avert the danger of a

new crusade for the reconquest of Constantinople. A general council

(the 14th of the Latins) was held at Lyons in 1273 and 1274 with great

solemnity and splendor for the purpose of effecting a reunion. Five

hundred Latin bishops, seventy abbots, and about a thousand other

ecclesiastics were present, together with ambassadors from England,

France, Germany, and other countries. Palaeologus sent a large embassy,

but only three were saved from shipwreck, Germanus, ex-patriarch of

Constantinople, Theophanes, metropolitan of Nicaea, and the chancellor

of the empire. The pope opened the Synod (May 7, 1274) by the

celebration of high mass, and declared the threefold object of the

Synod to be: help for Jerusalem, union with the Greeks, and reform of

the church. Bonaventura preached the sermon. Thomas Aquinas, the prince

of schoolmen, who had defended the Latin doctrine of the double

procession [321] was to attend, but had died on the journey to Lyons

(March 7, 1274), in his 49th year. The imperial delegates were treated

with marked courtesy abjured the schism, submitted to the pope and

accepted the distinctive tenets of the Roman church.

But the Eastern patriarchs were not represented, the people of

Constantinople abhorred the union with Rome, and the death of the

despotic Michael Palaeologus (1282) was also the death of the Latin

party, and the formal revocation of the act of submission to the pope.

The Council at Ferrara--Florence. a.d. 1438-1439. [322]

Another attempt at reunion was made by John VII. Palaeologus in the

Council of Ferrara, which was convened by Pope Eugenius IV. in

opposition to the reformatory Council of Basle. It was afterwards

transferred to Florence on account of the plague. It was attended by

the emperor, the patriarch of Constantinople, and twenty-one Eastern

prelates, among them the learned Bessarion of Nicaea, Mark of Ephesus,

Dionysius of Sardis, Isidor of Kieff. The chief points of controversy

were discussed: the procession of the Spirit, purgatory, the use of

unleavened bread, and the supremacy of the pope. [323] Bessarion became

a convert to the Western doctrine, and was rewarded by a cardinal's

hat. He was twice near being elected pope (d. 1472). The decree of the

council, published July 6, 1439, embodies his views, and was a complete

surrender to the pope with scarcely a saving clause for the canonical

rights and privileges of the Eastern patriarchs. The Greek formula on

the procession, ex Patre per Filium, was declared to be identical with

the Latin Filioque; the pope was acknowledged not only as the successor

of Peter and Vicar of Christ, but also as "the head of the whole church

and father and teacher of all Christians," but with variations in the

Greek texts. [324] The document of reunion was signed by the pope, the

emperor, many archbishops and bishops, the representatives of all the

Eastern patriarchs except that of Constantinople, who had previously

died at Florence, but had left as his last sentence a disputed

submission to the catholic and apostolic church of old Rome. For the

triumph of his cause the pope could easily promise material aid to his

Eastern ally, to pay the expenses of the deputation, to support three

hundred soldiers for the protection of Constantinople, and to send, if

necessary, an army and navy for the defense of the emperor against his

enemies.

But when the humiliating terms of the reunion were divulged, the East

and Russia rose in rebellion against the Latinizers as traitors to the

orthodox faith; the compliant patriarchs openly recanted, and the new

patriarch of Constantinople, Metrophanes, now called in derision

Metrophonus or Matricide, was forced to resign.

After the Fall of Constantinople.

The capture of Constantinople by the Mohammedan Turks (1453) and the

overthrow of the Byzantine empire put an end to all political schemes

of reunion, but opened the way for papal propagandism in the East. The

division of the church facilitated that catastrophe which delivered the

fairest lands to the blasting influence of Isl�m, and keeps it in power

to this day, although it is slowly waning. The Turk has no objection to

fights among the despised Christians, provided they only injure

themselves and do not touch the Koran. He is tolerant from intolerance.

The Greeks hate the pope and the Filioque as much as they hate the

false prophet of Mecca; while the pope loves his own power more than

the common cause of Christianity, and would rather see the Sultan rule

in the city of Constantine than a rival patriarch or the Czar of

schismatic Russia.

During the nineteenth century the schism has been intensified by the

creation of two new dogmas,--the immaculate conception of Mary (1854)

and the infallibility of the pope (1870). When Pius IX. invited the

Eastern patriarchs to attend the Vatican Council, they indignantly

refused, and renewed their old protest against the antichristian

usurpation of the papacy and the heretical Filioque. They could not

submit to the Vatican decrees without stultifying their whole history

and committing moral suicide. Papal absolutism [325] and Eastern

stagnation are insuperable barriers to the reunion of the divided

churches, which can only be brought about by great events and by the

wonder-working power of the Spirit of God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[320] See a full account of it in the sixth volume of Hefele's

Conciliengeschichte, p. 103-147.

[321] In his book Contra errores Graecorum.

[322] See Cecconi (R.C.), Studi storici sul Concilio di Firenze

(Florence 1869); Hefele (R.C.), Conciliengesch. vol. VII. Pt. II.

(1874), p. 659-761; B. Popoff (Gr.), History of the Council of

Florence, translated from the Russian, ed. by J. M. Neale (Lond. 1861);

Frommann (Prot.), Krit. Beitr�ge zur Gesch. florentin.

Kirchenvereinigung(Halle, 1872).

[323] On the subject of purgatory the Greeks disagreed among

themselves. The doctrine of transubstantiation was conceded, and

therefore not brought under discussion.

[324] Hefele (l.c. p. 741-761) gives the Latin and Greek texts with a

critical discussion. Frommann and D�llinger charge the decree with

falsification.

[325] Or, as the modern Greeks call it, the papolatria of the Latins.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VI.

MORALS AND RELIGION.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 73. Literature.

I. The chief and almost only sources for this chapter are the acts of

Synods, the lives of saints and missionaries, and the chronicles of

monasteries. The Acta Sanctorum mix facts and legends in inextricable

confusion. The most important are the biographies of the Irish, Scotch,

and Anglo-Saxon missionaries, and the letters of Boniface. For the

history, of France during the sixth and seventh centuries we have the

Historia Francorum by Gregory of Tours, the Herodotus of France (d.

594), first printed in Paris, 1511, better by Ruinart, 1699; best by

Giesebrecht (in German), Berlin 1851, 9th ed. 1873, 2 vols.; and

Gregorii Historiae Epitomata by his continuator, Fredegar, a clergyman

of Burgundy (d. about 660), ed. by Ruinart, Paris 1699, and by Abel (in

German), Berlin 1849. For the age of Charlemagne we have the

Capitularies of the emperor, and the historical works of Einhard or

Eginard (d. 840). See Ouvres compl�tes d' Eginard, r�unies pour la

premi�re fois et traduites en fran�ais, par A. Teulet, Paris 1840-'43,

2 vols. For an estimate of these and other writers of our period comp.

part of the first, and the second vol. of Ad. Ebert's Allgem. Gesch.

der Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande, Leipz. 1874 and 1880.

II. Hefele: Conciliengesch. vols. III. and IV. (from a.d. 560-1073),

revised ed. 1877 and 1879.

Neander: Denkw�rdigkeiten aus der Geschichte des christl. Lebens. 3d

ed. Hamburg, 1845, '46, 2 vols.

Aug. Thierry: Recits des temps merovingiens. Paris 1855 (based on

Gregory of Tours).

Loebell: Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit. Leipz. 1839, second ed. 1868.

Monod: �tudes critiques sur les sources de l'histoire m�rovingienne.

Paris 1872.

Lecky: History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne, fifth

ed. Lond. 1882, 2 vols. (part of the second vol.).

Brace: Gesta Christi, N. York, third ed. 1883, p. 107 sqq.

Comp. Guizot (Protest., d. 1874): Histoire g�n�rale de la civilisation

en Europe et en Prance depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu � la

r�volution fran�aise, Paris 1830; seventh ed. 1860, 5 vols. (one vol.

on Europe in general).

Balmez, (a Spanish philosopher and apologist of the Roman church, d.

1848): El Protatantismo comparado con el Catolicismo en sus relaciones

con la civilisacion europea. Barcelona, 1842-44, 4 vols. The same in

French, German, and English translations. A Roman Catholic counterpart

to Guizot.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 74. General Character of Mediaeval Morals.

The middle age of Western Christendom resembles the period of the

Judges in the history of Israel when "the highways were unoccupied, and

the travelers walked through by-ways," and when "every man did that

which was right in his own eyes." [326] It was a time of civil and

political commotions and upheavings, of domestic wars and foreign

invasions. Society was in a chaotic state and bordering on the brink of

anarchy. Might was right. It was the golden age of border-ruffians,

filibusters, pirates and bold adventurers, but also of gallant knights,

genuine heroes and judges, like Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and Samuel of

old. It presents, in striking contrasts, Christian virtues and heathen

vices, ascetic self-denial and gross sensuality. Nor were there wanting

idyllic episodes of domestic virtue and happiness which call to mind

the charming story of Ruth from the period of the Judges.

Upon the whole the people were more religious than moral. Piety was

often made a substitute or atonement for virtue. Belief in the

supernatural and miraculous was universal; scepticism and unbelief were

almost unknown. Men feared purgatory and hell, and made great

sacrifices to gain heaven by founding churches, convents, and

charitable institutions. And yet there was a frightful amount of

immorality among the rulers and the people. In the East the church had

to contend with the vices of an effete civilization and a corrupt

court. In Italy, France and Spain the old Roman vices continued and

were even invigorated by the infusion of fresh and barbaric blood. The

history of the Merovingian rulers, as we learn from Bishop Gregory of

Tours, is a tragedy of murder, adultery, and incest, and ends in

destruction. [327]

The church was unfavorably affected by the state of surrounding

society, and often drawn into the current of prevailing immorality.

Yet, upon the whole, she was a powerful barrier against vice, and the

chief, if not the only promoter of education, virtue and piety in the

dark ages. From barbaric and semi-barbaric material she had to build up

the temple of a Christian civilization. She taught the new converts the

Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments the best

popular summaries of faith, piety, and duty. She taught them also the

occupations of peaceful life. She restrained vice and encouraged

virtue. The synodical legislation was nearly always in the right

direction. Great stress was laid on prayer and fasting, on acts of

hospitality, charity, and benevolence, and on pilgrimages to sacred

places. The rewards of heaven entered largely as an inducement for

leading a virtuous and holy life; but it is far better that people

should be good from fear of hell and love of heaven than ruin

themselves by immorality and vice.

A vast amount of private virtue and piety is never recorded on the

pages of histor y, and is spent in modest retirement. So the wild

flowers in the woods and on the mountains bloom and fade away unseen by

human eyes. Every now and then incidental allusion is made to unknown

saints. Pope Gregory mentions a certain Servulus in Rome who was a poor

cripple from childhood, but found rich comfort and peace in the Bible,

although he could not read himself, and had to ask pious friends to

read it to him while he was lying on his couch; he never complained,

but was full of gratitude and praise; when death drew near he requested

his friends to sing psalms with him; then stopped suddenly and expired

with the words: "Peace, hear ye not the praises of God sounding from

heaven?" This man's life of patient suffering was not in vain, but a

benediction to many who came in contact with it. "Those also serve who

only stand and wait."

The moral condition of the middle age varied considerably. The

migration of nations was most unfavorable to the peaceful work of the

church. Then came the bright reign of Charlemagne with his noble

efforts for education and religion, but it was soon followed, under his

weak successors, by another period of darkness which grew worse and

worse till a moral reformation began in the convent of Cluny, and

reached the papal chair under the lead of Hildebrand.

Yet if we judge by the number of saints in the Roman Calendar, the

seventh century, which is among the, darkest, was more pious than any

of the preceding and succeeding centuries, except the third and fourth

(which are enriched by the martyrs).

Notes.

The following is the table of saints in the Roman Calendar (according

to Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints): Saints.

First Century

53

Second Century

43

Third Century

139

Fourth Century

213

Fifth Century

130

Sixth Century

123

Seventh Century

174

Eighth Century

78

Ninth Century

49

Tenth Century

28

Eleventh Century

45

Twelfth Century

54

Thirteenth Century

49

Fourteenth Century

27

Fifteenth Century

17

Sixteenth Century

24

Seventeenth Century

15

Eighteenth Century

20

In the first centuries the numerous but nameless martyrs of the

Neronian and other persecutions are not separately counted. The Holy

Innocents, the Seven Sleepers (in the third century), the Forty Martyrs

of Sebaste (fourth century,) and other groups of martyrs are counted

only one each. Lecky asserts too confidently that the seventh century

was the most prolific in saints, and yet the most immoral. It is

strange that the number of saints should have declined from the seventh

century, while the church increased, and that the eighteenth century of

infidelity should have produced five more saints than the seventeenth

century. It would therefore be very unsafe to make this table the basis

for

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[326] Comp, Judges 5:6; 17:6.

[327] "It would be difficult," says Gibbon of this period, "to find

anywhere more vice or less virtue." The judgments of Hallam, Milman,

and Lecky are to the same effect. Compare also the description of

Montalembert, quoted above, p. 82 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 75. Clerical Morals.

1. Social Position. The clergy stood, during the middle ages, at the

head of society, and shared with kings and nobles the rule of the

people. They had the guardianship of the souls and consciences of men,

and handled the keys of the kingdom of heaven. They possessed nearly

all the learning, but it was generally very limited, and confined to a

little Latin without any Greek. Some priests descended from noble and

even royal blood, others from slaves who belonged to monasteries. They

enjoyed many immunities from public burdens, as military duty and

taxation. Charlemagne and his successors granted to them all the

privileges which the Eastern emperors from the time of Constantine had

bestowed upon them. They could not be sued before a civil court, and

had their own episcopal tribunals. No lay judge could apprehend or

punish an ecclesiastic without the permission of his bishop.

They were supported by the income from landed estates, cathedral funds,

and the annual tithes which were enacted after the precedent of the

Mosaic law. Pepin, by a decree of 764, imposed the payment of tithes

upon all the royal possessions. Charlemagne extended it to all lands,

and made the obligation general by a capitulary in 779. The tithes were

regarded as the minimum contribution for the maintenance of religion

and the support of the poor. They were generally paid to the bishop, as

the administrator of all ecclesiastical goods. Many nobles had their

own domestic chaplains who depended on their lords, and were often

employed in degrading offices, as waiting at table and attending to

horses and hounds.

2. Morals. The priests were expected to excel in virtue as well as in

education, and to commend their profession by an exemplary life. Upon

the whole they were superior to their flock, but not unfrequently they

disgraced their profession by scandalous immorality. According to

ancient discipline every priest at his ordination was connected with a

particular church except missionaries to heathen lands. But many

priests defied the laws, and led an irregular wandering life as

clerical tramps. They were forbidden to wear the sword, but many a

bishop lost his life on the battle field and even some popes engaged in

warfare. Drunkenness and licentiousness were common vices. Gregory of

Tours mentions a bishop named Cautinus who, when intoxicated, had to be

carried by four men from the table. Boniface gives a very unfavorable

but partizan account of the French and German clergymen who acted

independently of Rome. The acts of Synods are full of censures and

punishments of clerical sins and vices. They legislated against

fornication, intemperance, avarice, the habits of hunting, of visiting

horse-races and theatres, and enjoined even corporal punishments. [328]

Clerical immorality reached the lowest depth in the tenth and eleventh

centuries, when Rome was a sink of iniquity, and the popes themselves

set the worst example. But a new reform began with the Hildebrandian

popes.

3. Canonical Life. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz (a.d. 760), reformed the

clergy by introducing, or reviving, after the example of St. Augustin,

the "canonical" or semi-monastic life. The bishop and lower clergymen

lived in the same house, near the cathedral, ate at the same table,

prayed and studied together, like a family of monks, only differing

from them in dress and the right of holding property or receiving fees

for official services. Such an establishment was called Chapter, [329]

and the members of it were called Canons. [330]

The example was imitated in other places. Charlemagne made the

canonical life obligatory on all bishops as far as possible. Many

chapters were liberally endowed. But during the civil commotions of the

Carolingians the canonical life degenerated or was broken up.

4. Celibacy. In the East the lower clergy were always allowed to marry,

and only a second marriage is forbidden. In the West celibacy was the

prescribed rule, but most clergymen lived either with lawful wives or

with concubines. In Milan all the priests and deacons were married in

the middle of the eleventh century, but to the disgust of the severe

moralists of the time. [331] Hadrian II. was married before he became

pope, and had a daughter, who was murdered by her husband, together

with the pope's wife, Stephania (868). [332] The wicked pope Benedict

IX. sued for the daughter of his cousin, who consented on condition

that he resign the papacy (1033). [333] The Hildebrandian popes, Leo

IX. and Nicolas II., made attempts to enforce clerical celibacy all

over the West. They identified the interests of clerical morality and

influence with clerical celibacy, and endeavored to destroy natural

immorality by enforcing unnatural morality. How far Gregory VII.

succeeded in this part of his reform, will be seen in the next period.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[328] It seems incredible that there should have been an occasion for

legislation against clergymen keeping houses of prostitution; and yet

the Quinisexta or Trullan Synod of 692 enacted the canon: "He who keeps

a brothel, if a clergyman, shall be deposed and excommunicated; if a

layman, excommunicated." Hefele III. 341.

[329] Capitulum, from the chapter of the Bible or of the monastic rules

which were read in common every day. The name was applied both to the

clerical brotherhood and to their habitation (chapter-house). The

plural, Capitula or Capitularia designates codes of law ecclesiastical

or civil, digested under chapters. See Martene, De Antiqu. Eccl.

Ritibus, 1, IV. c. VI. � 4, and Haddan In Smith and Cheetham, I. 347.

[330] Canonici, either because they were bound by canons, or enrolled

on the lists of ecclesiastical officers. They occupied an intermediate

position between the secular clergy and the monks. See Du Cange, and

Smith and Cheetham, sub Canonici.

[331] Hefele IV. 794.

[332] Ibid. p. 373.

[333] Ibid. p. 707.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 76. Domestic Life.

The purity and happiness of home-life depend on the position of woman,

who is the beating heart of the household. Female degradation was one

of the weakest spots in the old Greek and Roman civilization. The

church, in counteracting the prevailing evil, ran into the opposite

extreme of ascetic excess as a radical cure. Instead of concentrating

her strength on the purification and elevation of the family, she

recommended lonely celibacy as a higher degree of holiness and a safer

way to heaven.

Among the Western and Northern barbarians she found a more favorable

soil for the cultivation of Christian family life. The contrast which

the heathen historian Tacitus and the Christian monk Salvian draw

between the chastity of the Teutonic barbarians and the licentiousness

of the Latin races is overdrawn for effect, but not without foundation.

The German and Scandinavian tribes had an instinctive reverence for the

female sex, as being inspired by a divinity, possessed of the prophetic

gift, and endowed with secret charms. Their women shared the labors and

dangers of men, emboldened them in their fierce battles, and would

rather commit suicide than submit to dishonor. Yet the wife was

entirely in the power of her husband, and could be bought, sold,

beaten, and killed.

The Christian religion preserved and strengthened the noble traits, and

developed them into the virtues of chivalry; while it diminished or

abolished evil customs and practices. The Synods often deal with

marriage and divorce. Polygamy, concubinage, secret marriages,

marriages with near relatives, mixed marriages with heathens or Jews or

heretics were forbidden; the marriage tie was declared sacred and

indissoluble (except by adultery); sexual intemperance restrained and

forbidden on Sundays and during Lent; the personal independence of

woman and her rights of property were advanced. The Virgin Mary was

constantly held up to the imagination as the incarnation of female

parity and devotion. Not unfrequently, however, marriages were

dissolved by mutual consent from mistaken ascetic piety. When a married

layman entered the priesthood or a convent, he usually forsook his

wife. In a Roman Synod of 827 such separation was made subject to the

approval of the bishop. A Synod of Rouen, 1072, forbade husbands whose

wives had taken the veil, to marry another. Wives whose husbands had

disappeared were forbidden by the same Synod to marry until the fact of

death was made certain. [334]

Upon the whole, the synodical legislation on the subject of marriage

was wise, timely, restraining, purifying, and ennobling in its effect.

The purest and brightest chapter in the history of Pope Nicolas I. is

his protection of injured innocence in the person of the divorced wife

of King Lothair of Lorraine. [335]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[334] For all these details see the scattered notices in vols, III. and

IV. of Hefele.

[335] See � 61, p. 275 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 77. Slavery.

See the Lit. in vol. I. � 48 (p. 444), and in vol. II. � 97 (p. 347).

Comp. also Balmes (R.C.): Protestantism and Catholicism compared in

their effects on the Civilization of Europe. Transl. from the spanish.

Baltimore 1851, Chs. xv.-xix. Brace: Gesta Christi, Ch. xxi.

History is a slow but steady progress of emancipation from the chains

which sin has forged. The institution of slavery was universal in

Europe during the middle ages among barbarians as well as among

civilized nations. It was kept up by natural increase, by war, and by

the slave-trade which was carried on in Europe more or less till the

fifteenth century, and in America till the eighteenth. Not a few

freemen sold themselves into slavery for debt, or from poverty. The

slaves were completely under the power of their masters, and had no

claim beyond the satisfaction of their physical wants. They could not

bear witness in courts of justice. They could be bought and sold with

their children like other property. The marriage tie was disregarded,

and marriages between freemen and slaves were null and void. In the

course of time slavery was moderated into serfdom, which was attached

to the soil. Small farmers often preferred that condition to freedom,

as it secured them the protection of a powerful nobleman against

robbers and invaders. The condition of the serfs, however, during the

middle ages was little better than that of slaves, and gave rise to

occasional outbursts in the Peasant Wars, which occurred mostly in

connection with the free preaching of the Gospel (as by Wiclif and the

Lollards in England, and by Luther in Germany), but which were

suppressed by force, and in their immediate effects increased the

burdens of the dependent classes. The same struggle between capital and

labor is still going on in different forms.

The mediaeval church inherited the patristic views of slavery. She

regarded it as a necessary evil, as a legal right based on moral wrong,

as a consequence of sin and a just punishment for it. She put it in the

same category with war, violence, pestilence, famine, and other evils.

St. Augustin, the greatest theological authority of the Latin church,

treats slavery as disturbance of the normal condition and relation. God

did not, he says, establish the dominion of man over man, but only over

the brute. He derives the word servus, as usual, from servare (to save

the life of captives of war doomed to death), but cannot find it in the

Bible till the time of the righteous Noah, who gave it as a punishment

to his guilty son Ham; whence it follows that the word came "from sin,

not from nature." He also holds that the institution will finally be

abolished when all iniquity shall disappear, and God shall be all in

all. [336]

The church exerted her great moral power not so much towards the

abolition of slavery as the amelioration and removal of the evils

connected with it. Many provincial Synods dealt with the subject, at

least incidentally. The legal right of holding slaves was never called

in question, and slaveholders were in good and regular standing. Even

convents held slaves, though in glaring inconsistency with their

professed principle of equality and brotherhood. Pope Gregory the

Great, one of the most humane of the popes, presented bondservants from

his own estates to convents, and exerted all his influence to recover a

fugitive slave of his brother. [337] A reform Synod of Pavia, over

which Pope Benedict VIII., one of the forerunners of Hildebrand,

presided (a.d. 1018), enacted that sons and daughters of clergymen,

whether from free-women or slaves, whether from legal wives or

concubines, are the property of the church, and should never be

emancipated. [338] No pope has ever declared slavery incompatible with

Christianity. The church was strongly conservative, and never

encouraged a revolutionary or radical movement looking towards

universal emancipation.

But, on the other hand, the Christian spirit worked silently, steadily

and irresistibly in the direction of emancipation. The church, as the

organ of that spirit, proclaimed ideas and principles which, in their

legitimate working, must root out ultimately both slavery and tyranny,

and bring in a reign of freedom, love, and peace. She humbled the

master and elevated the slave, and reminded both of their common origin

and destiny. She enjoined in all her teaching the gentle and humane

treatment of slaves, and enforced it by the all-powerful motives

derived from the love of Christ, the common redemption and moral

brotherhood of men. She opened her houses of worship as asylums to

fugitive slaves, and surrendered them to their masters only on promise

of pardon. [339] She protected the freedmen in the enjoyment of their

liberty. She educated sons of slaves for the priesthood, with the

permission of their masters, but required emancipation before

ordination. [340] Marriages of freemen with slaves were declared valid

if concluded with the knowledge of the condition of the latter. [341]

Slaves could not be forced to labor on Sundays. This was a most

important and humane protection of the right to rest and worship. [342]

No Christian was permitted by the laws of the church to sell a slave to

foreign lands, or to a Jew or heathen. Gregory I. prohibited the Jews

within the papal jurisdiction to keep Christian slaves, which he

considered an outrage upon the Christian name. Nevertheless even

clergymen sometimes sold Christian slaves to Jews. The tenth Council of

Toledo (656 or 657) complains of this practice, protests against it

with Bible passages, and reminds the Christians that "the slaves were

redeemed by the blood of Christ, and that Christians should rather buy

than sell them." [343] Individual emancipation was constantly

encouraged as a meritorious work of charity well pleasing to God, and

was made a solemn act. The master led the slave with a torch around the

altar, and with his hands on the altar pronounced the act of liberation

in such words as these: "For fear of Almighty God, and for the care of

my soul I liberate thee;" or: "In the name and for the love of God I do

free this slave from the bonds of slavery."

Occasionally a feeble voice was raised against the institution itself,

especially from monks who were opposed to all worldly possession, and

felt the great inconsistency of convents holding slave-property.

Theodore of the Studium forbade his convent to do this, but on the

ground that secular possessions and marriage were proper only for

laymen. [344] A Synod of Chalons, held between 644 and 650, at which

thirty-eight bishops and six episcopal representatives were present,

prohibited the selling of Christian slaves outside of the kingdom of

Clovis, from fear that they might fall into the power of pagans or

Jews, and he introduces this decree with the significant words: "The

highest piety and religion demand that Christians should be redeemed

entirely from the bond of servitude." [345] By limiting the power of

sale, slave-property was raised above ordinary property, and this was a

step towards abolishing this property itself by legitimate means.

Under the combined influences of Christianity, civilization, and

oeconomic and political considerations, the slave trade was forbidden,

and slavery gradually changed into serfdom, and finally abolished all

over Europe and North America. Where the spirit of Christ is there is

liberty.

Notes.

In Europe serfdom continued till the eighteenth century, in Russia even

till 1861, when it was abolished by the Czar Alexander II. In the

United States, the freest country in the world, strange to say, negro

slavery flourished and waxed fat under the powerful protection of the

federal constitution, the fugitive slave-law, the Southern state-laws,

and "King Cotton," until it went out in blood (1861-65) at a cost far

exceeding the most liberal compensation which Congress might and ought

to have made for a peaceful emancipation. But passion ruled over

reason, self-interest over justice, and politics over morals and

religion. Slavery still lingers in nominally Christian countries of

South America, and is kept up with the accursed slave-trade under

Mohammedan rule in Africa, but is doomed to disappear from the bounds

of civilization.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[336] De Civit. Dei, 1. XIX. c. 15. "Nomen [servus] culpa meruit, non

natura ... Prima servitutis causa peccatum est, ut homo homini

conditionis vinculo subderetur quod non fuit nisi Deo judicante, apud

quem non est iniquitas." He thinks it will continue with the duties

prescribed by the apostles, donec transeat iniquitas, et evacuetur

omnis principatus, et potestas humana, et sit Deus omnia in omnibus.."

Chrysostom taught substantially the same views, and derived from the

sin of Adam a threefold servitude and a threefold tyranny, that of the

husband over the wife, the master over the slave, and the state over

the subjects. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of the schoolmen, " did not

see in slavery either difference of race or imaginary inferiority or

means of government, but only a scourge inflicted on humanity by the

sins of the first man" (Balmes, p. 112). But none of these great men

seems to have had an idea that slavery would ever disappear from the

earth except with sin itself. Cessante causa, cessat effectus. See vol.

III. 115-121.

[337] Epist. X. 66; IX. 102. See these and other passages in Overbeck,

Verh�ltniss der alten Kirche zur Sklaverei, in his "Studien zur Gesch.

der alten Kirche" (1875) p. 211 sq. Overbeck, however, dwells too much

on the proslavery sentiments of the fathers, and underrates the merits

of the church for the final abolition of slavery.

[338] Hefele IV. 670.

[339] Synod of Clermont, a.d.549. Hefele III. 5; comp. II. 662.

[340] Fifth Synod of Orleans, 549; Synod of Aachen, 789; Synod of

Francfurt, 794. See Hefele III. 3, 666, 691. If ordination took place

without the master's consent, he could reclaim the slave from the ranks

of the clergy. Hefele IV. 26.

[341] Hefele III. 574, 575, 611. The first example was set by Pope

Callistus (218-223), who was himself formerly a slave, and gave the

sanction of the Roman church to marriages between free Christian ladies

and slaves or lowborn men. Hippolytus, Philosoph. IX. 12 (p. 460 ed.

Duncker and Schneidewin). This was contrary to Roman law, and

disapproved even by Hippolytus.

[342] The 16th Synod of Toledo, 693, passed the following canon: "If a

slave works on Sunday by command of his master, the slave becomes free,

and the master is punished to pay 30 solidi. If the slave works on

Sunday without command of his master, he is whipped or must pay fine

for his skin. If a freeman works on Sunday, he loses his liberty or

must pay 60 solidi; a priest has to pay double the amount." Hefele II.

349; comp. p. 355.

[343] Hefele III. 103; comp. IV. 70. Balmes, p. 108.

[344] Overbeck, l.c., p. 219.

[345] Conc. Cabilonense, can. 9: "Pietatis est maximae et religionis

intuitus, ut captivitatis vinculum omnino a Christianis redimatur." The

date of the Council is uncertain, see Mansi, Conc. X. 1198; Hefele,

III. 92.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 78. Feuds and Private Wars. The Truce of God.

A. Kluckhohn: Geschichte des Gottesfriedens. Leipzig 1857.

Henry C. Lea: Superstition and Force. Essays on the Wager of Law--the

Wager of Battle--the Ordeal--Torture. Phila. 1866 (407 pages).

Among all barbarians, individual injury is at once revenged on the

person of the enemy; and the family or tribe to which the parties

belong identify themselves with the quarrel till the thirst for blood

is satiated. Hence the feuds [346] and private wars, or deadly quarrels

between families and clans. The same custom of self-help and unbridled

passion prevails among the Mohammedan Arabs to this day.

The influence of Christianity was to confine the responsibility for a

crime to its author, and to substitute orderly legal process for

summary private vengeance. The sixteenth Synod of Toledo (693) forbade

duels and private feuds. [347] The Synod of Poitiers, a.d. 1000,

resolved that all controversies should hereafter be adjusted by law and

not by force. [348] The belligerent individuals or tribes were exhorted

to reconciliation by a sealed agreement, and the party which broke the

peace was excommunicated. A Synod of Limoges in 1031 used even the more

terrible punishment of the interdict against the bloody feuds.

These sporadic efforts prepared the way for one of the most benevolent

institutions of the middle ages, the so-called "Peace" or "Truce of

God." [349] It arose in Aquitania in France during or soon after a

terrible famine in 1033, which increased the number of murders (even

for the satisfaction of hunger) and inflicted untold misery upon the

people. Then the bishops and abbots, as if moved by divine inspiration

(hence "the Peace of God"), united in the resolution that all feuds

should cease from Wednesday evening till Monday morning (a feriae

quartae vespera usque ad secundam feriam, incipiente luce) on pain of

excommunication. [350] In 1041 the archbishop Raimbald of Arles, the

bishops Benedict of Avignon and Nitard of Nice, and the abbot Odilo of

Clugny issued in their name and in the name of the French episcopate an

encyclical letter to the Italian bishops and clergy, in which they

solemnly implore them to keep the heaven-sent Treuga Dei, already

introduced in Gaul, namely, to observe peace between neighbors, friends

or foes on four days of the week, namely, on Thursday, on account of

Christ's ascension, on Friday on account of his crucifixion, on

Saturday in memory of his burial, on Sunday in memory of his

resurrection. They add: "All who love this Treuga Dei we bless and

absolve; but those who oppose it we anathematize and exclude from the

church. He who punishes a disturber of the Peace of God shall be

acquitted of guilt and blessed by all Christians as a champion of the

cause of God."

The peace-movement spread through all Burgundy and France, and was

sanctioned by the Synods of Narbonne (1054), Gerundum in Spain (1068),

Toulouse (1068), Troyes (1093), Rouen (1096), Rheims (1136), the

Lateran (1139 and 1179), etc. The Synod of Clermont (1095), under the

lead of Pope Urban II., made the Truce of God the general law of the

church. The time of the Truce was extended to the whole period from the

first of Advent to Epiphany, from Ashwednesday to the close of the

Easter week, and from Ascension to the close of the week of Pentecost;

also to the various festivals and their vigils. The Truce was announced

by the ringing of bells. [351]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[346] Saxon Faehth, or Faeght, Danish feide, Dutch veede, German Fehde,

low Latin faida or faidia. Compare the German Feind, the English fiend.

Du Cange defines faida: "Gravis et aperta inimicitia ob caedem aliquam

suscepta, and refers to his dissertation De Privatis Bellis.

[347] Hefele III. 349.

[348] IV. 655, 689.

[349] Treuga Dei, Gottesfriede. See Du Cange sub. "Treva, Treuga, seu

Trevia Dei." The word occurs in several languages (treuga, tregoa,

trauva, treva, tr�ve). It comes from the same root as the German treu,

Treue, and the English true troth, truce, and signifies a pledge of

faith, given for a time to an enemy for keeping peace.

[350] Rodull Glaber, a monk of Cluny, gives a graphic account of this

famine and the origin of the Peace movement, in his Historia sui

Temporis, lib. IV. c.4 and 5 (in Migne's Patrol. Tom. 142, fol.

675-679). Hefele, IV. 698, traces the movement to Provence and to the

year 1040 with a "perhaps," but Rodulf Glaber makes it begin "in

Aquitaniae partibus anno incarnati Christi millesimo tricesimo tertio,"

from whence it spread rapidly "per Arelatensem provinciam, atque

Lugdunensem, sicque per universam Burgundiam, atque in ultimas Franciae

partes " (Migne, l. c. fol. 678). Comp. lib. V. 1 (fol. 693): "primitus

inpartibus Aquitanicis, deinde paulatim per universum Galliarum

territorium," etc. He also reports that the introduction of the Peace

was blessed by innumerable cures and a bountiful harvest. "Erat instar

illius antiqui Mosaici magni Jubilaei." Balderich, in his Chronicle of

the Bishops of Cambray, reports that in one of the French synods a

bishop showed a letter which fell from heaven and exhorted to peace.

The bishop of Cambray, however, dissented because he thought the

resolution could not be carried out.

[351] See further details in Mansi XIX. 549 sq.; Kluckhohn; Hefele (IV.

696-702, 780); and Mejer in Herzog2V. 319 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 79. The Ordeal.

Grimm: Deutsche Rechtsalterth�mer, G�ttingen 1828, p. 908 sqq.

Hildenbrand: Die Purgatio canonica et vulgaris, M�nchen 1841. Unger:

Der gerichtliche Zweikampf, G�ttingen 1847. Philipps: Ueber die

Ordalien, M�nchen 1847. Dahn: Studien zur Gesch. der Germ.

Gottesurtheile, M�nchen 1867. Pfalz: Die german. Ordalien, Leipz. 1865.

Henry C. Lea: Superstition and Force, Philad. 1866, p. 175-280. (I have

especially used Lea, who gives ample authorities for his statements.)

For synodical legislation on ordeals see Hefele, Vols. III. and IV.

Another heathen custom with which the church had to deal, is the

so-called Judgment of God or Ordeal, that is, a trial of guilt or

innocence by a direct appeal to God through nature. [352] It prevailed

in China, Japan, India, Egypt (to a less extent in Greece and Rome),

and among the barbaric races throughout Europe. [353]

The ordeal reverses the correct principle that a man must be held to be

innocent until he is proved to be guilty, and throws the burden of

proof upon the accused instead of the accuser. It is based on the

superstitious and presumptuous belief that the divine Ruler of the

universe will at any time work a miracle for the vindication of justice

when man in his weakness cannot decide, and chooses to relieve himself

of responsibility by calling heaven to his aid. In the Carlovingian

Capitularies the following passage occurs: "Let doubtful cases be

determined by the judgment of God. The judges may decide that which

they clearly know, but that which they cannot know shall be reserved

for the divine judgment. He whom God has reserved for his own judgment

may not be condemned by human means."

The customary ordeals in the middle ages were water-ordeals and

fire-ordeals; the former were deemed plebeian, the latter (as well as

the duel), patrician. The one called to mind the punishment of the

deluge and of Pharaoh in the Red Sea; the other, the future punishment

of hell. The water-ordeals were either by hot water, [354] or by cold

water; [355] the fire-ordeals were either by hot iron, [356] or by pure

fire. [357] The person accused or suspected of a crime was exposed to

the danger of death or serious injury by one of these elements: if he

escaped unhurt--if he plunged his arm to the elbow into boiling water,

or walked barefoot upon heated plough-shares, or held a burning ball of

iron in his hand, without injury, he was supposed to be declared

innocent by a miraculous interposition of God, and discharged;

otherwise he was punished.

To the ordeals belongs also the judicial duel or battle ordeal. It was

based on the old superstition that God always gives victory to the

innocent. [358] It was usually allowed only to freemen. Aged and sick

persons, women, children, and ecclesiastics could furnish substitutes,

but not always. Mediaeval panegyrists trace the judicial duel back to

Cain and Abel. It prevailed among the ancient Danes, Irish,

Burgundians, Franks, and Lombards, but was unknown among the

Anglo-Saxons before William the Conqueror, who introduced it into

England. It was used also in international litigation. The custom died

out in the sixteenth century. [359]

The mediaeval church, with her strong belief in the miraculous, could

not and did not generally oppose the ordeal, but she baptized it and

made it a powerful means to enforce her authority over the ignorant and

superstitious people she had to deal with. Several councils at Mainz in

880, at Tribur on the Rhine in 895, at Tours in 925, at Mainz in 1065,

at Auch in 1068, at Grau in 1099, recognized and recommended it; the

clergy, bishops, and archbishops, as Hincmar of Rheims, and Burckhardt

of Worms, and even popes like Gregory VII. and Calixtus II. lent it

their influence. St. Bernard approved of the cold-water process for the

conviction of heretics, and St. Ivo of Chartres admitted that the

incredulity of mankind sometimes required an appeal to the verdict of

Heaven, though such appeals were not commanded by, the law of God. As

late as 1215 the ferocious inquisitor Conrad of Marburg freely used the

hot iron against eighty persons in Strassburg alone who were suspected

of the Albigensian heresy. The clergy prepared the combatants by

fasting and prayer, and special liturgical formula; they presided over

the trial and pronounced the sentence. Sometimes fraud was practiced,

and bribes offered and taken to divert the course of justice. Gregory

of Tours mentions the case of a deacon who, in a conflict with an Arian

priest, anointed his arm before he stretched it into the boiling

caldron; the Arian discovered the trick, charged him with using magic

arts, and declared the trial null and void; but a Catholic priest,

Jacintus from Ravenna, stepped forward, and by catching the ring from

the bubbling caldron, triumphantly vindicated the orthodox faith to the

admiring multitude, declaring that the water felt cold at the bottom

and agreeably warm at the top. When the Arian boldly repeated the

experiment, his flesh was boiled off the bones up to the elbow. [360]

The Church even invented and substituted new ordeals, which were less

painful and cruel than the old heathen forms, but shockingly profane

according to our notions. Profanity and superstition are closely

allied. These new methods are the ordeal of the cross, and the ordeal

of the eucharist. They were especially used by ecclesiastics.

The ordeal of the cross [361] is simply a trial of physical strength.

The plaintiff and the defendant, after appropriate religious

ceremonies, stood with uplifted arm before a cross while divine service

was performed, and victory depended on the length of endurance. Pepin

first prescribed this trial, by a Capitulary of 752, in cases of

application by a wife for divorce. Charlemagne prescribed it in cases

of territorial disputes which might arise between his sons (806). But

Louis-le-D�bonnaire, soon after the death of Charlemagne, forbade its

continuance at a Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 816, because this abuse

of the cross tended to bring the Christian symbol into contempt. His

son, the Emperor Lothair, renewed the prohibition. A trace of this

ordeal is left in the proverbial allusion to an experimentum crucis.

A still worse profanation was the ordeal of consecrated bread in the

eucharist with the awful adjuration: "May this body and blood of our

Lord Jesus Christ be a judgment to thee this day." [362] It was

enjoined by a Synod of Worms, in 868, upon bishops and priests who were

accused of a capital crime, such as murder, adultery, theft, sorcery.

It was employed by Cautinus, bishop of Auvergne, at the close of the

sixth century, who administered the sacrament to a Count Eulalius,

accused of patricide, and acquitted him after he had partaken of it

without harm. King Lothair and his nobles took the sacrament in proof

of his separation from Walrada, his mistress, but died soon afterwards

at Piacenza of a sudden epidemic, and this was regarded by Pope Hadrian

II. as a divine punishment. Rudolfus Glaber records the case of a monk

who boldly received the consecrated host, but forthwith confessed his

crime when the host slipped out of his navel, white and pure as before.

Sibicho, bishop of Speier, underwent the trial to clear himself of the

charge of adultery (1049). Even Pope Hildebrand made use of it in

self-defense against Emperor Henry IV. at Canossa, in 1077. "Lest I

should seem," he said "to rely rather on human than divine testimony,

and that I may remove from the minds of all, by immediate satisfaction,

every scruple, behold this body of our Lord which I am about to take.

Let it be to me this day a test of my innocence, and may the Omnipotent

God this day by his judgment absolve me of the accusations if I am

innocent, or let me perish by sudden death, if guilty." Then the pope

calmly took the wafer, and called upon the trembling emperor to do the

same, but Henry evaded it on the ground of the absence of both his

friends and his enemies, and promised instead to submit to a trial by

the imperial diet.

The purgatorial oath, when administered by wonder-working relics, was

also a kind of ordeal of ecclesiastical origin. A false oath on the

black cross in the convent of Abington, made from the nails of the

crucifixion, and derived from the Emperor Constantine, was fatal to the

malefactor. In many cases these relics were the means of eliciting

confessions which could not have been obtained by legal devices.

The genuine spirit of Christianity, however, urged towards an abolition

rather than improvement of all these ordeals. Occasionally such voices

of protest were raised, though for a long time without effect. Avitus,

bishop of Vienne, in the beginning of the sixth century, remonstrated

with Gundobald for giving prominence to the battle-ordeal in the

Burgundian code. St. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, before the middle of

the ninth century (he died about 840) attacked the duel and the ordeal

in two special treatises, which breathe the gospel spirit of humanity,

fraternity and peace in advance of his age. [363] He says that the

ordeals are falsely called judgments of God; for God never prescribed

them, never approved them, never willed them; but on the contrary, he

commands us, in the law and the gospel, to love our neighbor as

ourselves, and has appointed judges for the settlement of controversies

among men. He warns against a presumptuous interpretation of providence

whose counsels are secret and not to be revealed by water and fire.

Several popes, Leo IV. (847-855), Nicolas I. (858-867), Stephen VI.

(885-891), Sylvester II. (999-1003), Alexander II. (1061-1073),

Alexander III. (1159-1181), Coelestin III. (1191-1198), Honorius III.

(1222), and the fourth Lateran Council (1215), condemned more or less

clearly the superstitious and frivolous provocation of miracles. [364]

It was by their influence, aided by secular legislation, that these

God-tempting ordeals gradually disappeared during the twelfth and

thirteenth centuries, but the underlying idea survived in the torture

which for a long time took the place of the ordeal.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[352] From the Anglo-Saxon ordael or ordela (from or=ur, and

dael=theil): German: Urtheilor Gottesurtheil; Dutch: oordeel; French:

ord�al; L. Lat.; ordalium, ordale, ordela. See Du Cange sub. ordela,

aquae frigidae judicium, Duellum, Ferrum candens; Skeat (Etymol. Dict.

of the Engl. Lang.) sub. Deal.

[353] See the proof in Lea, who finds in the wide prevalence of this

custom a confirmation of the common origin of the Aryan or

Indo-germanic races.

[354] Judicium aquae ferventis, aeneum, cacabus, caldaria. This is

probably the oldest form in Europe. See Lea, p. 196. It is usually

referred to in the most ancient texts of law, and especially

recommended by Hincmar of Rheims, as combining the elements of

water--the judgment of the deluge--and of fire--the judgment of the

last day. The accused was obliged, with his naked arm, to find a small

stone or ring in a boiling caldron of water (this was called in German

the Kesselfang), or simply to throw the hand to the wrist or to the

elbow into boiling water. See Lea, p. 196 sqq.

[355] Judicium aquae frigidae. It was not known in Europe before Pope

Eugenius II. (824-827), who seems to have introduced it. The accused

was bound with cords, and lowered with a rope into a reservoir or pond,

with the prayer (St., Dunstan's formula): "Let not the water receive

the body of him who, released from the weight of goodness, is upborne

by the wind of iniquity." It was supposed that the pure element would

not receive a criminal into its bosom. It required therefore in this

case a miracle to convict the accused, as in the natural order of

things he would escape. Lea (p. 221) relates this instance from a MS.

in the British Museum In 1083, during the deadly struggle between the

Empire and the Papacy, as personified in Henry IV. and Hildebrand, the

imperialists related with great delight that some of the leading

prelates of the papal court submitted the cause of their chief to this

ordeal. After a three days' fast, and proper benediction of the water,

they placed in it a boy to represent the Emperor, when to their horror

he sank like a stone. On referring the result to Hildebrand, he ordered

a repetition of the experiment, which was attended with the same

result. Then, throwing him in, as a representative of the Pope, he

obstinately floated during two trials, in spite of all efforts to force

him under the surface, and an oath was exacted from them to maintain

inviolable secrecy as to the unexpected result." James I. of England

was a strict believer in this ordeal, and thought that the pure element

would never receive those who had desecrated the privileges of holy

baptism. Even as late as 1836, an old woman, reputed to be a witch, was

twice plunged into the sea at Hela, near Danzig, and as she persisted

in rising to the surface, she was pronounced guilty and beaten to

death. See Lea, p. 228 and 229.

[356] Judicium ferri or ferri candentis. A favorite mode, administered

in two different forms, the one by six or twelve red-hot plough-shares

(vomeres igniti), over which the person had to walk bare-footed; the

other by a piece of red-hot iron, which he had to carry for a distance

of nine feet or more. See Lea, p. 201 sq.

[357] The accused had to stretch his hand into a fire; hence the French

proverbial expression: "J'en mettrais la main au feu," as an

affirmation of positive belief. Sometimes he had to walk bare-legged

and bare-footed through the flames of huge pyres. Petrus Igneus gained

his reputation and surname by an exploit of this kind. See examples in

Lea, p. 209 sqq. Savonarola proposed this ordeal in 1498 to his enemies

in proof of his assertion that the church needed a thorough

reformation, and that his excommunication by Pope Alexander VI. was

null and void, but he shrunk from the trial, lost his cause, and was

hanged and burned after undergoing frightful tortures. He had not the

courage of Hus at Constance, or Luther at Worms, and his attempted

reformation left nothing but a tragic memory.

[358] Tacitus (German, cap. 7) reports of the heathen Germans: "[Deum]

adesse, bellantibus credunt."

[359] See Lea, p. 75-174. The wager of battle, as a judicial

institution, must not be confounded with the private duel which has

been more or less customary among all races and in all ages, and still

survives as a relic of barbarism, though misnamed "the satisfaction of

a gentleman." The judicial duel aims at the discovery of truth and the

impartial administration of justice, while the object of the private

duel is personal vengeance and reparation of honor.

[360] De Gloria Martyrum I. 81. Lea, p. 198.

[361] Judicium crucis, orstare ad crucem, Kreuzesprobe. A modification

of it was the trial of standing with the arms extended in the form of a

cross. In this way St. Lioba, abbess of Bischoffsheim, vindicated the

honor of her convent against the charge of impurity when a new-born

child was drowned in the neighborhood. Lea, p. 231.

[362] Judicium offae, panis conjuratio, corsnaed, Abendmahlsprobe.

Comp. Hefele IV. 370, 552, 735.

[363] Liber adversus Legem Gundobadi (i.e. Leg. Burgundionum) et impia

certarmina quae per eam geruntur; and Liber Contra Judicium Dei. See

his Opera ed. Baluzius, Paris 1666, T. I. 107 sqq., 300 sqq., and in

Migne's Patrologia, Tom. CIV. f 113-126, and f. 250-258 (with the notes

of Baluzius).

[364] "At length, when the Papal authority reached its culminating

point, a vigorous and sustained effort to abolish the whole system was

made by the Popes who occupied the pontifical throne from 1159-1227.

Nothing can be more peremptory than the prohibition uttered by

Alexander III. In 1181, Lucius III. pronounced null and void the

acquittal of a priest charged with homicide, who had undergone the

water-ordeal, and ordered him to prove his innocence with compurgators,

and the blow was followed up by his successors. Under Innocent III.,

the Fourth Council of Lateran, in 1215, formally forbade the employment

of any ecclesiastical ceremonies in such trials; and as the moral

influence of the ordeal depended entirely upon its religious

associations, a strict observance of this canon must speedily have

swept the whole system into oblivion. Yet at this very time the

inquisitor Conrad of Marburg was employing in Germany the red-hot iron

as a means of condemning his unfortunate victims by wholesale, and the

chronicler relates that, whether innocent or guilty, few escaped the

test. The canon of Lateran, however, was actively followed up by the

Papal legates, and the effect was soon discernible." Lea, p. 272.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 80. The Torture.

Henry C. Lea: Superstition and Force (Philad. 1866), p. 281-391. Paul

Lacroix: Manners, Customs, and Dress of the Middle Ages and during the

Renaissance Period (transl. from the French, N. York 1874), p. 407-434.

Brace. Gesta Christi, ch. XV.

The torture rests on the same idea as the ordeal. [365] It is an

attempt to prove innocence or guilt by imposing a physical pain which

no man can bear without special aid from God. When the ordeal had

fulfilled its mission, the torture was substituted as a more convenient

mode and better fitted for an age less superstitious and more

sceptical, but quite as despotic and intolerant. It forms one of the

darkest chapters in history. For centuries this atrocious system,

opposed to the Mosaic legislation and utterly revolting to every

Christian and humane feeling, was employed in civilized Christian

countries, and sacrificed thousands of human beings, innocent as well

as guilty, to torments worse than death.

The torture was unknown among the Hindoos and the Semitic nations, but

recognized by the ancient Greeks and Romans, as a regular legal

proceeding. It was originally confined to slaves who were deemed unfit

to bear voluntary testimony, and to require force to tell the truth.

[366] Despotic emperors extended it to freemen, first in cases of

crimen laesae majestatis. Pontius Pilate employed the scourge and the

crown of thorns in the trial of our Saviour. Tiberius exhausted his

ingenuity in inventing tortures for persons suspected of conspiracy,

and took delight in their agony. The half-insane Caligula enjoyed the

cruel spectacle at his dinner-table. Nero resorted to this cruelty to

extort from the Christians the confession of the crime of incendiarism,

as a pretext of his persecution, which he intensified by the diabolical

invention of covering the innocent victims with pitch and burning them

as torches in his gardens. The younger Pliny employed the torture

against the Christians in Bithynia as imperial governor. Diocletian, in

a formal edict, submitted all professors of the hated religion to this

degrading test. The torture was gradually developed into a regular

system and embodied in the Justinian Code. Certain rules were

prescribed, and exemptions made in favor of the learned professions,

especially the clergy, nobles, children below fourteen, women during

pregnancy, etc. The system was thus sanctioned by the highest legal

authorities. But opinions as to its efficiency differed. Augustus

pronounced the torture the best form of proof. Cicero alternately

praises and discredits it. Ulpian, with more wisdom, thought it unsafe,

dangerous, and deceitful.

Among the Northern barbarians the torture was at first unknown except

for slaves. The common law of England does not recognize it. Crimes

were regarded only as injuries to individuals, not to society, and the

chief resource for punishment was the private vengeance of the injured

party. But if a slave, who was a mere piece of property, was suspected

of a theft, his master would flog him till he confessed. All doubtful

questions among freemen were decided by sacramental purgation and the

various forms of ordeal. But in Southern Europe, where the Roman

population gave laws to the conquering barbarians, the old practice

continued, or revived with the study of the Roman law. In Southern

France and in Spain the torture was an unbroken ancestral custom.

Alfonso the Wise, in the thirteenth century, in his revision of Spanish

jurisprudence, known as Las Siete Partidas, retained the torture, but

declared the person of man to be the noblest thing on earth, [367] and

required a voluntary confession to make the forced confession valid.

Consequently the prisoner after torture was brought before the judge

and again interrogated; if be recanted, he was tortured a second, in

grave cases, a third time; if he persisted in his confession, he was

condemned. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the system of

torture, was generally introduced in Europe, and took the place of the

ordeal.

The church, true to her humanizing instincts, was at first hostile to

the whole system of forcing evidence. A Synod of Auxerre (585 or 578)

prohibited the clergy to witness a torture. [368] Pope Gregory I.

denounced as worthless a confession extorted by incarceration and

hunger. [369] Nicolas I. forbade the new converts in Bulgaria to extort

confession by stripes and by pricking with a pointed iron, as contrary

to all law, human and divine (866) [370] Gratian lays down the general

rule that "confessio cruciatibus extorquenda non est."

But at a later period, in dealing with heretics, the Roman church

unfortunately gave the sanction of her highest authority to the use of

the torture, and thus betrayed her noblest instincts and holiest

mission. The fourth Lateran Council (1215) inspired the horrible

crusades against the Albigenses and Waldenses, and the establishment of

the infamous ecclesiastico-political courts of Inquisition. These

courts found the torture the most effective means of punishing and

exterminating heresy, and invented new forms of refined cruelty worse

than those of the persecutors of heathen Rome. Pope Innocent IV., in

his instruction for the guidance of the Inquisition in Tuscany and

Lombardy, ordered the civil magistrates to extort from all heretics by

torture a confession of their own guilt and a betrayal of all their

accomplices (1252). [371] This was an ominous precedent, which did more

harm to the reputation of the papacy than the extermination of any

number of heretics could possibly do it good. In Italy, owing to the

restriction of the ecclesiastical power by the emperor, the inquisition

could not fully display its murderous character. In Germany its

introduction was resisted by the people and the bishops, and Conrad of

Marburg, the appointed Inquisitor, was murdered (1233). But in Spain it

had every assistance from the crown and the people, which to this day

take delight in the bloody spectacles of bullfights. The Spanish

Inquisition was established in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella by

papal sanction (1478), reached its fearful height under the terrible

General Inquisitor Torquemada (since 1483), and in its zeal to

exterminate Moors, Jews, and heretics, committed such fearful excesses

that even popes protested against the abuse of power, although with

little effect. The Inquisition carried the system of torture to its

utmost limits. After the Reformation it was still employed in trials of

sorcery and witchcraft until the revolution of opinion in the

eighteenth century swept it out of existence, together with cruel forms

of punishment. This victory is due to the combined influence of

justice, humanity, and tolerance.

Notes.

I. "The whole system of the Inquisition," says Lea (p. 331), "was such

as to render the resort to torture inevitable. Its proceedings were

secret; the prisoner was carefully kept in ignorance of the exact

charges against him, and of the evidence upon which they were based. He

was presumed to be guilty, and his judges bent all their energies to

force him to confess. To accomplish this, no means were too base or too

cruel. Pretended sympathizers were to be let into his dungeon, whose

affected friendship might entrap him into an unwary admission;

officials armed with fictitious evidence were directed to frighten him

with assertions of the testimony obtained against him from

supposititious witnesses; and no resources of fraud or guile were to be

spared in overcoming the caution and resolution of the poor wretch

whose mind had been carefully weakened by solitude, suffering, hunger,

and terror. From this to the rack and estrapade the step was easily

taken, and was not long delayed." For details see the works on the

Inquisition. Llorente (Hist. crit. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne IV. 252,

quoted by Gieseler III. 409 note 11) states that from 1478 to the end

of the administration of Torquemada in 1498, when he resigned, "8800

persons were burned alive, 6500 in effigy, and 90,004 punished with

different kinds of penance. Under the second general-inquisitor, the

Dominican, Diego Deza, from 1499 to 1506, 1664 persons were burned

alive, 832 in effigy, 32,456 punished. Under the third

general-inquisitor, the Cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, Francis

Ximenes de Cisneros, from 1507 to 1517, 2536 were burned alive, 1368 in

effigy, 47,263 reconciled." Llorente was a Spanish priest and general

secretary of the Inquisition at Madrid (from 1789-1791), and had access

to all the archives, but his figures, as he himself admits, are based

upon probable calculations, and have in some instances been disproved.

He states, e.g. that in the first year of Torquemada's administration

2000 persons were burned, and refers to the Jesuit Mariana (History of

Spain), but Mariana means that during the whole administration of

Torquemada "duo millia crematos igne." See Hefele, Cardinal Ximenes, p.

346. The sum total of persons condemned to death by the Spanish

Inquisition during the 330 years of its existence, is stated to be

30,000. Hefele (Kirchenlexikon, v. 656) thinks this sum exaggerated,

yet not surprising when compared with the number of witches that were

burnt in Germany alone. The Spanish Inquisition pronounced its last

sentence of death in the year 1781, was abolished under the French rule

of Joseph Napoleon, Dec. 4, 1808, restored by Ferdinand VII. 1814,

again abolished 1820, and (after another attempt to restore it) in

1834. Catholic writers, like Balmez (I.c. chs. xxxvi. and xxxvii.) and

Hefele (Cardinal Ximenes, p. 257-389, and in Wetzer and Welte's

Kirchen-Lexicon, vol. V. 648-659), charge Llorente with inaccuracy in

his figures, and defend the Catholic church against the excesses of the

Spanish Inquisition, as this was a political rather than ecclesiastical

institution, and had at least the good effect of preventing religious

wars. But the Inquisition was instituted with the express sanction of

Pope Sixtus IV. (Nov. 1, 1478), was controlled by the Dominican order

and by Cardinals, and as to the benefit, the peace of the grave-yard is

worse than war. Hefele adds, however (V. 657): "Nach all' diesen

Bemerkungen sind wir �brigens weit entfernt, der Spanichen Inquisition

an sich das Wort reden zu wollen, vielmehr bestreiten wir der

weltlichen Gewalt durchaus die Befugniss, das Gewissen zu knebeln, und

sind von Herzensgrund aus jedem staatlichen Religionszwang abhold, mag

er von einem Torquemada in der Dominikanerkutte, oder von einem

Bureaucraten in der Staatsuniform ansgehen. Aber das wollten wir

zeigen, dass die Inquisition das schaendliche Ungeheuer nicht war, wozu

es Parteileidenschaft und Unwissenheit h�ufig stempeln wollten."

II. The torture was abolished in England after 1640, in Prussia 1740,

in Tuscany 1786, in France 1789, in Russia 1801, in various German

states partly earlier, partly later (between 1740 and 1831), in Japan

1873. Thomasius, Hommel, Voltaire, Howard, used their influence against

it. Exceptional cases of judicial torture occurred in the nineteenth

century in Naples, Palermo, Roumania (1868), and Zug (1869). See Lea,

p. 389 sqq., and the chapter on Witchcraft in Lecky's History of

Rationalism (vol. I. 27-154). The extreme difficulty of proof in trials

of witchcraft seemed to make a resort to the torture inevitable.

English witchcraft reached its climax during the seventeenth century,

and was defended by King James I., and even such wise men as Sir

Matthew Hale, Sir Thomas Browne, and Richard Baxter. When it was on the

decline in England it broke out afresh in Puritan New England, created

a perfect panic, and led to the execution of twenty-seven persons. In

Scotland it lingered still longer, and as late as 1727 a woman was

burnt there for witchcraft. In the Canton Glarus a witch was executed

in 1782, and another near Danzig in Prussia in 1836. Lecky concludes

his chapter with an eloquent tribute to those poor women, who died

alone, hated, and unpitied, with the prospect of exchanging their

torments on earth with eternal torments in hell.

I add a noble passage on torture from Brace's Gesta Christi, p. 274 sq.

"Had the 'Son of Man' been in body upon the earth during the Middle

Ages, hardly one wrong and injustice would have wounded his pure soul

like the system of torture. To see human beings, with the consciousness

of innocence, or professing and believing the purest truths, condemned

without proof to the most harrowing agonies, every groan or admission

under pain used against them, their confessions distorted, their nerves

so racked that they pleaded their guilt in order to end their tortures,

their last hours tormented by false ministers of justice or religion,

who threaten eternal as well as temporal damnation, and all this going

on for ages, until scarce any innocent felt themselves safe under this

mockery of justice and religion--all this would have seemed to the

Founder of Christianity as the worst travesty of his faith and the most

cruel wound to humanity. It need not be repeated that his spirit in

each century struggled with this tremendous evil, and inspired the

great friends of humanity who labored against it. The main forces in

mediaeval society, even those which tended towards its improvement, did

not touch this abuse. Roman law supported it. Stoicism was indifferent

to it; Greek literature did not affect it; feudalism and arbitrary

power encouraged a practice which they could use for their own ends;

and even the hierarchy and a State Church so far forgot the truths they

professed as to employ torture to support the 'Religion of Love.' But

against all these powers were the words of Jesus, bidding men 'Love

your enemies' 'Do good to them that despitefully use you!' and the like

commands. working everywhere on individual souls, heard from pulpits

and in monasteries, read over by humble believers, and slowly making

their way against barbaric passion and hierarchic cruelty. Gradually,

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the books containing the

message of Jesus circulated among all classes, and produced that state

of mind and heart in which torture could not be used on a fellow-being,

and in which such an abuse and enormity as the Inquisition was hurled

to the earth."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[365] Tortura from torqueo, to twist, to torment. Ital. and Spanish:

tortura; French: torture; Germ.: Folter.

[366] "Their evidence was inadmissible, except when given under

torture, and then by a singular confusion of logic, it was estimated as

the most convincing kind of testimony." Lea, 283. "The modes of torture

sanctioned by the Greeks were the wheel (trochos), the ladder or rack

(klimax), the comb with sharp teeth (kuaphos), the low vault (kuphon)

in which the unfortunate witness was thrust and bent double, the

burning tiles (plinthoi) the heavy hog-skin whip (hustrichis), and the

injection of vinegar into the nostrils." Lea, p. 284. The Romans used

chiefly the scourge. The instruments of torture employed during the

middle ages were the rack, the thumbscrew, the Spanish boot, iron

gauntlets, heated iron stools, fire, the wheel, the strappado, enforced

sleeplessness, and various mutilations. Brace says (p. 182) that " nine

hundred(?) different instruments for inflicting pain were invented and

used." One tenth of the number would be bad enough. Collections of

these devilish instruments may be seen in the London Tower, and in

antiquarian museums on the Continent.

[367] "La persona del home es la mas noble cosa del mundo."

[368] Can. 33: "Non licet presbytero nec diacono ad trepalium ubi rei

torquentur, stare." See Hefele III. 46.

[369] Epist. VIII. 30.

[370] Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum, c. 86. Hefele IV. 350. Lea, p.

305.

[371] In the bull Ad extirpanda: "Teneatur potestas seu rector, omnes

haereticos ... cogere citra membri diminutionem et mortis periculum,

tamquam vere latrones et homicidas animarum ... errores suos expresse

fateri et accusare alios haereticos quos sciunt, et bona eorum." ...

Innoc. IV. Leg. et Const. contra Haeret. � 26. (Bullar. Magn. in Innoc.

IV. No. 9). Comp. Gieseler II. 564-569.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 81. Christian Charity.

See the Lit. in vol. II. � 88, p. 311 sq. Chastel: �tudes historiques

sur l'influence de la charit� (Paris 1853, English transl., Philad.

1857--for the first three centuries). H�ser: Geschichte der christl.

Krankenpflege und Pflegerschaften (Berlin 1857). Ratzinger: Gesch. der

christl. Armenpflege (Freib. 1869, a new ed. announced 1884). Morin:

Histoire critique de la pauvret� (in the "M�moirs de l' Acad�mie des

inscript." IV). Lecky: Hist. of Europ. Morals, ch. 4th (II. 62 sqq.).

Uhlhorn: Christian Charity in the Ancient Church (Stuttgart, 1881;

Engl. transl. Lond. and N. York 1883), Book III., and his Die

Christliche Liebesth�tigkeit im Mittelalter. Stuttgart, 1884. (See also

his art. in Brieger's "Zeitschrift f�r K. G." IV. 1). B. Riggenbach:

Das Armenwesen der Reformation (Basel 1883). Also the articles

Armenpflege in Herzog's "Encycl."2 vol. I. 648-663; in Wetzer and

Welte's "Kirchenlex."2 vol. I. 1354-1375; Paup�risme in Lichtenberger

X. 305-312; and Hospitals in Smith and Cheetham I. 785-789.

From the cruelties of superstition and bigotry we gladly turn to the

queen of Christian graces, that "most excellent gift of charity," which

never ceased to be exercised wherever the story of Christ's love for

sinners was told and his golden rule repeated. It is a "bond of'

perfectness" that binds together all ages and sections of Christendom.

It comforted the Roman empire in its hoary age and agonies of death;

and it tamed the ferocity of the barbarian invaders. It is impossible

to overestimate the moral effect of the teaching and example of Christ,

and of St. Paul's seraphic praise of charity upon the development of

this cardinal virtue in all ages and countries. We bow with reverence

before the truly apostolic succession of those missionaries, bishops,

monks, nuns, kings, nobles, and plain men and women, rich or poor,

known and unknown, who, from gratitude to Christ and pure love to their

fellow-men, sacrificed home, health, wealth, life itself, to humanize

and Christianize savages, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the

thirsty, to entertain the stranger, to clothe the naked, to visit the

sick, to call on the prisoner, to comfort the dying. We admire and

honor also those exceptional saints who, in literal fulfillment or

misunderstanding of the Saviour's advice to the rich youth, and in

imitation of the first disciples at Jerusalem, sold all their

possessions and gave them to the poor that they might become perfect.

The admiration is indeed diminished, but not destroyed, if in many

cases a large measure of refined selfishness was mixed with

self-denial, and when the riches of heaven were the sole or chief

inducement for choosing voluntary poverty on earth.

The supreme duty of Christian charity was inculcated by all faithful

pastors and teachers of the gospel from the beginning. In the apostolic

and ante-Nicene ages it was exercised by regular contributions on the

Lord's day, and especially at the communion and the agape connected

with it. Every congregation was a charitable society, and took care of

its widows and orphans, of strangers and prisoners, and sent help to

distant congregations in need. [372]

After Constantine, when the masses of the people flocked into the

church, charity assumed an institutional form, and built hospitals and

houses of refuge for the strangers, the poor, the sick, the aged, the

orphans. [373] They appear first in the East, but soon afterwards also

in the West. Fabiola founded a hospital in Rome, Pammachius one in the

Portus Romanus, Paulinus one in Nola. At the time of Gregory I. there

were several hospitals in Rome; he mentions also hospitals in Naples,

Sicily, and Sardinia. These institutions were necessary in the greatly

enlarged sphere of the church, and the increase of poverty, distress,

and disaster which at last overwhelmed the Roman empire. They may in

many cases have served purposes of ostentation, superseded or excused

private charity, encouraged idleness, and thus increased rather than

diminished pauperism. But these were abuses to which the best human

institutions are subject.

Private charity continued to be exercised in proportion to the degree

of vitality in the church. The great fathers and bishops of the fourth

and fifth centuries set an illustrious example of plain living and high

thinking, of self-denial and liberality, and were never weary in their

sermons and writings in enjoining the duty of charity. St. Basil

himself superintended his extensive hospital at Caesarea, and did not

shrink from contact with lepers; St. Gregory Nazianzen exhorted the

brethren to be "a god to the unfortunate by imitating the mercy of

God," for there is "nothing so divine as beneficence;" St. Chrysostom

founded several hospitals in Constantinople, incessantly appealed to

the rich in behalf of the poor, and directed the boundless charities of

the noble widow Olympias. St. Ambrose, at once a proud Roman and an

humble Christian, comforted the paupers in Milan, while he rebuked an

emperor for his cruelty; Paulinus of Nola lived in a small house with

his wife, Theresi� and used his princely wealth for the building of a

monastery, the relief of the needy, the ransoming of prisoners, and

when his means were exhausted, he exchanged himself with the son of a

widow to be carried away into Africa; the great Augustin declined to

accept as a present a better coat than he might give in turn to a

brother in need; St. Jerome founded a hospice in Bethlehem from the

proceeds of his property, and induced Roman ladies of proud ancestry to

sell their jewels, silk dresses, and palaces, for the poor, and to

exchange a life of luxurious ease for a life of ascetic self-denial.

Those examples shone like brilliant stars through the darkness of the

middle ages.

But the same fathers, it must be added, handed to the middle ages also

the disturbing doctrine of the meritorious nature and atoning efficacy

of charity, as "covering a multitude of sins," and its influence even

upon the dead in purgatory. These errors greatly stimulated and largely

vitiated that virtue, and do it to this day. [374]

The Latin word caritas, which originally denotes dearness or costliness

(from carus, dear), then esteem, affection, assumed in the church the

more significant meaning of benevolence and beneficence, or love in

active exercise, especially to the poor and suffering among our

fellow-men. The sentiment and the deed must not be separated, and the

gift of the hand derives its value from the love of the heart. Though

the gifts are unequal, the benevolent love should be the same, and the

widow's mite is as much blessed by God as the princely donation of the

rich. Ambrose compares benevolence in the intercourse of men with men

to the sun in its relation to the earth. "Let the gifts of the

wealthy," says another father, "be more abundant, but let not the poor

be behind him in love." Very often, however, charity was contracted

into mere almsgiving. Praying, fasting, and almsgiving were regarded

(as also among the Jews and Mohammedans) as the chief works of piety;

the last was put highest. For the sake of charity it is right to break

the fast or to interrupt devotion.

Pope Gregory the Great best represents the mediaeval charity with its

ascetic self-denial, its pious superstitions and utilitarian

ingredients. He lived in that miserable transition period when the old

Roman civilization was crumbling to pieces and the new civilization was

not yet built up on its ruins. "We see nothing but sorrow," he says,

"we hear nothing but complaints. Ah, Rome! once the mistress of the

world, where is the senate? where the people? The buildings are in

ruins, the walls are falling. Everywhere the sword! Everywhere death! I

am weary of life! "But charity remained as an angel of comfort. It

could not prevent the general collapse, but it dried the tears and

soothed the sorrows of individuals. Gregory was a father to the poor.

He distributed every month cart-loads of corn, oil, wine, and meat

among them. What the Roman emperors did from policy to keep down

insurrection, this pope did from love to Christ and the poor. He felt

personally guilty when a man died of starvation in Rome. He set careful

and conscientious men over the Roman hospitals, and required them to

submit regular accounts of the management of funds. He furnished the

means for the founding of a Xenodochium in Jerusalem. He was the chief

promoter of the custom of dividing the income of the church into four

equal parts, one for the bishop, one for the rest of the clergy, one

for the church buildings, one for the poor. At the same time he was a

strong believer in the meritorious efficacy of almsgiving for the

living and the dead. He popularized Augustin's notion of purgatory,

supported it by monkish fables, and introduced masses for the departed

(without the so-called thirties, i.e. thirty days after death). He held

that God remits the guilt and eternal punishment, but not the temporal

punishment of sin, which must be atoned for in this life, or in

purgatory. Thus be explained the passage about the fire (1 Cor. 3:11)

which consumes wood, hay, and stubble, i.e. light and trifling sins

such as useless talk, immoderate laughter, mismanagement of property.

Hence, the more alms the better, both for our own salvation and for the

relief of our departed relatives and friends. Almsgiving is the wing of

repentance, and paves the way to heaven. This idea ruled supreme during

the middle ages.

Among the barbarians in the West charitable institutions were

introduced by missionaries in connection with convents, which were

expected to exercise hospitality to strangers and give help to the

poor. The Irish missionaries cared for the bodies as well as for the

souls of the heathen to whom they preached the gospel, and founded

"Hospitalia Scotorum." The Council of Orleans, 549, shows acquaintance

with Xenodochia in the towns. There was a large one at Lyons.

Chrodegang of Metz and Alcuin exhort the bishops to found institutions

of charity, or at least to keep a guest-room for the care of the sick

and the stranger. A Synod at Aix in 815 ordered that an infirmary

should be built near the church and in every convent. The Capitularies

of Charlemagne extend to charitable institutions the same privileges as

to churches and monasteries, and order that "strangers, pilgrims, and

paupers" be duly entertained according to the canons.

The hospitals were under the immediate supervision of the bishop or a

superintendent appointed by him. They were usually dedicated to the

Holy Spirit, who was represented in the form of a dove in some

conspicuous place of the building. They received donations and

legacies, and were made the trustees of landed estates. The church of

the middle ages was the largest property-holder, but her very wealth

and prosperity became a source of temptation and corruption, which in

the course of time loudly called for a reformation.

After we have made all reasonable deduction for a large amount of

selfish charity which looked to the donor rather than the recipient,

and for an injudicious profusion of alms which encouraged pauperism

instead of enabling the poor to help themselves by honest work, we

still have left one of the noblest chapters in the history of morals to

which no other religion can furnish a parallel. For the regular

gratuitous distribution of grain to the poor heathen of Rome, who under

Augustus rose to 200,000, and under the Antonines to 500,000, was made

from the public treasury and dictated by selfish motives of state

policy; it called forth no gratitude; it failed of its object, and

proved, together with slavery and the gladiatorial shows for the

amusement of the people, one of the chief demoralizing influences of

the empire. [375]

Finally, we must not forget that the history of true Christian charity

remains to a large part unwritten. Its power is indeed felt everywhere

and every day; but it loves to do its work silently without a thought

of the merit of reward. It follows human misery into all its lonely

griefs with personal sympathy as well as material aid, and finds its

own happiness in promoting the happiness of others. There is luxury in

doing good for its own sake. "When thou doest alms," says the Lord,

"let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth, that thine alms

may be in secret: and thy Father who seeth in secret shall reward

thee." [376]

Notes.

Uhlhorn closes his first work with this judgment of mediaeval charity

(p. 396 sq. of the English translation): "No period has done so much

for the poor as the middle ages. What wholesale distribution of alms,

what an abundance of institutions of the most various kinds, what

numbers of hospitals for all manner of sufferers, what a series of

ministrant orders, male and female, knightly and civil, what

self-sacrifice and devotedness! In the mediaeval period all that we

have observed germinating in the ancient Church, first attains its

maturity. The middle ages, however, also appropriated whatever

tendencies existed toward a one-sided and unsound development. Church

care of the poor entirely perished, and all charity became

institutional; monks and nuns, or members of the ministrant orders,

took the place of the deacons--the diaconate died out. Charity became

one-sidedly institutional and one-sidedly ecclesiastical. The church

was the mediatrix of every exercise of charity, she became in fact the

sole recipient, the sole bestower; for the main object of every work of

mercy, of every distribution of alms, of every endowment, of all

self-sacrifice in the service of the needy, was the giver's own

salvation. The transformation was complete. Men gave and ministered no

longer for the sake of helping and serving the poor in Christ, but to

obtain for themselves and theirs, merit, release from purgatory, a high

degree of eternal happiness. The consequence was, that poverty was not

contended with, but fostered, and beggary brought to maturity; so that

notwithstanding the abundant donations, the various foundations, the

well-endowed institutions, distress was after all not mastered. Nor is

it mastered yet. "The poor ye have always with you" (John 12:8).

Riggenbach (l.c.) maintains that in the middle ages hospitals were mere

provision-houses (Versorgungsh�user), and that the Reformation first

asserted the principle that they should be also houses of moral reform

(Rettungsh�user and Heilanstalten).

Lecky, who devotes a part of the fourth chapter of his impartial

humanitarian History of European Morals to this subject, comes to the

following conclusion (II. 79, 85): "Christianity for the first time

made charity a rudimentary virtue, giving it a leading place in the

moral type, and in the exhortations of its teachers. Besides its

general influence in stimulating the affections, it effected a complete

revolution in this sphere, by regarding the poor as the special

representatives of the Christian Founder, and thus making the love of

Christ, rather than the love of man, the principle of charity .... The

greatest things are often those which are most imperfectly realized;

and surely no achievements of the Christian Church are more truly great

than those which it has effected in the sphere of charity. For the

first time in the history of mankind, it has inspired many thousands of

men and women, at the sacrifice of all worldly interests, and often

under circumstances of extreme discomfort or danger, to devote their

entire lives to the single object of assuaging the sufferings of

humanity. It has covered the globe with countless institutions of

mercy, absolutely unknown to the whole Pagan world. It has indissolubly

united, in the minds of men, the idea of supreme goodness with that of

active and constant benevolence. It has placed in every parish a

religious minister who, whatever may be his other functions, has at

least been officially charged with the superintendence of an

organization of charity, and who finds in this office one of the most

important as well as one of the most legitimate sources of his power."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[372] See vol. II. � 100.

[373] They are called Xenodochium and Xenodochia (xenodocheion) for

strangers; ptochium or ptochotrophium (ptocheion, ptochotropheion) for

the poor; orphanotrophium (orphanothropheion) for orphans;

brephotrophium (brephotropheion) for foundlings house for the sick

(nosokomeia, valetudinaria); for the aged (gerontokomeia); and for

widows (cherotropheia); in Latin hospitium, hospitals, hospitalium

(corresponding to the Greek xenodocheion). See Du Cange. Such

institutions were unknown among the heathen; for the houses near the

temples of Aeculapius were only intended for temporary shelter, not for

care and attendance. The Emperor Julian's involuntary eulogy of the

charity of the "Galilaeans " as he contemptuously called the

Christians, and his abortive attempt to force the heathen to imitate

it, are well known. See vol. III. 50.

[374] See the numerous quotations from the fathers in Uhlhorn, p. 278

sqq. "Countless times is the thought expressed that almsgiving is a

safe investment of money at good interest with God in heaven." He

thinks that "the doctrine of purgatory, and of the influence which

almsgiving exercises even upon souls in purgatory, determined more than

anything else the charity of the entire mediaeval period" (p. 287). The

notion that alms have an atoning efficacy is expressed again and again

in every variety of form as the motive of almsgiving which is

predominant above all others. Even Augustin, the most evangelical among

the fathers, teaches "that alms have power to extinguish and expiate

sin," although he qualifies the maxim and confines the benefit to those

who amend their lives. No one had greater influence upon the Latin

church than the author of the City of God, in which, as Uhlhorn says,

"he unconsciously wrote the programme of the middle ages."

[375] "There can be," says Lecky, (II. 78), "no question that either in

practice nor in theory, neither in the institution, that were founded

nor in the place that was assigned to it in the scale of duties, did

charity in antiquity occupy a position at all comparable to that which

it has obtained by Christianity. Nearly all the relief was a State

measure, dictated much more by policy than by benevolence; and the

habit of selling young children, the innumerable expositions, the

readiness of the poor to enroll themselves as gladiators, and the

frequent famines, show how large was the measure of unrelieved

distress. A very few pagan examples of charity have, indeed, descended

to us."

[376] Matt. 6:3, 4. The word "openly" (en to phanero) is omitted in the

best MSS. and critical editions, and in the E. Revision.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VII.

MONASTICISM.

See the Lit. on Monasticism in vol. II. 387, and III. 147 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 82. Use of Convents in the Middle Ages.

The monks were the spiritual nobility of the church, and represented a

higher type of virtue in entire separation from the world and

consecration to the kingdom of God. The patristic, ideal of piety

passed over into the middle ages; it is not the scriptural nor the

modern ideal, but one formed in striking contrast with preceding and

surrounding heathen corruption. The monkish sanctity is a flight from

the world rather than a victory over the world, an abstinence from

marriage instead of a sanctification of marriage, chastity, outside

rather than inside the order of nature, a complete suppression of the

sensual passion in the place of its purification and control. But it

had a powerful influence over the barbaric races, and was one of the

chief converting and civilizing agencies. The Eastern monks lost

themselves in idle contemplation and ascetic extravagances, which the

Western climate made impossible; the Western monks were, upon the

whole, more sober, practical, and useful. The Irish and Scotch convents

became famous for their missionary zeal, and furnished founders of

churches and patron saints of the people.

Convents were planted by the missionaries among all the barbarous

nations of Europe, as fast as Christianity progressed. They received

special privileges and endowments from princes, nobles, popes, and

bishops. They offered a quiet retreat to men and women who were weary

of the turmoil of life, or had suffered shipwreck of fortune or

character, and cared for nothing but to save their souls. They

exercised hospitality to strangers and travelers, and were a great

blessing in times when traveling was difficult and dangerous. [377]

They were training schools of ascetic virtue, and the nurseries of

saints. They saved the remnants of ancient civilization for future use.

Every large convent had a library and a school. Scribes were employed

in copying manuscripts of the ancient classics, of the Bible, and the

writings of the fathers. To these quiet literary monks we are indebted

for the preservation and transmission of nearly all the learning,

sacred and secular, of ancient times. If they had done nothing else,

they would be entitled to the lasting gratitude of the church and the

world.

During the wild commotion and confusion of the ninth and tenth

centuries, monastic discipline went into decay. Often the very richs of

convents, which were the reward of industry and virtue, became a snare

and a root of evil. Avaricious laymen (Abba-comites) seized the control

and perpetuated it in their families. Even princesses received the

titles and emoluments of abbesses.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[377] As they are still in the East and on the Alps. Travelers will not

easily forget the convents of Mt. Sinai in the Desert, Mar Saba near

the Dead Sea, and the hospices on the Alpine passes of St. Bernard, St.

Gotthard, and the Simplon. Lecky (II. 84) says: "By the monks the

nobles were overawed, the poor protected, the sick tended, travelers

sheltered, prisoners ransomed, the remotest spheres of suffering

explored. During the darkest period of the middle ages, monks founded a

refuge for pilgrims amid the horrors of the Alpine snows. A solitary

hermit often planted himself, with his little boat, by a bridgeless

stream, and the charity of his life was to ferry over the traveler."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 83. St. Benedict. St. Nilus. St. Romuald.

Yet even in this dark period there were a few shining lights.

St. Benedict of Aniane (750-821), of a distinguished family in the

south of France, after serving at the court of Charlemagne, became

disgusted with the world, entered a convent, founded a new one at

Aniane after the strict rule of St. Benedict of Nursia, collected a

library, exercised charity, especially during a famine, labored for the

reform of monasticism, was entrusted by Louis the Pious with the

superintendence of all the convents in Western France, and formed them

into a "congregation," by bringing them under one rule. He attended the

Synod of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817. Soon after his death (Feb. 12, 821)

the fruits of his labors were destroyed, and the disorder became worse

than before. [378]

St. Nilus the younger, [379] of Greek descent, born at Rossano in

Calabria [380] (hence Nilus Rossanensis), enlightened the darkness of

the tenth century. He devoted himself, after the death of his wife,

about 940, to a solitary life, following the model of St. Anthony and

St. Hilarion, and founded several convents in Southern Italy. He was

often consulted by dignitaries, and answered, like St. Anthony, without

respect of person. He boldly rebuked Pope Gregory V. and Emperor Otho

III. for bad treatment of an archbishop. When the emperor afterwards

offered him any favor he might ask, Nilus replied: "I ask nothing from

you but that you would save your soul; for you must die like every

other man, and render an account to God for all your good and evil

deeds." The emperor took the crown from his head, and begged the

blessing of the aged monk. When a dissolute nobleman, who comforted

himself with the example of Solomon, asked Nilus, whether that wise

king was not saved, the monk replied: "We have nothing to do with

Solomon's fate; but to us it is said, 'Every one that looketh on a

woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his

heart.' We do not read of Solomon that he ever repented like Manasseh."

To questions of idle curiosity he returned no answer, or he answered

the fool according to his folly. So when one wished to know what kind

of an apple Adam and Eve ate, to their ruin, he said that it was a

crab-apple. In his old age he was driven from Calabria by invaders, and

founded a little convent, Crypta Ferrata, near the famous Tusculum of

Cicero. There he died peacefully when about ninety-six years old, in

1005. [381]

St. Romuald, the founder of the order of Camaldoli, was born early in

the tenth century at Ravenna, of a rich and noble family, and entered

the neighboring Benedictine convent of Classis, in his twentieth year,

in order to atone, by a severe penance of forty days, for a murder

which his father had committed against a relative in a dispute about

property. He prayed and wept almost without ceasing. He spent three

years in this convent, and afterwards led the life of a roaming hermit.

He imposed upon himself all manner of self-mortification, to defeat the

temptations of the devil. Among his devotions was the daily repetition

of the Psalter from memory; a plain hermit, Marinus, near Venice, had

taught him this mechanical performance and other ascetic exercises with

the aid of blows. Wherever he went, he was followed by admiring

disciples. He was believed to be endowed with the gift of prophecy and

miracles, yet did not escape calumny. Emperor Otho III. paid him a

visit in the year 1000 on an island near Ravenna. Romuald sent

missionaries to heathen lands, and went himself to the border of

Hungary with a number of pupils, but returned when he was admonished by

a severe sickness that he was not destined for missionary life. He died

in the convent Valle de Castro in 1027. [382]

According to Damiani, who wrote his life fifteen years after his death,

Romuald lived one hundred and twenty years, twenty in the world, three

in a convent, ninety-seven as a hermit. [383]

The most famous of Romuald's monastic retreats is Campo Maldoli, or

Camaldoli in the Appennines, near Arezzo in Tuscany, which he founded

about 1009. It became, through the influence of Damiani, his eulogist

and Hildebrand's friend, the nucleus of a monastic order, which

combined the cenobitic and eremitic life, and was distinguished by

great severity. Pope Gregory XVI. belonged to this order.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[378] The life of B. was written by Ardo. See theActa Sanct. mens.

Februar. sub Feb. 12; Mabillon,Acta Sanct. ord. S. Bened.; Nicolai, Der

heil. Benedict Gr�nder von Aniane und Cornelim�nster(K�ln, 1865);

Gfr�rer, Kirchengesch. III. 704 sqq.

[379] To distinguish him from the older Nilus, who was a pupil and

friend of Chrysostom, a fertile ascetic writer and monk on Mt. Sinai

(d. about 440). There were more than twenty distinguished persons of

that name in the Greek church. See Allatius, Diatriba de Nilis et

Psellis; Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. X. 3.

[380] The place where two German scholars, O. von Gebhardt and Harnack,

discovered the Codex Rossanensis of the Greek Matthew and Mark in the

library of the archbishop (March, 1879). It dates from the sixth or

seventh century, is beautifully written in silver letters on very fine

purple-colored vellum, and was published by O. von Gebhardt in 1883.

See Schaff's Companion to the Gr. T., p. 131, and Gregory's

Prolegomena, I. 408.

[381] Acta Sanctorum vol. XXVI. Sept 26 (with the Greek text of a

biography of the saint by a disciple). Alban Butler,Lives of the

Saints, Sept. 26. Neander, III. 420 sqq. (Germ. ed. IV. 307-315). The

convent of Crypts Ferrata possesses a valuable library, which was used

by distinguished antiquarians as Mabillon, Montfaucon, Angelo Mai, and

Dom Pitra. Among its treasures are several MSS. of parts of the Greek

Testament, to which Dean Burgon calls attention in The Revision Revised

(Lond. 1883), p. 447.

[382] His death occurred June 19, but his principal feast was appointed

by Clement VIII. on the seventh of February. "His body," says Alban

Butler, "was found entire and uncorrupt five years after his death, and

again in 1466. But his tomb being sacrilegiously opened and his body

stolen in 1480, it fell to dust, in which state it was translated to

Fabriano, and there deposited in the great church, all but the remains

of one arm, sent to Camaldoli. God has honored his relics with many

miracles."

[383] Vita & Romualdi, c. 69, in Damiani's Opera II. f. 1006, in

Migne's edition (Patrol. Tom. 145, f. 953-1008). He adds; "Nunc inter

vivos coelestis Hierusalem lapides ineffabiliter rutilat, cum ignitis

beatorum spirituum turmis exultat, candidissimi stola immortalitatis

induitur, et ab ipso rege regum vibrante in perpetuum diademate

coronatur."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 84. The Convent of Cluny.

Marrier and Duchesne: Bibliotheca Cluniacensis. Paris 1614 fol.

Holsten.: Cod. Regul. Mon. II. 176. Lorain: Essay historique sur l'

abbaye de Cluny. Dijon 1839. Neander III. 417 sqq. 444 sq. Friedr.

Hurter (Prot, minister in Schaffhausen, afterwards R. Cath.): Gesch.

Papst Innocenz des Dritten (second ed. Hamb. 1844), vol. IV. pp. 22-55.

After the decay of monastic discipline during the ninth and tenth

centuries, a reformation proceeded from the convent of Cluny in

Burgundy, and affected the whole church. [384]

It was founded by the pious Duke William of Aquitania in 910, to the

honor of St. Peter and St. Paul, on the basis of the rule of St.

Benedict.

Count Bruno (d. 927) was the first abbot, and introduced severe

discipline. His successor Odo (927-941), first a soldier, then a

clergyman of learning, wisdom, and saintly character, became a reformer

of several Benedictine convents. Neander praises his enlightened views

on Christian life, and his superior estimate of the moral, as compared

with the miraculous, power of Christianity. Aymardus (Aymard, 941-948),

who resigned when he became blind, Majolus (Maieul to 994), who

declined the papal crown, Odilo, surnamed "the Good" (to 1048), and

Hugo (to 1109), continued in the same spirit. The last two exerted

great influence upon emperors and popes, and inspired the reformation

of the papacy and the church. It was at Cluny that Hildebrand advised

Bishop Bruno of Toul (Leo IX.), who had been elected pope by Henry

III., to seek first a regular election by the clergy in Rome; and thus

foreshadowed his own future conflict with the imperial power. Odilo

introduced the Treuga Dei and the festival of All Souls. Hugo,

Hildebrand's friend, ruled sixty years, and raised the convent to the

summit of its fame.

Cluny was the centre (archimonasterium) of the reformed Benedictine

convents, and its head was the chief abbot (archiabbas). It gave to the

church many eminent bishops and three popes (Gregory VII., Urban II.,

and Pascal II.). In the time of its highest prosperity it ruled over

two thousand monastic establishments. The daily life was regulated in

all its details; silence was imposed for the greater part of the day,

during which the monks communicated only by signs; strict obedience

ruled within; hospitality and benevolence were freely exercised to the

poor and to strangers, who usually exceeded the number of the monks.

During a severe famine Odilo exhausted the magazines of the convent,

and even melted the sacred vessels, and sold the ornaments of the

church and a crown which Henry II. had sent him from Germany. The

convent stood directly under the pope's jurisdiction, and was highly

favored with donations and privileges. [385] The church connected with

it was the largest and richest in France (perhaps in all Europe), and

admired for its twenty-five altars, its bells, and its costly works of

art. It was founded by Hugo, and consecrated seventy years afterwards

by Pope Innocent II. under the administration of Peter the Venerable

(1131).

The example of Cluny gave rise to other monastic orders, as the

Congregation of the Vallombrosa (Vallis umbrosa), eighteen miles from

Florence, founded by St. John Gualbert in 1038, and the Congregation of

Hirsau in W�rttemberg, in 1069.

But the very fame and prosperity of Cluny proved a temptation and cause

of decline. An unworthy abbot, Pontius, wasted the funds, and was at

last deposed and excommunicated by the pope as a robber of the church.

Peter the Venerable, the friend of St. Bernard and kind patron of the

unfortunate Abelard, raised Cluny by his wise and long administration

(1122-1156) to new life and the height of prosperity. He increased the

number of monks from 200 to 460, and connected 314 convents with the

parent institution. In 1245 Pope Innocent IV., with twelve cardinals

and all their clergy, two patriarchs, three archbishops, eleven

bishops, the king of France, the emperor of Constantinople, and many

dukes, counts and knights with their dependents were entertained in the

buildings of Cluny. [386] This was the end of its prosperity. Another

decline followed, from which Cluny never entirely recovered. The last

abbots were merely ornamental, and wasted two-thirds of the income at

the court of France. The French Revolution of 1789 swept the

institution out of existence, and reduced the once famous buildings to

ruins; but restorations have since been made. [387]

A similar reformation of monasticism and of the clergy was attempted

and partially carried out in England by St. Dunstan (925-May 19, 988),

first as abbot of Glastonbury, then as bishop of Winchester and London,

and last as archbishop of Canterbury (961) and virtual ruler of the

kingdom. A monk of the severest type and a churchman of iron will, he

enforced the Benedictine rule, filled the leading sees and richer

livings with Benedictines, made a crusade against clerical marriage

(then the rule rather than the exception), hoping to correct the

immorality of the priests by abstracting them from the world, and

asserted the theocratic rule of the church over the civil power under

Kings Edwy and Edgar; but his excesses called forth violent contentions

between the monks and the seculars in England. He was a forerunner of

Hildebrand and Thomas � Becket. [388]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[384] Cluny or Clugny (Cluniacum) is twelve miles northwest of Macon.

The present town has about four thousand inhabitants. Its chief

interest consists in the remains of mediaeeval architecture.

[385] The wealth of the abbey was proverbial. Hurter quotes from Lorain

the saying in Burgundy: "En tout pays ou le, rent vente, L' Abbaye de

Cluny a rente."

[386] Hurter, l.c. p. 45.

[387] The material of the church was sold during the Revolution for not

much more than 100,000 francs. When Napoleon Bonaparte passed through

Macon, be was invited to visit Cluny, but declined with the answer:

"You have allowed your great and beautiful church to be sold and

ruined, you are a set of Vandals; I shall not visit Cluny." Lorain, as

quoted by Hurter, p. 47. The last abbot of Cluny was Cardinal Dominicus

de la Rochefaucauld, who died in exile a.d.1800.

[388] See Dunstan's life in the Acta Sanct. for May 19; and in Butler's

Lives of the Saints, under the same date. Comp. Wharton, Anglia Sacra,

II.; Lingard Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Church; Soames,Anglo-Saxon

Church; Lappenberg, Gesch. von England; Hook, Archbishops of

Canterbury; Milman, Latin Christianity, Bk. VII., ch. 1; Hardwick;

Robertson; also Lea, History of Sacerdotal Celibacy.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER VIII.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE.

Comp. vol. II. � 57, and vol. III. � 68.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 85. The Penitential Books.

I. The Acts of Councils, the Capitularies of Charlemagne and his

successors, and the Penitential Books, especially that of Theodore of

Canterbury, and that of Rome. See Migne's Patrol. Tom. 99, fol.

901-983.

II. Friedr. Kunstmann (R.C.): Die latein. P�nitentialb�cher der

Angelsachsen. Mainz 1844. F. W. H. Wasserschleben: Bussordnungen der

abendl�nd. Kirche. Halle 1851. Steitz: Das r�m. Buss-Sacrament. Frankf.

1854. Frank (R.C.): Die Bussdisciplin der Kirche. Mainz 1867. Probst

(R.C.): Sacramente und Sacramentalien. T�bingen 1872. Haddan and

Stubbs: Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain

and Ireland, vol. III. Oxf. 1871. H. Jos. Schmitz (R.C.): Die

Bussb�cher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche. Nach handschriftl.

Quellen. Mainz 1883 (XVI. and 864 p.). Comp. the review of this book by

Wasserschleben in the "Theol. Literaturzeitung," 1883, fol. 614 sqq.

Bingham, Bk XIV. Smith and Cheetham, II. 608 sqq. (Penitential Books).

Herzog,2 III. 20 sqq. (Bussb�cher). Wetzer and Welte2 II. 209-222

(Beichtb�cher); II. 1561-1590 (Bussdisciplin).

Comp. Lit. in � 87.

The discipline of the Catholic church is based on the power of the keys

intrusted to the apostles and their successors, and includes the

excommunication and restoration of delinquent members. It was

originally a purely spiritual jurisdiction, but after the establishment

of Christianity as the national religion, it began to affect also the

civil and temporal condition of the subjects of punishment. It obtained

a powerful hold upon the public mind from the universal belief of the

middle ages that the visible church, centering in the Roman papacy, was

by divine appointment the dispenser of eternal salvation, and that

expulsion from her communion, unless followed by repentance and

restoration, meant eternal damnation. No heresy or sect ever claimed

this power.

Discipline was very obnoxious to the wild and independent spirit of the

barbaric races. It was exercised by the bishop through synodical

courts, which were held annually in the dominions of Charlemagne for

the promotion of good morals. Charlemagne ordered the bishops to visit

their parishes once a year, and to inquire into cases of incest,

patricide, fratricide, adultery, and other vices contrary to the laws

of God. [389] Similar directions were given by Synods in Spain and

England. The more extensive dioceses were divided into several

archdeaconries. The archdeacons represented the bishops, and, owing to

this close connection, they possessed a power and jurisdiction superior

to that of the priests. Seven members of the congregation were

entrusted with a supervision, and had to report to the inquisitorial

court on the state of religion and morals. Offences both ecclesiastical

and civil were punished at once with fines, fasting, pilgrimages,

scourging, imprisonment. The civil authorities aided the bishops in the

exercise of discipline. Public offences were visited with public

penance; private offences were confessed to the priest, who immediately

granted absolution on certain conditions.

The discipline of the Latin church in the middle ages is laid down in

the so-called "Penitential Books." [390] They regulate the order of

penitence, and prescribe specific punishments for certain sins, as

drunkenness, fornication, avarice, perjury, homicide, heresy, idolatry.

The material is mostly derived from the writings of the fathers, and

from the synodical canons of Ancyra (314), Neocaesarea (314), Nicaea

(325), Gangra (362), and of the North African, Frankish, and Spanish

councils down to the seventh century. The common object of these

Penitentials is to enforce practical duties and to extirpate the

ferocious and licentious passions of heathenism. They present a very

dark picture of the sins of the flesh. They kept alive the sense of a

moral government of God, who punishes every violation of his law, but

they lowered the sense of guilt by fostering the pernicious notion that

sin may be expiated by mechanical exercises and by the payment of a sum

of money.

There were many such books, British, Irish, Frankish, Spanish, and

Roman. The best known are the Anglo-Saxon penitentials of the seventh

and eighth centuries, especially that of Theodore, archbishop of

Canterbury (669-690). He was a Greek by birth, of Tarsus in Cilicia,

and reduced the disciplinary rules of the East and West to a system. He

was not the direct author of the book which bears his name, but it was

drawn up under his direction, published during his life-time and by his

authority, and contains his decisions in answer to various questions of

a priest named Eoda and other persons on the subject of penance and the

whole range of ecclesiastical discipline. The genuine text has recently

been brought to light from early MSS. by the combined labors of German

and English scholarship. [391] The introduction and the book itself are

written in barbarous Latin. Traces of the Greek training of Theodore

may be seen in the references to St. Basil and to Greek practices. Next

to Theodore's collection there are Penitentials under the name of the

venerable Bede (d. 735), and of Egbert, archbishop of York (d. 767).

[392]

The earliest Frankish penitential is the work of Columban, the Irish

missionary (d. 615). He was a severe monastic disciplinarian and gave

prominence to corporal punishment among the penalties for offences. The

Cummean Penitential (Poenit. Cummeani) is of Scotch-Irish origin, and

variously assigned to Columba of Iona (about 597), to Cumin, one of his

disciples, or to Cummean, who died in Columban's monastery at Bobbio

(after 711). Haltigar, bishop of Cambray, in the ninth century (about

829) published a "Roman Penitential," professedly derived from Roman

archives, but in great part from Columban, and Frankish sources. An

earlier work which bears the name "Poenitentiale Romanum," from the

first part of the eighth century, has a more general character, but its

precise origin is uncertain. The term "Roman" was used to designate the

quality of a class of Penitentials which enjoyed a more than local

authority. [393] Rabanus Maurus (d. 855) prepared a "Liber

Poenitentitae" at the request of the archbishop Otgar of Mayence (841).

Almost every diocese had its own book of the kind, but the spirit and

the material were substantially the same.

Notes.

As specimens of these Penitential Books, we give the first two chapters

from the first book of the Poenitentiale Theodori (Archbishop of

Canterbury), as printed in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and Eccles. Doc.

relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. IIIrd. p. 177 sqq. We

insert a few better readings from other MSS. used by Wasserschleben.

I. De Crapula et Ebrietate.

1. Si quis Episco pus aut aliquis ordinatus in consuetudine vitium

habuerit ebrietatis, aut desinat aut deponatur.

2. Si monachus pro ebrietate vomitum facit, XXX. dies peniteat.

3. Si presbiter aut diaconus pro ebrietate, XL. dies peniteat.

4. Si vero pro infirmitate aut quia longo tempore se abstinuerit, et in

consuetudine non erit ei multum bibere vel manducare, aut pro gaudio in

Natale Domini aut in Pascha aut pro alicujus Sanctorum commemoratione

faciebat, et tunc plus non accipit quam decretum est a senioribus,

nihil nocet. Si Episcopus juberit, non nocet illi, nisi ipse

similiterfaciat.

5. Si laicus fidelis pro ebrietate vomitum facit, XV. dies peniteat.

6. Qui vero inebriatur contra Domini interdictum, si votum sanctitatis

habuerit VII. dies in pane et aqua, LXX. sine pinguedine peniteat;

laici sine cervisa [cervisia].

7. Qui per nequitiam inebriat alium, XL. dies peniteat.

8. Qui pro satietate vomitum facit, III. diebus [dies] peniteat.

9. Si cum sacrificio communionis, VII. dies peniteat; si infirmitatis

causa, sine culpa.

II. De Fornicatione.

1. Si quis fornicaverit cum virgine, I. anno peniteat. Si cum marita,

IIII. annos, II. integros, II alios in XL. mis. III. bus., et III dies

in ebdomada peniteat.

2. Qui sepe cum masculo aut cum pecude fornicat, X. annos ut peniteret

judicavit.

3. Rem aliud. Qui cum pecoribus coierit, XV. annos peniteat.

4. Qui coierit cum masculo post XX. annum, XV. annos peniteat.

5. Si masculus cum masculo fornicaverit, X. annos peniteat.

6. Sodomitae VII. annos peniteat [peniteant]; molles [et mollis] sicut

adultera.

7. Item hoc; virile scelus semel faciens IIII annos peniteat; si in

consuetudine fuerit, ut Basilius dicit, XV. Si sine, sustinens unum

annum ut mulier. Si puer sit, primo II. bus annis; si iterat IIII.

8. Si in femoribus, annum I. vel. III. XL. mas.

9. Si se ipsum coinguinat, XL. dies [peniteat.]

10. Qui concupiscit fornicari [fornicare] sed non potest, XL. dies vel

XX. peniteat. Si frequentaverit, si puer sit, XX. dies, vel vapuletur.

11. Pueri qui fornicantur inter se ipsos judicavit ut vapulentur.

12. Mulier cum muliere fornicando [si ... fornicaverit], III. annos

peniteat.

13. Si sola cum se ipsa coitum habet, sic peniteat.

14. Una penitentia est viduae et puellae. Majorem meruit quae virum

habet, si fornicaverit.

15. Qui semen in os miserit, VII annos peniteat: hoc pessimum malum.

Alias ab eo judicatum est ut ambo usque in finem vitae peniteant; vel

XXII. annos, vel ut superius VII.

16. Si cum matre quis fornicaverit, XV. annos peniteat, et nunquam,

mutat [mutet] nisi Dominicis diebus: et hoc tam profanum incertum

[incestum] ab eo similiter alio modo dicitur ut cum peregrinatione

perenni VII. annos peniteat.

17. Qui cum sorore fornicatur, XV. annos peniteat, eo modo quo superius

de matre dicitur, sed et istud XV. alias in canone confirmavit; unde

non absorde XV. anni ad matrem transeunt qui scribuntur.

18. Qui sepe fornicaverit, primus canon judicavit X. annos penitere;

secundus canon VII.; sed pro infirmitate hominis, per consilium

dixerunt III. annos penitere.

19. Si frater cum fratre naturali fornicaverit per commixtionem carnis,

XV. annos ab omni carne abstineat.

20. Si mater cum filio suo parvulo fornicationem imitatur, III. annos

se abstineat a carne, et diem unum jejunet in ebdomada, id est, usque

ad vesperum.

21. Qui inludetur fornicaria cogitatione, peniteat usque dum cogitatio

superetur.

22. Qui diligit feminam mente, veniam petat ab eo [a Deo] id est, de

amore et amicitia si dixerit si non est susceptus ab ea, VII. dies

peniteat."

The remaining chapters of the first book treat De Avaritia Furtiva; De

Occisione Hominum [De Homicidio]; De his qui per Heresim decipiuntur;

De Perjurio; De multis et diversis Malis; De diverso Lapso servorum

Dei; De his qui degraduntur vel ordinari non possunt; De Baptizatis

his, qualiter peniteant; De his qui damnant Dominicam et indicta

jejunia ecclesiae Dei; De communione Eucharistiae, vel Sacrificio; De

Reconciliatione; De Penitentia Nubentium specialiter; De Cultura

Idolorum. The last chapter shows how many heathen superstitions

prevailed in connection with gross immorality, which the church

endeavored to counteract by a mechanical legalism. The second book

treats De Ecclesiae Ministerio; De tribus gratlibus; De Ordinatione; De

Baptismo et Confirmatione; De Missa Defunctorum, etc.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[389] See the passages in Gieseler IL 55 (Harpers' ed.) The Synodical

courts were called Sendgerichte(a corruption from Synod).

[390] Liber Poenitentialis, Poenitential, Confessionale, Leges

Poenitentium, Judicia Peccantium.

[391] By Prof. Wasserschleben of Halle, 1851 (from several Continental

MSS.), and Canon Haddan and Prof. Stubbs, Oxford, 1871, (III. 173-203)

from a Cambridge MS. of the 8th century. The texts of the earlier

editions of Theodori Poenitentiale by Spelman (1639), D'Achery (1669),

Jaques Petit (1677, reprinted in Migne's Patrol. 1851, Tom. 99), Thorpe

(1840), and Kunstmann (1844) are imperfect or spurious. The question of

authorship and of the MS. sources is learnedly discussed in a note by

Haddan and Stubbs, III. 173 sq. See extracts in the Notes.

[392] Both are given in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, etc. III. 326 sqq.

and 413 sqq.

[393] This is the view of Wasserschleben, while Schmitz thinks that the

Poenitentiale Romanum was originally intended for the Roman church, and

that the Westem Penitentials are derived from it.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 86. Ecclesiastical Punishments. Excommunication, Anathema, Interdict.

Friedrich Kober (R.C.): Der Kirchenbann nach den Grunds�tzen des

canonischen Rechts dargestellt. T�bingen 1857 (560 pages). By the same

author: Die Suspension der Kirchendiener. T�b. 1862.

Henry C. Lea: Excommunication, in his Studies in Church History

(Philadelphia 1869), p. 223-475.

The severest penalties of the church were excommunication, anathema,

and interdict. They were fearful weapons in the hands of the hierarchy

during the middle ages, when the church was believed to control

salvation, and when the civil power enforced her decrees by the strong

arm of the law. The punishment ceases with repentance, which is

followed by absolution. The sentence of absolution must proceed from

the bishop who pronounced the sentence of excommunication; but in

articulo mortis every priest can absolve on condition of obedience in

case of recovery.

1. Excommunication was the exclusion from the sacraments, especially

the communion. In the dominions of Charlemagne it was accompanied with

civil disabilities, as exclusion from secular tribunals, and even with

imprisonment and seizure of property. A bishop could excommunicate any

one who refused canonical obedience. But a bishop could only be

excommunicated by the pope, and the pope by no power on earth. [394]

The sentence was often accompanied with awful curses upon the bodies

and souls of the offender. The popes, as they towered above ordinary

bishops, surpassed them also in the art of cursing, and exercised it

with shocking profanity. Thus Benedict VIII., who crowned Emperor Henry

II. (a.d. 1014), excommunicated some reckless vassals of William II.,

Count of Provence, who sought to lay unhallowed hands upon the property

of the monastery of St. Giles, [395] and consigned them to Satan with

terrible imprecations, although be probably thought he was only

following St. Peter's example in condemning Ananias and Sapphira, and

Simon Magus. [396]

"Hardened sinners" (says Lea) "might despise such imprecations, but

their effect on believers was necessarily unutterable, when, amid the

gorgeous and impressive ceremonial of worship, the bishop, surrounded

by twelve priests bearing flaming candles, solemnly recited the awful

words which consigned the evil-doer and all his generation to eternal

torment with such fearful amplitude and reduplication of malediction,

and as the sentence of perdition came to its climax, the attending

priests simultaneously cast their candles to the ground and trod them

out, as a symbol of the quenching of a human soul in the eternal night

of hell. To this was added the expectation, amounting almost to a

certainty, that Heaven would not wait for the natural course of events

to confirm the judgment thus pronounced, but that the maledictions

would be as effective in this world as in the next. Those whom

spiritual terrors could not subdue thus were daunted by the fearful

stories of the judgment overtaking the hardened sinner who dared to

despise the dread anathema."

2. The Anathema is generally used in the same sense as excommunication

or separation from church communion and church privileges. But in a

narrower sense, it means the "greater" excommunication, [397] which

excludes from all Christian intercourse and makes the offender an

outlaw; while the "minor" excommunication excludes only from the

sacrament. Such a distinction was made by Gratian and Innocent III. The

anathema was pronounced with more solemn ceremonies. The Council of

Nicaea, 335, anathematized the Arians, and the Council of Trent, 1563,

closed with three anathemas on all heretics.

3. The Interdict [398] extended over a whole town or diocese or

district or country, and involved the innocent with the guilty. It was

a suspension of religion in public exercise, including even the rites

of marriage and burial; only baptism and extreme unction could be

performed, and they only with closed doors. It cast the gloom of a

funeral over a country, and made people tremble in expectation of the

last judgment. This exceptional punishment began in a small way in the

fifth century. St. Augustin justly reproved Auxilius, a brother bishop,

who abused his power by excommunicating a whole family for the offence

of the head, and Pope Leo the Great forbade to enforce the penalty on

any who was not a partner in the crime. [399] But the bishops and popes

of the middle ages, from the eleventh to the thirteenth century,

thought otherwise, and resorted repeatedly to this extreme remedy of

enforcing obedience. They had some basis for it in the custom of the

barbarians to hold the family or tribe responsible for crimes committed

by individual members.

The first conspicuous examples of inflicting the Interdict occurred in

France. Bishop Leudovald of Bayeux, after consulting with his brother

bishops, closed in 586 all the churches of Rouen and deprived the

people of the consolations of religion until the murderer of

Pretextatus, Bishop of Rouen, who was slain at the altar by a hireling

of the savage queen Fredegunda, should be discovered. [400] Hincmar of

Laon inflicted the interdict on his diocese (869), but Hincmar of

Rheims disapproved of it and removed it. The synod of Limoges

(Limoisin), in 1031, enforced the Peace of God by the interdict in

these words which were read in the church: "We excommunicate all those

noblemen (milites) in the bishopric of Limoges who disobey the

exhortations of their bishop to hold the Peace. Let them and their

helpers be accursed, and let their weapons and horses be accursed! Let

their lot be with Cain, Dathan, and Abiram! And as now the lights are

extinguished, so their joy in the presence of angels shall be

destroyed, unless they repent and make satisfaction before dying." The

Synod ordered that public worship be closed, the altars laid bare,

crosses and ornaments removed, marriages forbidden; only clergymen,

beggars, strangers and children under two years could be buried, and

only the dying receive the communion; no clergyman or layman should be

shaved till the nobles submit. A signal in the church on the third hour

of the day should call all to fall on their knees to pray. All should

be dressed in mourning. The whole period of the interdict should be

observed as a continued fast and humiliation. [401]

The popes employed this fearful weapon against disobedient kings, and

sacrificed the spiritual comforts of whole nations to their

hierarchical ambition. Gregory VII. laid the province of Gnesen under

the interdict, because King Bolislaw II. had murdered bishop Stanislaus

of Cracow with his own hand. Alexander II. applied it to Scotland

(1180), because the king refused a papal bishop and expelled him from

the country. Innocent III. suspended it over France (1200), because

king Philip Augustus had cast off his lawful wife and lived with a

concubine. [402] The same pope inflicted this punishment upon England

(March 23, 1208), hoping to bring King John (Lackland) to terms. The

English interdict lasted over six years during which all religious

rites were forbidden except baptism, confession, and the viaticum.

Interdicts were only possible in the middle ages when the church had

unlimited power. Their frequency and the impossibility of full

execution diminished their power until they fell into contempt and were

swept out of existence as the nations of Europe outgrew the discipline

of priestcraft and awoke to a sense of manhood.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[394] But during the papal schism, the rival popes excommunicated each

other, and the Council of Constance deposed them.

[395] Aegidius (Aigidios); Italian: Sant Egidio; French: S. Gilles. He

was an abbot and confessor in France during the reign of Charles Martel

or earlier, and much more celebrated than reliably known. He is the

special patron of cripples, and his tomb was much visited by pilgrims

from all parts of France, England and Scotland. Almost every county in

England has churches named in his honor, amounting in all to 146. See

Smith and Wace I. 47 sqq.

[396] Bened. Papae VIII. Epist. 32 (ad Guillelmum Comitem). In Migne's

Patrol. T. 139, fol. 1630-32. Lea translates it in part, l.c. p. 337.

"Benedict Bishop, Servant of the servants of God, to Count William and

his mother, the Countess Adelaide, perpetual grace and apostolic

benediction .... Let them [who a tempted to rob the monastery] be

accursed in their bodies, and let their souls be delivered to

destruction and perdition and torture. Let them be damned with the

damned: let them be scourged with the ungrateful; let them perish with

the proud. Let them be accursed with the Jews who, seeing the incarnate

Christ, did not believe but sought to crucify Him. Let them be accursed

with the heretics who labored to destroy the church. Let them be

accursed with those who blaspheme the name of God. Let them be accursed

with those who despair of the mercy of God. Let them be accursed with

those who he damned in Hell. Let them be accursed with the impious and

sinners unless they amend their ways, and confess themselves in fault

towards St. Giles. Let them be accursed in the four quarters of the

earth. In the East be they accursed, and in the West disinherited; in

the North interdicted, and in the South excommunicate. Be they accursed

in the day-time and excommunicate in the night-time. Accursed be they

at home and excommunicate abroad; accursed in standing and

excommunicate in sitting; accursed in eating, accursed in drinking,

accursed in sleeping, and excommunicate in waking; accursed when they

work and excommunicate when they rest. Let them be accursed in the

spring time and excommunicate in the summer; accursed in the autumn and

excommunicate in the winter. Let them be accursed in this world and

excommunicate in the next. Let their lands pass into the hands of the

stranger, their wives be given over to perdition, and their children

fall before the edge of the sword. Let what they eat be accursed, and

accursed be what they leave, so that he who eats it shall be accursed.

Accursed and excommunicate be the priest who shall give them the body

and blood of the Lord, or who shall visit them in sickness. Accursed

and excommunicate be he who shall carry them to the grave and shall

dare to bury them. Let them be excommunicate, and accursed with all

curses if they do not make amends and render due satisfaction. And know

this for truth, that after our death no bishop nor count, nor any

secular power shall usurp the seigniory of the blessed St. Giles. And

if any presume to attempt it, borne down by, all the foregoing curses,

they never shall enter the kingdom of Heaven, for the blessed St. Giles

committed his monastery to the lordship of the blessed Peter."

[397] Corresponding to the Cherem, as distinct from Niddui (i.e.

separation), in the Jewish Synagogue. See J. Lightfoot, De Anathemate

Maranatha, and the commentators on Gal. 1:8, 9 (especially Wieseler).

[398] Interdictum orprohibitio officiorum divinorum, prohibition of

public worship. A distinction is made between interd. personale for

particular persons; locale for place or district; and generale for

whole countries and kingdoms.

[399] 9 Aug. Ep. 250, � 1; Leo, Ep. X. cap, 8--quoted by Gieseler, and

Lea, p. 301. St. Basil of Caesarea is sometimes quoted as the inventor

of the interdict, but not justly. See Lea, p. 302 note.

[400] Gregory of Tours, Hist. Franc. VIII. 31.

[401] Conc. Lemovicense II. See Mansi XIX. 541; Harduin VI. p. 1, 885;

Hefele IV. 693-695; Gieseler II. 199 note 12.

[402] See the graphic description of the effects of this interdict upon

the state of society, in Hurter's Innocenz III., vol. I. 372-386.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 87. Penance and Indulgence.

Nath. Marshall (Canon of Windsor and translator of Cyprian, d. 1729):

The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church for the first 400

years after Christ, together with its declension from the fifth century

downward to its present state. London 1714. A new ed. in the "Lib. of

Anglo-Cath. Theol." Oxford 1844.

Eus. Amort: De Origine, Progressu, Valore ac Fructu Indulgentiarum.

Aug. Vindel. 1735 fol.

Muratori: De Redemtione Peccatorum et de Indulgentiarum Origine, in

Tom. V. of his Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi. Mediol. 1741.

Joh. B. Hirscher (R.C.): Die Lehre vom Ablass. T�bingen, 5th ed. 1844.

G. E. Steitz: Das r�mische Buss-Sacrament, nach seinem bibl. Grunde und

seiner gesch. Entwicklung. Frankf a. M. 1854 (210 pages).

Val. Gr�ne (R.C.): Der Ablass, seine Geschichte und Bedeutung in der

Heils�konomie. Regensb. 1863.

Domin. Palmieri (R.C.): Tractat. de Poenit. Romae 1879.

George Mead: Art. Penitence, in Smith and Cheetham II. 1586-1608.

Wildt, (R.C.): Ablass, in Wetzer and Welte2 I. 94-111; Beichte and

Beichtsiegel, II. 221-261. Mejer in Herzog2 I. 90-92. For extracts from

sources comp. Gieseler II. 105 sqq.; 193 sqq.; 515 sqq. (Am. ed.)

For the authoritative teaching of the Roman church on the Sacramentum

Poenitentiae see Conc. Trident. Sess. XIV. held 1551.

The word repentance or penitence is an insufficient rendering for the

corresponding Greek metanoia, which means a radical change of mind or

conversion from a sinful to a godly life, and includes, negatively, a

turning away from sin in godly sorrow (repentance in the narrower

sense) and, positively, a turning to Christ by faith with a

determination to follow him. [403] The call to repent in this sense was

the beginning of the preaching both of John the Baptist, and of Jesus

Christ. [404]

In the Latin church the idea of repentance was externalized and

identified with certain outward acts of self-abasement or

self-punishment for the expiation of sin. The public penance before the

church went out of use during the seventh or eighth century, except for

very gross offences, and was replaced by private penance and

confession. [405] The Lateran Council of 1215 under Pope Innocent III.

made it obligatory upon every Catholic Christian to confess to his

parish priest at least once a year. [406]

Penance, including auricular confession and priestly absolution, was

raised to the dignity of a sacrament for sins committed after baptism.

The theory on which it rests was prepared by the fathers (Tertullian

and Cyprian), completed by the schoolmen, and sanctioned by the Roman

church. It is supposed that baptism secures perfect remission of past

sins, but not of subsequent sins, and frees from eternal damnation, but

not from temporal punishment, which culminates in death or in

purgatory. Penance is described as a "laborious kind of baptism," and

is declared by the Council of Trent to be necessary to salvation for

those who have fallen after baptism, as baptism is necessary for those

who have not yet been regenerated. [407]

The sacrament of penance and priestly, absolution includes three

elements: contrition of the heart, confession by the mouth,

satisfaction by good works. [408] On these conditions the priest grants

absolution, not simply by a declaratory but by a judicial act. The good

works required are especially fasting and almsgiving. Pilgrimages to

Jerusalem, Rome, Tours, Compostella, and other sacred places were

likewise favorite satisfactions. Peter Damiani recommended voluntary

self-flagellation as a means to propitiate God. These pious exercises

covered in the popular mind the whole idea of penance. Piety was

measured by the quantity of good works rather than by quality of

character.

Another mediaeval institution must here be mentioned which is closely

connected with penance. The church in the West, in her zeal to prevent

violence and bloodshed, rightly favored the custom of the barbarians to

substitute pecuniary compensation for punishment of an offence, but

wrongly applied this custom to the sphere of religion. Thus money,

might be substituted for fasting and other satisfactions, and was

clothed with an atoning efficacy. This custom seems to have proceeded

from the church of England, and soon spread over the continent. [409]

It degenerated into a regular traffic, and became a rich source for the

increase of ecclesiastical and monastic property.

Here is the origin of the indulgences so called, that is the remission

of venial sins by the payment of money and on condition of contrition

and prayer. The practice was justified by the scholastic theory that

the works of supererogation of the saints constitute a treasury of

extra-merit and extra-reward which is under the control of the pope.

Hence indulgence assumed the special meaning of papal dispensation or

remission of sin from the treasury of the overflowing merits of saints,

and this power was extended even to the benefit of the dead in

purgatory. [410]

Indulgences may be granted by bishops and archbishops in their

dioceses, and by the pope to all Catholics. The former dealt with it in

retail, the latter in wholesale. The first instances of papal

indulgence occur in the ninth century under Paschalis I. and John VIII.

who granted it to those who had fallen in war for the defence of the

church. Gregory VI. in 1046 promised it to all who sent contributions

for the repair of the churches in Rome. Urban II., at the council of

Clermont (1095), offered to the crusaders "by the authority of the

princes of the Apostles, Peter and Paul," plenary indulgence as a

reward for a journey to the Holy Land. The same offer was repeated in

every crusade against the Mohammedans and heretics. The popes found it

a convenient means for promoting their power and filling their

treasury. Thus the granting of indulgences became a periodical

institution. Its abuses culminated in the profane and shameful traffic

of Tetzel under Leo X. for the benefit of St. Peter's church, but were

overruled in the Providence of God for the Reformation and a return to

the biblical idea of repentance.

Note.

The charge is frequently made against the papal court in the middle

ages that it had a regulated scale of prices for indulgences, and this

is based on the Tax Tables of the Roman Chancery published from time to

time. Roman Catholic writers (as Lingard, Wiseman) say that the taxes

are merely fees for the expedition of business and the payment of

officials, but cannot deny the shameful avarice of some popes. The

subject is fully discussed by Dr. T. L. Green (R.C.), Indulgences,

Sacramental Absolutions, and the Tax-Tables of the Roman Chancery and

Penitentiary, considered, in reply to the Charge of Venality, London

(Longmans) 1872, and, on the Protestant side, by Dr. Richard Gibbings

(Prof. of Ch. Hist. in the University of Dublin), The Taxes of the

Apostolic Penitentiary; or, the Prices of Sins in the Church of Rome,

Dublin 1872. Gibbings reprints the Taxae Sacrae Poenitentiariae Romanae

from the Roman ed. of 1510 and the Parisian ed. of 1520, which cover 21

pages in Latin, but the greater part of the book (164 pages) is an

historical introduction and polemical discussion.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[403] Penitence is from the Latin poenitentia, and this is derived from

poena, poine(compensation, satisfaction, punishment). Jerome introduced

the word, or rather retained it, in the Latin Bible, for metanoia, and

poenitentiam agere for metanoeinHence the Douay version: to do penance.

Augustin, Isidor, Rabanus Maurus, Peter Lombard, and the R. Catholic

theologians connect the term with the penal idea (poena, punitio) and

make it cover the whole penitential discipline. The English repentance,

to repent, and the German Busse, Bussethun follow the Vulgate, but have

changed the meaning in evangelical theology in conformity to the Greek

metanoia.

[404] Matt. 3:2; 4:17; Mark 1:15. Luther renewed the call in his 95

Theses which begin with the same idea, in opposition to the traffic in

indulgences.

[405] Pope Leo the Great (440-461) was the first prelate in the West

who sanctioned the substitution of the system of secret humiliation by

auricular confession for the public exomologesis. Ep. 136. Opera I.

355.

[406] Can. 21: "Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos

discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter,

saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti."Violation of this law of

auricular confession was threatened with excommunication and refusal of

Christian burial. See Hefele V. 793.

[407] Conc. Trid. Sess. XIV. cap.2 (Schaff's Creeds I. 143). The

Council went so far in Canon VI. (II. 165) as to anathematize any one

"who denies that sacramental confession was instituted or is necessary

to salvation, of divine right; or who says that the manner of

confessing secretly to a priest alone, which the church has ever

observed from the beginning (?), and doth observe, is alien from the

institution and command of Christ, and is a human invention."

[408] Contritio cordis, confessio oris, satisfactio operis. See Conc.

Trid. Sess. XIV. cap. 3-6 (Creeds, II. 143-153). The usual Roman

Catholic definition of this sacrament is: "Sacramentum poenitentiae est

sacramentum a Christo institutum, quo homini contrito, confesso et

satisfacturo (satisfacere volenti) per juridicam sacerdotis

absolutionem peccata post baptismum commissa remittuntur." Oswald, Die

dogmat. Lehre von den heil. Sacramenten der katholischen Kirche,II. 17

(3rd ed. M�nster 1870).

[409] Archbishop Theodore of Canterbury is the reputed author of this

commutation of penance for a money-payment. See his Penitential I. 3

and 4, and the seventh penitential canon ascribed to him, in Haddan and

Stubbs III. 179, 180, 211. "Si quis"says Theodore, "pro ultione

propinqui hominem occiderit, peniteat sicut homicida, VII. vel X.

annos. Si tamen reddere vult propinquis petuniam aestimationis, levior

erit penitentia, id est, dimidio spatii."The Synod of Clove-ho

(probably Abingdon), held under his successor, Cuthbert, for the

reformation of abuses, in September 747, decreed in the 26th canon that

alms were no longer to be given for diminishing or commuting the

fastings and other works of satisfaction. See Haddan and Stubbs, III.

371 sq.

[410] This theory was fully developed by Thomas Aquinas and other

schoolmen (see Gieseler II. 521 sq.), and sanctioned by the Council of

Trent in the 25th Session, held Dec. 4, 1563 (Creeds II. 205 sq.),

although the Council forbids "all evil gains" and other abuses which

have caused "the honorable name of indulgences to be blasphemed by

heretics." The popes still exercise from time to time the right of

granting plenary indulgences, though with greater caution than their

mediaeval predecessors.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER IX.

CHURCH AND STATE.

Comp. vol. III. ch. III. and the Lit. there quoted

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 88. Legislation.

Mediaeval Christianity is not a direct continuation of the ante-Nicene

Christianity in hostile conflict with the heathen state, but of the

post-Nicene Christianity in friendly union with a nominally Christian

state. The missionaries aimed first at the conversion of the rulers of

the barbarian races of Western and Northern Europe. Augustin, with his

thirty monks, was provided by Pope Gregory with letters to princes, and

approached first King Ethelbert and Queen Bertha in Kent. Boniface

leaned on the pope and Charles Martel. The conversion of Clovis decided

the religion of the Franks. The Christian rulers became at once the

patrons of the church planted among their subjects, and took

Constantine and Theodosius for their models. They submitted to the

spiritual authority of the Catholic church, but aspired to its temporal

government by the appointment of bishops, abbots, and the control over

church-property. Hence the frequent collisions of the two powers, which

culminated in the long conflict between the pope and the emperor.

The civil and ecclesiastical relations of the middle ages are so

closely intertwined that it is impossible to study or understand the

one without the other. In Spain, for instance, the synods of Toledo

were both ecclesiastical councils and royal parliaments; after the

affairs of the church were disposed of, the bishops and nobles met

together for the enactment of civil laws, which were sanctioned by the

king. The synods and diets held under Charlemagne had likewise a double

character. In England the bishops were, and are still, members of the

House of Lords, and often occupied seats in the cabinet down to the

time of Cardinal Wolsey, who was Archbishop of York and Chancellor of

England. The religious persecutions of the middle ages were the joint

work of church and state.

This union has a bright and a dark side. It was a wholesome

training-school for barbarous races, it humanized and ennobled the

state; but it secularized the church and the clergy, and hindered the

development of freedom by repressing all efforts to emancipate the mind

from the yoke of despotic power. The church gained a victory over the

world, but the world gained also a victory over the church. St. Jerome,

who witnessed the first effects of the marriage of the church with the

Roman empire, anticipated the experience of later ages, when he said:

"The church by its connection with Christian princes gained in power

and riches, but lost in virtues." [411] Dante, who lived in the golden

age of the mediaeval hierarchy, and believed the fable of the donation

of Constantine to Sylvester, traced the ills of the church to "that

marriage-dower" which the first wealthy pope received from the first

Christian emperor.

The connection of the ecclesiastical and civil powers is embodied in

the legislation which regulates the conduct of man in his relations to

his fellow-men, and secures social order and national welfare. It is an

index of public morals as far as it presupposes and fixes existing

customs; and where it is in advance of popular sentiment, it expresses

a moral ideal in the mind of the lawgivers to be realized by the

educational power of legal enactments.

During the middle ages there were three systems of jurisprudence: the

Roman law, the Barbaric law, and the Canon law. The first two proceeded

from civil, the third from ecclesiastical authority. The civil law

embodies the records and edicts of emperors and kings, the enactments

of diets and parliaments, the decisions of courts and judges. The

ecclesiastical law embodies the canons of councils and decretals of

popes. The former is heathen in origin, but improved and modified by

Christianity; the latter is the direct production of the church, yet as

influenced by the state of mediaeval society. Both rest on the union of

church and state, and mutually support each other, but it was difficult

to draw the precise line of difference, and to prevent occasional

collisions of jurisdiction.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[411] "Ecclesia postquam ad Christianos principes venit, potentia

quidem et divitiis, major, sed virtutibus minor facta."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 89. The Roman Law.

See vol. III. �� 13 and 18, pp. 90 sqq. And 107 sqq.

Fr. K. von Savigny (Prof. of jurisprudence in Berlin, d. 1861)

Geschichte des r�mischen Rechts im Mittelalter. Berlin 1815-'31 6 vols.

Chapter 44 of Gibbon on Roman law. Ozanam: Hist. of the Civilization in

the Fifth Century, ch. V. (vol. I. 136-158 in Glyn's transl. Lond.

1868). Milman: Lat. Christ. Bk III. ch.5 (vol. 1. 479 sqq. N. York ed.)

The Justinian code (527-534) transmitted to the middle ages the

legislative wisdom and experience of republican and imperial Rome with

the humanizing improvements of Stoic philosophy and the Christian

religion, but at the same time with penal laws against every departure

from the orthodox Catholic creed, which was recognized and protected as

the only religion of the state. It maintained its authority in the

Eastern empire. It was partly preserved, after the destruction of the

Western empire among the Latin inhabitants of Italy, France, and Spain,

in a compilation from the older Theodosian code (429438), which

contained the post-Constantinian laws, with fragments from earlier

collections.

In the twelfth century the Roman law (after the discovery of a copy of

the Pandects at Amalfi in 1135, which was afterwards transferred to

Florence) began to be studied again with great enthusiasm. A famous

school of civil law was established at Bologna. Similar schools arose

in connection with the Universities at Paris, Naples, Padua, and other

cities. The Roman civil law (Corpus juris civilis), in connection with

the ecclesiastical or canon law (Corpus juris canonici), was gradually

adopted all over the Continent of Europe, and the Universities granted

degrees in both laws conjointly.

Thus Rome, substituting the law for the sword, ruled the world once

more for centuries, and subdued the descendants of the very barbarians

who had destroyed her empire. The conquered gave laws to the

conquerors, mindful of the prophetic line of Virgil:

"Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."

Notes.

The anti-heretical part of the Roman law, on which persecution was

based, is thus summed up by Dean Milman (Bk III. ch. 5): "A new class

of crimes, if not introduced by Christianity, became multiplied,

rigorously defined, mercilessly condemned. The ancient Roman theory,

that the religion of the State must be the religion of the people,

which Christianity had broken to pieces by its inflexible resistance,

was restored in more than its former rigor. The code of Justinian

confirmed the laws of Theodosius and his successors, which declared

certain heresies, Manicheism and Donatism, crimes against the State, as

affecting the common welfare. The crime was punishable by confiscation

of all property, and incompetency to inherit or to bequeath. Death did

not secure the hidden heretic from prosecution; as in high treason, he

might be convicted in his grave. Not only was his testament invalid,

but inheritance could not descend through him. All who harbored such

heretics were liable to punishment; their slaves might desert them, and

transfer themselves to an orthodox master. The list of proscribed

heretics gradually grew wider. The Manicheans were driven still farther

away from the sympathies of mankind; by one Greek constitution they

were condemned to capital punishment. Near thirty names of less

detested heretics are recited in a law of Theodosius the younger, to

which were added, in the time of Justinian, Nestorians, Eutychians,

Apollinarians. The books of all these sects were to be burned; yet the

formidable number of these heretics made no doubt the general execution

of the laws impossible. But the Justinian code, having defined as

heretics all who do not believe the Catholic faith, declares such

heretics, as well as Pagans, Jews, and Samaritans, incapable of holding

civil or military offices, except in the lowest ranks of the latter;

they could attain to no civic dignity which was held in honor, as that

of the defensors, though such offices as were burdensome might be

imposed even on Jews. The assemblies of all heretics were forbidden,

their books were to be collected and burned, their rites, baptisms, and

ordinations prohibited. Children of heretical parents might embrace

orthodoxy; the males the parent could not disinherit, to the females he

was bound to give an adequate dowry. The testimony of Manicheans, of

Samaritans, and Pagans could not be received; apostates to any of these

sects and religions lost all their former privileges, and were liable

to all penalties."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 90. The Capitularies of Charlemagne.

Steph. Baluzius (Baluze, Prof. of Canon law in Paris, d. 1718): Regum

Francorum Capitularia, 1677; new ed. Paris, 1780, 2 vols. Pertz:

Monumenta Germaniae historica, Tom. III (improved ed. of the

Capitularia). K. Fr. Eichhorn: Deutsche Staats-und Rechtsgeschichte,

G�ttingen, 1808, 4 Parts; 5th ed. 1844. J. Grimm: Deutsche

Rechtsalterth�mer, G�ttingen 1828. Giesebrecht (I. 800) calls this an

"unusually rich collection with profound glances into the legal life of

the German people." W. D�nniges: Das deutsche Staatsrecht und die

deutsche Reichsverfassung, Berlin 1842. F. Walther: Deutsche

Rechtsgeschichte, second ed. Bonn 1857. J. Hillebrand: Lehrbuch der

deutschen Staats-und Rechtsgeschichte, Leipzig 1856. O. Stobbe:

Geschichte der deutschen Rechtsquellen, Braunschweig, 1860 (first

Part). W. Giesebrecht: Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit, third ed.

Braunschweig 1863 sqq. Bd I. 106-144.

The first and greatest legislator of the Germanic nations is

Charlemagne, the founder of the Holy Roman Empire (800-814). What

Constantine the Great, Theodosius the Great, and Justinian did for the

old Roman empire on the basis of heathen Rome and the ancient

Graeco-Latin church, Charlemagne did for the new Roman Empire in the

West on the basis of Germanic customs and the Latin church centred in

the Roman papacy. He was greater, more beneficial and enduring in his

influence as a legislator than as a soldier and conqueror. [412] He

proposed to himself the herculean task to organize, civilize and

Christianize the crude barbarian customs of his vast empire, and he

carried it out with astonishing wisdom. His laws are embodied in the

Capitularia, i.e. laws divided into chapters. They are the first great

law-book of the French and Germans. [413] They contain his edicts and

ordinances relating to ecclesiastical, political, and civil

legislation, judicial decisions and moral precepts. The influence of

the church and the Christian religion is here more direct and extensive

than in the Roman Code, and imparts to it a theocratic element which

approaches to the Mosaic legislation. The Roman Catholic church with

her creed, her moral laws, her polity, was the strongest bond of union

which held the Western barbarians together and controlled the views and

aims of the emperor. He appears, indeed, as the supreme ruler clothed

with sovereign authority. But he was surrounded by the clergy which was

the most intelligent and influential factor in legislation both in the

synod and in the imperial diet. The emperor and his nobles were under

the power of the bishops, and the bishops were secular lords and

politicians as well as ecclesiastics. The ecclesiastical affairs were

controlled by the Apocrisiarius [414] (a sort of minister of worship);

the secular affairs, by the Comes palatii; [415] both were aided in

each province by a delegated bishop and count who were to work in

harmony. On important questions the pope was consulted. [416] The

legislation proceeded from the imperial will, from ecclesiastical

councils, and from the diet or imperial assembly. The last consisted of

the dignitaries of church and state, the court officials, bishops,

abbots, dukes, counts, etc., and convened every spring. The emperor was

surrounded at his court by the most eminent statesmen, clergymen and

scholars, from whom he was anxious to learn without sacrificing his

right to rule. His court was a school of discipline and of that

gentlemanly courtesy and refinement which became a distinguishing

feature of chivalry, and Charlemagne shone in poetry as the first model

cavalier.

The legislation of the Carolingian Capitularies is favorable to the

clergy, to monasteries, to the cause of good morals and religion. The

marriage tie is protected, even among slaves; the license of divorce

restrained; divorced persons are forbidden to marry again during the

life-time of the other party. The observance of Sunday is enjoined for

the special benefit of the laboring classes. Ecclesiastical discipline

is enforced by penal laws in cases of gross sins such as incest.

Superstitious customs, as consulting soothsayers and the Scriptures for

oracles, are discouraged, but the ordeal is enjoined. Wholesome moral

lessons are introduced, sometimes in the language of the Scriptures:

the people are warned against perjury, against feud, against shedding

Christian blood, against the oppression of the poor (whose cause should

be heard by the judges before the cause of the rich). They are exhorted

to learn the Apostles' Creed and to pray, to love one another and to

live in peace, "because they have one Father in heaven." Cupidity is

called "a root of all evil." Respect for the dead is encouraged.

Hospitality is recommended for the reason that he who receives a little

child in the name of Christ, receives him.

This legislation was much neglected under the weak successors of

Charlemagne, but remains a noble monument of his intentions.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[412] The same may be said of Napoleon I., whose code has outlived his

military conquests.

[413] Giesebrecht (I. 128): "Ein Riesenschritt in der Entwicklung des

deutschen Geistes geschah durch Karls Gesetzgebung ... Mit Ehrfurcht

und heiliger Scheu schl�gt man die, Capitularien des grossen Kaisers

auf, das erste grosse Gesetzbuch der Germanen, ein Werk, dem mehrere

Jahrhunderte vorher und nachher kein Volk ein gleiches an die Seite

gesetzt hat. Das Bild des Karolingischen Staates tritt uns in voller

Gegenw�rtigkeit hier vor die Seele; wir sehen, wie Grosses erreicht,

wie das H�chste erstrebt wurde."

[414] Also called Archicapellnus, Archicancellarius

[415] Pfalzgraf.

[416] Hence many Capitularies are issued "apostolicae sedis hortatu,

monente Pontom, ex praecepto Pontificis." At the Synod of Francfort in

794 two delegates of Pope Hadrian were present, but Charlemagne

presided. See Mansi XVIII. 884; Pertz, Monum. I. 181.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 91. English Legislation.

Wilkin: Leges Anglo-Saxonicae (1721). Thorpe: Ancient Laws and

Institutes of England (London 1840). Matthew Hale: History of the

Common Law (6th ed. by Runnington, 1820). Reeve: History of the English

Law (new ed. by Finalson l869, 3 vols.). Blackstone: Commentaries on

the Laws of England (London 1765, many ed. Engl. and Amer.). Burn:

Ecclesiastical Law (9th ed. by Phillimore, 1842, 4 vols.). Phillimore:

Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England (Lond. 1873, 2 vols.). Wm.

Strong (Justice of the Supreme Court of the U. S.): Two Lectures upon

the Relations of Civil Law to Church Property (N. York 1875).

England never accepted the Roman civil law, and the canon law only in

part. The island in its isolation was protected by the sea against

foreign influence, and jealous of it. It built up its own system of

jurisprudence on the basis of Anglo-Saxon habits and customs. The

English civil law is divided into Common Law or lex non scripta (i.e.

not written at first), and Statute Law or lex scripta. They are related

to each other as oral tradition and the Bible are in theology. The

Common Law embodies the ancient general and local customs of the

English people, handed down by word of mouth from time immemorial, and

afterwards recorded in the decisions of judges who are regarded as the

living oracles of interpretation and application, and whose decisions

must be adhered to in similar cases of litigation. It is Anglo-Saxon in

its roots, and moulded by Norman lawyers, under the influence of

Christian principles of justice and equity. Blackstone, the standard

expounder of English law, says, "Christianity is a part of the Common

Law of England." [417] Hence the laws against religious offences, as

blasphemy, profane swearing, desecration of the Lord's Day, apostasy

from Christianity, and heresy. [418]

The Christian character of English legislation is due in large measure

to the piety of the Anglo-Saxon kings, especially Alfred the Great

(849-901), and Edward III., the Confessor 1004-1066, canonized by

Alexander III., 1166), who prepared digests of the laws of the realm.

Their piety was, of course, ascetic and monastic, but enlightened for

their age and animated by the spirit of justice and charity. The former

is styled Legum Anglicanarum Conditor, the latter Legum Anglicanarum

Restitutor.

Alfred's Dome-Book or Liber justicialis was lost during the irruption

of the Danes, but survived in the improved code of Edward the

Confessor. Alfred was for England what Charlemagne was for France and

Germany, a Christian ruler, legislator, and educator of his people. He

is esteemed "the wisest, best, and greatest king that ever reigned in

England." Although he was a great sufferer from epilepsy or some

similar bodily infirmity which seized him suddenly from time to time

and made him despair of life, he performed, like St. Paul in spite of

his thorn in the flesh, an incredible amount of work. The grateful

memory of his people ascribed to him institutions and laws, rights and

privileges which existed before his time, but in many respects he was

far ahead of his age. When he ascended the throne, "hardly any one

south of the Thames could understand the ritual of the church or

translate a Latin letter." He conceived the grand scheme of popular

national education. For this end he rebuilt the churches and

monasteries which had been ruined by the Danes, built new ones,

imported books from Rome, invited scholars from the Continent to his

court, translated with their aid Latin works (as Gregory's Pastoral

Care, Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and Boethius's Consolations of

Philosophy) into the Anglo-Saxon, collected the laws of the country,

and remodelled the civil and ecclesiastical organization of his

kingdom.

His code is introduced with the Ten Commandments and other laws taken

from the Bible. It protects the stranger in memory of Israel's sojourn

in Egypt; it gives the Christian slave freedom in the seventh year, as

the Mosaic law gave to the Jewish bondman; it protects the laboring man

in his Sunday rest; it restrains blood thirsty passions of revenge by

establishing bots or fines for offences; it enjoins the golden rule (in

the negative form), not to do to any man what we would not have done to

us. [419]

"In all these words of human brotherhood, of piety, and the spirit of

justice, of pity and humanity, uttered by the barbaric lawgivers of a

wild race, there speaks a great Personality--the embodiment of the

highest sympathy and most disinterested virtue of mankind. It cannot be

said indeed that these religious influences, so apparently genuine,

produced any powerful effect on society in Anglo-Saxon England, though

they modified the laws. Still they began the history of the religious

forces in England which, though obscured by much formalism and

hypocrisy and weakened by selfishness, have yet worked out slowly the

great moral and humane reforms in the history of that country, and have

tended with other influences to make it one of the great leaders of

modern progress." [420]

Notes.

John Richard Green, in his posthumous work, The Conquest of England (N.

York ed. 1884, p. 179 sq.), pays the following eloquent and just

tribute to the character of King Aelfred (as he spells the name):

"Aelfred stands in the forefront of his race, for he is the noblest as

he is the most complete embodiment of all that is great, all that is

lovable in the English temper, of its practical energy, its patient and

enduring force, of the reserve and self-control that give steadiness

and sobriety to a wide outlook and a restless daring, of its temperance

and fairness, its frankness and openness, its sensitiveness to

affection, its poetic tenderness, its deep and reverent religion.

Religion, indeed, was the groundwork of Aelfred's character. His temper

was instinct with piety. Everywhere, throughout his writings that

remain to us, the name of God, the thought of God, stir him to

outbursts of ecstatic adoration. But of the narrowness, the want of

proportion, the predominance of one quality over another, which

commonly goes with an intensity of religious feeling or of moral

purpose, he showed no trace. He felt none of that scorn of the world

about him which drove the nobler souls of his day to monastery or

hermitage. Vexed as he was by sickness and constant pain, not only did

his temper take no touch of asceticism, but a rare geniality, a

peculiar elasticity and mobility of nature, gave color and charm to his

life .... Little by little men came to recognize in Aelfred a ruler of

higher and nobler stamp than the world had seen. Never had it seen a

king who lived only for the good of his people .... 'I desire,' said

the king, 'to leave to the men that come after me a remembrance of me

in good works. His aim has been more than fulfilled .... While every

other name of those earlier times has all but faded from the

recollection of Englishmen, that of Aelfred remains familiar to every

English child.'

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[417] Comment. Bk IV. ch. 4. The same may be said of the United States

as far as they have adopted the Common Law of the mother country. It is

so declared by the highest courts of New York, Pennsylvania, and

Massachusetts, and by many eminent judges, but with this essential

modification that those parts of the Common Law of England which imply

the union of church and state are inapplicable to the United States

where they are separated. Justice Strong (l.c. p. 32) says: "The laws

and institutions of all the States are built on the foundation of

reverence for Christianity." The court of Pennsylvania states the law

in this manner: "Christianity is and always has been a part of the

Common Law of this State. Christianity without the spiritual artillery

of European countries--not Christianity founded on any particular

religious tenets--not Christianity with an established church and

titles and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of

conscience to all men."

[418] The statute de haeretico comburendo, passed in 1401 (Henry IV. c.

15), was still in force under Elizabeth when two Anabaptists were

burned alive, and under James I. when two Arians were burned.

[419] I For further information on Alfred see the biographies of Pauli

(1851, Engl. transl. by Thorpe, 1853), Weiss (1852), Hughes (Lond. and

Bost. 1869), Freeman's Old English History, and Green's Conquest of

England (1884), ch. IV. 124-180.

[420] Brace, Gesta Christi, p. 216.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER X.

WORSHIP AND CEREMONIES.

Comp. vol. III. ch. VII., and Neander III. 123-140; 425-455 (Boston

ed.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 92. The Mass.

Comp. vol. III. � 96-101 and the liturgical Lit. there quoted; also the

works on Christian and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, e.g. Siegel III.

361-411.

The public worship centered in the celebration of the mass as an

actual, though unbloody, repetition of the sacrifice of Christ for the

sins of the world. In this respect the Eastern and Western churches are

fully agreed to this day. They surround this ordinance with all the

solemnity of a mysterious symbolism. They differ only in minor details.

Pope Gregory I. improved the Latin liturgy, and gave it that shape

which it substantially retains in the Roman church. [421] He was filled

with the idea that the eucharist embodies the reconciliation of heaven

and earth, of eternity and time, and is fraught with spiritual benefit

for the living and the pious dead in one unbroken communion. When the

priest offers the unbloody sacrifice to God, the heavens are opened,

the angel are present, and the visible and invisible worlds united.

[422]

Gregory introduced masses for the dead, [423] in connection with the

doctrine of purgatory which he developed and popularized. They were

based upon the older custom of praying for the departed, and were

intended to alleviate and abridge the penal sufferings of those who

died in the Catholic faith, but in need of purification from remaining

infirmities. Very few Catholics are supposed to be prepared for heaven;

and hence such masses were often ordered beforehand by the dying, or

provided by friends. [424] They furnished a large income to priests.

The Oriental church has no clearly defined doctrine of purgatory, but

likewise holds that the departed are benefited by prayers of the

living, "especially such as are offered in union with the oblation of

the bloodless sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, and by works

of mercy done in faith for their memory." [425]

The high estimate of the efficacy of the sacrament led also to the

abuse of solitary masses, where the priest celebrates without

attendants. [426] This destroys the original character of the

institution as a feast of communion with the Redeemer and the redeemed.

Several synods in the age of Charlemagne protested against the

practice. The Synod of Mainz in 813 decreed: "No presbyter, as it seems

to us, can sing masses alone rightly, for how will he say sursum corda!

or Dominus vobiscum! when there is no one with him?" A reformatory

Synod of Paris, 829, prohibits these masses, and calls them a

"reprehensible practice," which has crept in "partly through neglect,

partly through avarice." [427]

The mysterious character of the eucharist was changed into the

miraculous and even the magical with the spread of the belief in the

doctrine of transubstantiation. But the doctrine was contested in two

controversies before it triumphed in the eleventh century. [428]

The language of the mass was Greek in the Eastern, Latin in the Western

church. The Latin was an unknown tongue to the barbarian races of

Europe. It gradually went out of use among the descendants of the

Romans, and gave place to the Romanic languages. But the papal church,

sacrificing the interests of the people to the priesthood, and rational

or spiritual worship [429] to external unity, retained the Latin

language in the celebration of the mass to this day, as the sacred

language of the church. The Council of Trent went so far as to put even

the uninspired Latin Vulgate practically on an equality with the

inspired Hebrew and Greek Scriptures. [430]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[421] See the Ordo Missae Romanae Gregorianus, compared with the Ordo

Gelasianus, Ambrosianus, Gallicanus, Mozarabicus, etc., in Daniel's

Codex Liturg. vol. I. 3-168.

[422] Dialog. 1. IV. c. 58 (in Migne's ed. III. 425 sq.): "Quis

fidelium habere dubium possit, in ipsa immolationis hora ad sacerdotis

vocem coelis aperiri, in illo jesu Christi mysteria angelorum choros

adesse, summis ima sociari, terrena coelestibus jungi, unumque ex

visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri?"

[423] Misae pro Defunctis, Todtenmessen, Seelenmessen. Different from

them are the Missae de Sanctis, celebrated on the anniversaries of the

saints, and to their honor, though the sacrifice is always offered to

God.

[424] Even popes, though addressed by the title "Holiness," while

living, have to pass through purgatory, and need the prayers of the

faithful. On the marble sarcophagus of Pius IX., who reigned longer

than any of his predecessors, and proclaimed his own infallibility in

the Vatican Council (1870), are the words: "Orate pro eo." Prayers and

masses are said only for the dead in purgatory, not for the saints in

heaven who do not need them, nor for the damned in hell who would not

profit by them.

[425] Quoted from the Longer Catechism of the Eastern Church (Schaff,

Creeds II. 504). The Greeks have in their ritual special strophes or

antiphones for the departed, called nekrosima. Mone, Lat. Hymnen des

Mittel alters, II. 400, gives some specimens from John of Damascus and

others. He says, that the Greeks have more hymns for the departed than

the Latins, but that the Latins have older hymni pro defunctis,

beginning with Prudentius.

[426] Missae solitariae or privatae.

[427] Can. 48. Mansi XIV. 529 sqq. Hefele IV. 64.

[428] See the next chapter, on Theological Controversies.

[429] Comp. logike latreia, Rom. 12:1.

[430] Sess. IV. (April 8, 1546):"Sacrosancta Synodus ... statuit et

declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quiae longo tot

saeculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus,

disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica

habeatur;. et ut nemo illam rejicere quovis praetextu audeat vel

praesumat!" The Council made provision for an authoritative revision of

the Vulgate (April 8, 1546); but when the edition of Pope Sixtus V.

appeared in 1589 and was enjoined upon the church "by the fullness of

apostolic power," it was found to be so full of errors and blunders

that it had to be cancelled, and a new edition prepared under Clement

VIII. in 1592, which remains the Roman standard edition to this day.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 93. The Sermon.

As the chief part of divine service was unintelligible to the people,

it was all the more important to supplement it by preaching and

catechetical instruction in the vernacular tongues. But this is the

weak spot in the church of the middle ages. [431]

Pope Gregory I. preached occasionally with great earnestness, but few

popes followed his example. It was the duty of bishops to preach, but

they often neglected it. The Council of Clovesho, near London, which

met in 747 under Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, for the

reformation of abuses, decreed that the bishops should annually visit

their parishes, instruct and exhort the abbots and monks, and that all

presbyters should be able to explain the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's

Prayer, the mass, and the office of baptism to the people in the

vernacular. [432] A Synod of Tours, held in the year 813, and a Synod

of Mainz, held under Rabanus Maurus in 847, decreed that every bishop

should have a collection of homilies and translate them clearly "in

rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, i.e. into French (Romance) or

German," "in order that all may understand them." [433]

The great majority of priests were too ignorant to prepare a sermon,

and barely understood the Latin liturgical forms. A Synod of Aix, 802,

prescribed that they should learn the Athanasian and Apostles' Creed,

the Lord's Prayer with exposition, the Sacramentarium or canon of the

mass, the formula of exorcism, the commendatio animae, the Penitential,

the Calendar and the Roman cantus; they should learn to understand the

homilies for Sundays and holy days as models of preaching, and read the

pastoral theology of Pope Gregory. This was the sum and substance of

clerical learning. [434] The study of the Greek Testament and the

Hebrew Scriptures was out of the question, and there was hardly a

Western bishop or pope in the middle ages who was able to study the

divine oracles in the original.

The best, therefore, that the priests and deacons, and even most of the

bishops could do was to read the sermons of the fathers. Augustin had

given this advice to those who were not skilled in composition. It

became a recognized practice in France and England. Hence the

collection of homilies, called Homiliaria, for the Gospels and Epistles

of Sundays and holy days. They are mostly patristic compilations.

Bede's collection, called Homilice de Tempore, contains thirty-three

homilies for the summer, fifteen for the winter, twenty-two for Lent,

besides sermons on saints' days. Charlemagne commissioned Paulus

Diaconus or Paul Warnefrid (a monk of Monte Cassino and one of his

chaplains, the historian of the Lombards, and writer of poems on

saints) to prepare a Homiliarium (or Omiliarius) about a.d. 780, and

recommended it for adoption in the churches of France. It follows the

order of Sundays and festivals, is based on the text of the Vulgate,

and continued in use more or less for several centuries. [435] Other

collections were made in later times, and even the Reformed church of

England under Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth found it necessary to

provide ignorant clergymen with two Books of Homilies adapted to the

doctrines of the Reformation.

In this connection we must allude again to the poetic reproductions of

the Bible history, namely, the divine epos of Caedmon, the Northumbrian

monk (680), the Saxon Heliand" (Heiland, i.e. Saviour, about 880), and

the "Christ" or Gospel Harmony of Otfrid (a pupil of Rabanus Maurus,

about 870). These works were effective popular sermons on the history

of redemption, and are at the same time the most valuable remains of

the Anglo-Saxon and old high German dialects of the Teutonic language.

[436]

It was, however, not till the Reformation of the sixteenth century that

the sermon and the didactic element were restored and fully recognized

in their dignity and importance as regular and essential parts of

public worship. I say, worship, for to expound the oracles of God, and

devoutly to listen to such exposition is or ought to be worship both on

the part of the preacher and on the part of the hearer, as well as

praying and singing.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[431] As it is to-day in strictly Roman Catholic countries; with this

difference, that what was excusable in a period of heathen and

semi-heathen ignorance and superstition, is inexcusable in an age of

advanced civilization furnished with all kinds of educational

institutions and facilities.

[432] See the acts of this council in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils and

Eccles. Doc. 360-376, and the letter of Boniface to Cuthbert, giving an

account of a similar council in Germany, and recommending measures of

reform in the English church, p. 376-382.

[433] A similar canon was passed by other councils. See Hefele III.

758, 764, and IV. 89, 111, 126, 197, 513, 582; Mansi XIV. 82 sqq.

[434] Hefele, III. 745.

[435] F. Dahn, Des Paulus Diaconus Leben und Schriften, 1876; and Mon.

Germ. Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI.-IX.

1878, p. 45-187, ed. by L. Bethmann and G. Waitz; Wattenbach,

Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen, 4th ed. 1877, I. 134-140.

[436] See above, p. 41, 105, 106. The paraphrase of Caedmon, the first

Christian poet of England, is edited or discussed by Thorpe,

Bouterweck, Grein, Wright, Ettm�ller, Sandrar, Morley, Ten Brink, etc.

(see Lit. in Schaff-Herzog sub Caedmon); the Saxon Heliand and Otfrid's

Krist by Sievers, Rettberg, Vilmar, Lechler, Graff, Kelle, Michelsen,

etc. (see Herzog2IV. 428-435).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 94. Church Poetry. Greek Hymns and Hymnists.

See the Lit. in vol. III. � 113 (p. 575 sq.) and � 114 (p. 578), and

add the following:

Cardinal Pitra: Hymnographie de l'�glise grecque. Rome 1867. By the

same: Analecta Sacra Spicilegio Solesmensi parata, T. I. Par. 1876.

Wilhelm Christ et M. Paranikas: Anthologia Graeca carminum

Christianorum. Lips. 1871. CXLIV and 268 pages. The Greek text with

learned Prolegomena in Latin. Christ was aided by Paranikas, a member

of the Greek church. Comp. Christ: Beitr�ge zur kirchlichen Literatur

der Byzantiner. M�nchen 1870.

[?]. L. Jacobi (Prof. of Church Hist. in Halle): Zur Geschichte der

griechischen Kirchenliedes (a review of Pitra's Analecta), in Brieger's

"Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengesch., "vol. V. Heft 2, p. 177-250 (Gotha

1881).

For a small selection of Greek hymns in the original see the third

volume of Daniel's Thesaurus Hymnologicus (1855), and B�ssler's Auswahl

altchristlicher Lieder (1858), p. 153-166.

For English versions see especially J. M. Neale: Hymns of the Eastern

Church (Lond. 1862, third ed. 1866, 159 pages; new ed. 1876, in larger

print 250 pages); also Schaff: Christ in Song (1869), which gives

versions of 14 Greek (and 73 Latin) hymns. German translations in

B�ssler, l.c. p. 3-25.

[Syrian Hymnology. To the lit. mentioned vol. III. 580 add: Gust.

Bickell: S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena, additis prolegomenis et

supplemento lexicorum syriacorum edidit, vertit, explicavit. Lips.]

1866. Carl Macke: Hymnen aus dem Zweistr�meland. Dichtungen des heil.

Ephrem des Syrers aus dem syr. Urtext in's Deutsche �bertragen, etc.

Mainz 1882. 270 pages. Macke is a pupil of Bickell and a successor of

Zingerle as translator of Syrian church poetry.]

The general church histories mostly neglect or ignore hymnology, which

is the best reflection of Christian life and worship.

The classical period of Greek church poetry extends from about 650 to

820, and nearly coincides with the iconoclastic controversy. The

enthusiasm for the worship of saints and images kindled a poetic

inspiration, and the chief advocates of that worship were also the

chief hymnists. [437] Their memory is kept sacred in the Eastern

church. Their works are incorporated in the ritual books, especially

the Menaea, which contain in twelve volumes (one for each month) the

daily devotions and correspond to the Latin Breviary. [438] Many are

still unpublished and preserved in convent libraries. They celebrate

the holy Trinity and the Incarnation, the great festivals, and

especially also the Virgin Mary, the saints and martyrs, and sacred

icons.

The Greek church poetry is not metrical and rhymed, but written in

rhythmical prose for chanting, like the Psalms, the hymns of the New

Testament, the Gloria in Excelsis and the Te Deum. The older hymnists

were also melodists and composed the music. [439] The stanzas are

called troparia; [440] the first troparion is named hirmos, because it

strikes the tune and draws the others after it. [441] Three or more

stanzas form an ode; three little odes are a triodion; nine odes or

three triodia form a canon. The odes usually end with a doxology (doxa)

and a stanza in praise of Mary the Mother of God (theotokion). [442] A

hymn with a tune of its own is called an idiomelon. [443]

This poetry fills, according to Neale, more than nine tenths or four

fifths of the Greek service books. It has been heretofore very little

known and appreciated in the West, but is now made accessible. [444] It

contains some precious gems of genuine Christian hymns, buried in a

vast mass of monotonous, bombastic and tasteless laudations of unknown

confessors and martyrs, and wonder-working images. [445]

The Greek church poetry begins properly with the anonymous but

universally accepted and truly immortal Gloria in Excelsis of the third

century. [446] The poems of Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390), and Synesius

of Cyrene (d. about 414), who used the ordinary classical measures, are

not adapted and were not intended for public worship. [447]

The first hymnist of the Byzantine period, is Anatolius patriarch of

Constantinople (d. about 458). He struck out the new path of harmonious

prose, and may be compared to Venantius Fortunatus in the West. [448]

We now proceed to the classical period of Greek church poetry.

In the front rank of Greek hymnists stands St. John Of Damascus,

surnamed Mansur (d. in extreme old age about 780). He is the greatest

systematic theologian of the Eastern church and chief champion of

image-worship against iconoclasm under the reigns of Leo the Isaurian

(717-741), and Constantinus Copronymus (741-775). He spent a part of

his life in the convent of Mar S�ba (or St. Sabas) in the desolate

valley of the Kedron, between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea. [449] He was

thought to have been especially inspired by the Virgin Mary, the patron

of that Convent, to consecrate his muse to the praise of Christ. He

wrote a great part of the Octoechus, which contains the Sunday services

of the Eastern church. His canon for Easter Day is called "the golden

Canon" or "the queen of Canons," and is sung at midnight before Easter,

beginning with the shout of joy, "Christ is risen," and the response,

"Christ is risen indeed." His memory is celebrated December 4. [450]

Next to him, and as melodist even above him in the estimation of the

Byzantine writers, is St. Cosmas Of Jerusalem, called the Melodist. He

is, as Neale says, "the most learned of the Greek poets, and the

Oriental Adam of St. Victor." Cosmas and John of Damascus were

foster-brothers, friends and fellow-monks at Mar S�ba, and corrected

each other's compositions. Cosmas was against his will consecrated

bishop of Maiuma near Gaza in Southern Palestine, by John, patriarch of

Jerusalem. He died about 760 and is commemorated on the 14th of

October. The stichos prefixed to his life says:

"Where perfect sweetness dwells, is Cosmas gone;

But his sweet lays to cheer the church live on." [451]

The third rank is occupied by St. Theophanes, surnamed the Branded,

[452] one of the most fruitful poets. He attended the second Council of

Nicaea (787). During the reign of Leo the Arminian (813) he suffered

imprisonment, banishment and mutilation for his devotion to the Icons,

and died about 820. His "Chronography" is one of the chief sources for

the history of the image-controversy. [453]

The following specimen from Adam's lament of his fall is interesting:

"Adam sat right against the Eastern gate,

By many a storm of sad remembrance tost:

O me! so ruined by the serpent's hate!

O me! so glorious once, and now so lost!

So mad that bitter lot to choose!

Beguil'd of all I had to lose!

Must I then, gladness of my eyes, --

Must I then leave thee, Paradise,

And as an exile go?

And must I never cease to grieve

How once my God, at cool of eve,

Came down to walk below?

O Merciful! on Thee I call:

O Pitiful! forgive my fall!"

The other Byzantine hymnists who preceded or succeeded those three

masters, are the following. Their chronology is mostly uncertain or

disputed.

Sergius, patriarch of Constantinople in the reign of Heracleus

(610-641), figures in the beginning of the Monotheletic controversy,

and probably suggested the union formula to that emperor. He is

supposed by Christ to be the author of a famous and favorite hymn

Akathistos, in praise of Mary as the deliverer of Constantinople from

the siege of the Persians (630), but it is usually ascribed to Georgius

Pisida. [454]

Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem (629), celebrated in Anacreontic

metres the praises of Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, and wrote

idiomela with music for the church service [455]

Maximus The Confessor (580-662), the leader and martyr of the orthodox

dyotheletic doctrine in the Monotheletic controversy, one of the

profoundest divines and mystics of the Eastern Church, wrote a few

hymns. [456]

Germanus (634-734), bishop of Cyzicus, then patriarch of Constantinople

(715), was deposed, 730, for refusing to comply with the iconoclastic

edicts of the Emperor Leo the Isaurian (717-741), and died in private

life, aged about one hundred years. He is "regarded by the Greeks as

one of their most glorious Confessors" (Neale). Among his few poetical

compositions are stanzas on Symeon the Stylite, on the prophet Elijah,

on the Decollation of John the Baptist, and a canon on the

wonder-working Image in Edessa. [457]

Andrew Of Crete (660-732) was born at Damascus, became monk at

Jerusalem, deacon at Constantinople, archbishop of Crete, took part in

the Monotheletic Synod of 712, but afterwards returned to orthodoxy. In

view of this change and his advocacy of the images, he was numbered

among the saints. He is regarded as the inventor of the Canons. His

"Great Canon" is sung right through on the Thursday of Mid-Lent week,

which is called from that hymn. It is a confession of sin and an

invocation of divine mercy. It contains no less than two hundred and

fifty (Neale says, three hundred) stanzas. [458]

John of Damascus reduced the unreasonable length of the canons.

Another Andrew, called jAndreva" Puro'" or Purrov", is credited with

eight idiomela in the Menaea, from which Christ has selected the praise

of Peter and Paul as the best. [459]

Stephen The Sabaite (725-794) was a nephew of John of Damascus, and

spent fifty-nine years in the convent of Mar S�ba, which is pitched,

like an eagle's nest, on the wild rocks of the Kedron valley. He is

commemorated on the 13th of July. He struck the key-note of Neale's

exquisite hymn of comfort, "Art thou weary," which is found in some

editions of the Octoechus. He is the inspirer rather than the author of

that hymn, which is worthy of a place in every book of devotional

poetry. [460]

Romanus, deacon in Berytus, afterwards priest in Constantinople, is one

of the most original and fruitful among the older poets. Petra ascribes

to him twenty-five hymns. He assigned him to the reign of Anastasius I.

(491-518), but Christ to the reign of Anastasius II. (713-719), and

Jacobi with greater probability to the time of Constantinus Pogonatus

(681-685). [461]

Theodore Of The Studium (a celebrated convent near Constantinople) is

distinguished for his sufferings in the iconoclastic controversy, and

died in exile, 826, on the eleventh of November. He wrote canons for

Lent and odes for the festivals of saints. The spirited canon on Sunday

of Orthodoxy in celebration of the final triumph of image-worship in

842, is ascribed to him, but must be of later date as he died before

that victory. [462]

Joseph Of The Studium, a brother of Theodore, and monk of that convent,

afterwards Archbishop of Thessalonica (hence also called

Thessalonicensis), died in prison in consequence of tortures inflicted

on him by order of the Emperor Theophilus (829-842). He is sometimes

confounded (even by Neale) with Joseph Hymnographus; but they are

distinguished by Nicephorus and commemorated on different days. [463]

Theoctistus Of The Studium (about 890) is the author of a "Suppliant

Canon to Jesus," the only thing known of him, but the sweetest

Jesus-hymn of the Greek Church. [464]

Joseph, called Hymnographus (880), is the most prolific, most

bombastic, and most tedious of Greek hymn-writers. He was a Sicilian by

birth, at last superintendent of sacred vessels in a church at

Constantinople. He was a friend of Photius, and followed him into

exile. He is credited with a very large number of canons in the Mencaea

and the Octoechus. [465]

Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople (784), was the chief mover in the

restoration of Icons and the second Council of Nicaea (787). He died

Feb. 25, 806. His hymns are Unimportant. [466]

EUTHYMIUS, usually known as Syngelus or Syncellus (died about 910), is

the author of a penitential canon to the Virgin Mary, which is much

esteemed in the East. [467]

Elias, bishop of Jerusalem about 761, and Orestes, bishop of the same

city, 996-1012, have been brought to light as poets by the researches

of Pitra from the libraries of Grotta Ferrata, and other convents.

In addition to these may be mentioned Methodius (846) [468] Photius,

Patriarch of Constantinople (d. 891), Metrophanes of Smyrna (900), Leo

VI., or the Philosopher, who troubled the Eastern Church by a fourth

marriage (886-917), Symeon Metaphrastes (Secretary and Chancellor of

the Imperial Court at Constantinople, about 900), Kasias, Nilus

Xanthopulus, Joannes Geometra, and Mauropus (1060). With the last the

Greek hymnody well nigh ceased. A considerable number of hymns cannot

be traced to a known author. [469]

We give in conclusion the best specimens of Greek hymnody as reproduced

and adapted to modern use by Dr. Neale.

'Tis the Day of Resurrection.

(Anagstaseos hemera.)

By St. John of Damascus.

'Tis the Day of Resurrection,

Earth, tell it out abroad!

The Passover of gladness,

The Passover of God!

From death to life eternal,

From earth unto the sky,

Our Christ hath brought us over,

With hymns of victory.

Our hearts be pure from evil,

That we may see aright

The Lord in rays eternal

Of resurrection light:

And, listening to His accents,

May hear, so calm and plain,

His own "All hail!"--and hearing,

May raise the victor strain.

Now let the heavens be!

Let earth her song begin!

Let the round world keep triumph,

And all that is therein:

In grateful exultation

Their notes let all things blend,

For Christ the Lord hath risen,

Our joy that hath no end.

Jesu, name all names above.

(Ihsou' glukuvtate.)

By St. Theoctistus of the Studium.

Jesu, name all names above,

Jesu, best and dearest,

Jesu, Fount of perfect love,

Holiest, tenderest, nearest!

Jesu, source of grace completest,

Jesu truest, Jesu sweetest,

Jesu, Well of power divine,

Make me, keep me, seal me Thine!

Jesu, open me the gate

Which the sinner entered,

Who in his last dying state

Wholly on Thee ventured.

Thou whose wounds are ever pleading,

And Thy passion interceding,

From my misery let me rise

To a home in Paradise!

Thou didst call the prodigal;

Thou didst pardon Mary:

Thou whose words can never fall

Love can never vary,

Lord, amidst my lost condition

Give--for Thou canst give--contrition!

Thou canst pardon all mine ill

If Thou wilt: O say, "I will!"

Woe, that I have turned aside

After fleshly pleasure!

Woe, that I have never tried

For the heavenly treasure!

Treasure, safe in homes supernal;

Incorruptible, eternal!

Treasure no less price hath won

Than the Passion of the Son!

Jesu, crowned with thorns for me,

Scourged for my transgression!

Witnessing, through agony,

That Thy good confession;

Jesu, clad in purple raiment,

For my evils making payment;

Let not all thy woe and pain,

Let not Calvary be in vain!

When I reach Death's bitter sea,

And its waves roll higher,

Help the more forsaking me,

As the storm draws nigher:

Jesu, leave me not to languish,

Helpless, hopeless, full of anguish!

Tell me,--"Verily, I say,

Thou shalt be with me to-day!"

Art thou weary?

(Kovpon te kai; kavmaton.)

By St. Stephen The Sabaite.

Art thou weary, art thou languid,

Art thou sore distrest?

"Come to me"--saith One--"and coming

Be at rest!"

Hath He marks to lead me to Him,

If He be my Guide?

"In His feet and hands are wound-prints,

And His side."

Is there diadem, as Monarch,

That His brow adorns?

"Yea, a crown in very surety,

But of thorns!"

If I find Him, if I follow,

What His guerdon here?

"Many a sorrow, many a labor,

Many a tear."

If I still hold closely to Him,

What hath He at last?

Sorrow vanquished, labor ended,

Jordan past!"

If I ask Him to receive me,

Will He say me nay?

Not till earth, and not till heaven

Pass away!"

Finding, following, keeping, struggling

Is He sure to bless?

Angels, martyrs, prophets, virgins,

Answer, Yes!"

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[437] Neale and Pitra point out this connection, and Jacobi (l.c. p.

210 sq.) remarks: "Im Kampfe f�r die Bilder steigerte sich die Glut der

sinnlichen Fr�mmigkeit, und mit dem Siege der Bilderverehrung im

neunten Jahrhundert ist eine innerliche und aeusserliche Zunahme des

Heiligenkultus und namentlich ein Wachsthum der Marienvehrung

unverkennbar."

[438] The Menaia(sc. biblia, Monatsb�cher) are published at Venice in

the Tipografia Greca (he Hellenike tupographia tou phoinikos). Each

month has its separate title: Menaion tou Ianouariou or Men Ianouarios

,etc. January begins with the commemoration of the circumcision of our

Lord and the commemoration of St. Basil the Great, and December ends

with the mneme tes hosias Metros hemon Melanes tes Rhomaias .The copy

before me (from the Harvard University Library) is dated 1852, and

printed in beautiful Greek type, with the directions in red ink. On

older editions see Mone, Lat. Hymnen, II. p. x. sqq. The other books of

the Greek Ritual are the Paracletice (Parakletike, sc. biblos) or great

Octoechus (Oktoechos, sc. biblos), which contains the Sunday services

the Triodion (Triodion, the Lent-volume), and the Pentecostarion

(Pentekostarion, the office for Easter-tide). " On a moderate

computation," says Neale, " these volumes comprise 5,000 closely

printed quarto pages, in double columns, of which at least 4,000 are

poetry." See the large works of Leo Allatius, De libris eccles.

Graecorum; Goar, Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum, and especially the

Second volume of Neale's History of the Holy Eastern Church (1850), p.

819 sqq.

[439] Hence they were called melodoias well as poietaiin distinction

from the mere humnographoi. The Greek service books are also music

books. Christ discusses Byzantine music, and gives some specimens in

Prol. p. CXI-CXLII.

[440] Troparion, the diminutive of tropos, as modulus is of modus, was

originally a musical term.

[441] Eirmos, tractus, a train, series, was likewise originally a

musical term like akolouthiaand the Latin jubilatio, sequentia. See �

96.

[442] Theotokion, sc. troparion(more rarely, but more correctly, with

the accent on the ante-penultima, theotokion), from theotokos, Deipara.

The stauro-theotokion celebrates Mary at the cross, and corresponds to

the Stabat Mater dolorosa of the Latins.

[443] Hidiomelon. There are several other designations of various kinds

of poems, as akolouthia(the Latin sequentia), anabathmoi(tria

antiphona), antiphonon, apolutikion (breve troparium sub finem officii

vespertini), aposticha, automelon, exaposteilarion, eothina, kathisma,

katabasia, kontaria, makarismoi, megalunaria, oikoi, prosomoia,

stichera, triodia, tetraoda, diodia, psalterion, tropologion. These

terms and technical forms are fully discussed by Christ in the

Prolegomena. Comp. also the Introduction of Neale

[444] By Vormbaum (in the third volume of Daniel's Thesaurus which

needs reconstruction), Pitra, and Christ. The Continental writers seem

to be ignorant of Dr. Neale, the best English connoisseur of the

liturgical and poetic literature of the Greek church. His translations

are, indeed, very free reproductions and transfusions, but for this

very reason better adapted to Western taste than the originals. The

hymn of Clement of Alexandria in praise of the Logos has undergone a

similar transformation by Dr. Henry M. Dexter, and has been made useful

for public worship. See vol. II. 231.

[445] Even Neale, with all his admiration for the Greek Church, admits

that the Menaea contain a "deluge of worthless compositions: tautology

repeated till it becomes almost sickening; the merest commonplace,

again and again decked in the tawdry shreds of tragic language, ind

twenty or thirty times presenting the same thought in slightly varying

terms." (Hymns E.Ch. p. 88 sq., 3d ed.)

[446] See vol. II. 227, and add to the Lit. there quoted: Christ, p.

38-40, who gives from the Codex Alexandrinus and other MSS. the Greek

text of the morning hymn (the expanded Angelic anthem Doxa en

hupsistois theo) and two evening hymns Aineite, paides . kurion, and

Phos hilaron hagias doxes) of the Greek church.

[447] See vol. III. 581 and 921. Christ begins his collection with the

hymns of Synesius, p. 3-23, and of Gregory Nazianzen, 23-32.

[448] See the specimens in vol. III. 583-585. Neale begins his

translations with Anatolius. Christ treats of him p. XLI, and gives his

stichera anastasimafind three idiomela(hymns with their own melody),

113-117. More than a hundred poems in the Menaea and the Octoechus bear

the name of Anatolius, but Christ conjectures that stichera anatolika

is a generic name, like katanuktikaand nekrosima.

[449] See a description of this most curious structure in all

Palestine, in my book Through Bible Lands (N. Y. 1879), p. 278 sqq.

[450] The poetry of John of D. in his Opera ed. Le Quien (Par. 1712),

Tom. I. 673-693; Po�tae Graeci veteres (Colon. 1614), Tom. II. 737

sqq.; Christ, Anthol. gr. Prol. XLIV. sqq., p. 117-121, and p. 205-236.

Vormbaum, in Daniel, III. 80-97, gives six of his odes in Greek;

B�ssler, 162-164, two (and two in German, 21, 22); Neale nine English

versions. The best of his hymns and canons are Eis ten christou

gennesin(or eis ten theogonian), Eis ta theophaneia, Eis ten kuriaken

tou Pascha, Eis ten pentekosten, Eis ten analepsin tou Christou,Euche,

Idiomela en akolouthia tou exodiastikou, Eis ten koimesin tes

theotokou.. The last begins with this stanza (Christ, p. 229): Anoixo

to stoma mou, kai plerothesetai pneumatos; kai logou epeuxomai te

basilidi metri; kai ophthesomai phaidrospanegurizon; kai aso gethomenos

tautes ta thaumata.

[451] Gallandi, Bibl. Patrum, XIII. 234 sqq.; Christ, XLIX sq.,

161-164. Christ calls him "princeps melodorum graecorum," and gives ten

of his canons and several triodia; Daniel (III. 55-79) twelve odes.

Among the best are Eis ten tou Christou gennesin, Eis ta theophaneia,

Eis ten pentekosten, Pros Christon, Eis ten hupsosin tou staurou, Eis

to mega sabbaton. Neale has reproduced eight odes of Cosmas and a cento

on the Transfiguration. The Nativity hymn begins (Christ p. 165):

Christos gennatai; doxasate; Christos ex ouranon; apantesate; Christos

epi ges ; hupsothete; asate to kurio pasa he ge, kai en euphrosune

anumnesate, laoi, hoti dedoxastai.

[452] oGraptos, with reference to his sufferings.

[453] According to Christ (Prol. XLIV), he was after the restoration of

the images in the churches of Constantinople, 842, elected metropolitan

of Nicaea and died in peace. But according to the Bollandists and other

authorities, he died much earlier in exile at Samothrace about 818 or

820, in consequence of his sufferings for the Icons. Neale reports that

Theophanes was betrothed in childhood to a lady named Megalis, but

persuaded her, on their wedding day, to retire to a convent. Christ

gives several of his idiomela and stichera necrosima, p. 121-130. See

also Daniel, III. 110-112, and Neale's translations of the idiomela on

Friday of Cheese-Sunday (i.e. Quinquagesima), and the stichera at the

first vespers of Cheese-Sunday (90-95). The last is entitled by Neale:

"Adam's Complaint," and he thinks that Milton, "as an universal

scholar," must, in Eve's lamentation, have had in his eye the last

stanza which we give in the text. But this is very doubtful. The

Chronographia of Theophanes is published in the Bonn. ed. of the

Byzantine historians, 1839, and in Migne's "Patrol. Graeca," Tom. 108

(1861). His biography see in the Acta Sanct. ed. Bolland. in XII.

Martii.

[454] Christ (p. LII sq., p. 140-147) reasons chiefly from

chronological considerations. The poem is called akathistos(sc. humnos)

testheotokou, because it was chanted while priest and people were

standing. During the singing of other hymns they were seated; hence the

latter are called kathismata, (from kathizesthai). See Christ, Prol. p.

LXII and p. 54 sqq. Jacobi says of the Akathistos (l.c. p. 230): " Was

Enthusiasmus f�r die heilige Jungfrau, was Kenntniss biblischer Typen,

�berhaupt religi�ser Gegenst�nde und Gedanken zu leisten vermochten,

was Schmuck der Sprache. Gewandtheit des Ausdrucks, Kunst der Rhythmen

und der Reime hinzuf�gen komnten, das ist hier in un�bertroffenem Masse

bewirkt."

[455] Christ, XXVII, XXXV, LIII, 43-47 (anakreontika), and 96

(idiomelatonTheophaneion). Daniel, III. 20-46, gives thirteen pieces of

Sophronius from Pet. Metranga, Spicilegium Romanum, 1840, Tom. IV.

[456] Poetae Gr. vet. Tom. II. 192 sqq. Daniel, III. 97-103, gives

three hymns, among them a beautiful humnoshiketerioseisChristonChrist

omits Maximus.

[457] See his Opera in Migne's "Patrol. Graeca" Tom. 98 (1865); and his

poems in Christ, XLIII. 98 (idiomelonon the Nativity); Daniel, III. 79,

a hymn in praise of Mary, beginning Salpisomen en salpingi asmaton, and

ending with ascribing to her almighty power of intercession: Ouden gar

adunaton te mesiteia sou.

[458] Fr. Combefisius first edited the works of Andreas Cretensis, Par.

1644. Christ, 147-161, gives the first part of "the great canon" (about

one-fourth), and a new canon in praise of Peter. The last is not in the

Menaea but has been brought to light from Paris and Vatican MSS. by

Card. Pitra. Daniel, III. 47-54, has seven hymns of Andreas, of which

the first is on the nativity, beginning: Euphrainesthe dikaioi; Ouranoi

agalliasthe; Skirtesate ta hore, Tou Christou gennethentos. Neale

translated four: Stichera for Great Thursday; Troparia for Palm Sunday;

a portion of the Great Canon; Stichera for the Second Week of the Great

Fast. His Opera in Migne's " Patrol. Gr." T. 97(1860), p. 1306sqq.

[459] Christ, p. xlii. sq. and 83, automeloneistousapost.

PetronkaiPaulon.See Men., June 29.

[460] Christ and Daniel ignore Stephen. Neale calls the one and only

hymn which he translated, "Idiomela in the Week of the First Oblique

Tone," and adds: "These stanzas, which strike me as very sweet, are not

in all the editions of the Octoechus." He ascribes to him also a

poetical composition on the Martyrs of the monastery of Mar S�ba (March

20), and one on the Circumcision. "His style," he says, "seems formed

on that of S. Cosmas, rather than on that of his own uncle. He is not

deficient in elegance and richness of typology, but exhibits something

of sameness, and is occasionally guilty of very hard metaphors."

[461] Christ, 131-140, gives his "Psalm of the Holy Apostles," and a

Nativity hymn. Comp. p. li. sq. Jacobi (p. 203 sq.) discusses the data

and traces in Romanus allusions to the Monotheletic controversy, which

began about a.d.630. He gives a German version in part of the beautiful

description of the benefits of redemption, p. 221 sq.

[462] Christ, p. 101 sq.; Daniel, III. 101-109. Neale has translated

four odes of Theodorus Studita, one on the judgment-day

(hokurioserchetai). Pitra has brought to light from MSS. eighteen of

his poems on saints. See his Opera in Migne " Patr. Gr." 99.

[463] Christ, p. xlvii.: "Nicephorus duos Iosephos hymnorum scriptores

recenset, quorum alterum Studiorum monasterii socium, alterum

peregrinum dicit. Priorem intelligo Iosephum fratrem minorem Theodori,

Studiorum antistitis, cuius memoriae dies XIV. mensis Iulii consecratus

est. Is ob morum integritatem et doctrina laudem Thessalonicensis

ecclesiae archiepiscopus electus a Theophilo rege (829-842), qui in

cultores imaginum saeviebat, in vincula coniectus et omni tormentorum

genere adeo vexatus est, ut in carcere mortem occumberet. Alterius

losephi, qui proprie humnographosaudit, memoriam die III. mensis

Aprilis ecclesia graeca concelebrat. Is peregrinus (xenos) ab Nicephoro

dictus esse dicitur, quod ex Sicilia insula oriundus erat et patria ab

Arabibus capta et vastata cum matre et fratribus primum in

Peloponnesum, deinde Thessalonicem confugit, qua in urbe monarchorum

disciplnae severissimae sese addixit."

[464] English translation by Neale. See below, p. 473.

[465] Christ, 242-253; Daniel, III. 112-114; Neale, p. 120-151;

B�ssler, p. 23, 165; Schaff, p. 240 sq. Joseph is also the author of

hymns formerly ascribed to Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, during

the Monotheletic controversy, as Paranikas has shown (Christ, Prol., p.

liii.).

[466] Neale notices him, but thinks it not worth while to translate his

poetry.

[467] Kanoneistenhuperagiantheotokon. See Daniel, III. 17-20.

[468] Not to be confounded with Methodius Eubulius, of Patara, the

martyr (d. 311), who is also counted among the poets for his psalm of

the Virgins in praise of chastity (parthenion); see vol. II. 811, and

Christ, p. 33-37. B�ssler (p.4 sq.) gives a German version of it by

Fortlage.

[469] Pitra concludes his collection with eighty-three anonymous hymns,

thirty-two of which he assigns to the poets of the Studium. See also

Daniel, III. 110-138, and the last hymns in Neale's translations.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 95. Latin Hymnody. Literature.

See vol. III. 585 sqq. The following list covers the whole mediaeval

period of Latin hymnody.

I. Latin Collections.

The Breviaries and Missals. The hymnological collections of

Clichtovaeus (Paris 1515, Bas. 1517 and 1519.), Cassander (Col. 1556),

Ellinger (Frankf. a. M. 1578), Georg Fabricius (Poetarum Veterum

ecclesiasticorum Opera, Bas. 1564). See the full titles of Breviaries

and these older collections in Daniel, vol. I. XIII-XXII. and vol. II.

VIII-XIV.

Cardinal Jos. Maria Thomasius (Tomasi, 1649-1713, one of the chief

expounders of the liturgy and ceremonies of the Roman church): Opera

Omnia. Rom. 1741 sqq., 7 vols. The second volume, p. 351-403, contains

the Hymnarium de anni circulo, etc., for which he compared the oldest

Vatican and other Italian MSS. of hymns down to the eighth century. The

same vol. includes the Breviarium Psalterii. The fourth (1749) contains

the Responsorialia et antiphonaria Romanae ecclesia, and the sixth vol.

(1751) a collection of Missals. Thomasius is still very valuable.

Daniel calls his book "fons primarius."

Aug. Jak. Rambach (Luth. Pastor in Hamburg, b. 1777, d. 1851):

Anthologie christlicher Ges�nge aus alien Jahrh. der christl. Kirche.

Altona and Leipzig 1817-1833, 6 vols. The first vol. contains Latin

hymns with German translations and notes. The other volumes contain

only German hymns, especially since the Reformation. Rambach was a

pioneer in hymnology.

Job. Kehrein (R.C.): Lat. Anthologie aus den christl. Dichtern des

Mittelalters. Frankfurt a. m. 1840. See his larger work below.

[John Henry Newman, Anglican, joined the Rom. Ch. 1845]: Hymni

Ecclesiae. Lond. (Macmillan) 1838; new ed. 1865 (401 pages). Contains

only hymns from the Paris, Roman, and Anglican Breviaries. The preface

to the first part is signed "J. H. N." and dated Febr. 21, 1838, but no

name appears on the title page. About the same time Card. N. made his

translations of Breviary hymns, which are noticed below, sub. III.

H. A. Daniel (Lutheran, d. 1871): Thesaurus Hymnologicus. Lips.

1841-1856, 5 Tomi. The first, second, fourth and fifth vols. contain

Lat. hymns, the fourth Greek and Syrian h. A rich standard collection,

but in need of revision

P. J. Mone (R. Cath. d. 1871): Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters.

Freiburg i. B. 1853-'55, 3 vols. From MSS with notes. Contains in all

1215 hymns divided into three divisions of almost equal size; (1) Hymns

to God and the angels (461 pages); (2) Hymns to the Virgin Mary, (457

pages); (3) Hymns to saints (579 pages).

D. Ozanam: Documents in�dits pour servir a l'histoire litt�raire de

l'Italie. Paris 1850. Contains a collection of old Latin hymns,

reprinted in Migne's "Patrol. Lat." vol. 151, fol. 813-824.

Joseph Stevenson: Latin Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church; with an

Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Gloss, from a MS. of the eleventh century in

Durham Library. 1851 (Surtees Soc.).

J. M. Neale (Warden of Sackville College, high Anglican, d. 1866):

Sequentiae ex Missalibus Germanicis, Anglicis, Gallicis, aliisque medii

aevi collectae. Lond. 1852. 284 pages. Contains 125 sequences.

Felix Cl�ment: Carmina e Poetis Christianis excerpta. Parisiis (Gaume

Fratres) 1854. 564 pages. The Latin texts of hymns from the 4th to the

14th century, with French notes.

R. Ch. Trench (Archbishop of Dublin): Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly

Lyrical. Lond. and Cambridge, 1849; 2d ed. 1864; 3rd ed. revised and

improved, 1874. (342 pages). With an instructive Introduction and

notes.

Ans. Schubiger: Die S�ngerschule St. Gallens vom 8ten bis 12ten Jahrh.

Einsiedeln 1858. Gives sixty texts with the old music and facsimiles.

P. Gall Morel (R.C.): Lat. Hymnen des Mittelalters, gr�sstentheils aus

Handschriften schweizerischer Kl�ster. Einsiedeln (Benziger) 1868 (341

pages). Mostly Marienlieder and Heiligenlieder (p. 30-325).

Supplementary to Daniel and Mone.

Phil. Wackernagel (Luth., d. 1877): Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der

�ltesten Zeit bis zum Anfang des XVII. Jahrh. Leipz. 1864-1877, 5 vols.

(the last vol. ed. by his two sons). This is the largest monumental

collection of older German hymns; but the first vol. contains Latin

hymns and sequences from the fourth to the sixteenth century.

Karl Bartsch (Prof of Germ. and Romanic philology in Rostock): Die

lateinischen Sequenzen des Mittelalters in musikalischer und

rhythmischer Beziehung dargestellt. Rostock 1868.

Chs. Buchanan Pierson: Sequences from the Sarum Missal. London 1871.

Joseph Kehrein (R.C.): Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters aus

Handschriften und Drucken. Mainz 1873 (620 pages). The most complete

collection of Sequences (over 800). He divides the sequences, like Mone

the hymns, according to the subject (Lieder an Gott, Engellieder,

Marienlieder, Heiligenlieder). Comp. also his earlier work noticed

above.

Francis A. March: Latin Hymns, with English Notes. N. York, 1874.

W. McIlvaine: Lyra Sacra Hibernica. Belfast, 1879. (Contains hymns of

St. Patrick, Columba, and Sedulius).

E. D�mmler: Po�tae Latini Aevi Carolini. Berol. 1880-'84, 2 vols.

Contains also hymns, II. p. 244-258.

Special editions of Adam of St. Victor: L. Gautier: La aeuvres

po�tiques d' Adam de S. Victor. Par. 1858 and 1859, 2 vols. Digby S.

Wrangham (of St. John's College, Oxford): The Liturgical Poetry of Adam

of St. Victor. Lond. 1881, 3 vols. (The Latin text of Gautier with E.

Version in the original metres and with short notes). On the Dies Irae

see the monograph of Lisco (Berlin 1840). It has often been separately

published, e.g. by Franklin Johnson, Cambridge, Mass. 1883. So also the

Stabat Mater, and the hymn of Bernard of Cluny De Contemptu Mundi

(which furnished the thoughts for Neale's New Jerusalem hymns). The

hymns of St. Bernard, Abelard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, are in the

complete editions of their works. For St. Bernard see Migne's "Patrol.

Lat." vol. 184, fol. 1307-1330; for Abelard, vol. 178, fol. 1759-1824.

II. Historical and Critical.

Polyc. Leyser: Historia Po�tarum et Po�matum Medii Aevi. Halae 1721.

Friedr. M�nter: Ueber die �lteste christl. Poesie. Kopenhagen 1806.

Ed�lstand Du M�ril: Po�sies populaires Latines anterieures au douzi�me

si�cle. Paris 1843. Po�sies populaire's Latines du moyen �ge. Paris

1847.

Trench: Introd. to his S. Lat. Poetry. See above.

Baehr: Die christl. Dichter und Geschichtschreiber Roms. Karlsruhe 1836

, 2nd ed., revised, 1872 (with bibliography).

Edward Emil Koch: Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs in der

christlichen, insbesondere der deutschen evangel. Kirche. Stuttgart,

third ed. rev. and enlarged 1866-1876, 7 vols. This very instructive

and valuable work treats of Latin hymnology, but rather superficially,

in vol. I. 40-153.

Ad. Ebert: Allgem. Gesch. der Lit. des Mittelalters im Abendlande, vol.

I. (Leipz. 1874), the third book (p. 516 sqq.), and vol. II. (1880)

which embraces the age of Charlemagne and his successors.

Joh. Kayser (R.C.): Beitr�ge zur Geschichte und Erkl�rung der �ltesten

Kirchenhymnen. Paderborn, 2d ed. 1881. 477 pages, comes down only to

the sixth century and closes with Fortunatus. See also his article Der

Text des Hymnus Stabat Mater dolorosa, in the T�bingen "Theol.

Quartalschrift" for 1884, No. I. p. 85-103.

III. English translations.

John Chandler (Anglican, d. July 1, 1876): The Hymns of the Primitive

Church, now first collected, translated and arranged. London 1837.

Contains 108 Latin hymns with Chandler's translations.

Richard Mant (Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, d. Nov. 2, 1848): Ancient

Hymns from the Roman Breviary. 1837. New ed. Lond. and Oxf. 1871. (272

pages)

John Henry Newman:] Verses on Various Occasions. London 1868 (reprinted

in Boston, by Patrick Donahue). The Preface is dated Dec. 21, 1867, and

signed J. H. N. The book contains the original poems of the Cardinal,

and his translations of the Roman Breviary Hymns and two from the

Parisian Breviary, which, as stated in a note on p. 186, were all made

in 1836-38, i.e. eight years before he left the Church of England.

Isaac Williams (formerly of Trinity College, Oxford, d. 1865): Hymns

translated from the Parisian Breviary. London 1839.

Edward Caswall (Anglican, joined the R.C. Church 1847, d. Jan. 2,

1878): Lyra Catholica. Containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns

together with some other hymns. Lond. 1849. (311 pages). Reprinted N.

Y. 1851. Admirable translations. They are also included in his Hymns

and Poems, original and translated. London 2d ed. 1873.

John David Chambers (Recorder of New Sarum): Lauda Syon. Ancient Latin

Hymns in the English and other Churches, translated into corresponding

metres. Lond. 1857 (116 pages.)

J. M. Neale: Mediaeval Hymns and Sequences. Lond. 1862; 3d ed. 1867.

(224 pages). Neale is the greatest master of free reproduction of Latin

as well as Greek hymns. He published also separately his translation of

the new Jerusalem hymns: The Rhythm of Bernard de Morlaix, Monk of

Cluny, on the Celestial Country. Lond. 1858, 7th ed. 1865, with the

Latin text as far as translated (48 pages). Also Stabat Mater Speciosa,

Full of Beauty stood the Mother (1866).

The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediaeval Church. N. York (A. D. F.

Randolph & Co.) 1866; seventh ed. enlarged, 1883. 154 pages. This

anonymous work (by Judge C. C. Nott, Washington) contains translations

by various authors of Bernard's Celestial Country, the Dies Irae, the

Mater Dolorosa, the Mater Speciosa, the Veni Sancte Spiritus, the Veni

Creator Spiritus, the Vexilla Regis, and the Alleluiatic Sequence of

Godescalcus. The originals are also given.

Philip Schaff: Christ in Song. N. Y. 1868; Lond. 1869. Contains

translations of seventy-three Latin hymns by various authors.

W. H. Odenheimer and Frederic M. Bird: Songs of the Spirit. N. York

1871. Contains translations of twenty-three Latin hymns on the Holy

Spirit, with a much larger number of English hymns. Erastus C. Benedict

(Judge in N. Y., d. 1878): The Hymn of Hildebert and other Mediaeval

Hymns, with translations. N. York 1869.

Abraham Coles (M. D.): Latin Hymns, with Original Translations. N. York

1868. Contains 13 translations of the Dies Irae, which were also

separately published in 1859.

Hamilton M. Macgill, D. D. (of the United Presb. Ch. of Scotland):

Songs of the Christian Creed and Life selected from Eighteen Centuries.

Lond. and Edinb. 1879. Contains translations of a number of Latin and a

few Greek hymns with the originals, also translations of English hymns

into Latin.

The Roman Breviary. Transl. out of Latin into English by John Marquess

of Bute, K. T. Edinb. and Lond. 1879, 2 vols. The best translations of

the hymns scattered through this book are by the ex-Anglicans Caswall

and Cardinal Newman. The Marquess of Bute is himself a convert to Rome

from the Church of England.

D. F. Morgan: Hymns and other Poetry of the Latin Church. Oxf. 1880.

100 versions arranged according to the Anglican Calendar.

Edward A. Washburn (Rector of Calvary Church, N. Y. d. Feb. 2, 1881):

Voices from a Busy Life. N. York 1883. Contains, besides original

poems, felicitous versions of 32 Latin hymns, several of which had

appeared before in Schaff's Christ in Song.

Samuel W. Duffield: The Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns (in course

of preparation and to be published, New York 1885. This work will cover

the entire range of Latin hymnology, and include translations of the

more celebrated hymns).

IV. German translations of Latin hymns: (Mostly accompanied by the

original text) are very numerous, e.g. by Rambach, 1817 sqq. (see

above); C. Fortlage (Ges�nge christl. Vorzeit, 1844); Karl Simrock

(Lauda Sion, 1850); Ed. Kauffer (Jesus-Hymnen, Sammlung altkirchl. lat.

Ges�nge, etc. Leipz. 1854, 65 pages); H. Stadelmann (Altchristl. Hymnen

und Lieder. Augsb. 1855); B�ssler (1858); J. Fr. H. Schlosser (Die

Kirche in ihren Liedern, Freiburg i. B. 1863, 2 vols); G. A. K�nigsfeld

(Lat. Hymnen und Ges�nge, Bonn 1847, new series, 1865, both with the

original and notes).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 96. Latin Hymns and Hymnists.

The Latin church poetry of the middle ages is much better known than

the Greek, and remains to this day a rich source of devotion in the

Roman church and as far as poetic genius and religious fervor are

appreciated. The best Latin hymns have passed into the Breviary and

Missal (some with misimprovements), and have been often reproduced in

modern languages. The number of truly classical hymns, however, which

were inspired by pure love to Christ and can be used with profit by

Christians of every name, is comparatively small. The poetry of the

Latin church is as full of Mariolatry and hagiolatry as the poetry of

the Greek church. It is astonishing what an amount of chivalrous and

enthusiastic devotion the blessed Mother of our Lord absorbed in the

middle ages. In Mone's collection the hymns to the Virgin fill a whole

volume of 457 pages, the hymns to saints another volume of 579 pages,

while the first volume of only 461 pages is divided between hymns to

God and to the angels. The poets intended to glorify Christ through his

mother, but the mother overshadows the child, as in the pictures of the

Madonna. She was made the mediatrix of all divine grace, and was almost

substituted for Christ, who was thought to occupy a throne of majesty

too high for sinful man to reach without the aid of his mother and her

tender human sympathies. She is addressed with every epithet of praise,

as Mater Dei, Dei Genitrix, Mater summi Domini, Mater misericordiae,

Mater bonitatis, Mater dolorosa, Mater jucundosa, Mater speciosa, Maris

Stella, Mundi domina, Mundi spes, Porta paradisi, Regina coeli, Radix

gratiae, Virgo virginum, Virgo regia Dei. Even the Te Deum was adapted

to her by the distinguished St. Bonaventura so as to read "Te Matrem

laudamus, Te Virginem confitemur." [470]

The Latin, as the Greek, hymnists were nearly all monks; but an emperor

(Charlemagne?) and a king (Robert of France) claim a place of honor

among them.

The sacred poetry of the Latin church may be divided into three

periods: 1, The patristic period from Hilary (d. 368) and Ambrose (d.

397) to Venantius Fortunatus (d. about 609) and Gregory I. (d. 604); 2,

the early mediaeval period to Peter Damiani (d. 1072); 3, the classical

period to the thirteenth century. The first period we have considered

in a previous volume. Its most precious legacy to the church universal

is the Te Deum laudamus. It is popularly ascribed to Ambrose of Milan

(or Ambrose and Augustin jointly), but in its present completed form

does not appear before the first half of the sixth century, although

portions of it may be traced to earlier Greek origin; it is, like the

Apostles' Creed, and the Greek Gloria in Excelsis, a gradual growth of

the church rather than the production of any individual. [471] The

third period embraces the greatest Latin hymnists, as Bernard of

Morlaix (monk of Cluny about 1150), Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153),

Adam of St. Victor (d. 1192), Bonaventura (d. 1274), Thomas Aquinas (d.

1274), Thomas a Celano (about 1250), Jacopone (d. 1306), and produced

the last and the best Catholic hymns which can never die, as Hora

Novisasima; Jesu dulcis memoria; Salve caput cruentatum; Stabat Mater;

and Dies Irae. In this volume we are concerned with the second period.

Venantius Fortunatus, of Poitiers, and his cotemporary, Pope Gregory

I., form the transition from the patristic poetry of Sedulius and

Prudentius to the classic poetry of the middle ages.

Fortunatus (about 600) [472] was the fashionable poet of his day. A

native Italian, he emigrated to Gaul, travelled extensively, became

intimate with St. Gregory of Tours, and the widowed queen Radegund when

she lived in ascetic retirement, and died as bishop of Poitiers. He was

the first master of the trochaic tetrameter, and author of three

hundred poems, chief among which are the two famous passion hymns:

"Vexilla regis prodeunt,"

"The Royal Banners forward go;"

and

"Pange, lingua, gloriosi proelium certaminis,"

"Sing, my tongue, the glorious battle."

Both have a place in the Roman Breviary. [473]

Gregory I. (d. 604), though far inferior to Fortunatus in poetic

genius, occupies a prominent rank both in church poetry and church

music. He followed Ambrose in the metrical form, the prayer-like tone,

and the churchly spirit, and wrote for practical use. He composed about

a dozen hymns, several of which have found a place in the Roman

Breviary. [474] The best is his Sunday hymn:

"Primo dierum omnium,"

"On this first day when heaven on earth,"

or, as it has been changed in the Breviary,

"Primo die quo Trinitas,"

"To-day the Blessed Three in One

Began the earth and skies;

To-day a Conqueror, God the Son,

Did from the grave arise;

We too will wake, and, in despite

Of sloth and languor, all unite,

As Psalmists bid, through the dim night

Waiting with wistful eyes." [475]

The Venerable Bede (d. 735) wrote a beautiful ascension hymn

"Hymnum canamus gloriae,"

"A hymn of glory let us sing;"

and a hymn for the Holy innocents,

"Hymnum canentes Martyrum,"

"The hymn of conquering martyrs raise." [476]

Rabanus Maurus, a native of Mainz (Mayence) on the Rhine, a pupil of

Alcuin, monk and abbot in the convent of Fulda, archbishop of Mainz

from 847 to 856, was the chief Poet of the Carolingian age, and the

first German who wrote Latin hymns. Some of them have passed into the

Breviary. [477]

He is probably the author of the pentecostal Veni, Creator Spiritus.

[478] It outweighs all his other poems. It is one of the classical

Latin hymns, and still used in the Catholic church on the most solemn

occasions, as the opening of Synods, the creating of popes and the

crowning of kings. It was invested with a superstitious charm. It is

the only Breviary hymn which passed into the Anglican liturgy as part

of the office for ordaining priests and consecrating bishops. [479] The

authorship has been variously ascribed to Charlemagne, [480] to Gregory

the Great, [481] also to Alcuin, and even to Ambrose, without any good

reason. It appears first in 898, is found in the MS. containing the

Poems of Rabanus Maurus, and in all the old German Breviaries; it was

early and repeatedly translated into German [482] and agrees very well

in thought and expression with his treatise on the Holy Spirit. [483]

We give the original with two translations. [484]

Veni, Creator Spiritus,

Mentes tuorum visita.

Imple superna gratia

Quo tu creasti pectora.

Creator, Spirit, Lord of Grace,

O make our hearts Thy dwelling-place,

And with Thy might celestial aid

The souls of those whom Thou hast made.

Qui Paracletus diceris,

Donum Dei altissimi,

Fons vivus, ignis, charitas,

Et spiritalis unctio.

Come from the throne of God above,

O Paraclete, O Holy Dove,

Come, Oil of gladness, cleansing Fire,

And Living Spring of pure desire.

Tu septiformis munere,

Dextrae Dei tu digitus,

Tu rite Promissum Patris,

Sermone ditans guttura.

O Finger of the Hand Divine,

The sevenfold gifts of Grace are Thine,

And touched by Thee the lips proclaim

All praise to God's most holy Name.

Accende lumen sensibus,

Infunde amorem cordibus;

Infirma nostri corporis,

Virtute firmans perpetim. [485]

Then to our souls Thy light impart,

And give Thy Love to every heart

Turn all our weakness into might,

O Thou, the Source of Life and Light.

Hostem repellas longius,

Pacemque dones protinus.

Ductore sic te praevio,

Vitemus omne noxium.

Protect us from the assailing foe,

And Peace, the fruit of Love, bestow;

Upheld by Thee, our Strength and Guide,

No evil can our steps betide.

Per te sciamus, da Patrem,

Noscamus atque Filium,

Te utriusque Spiritum,

Credamus omni tempore.

Spirit of Faith, on us bestow

The Father and the Son to know;

And, of the Twain, the Spirit, Thee;

Eternal One, Eternal Three.

[Sit laus Patri cum Filio,

Sancto simul Paracleto,

Nobisque mittat Filius

Charisma Sancti Spiritus.] [486]

To God the Father let us sing;

To God the Son, our risen King;

And equally with These adore

The Spirit, God for evermore.

[Praesta hoc Pater piissime,

Patrique compar unice,

Cum Spiritu Paracleto,

Regnans per omne saeculum.] See note above.

O Holy Ghost, Creator come!

Thy people's minds pervade;

And fill, with Thy supernatural grace,

The souls which Thou hast made.

Kindle our senses to a flame,

And fill our hearts with love,

And, through our bdies' weakness,

still

Pour valor from above!

Thou who art called the Paraclete,

The gift of God most high-

Thou living fount, and fire and love,

Our spirit's pure ally;

Drive further off our enemy,

And straightway give us peace;

That with Thyself as such a guide,

We may from evil cease.

Thou sevenfold giver of all good;

Finger of God's right hand;

Thou promise of the Father, rich

In words for every land;

Through Thee may we the Father know,

And thus confess the Son;

For Thee, from both the Holy Ghost,

We praise while time shall run.

In this connection we mention the Veni, Sancte Spiritus, the other

great pentecostal hymn of the middle ages. It is generally ascribed to

King Robert of France (970-1031), the son and success or of Hugh Capet.

[487] He was distinguished for piety and charity, like his more famous

successor, St. Louis IX., and better fitted for the cloister than the

throne. He was disciplined by the pope (998) for marrying a distant

cousin, and obeyed by effecting a divorce. He loved music and poetry,

founded convents and churches, and supported three hundred paupers. His

hymn reveals in terse and musical language an experimental knowledge of

the gifts and operations of the Holy Spirit upon the heart. It is

superior to the companion hymn, Veni, Creator Spiritus. Trench calls it

"the loveliest" of all the Latin hymns, but we would give this praise

rather to St. Bernard's Jesu dulcis memoria ("Jesus, the very thought

of Thee"). The hymn contains ten half-stanzas of three lines each with

a refrain in ium. Each line has seven syllables, and ends with a double

or triple rhyme; the third line rhymes with the third line of the

following half-stanza. Neale has reproduced the double ending of each

third line (as "brilliancy"--"radiancy").

Veni, Sancte Spiritus,

Et emittee coelitus

Lucis tuae radium.

Holy Spirit, God of light!

Come, and on our inner sight

Pour Thy bright and heavenly ray!

Veni, Pater pauperum,

Veni, dator munerum,

Veni, lumen cordium.

Father of the lowly! come;

Here, Great Giver! be Thy home,

Sunshine of our hearts, for aye!

Consolator optime,

Dulcis hospes animae,

Dulce refrigerium:

Inmost Comforter and best!

Of our souls the dearest Guest,

Sweetly all their thirst allay;

In labore requies,

In aestu temperies,

In fletu solatium.

In our toils be our retreat,

Be our shadow in the heat,

Come and wipe our tears away.

O lux beatissima,

Reple cordis intima,

Tuorum fidelium.

O Thou Light, all pure and blest!

Fill with joy this weary breast,

Turning darkness into day.

Sine tuo numine

Nihil est in homine

Nihil est innoxium,

For without Thee nought we find,

Pure or strong in human kind,

Nought that has not gone astray.

Lava quod est sordidum,

Riga quod est aridum,

Sana quod est saucium.

Wash us from the stains of sin,

Gently soften all within,

Wounded spirits heal and stay.

Flecte quod est rigidum,

Fove quod est languidum,

Rege quod est devium.

What is hard and stubborn bend,

What is feeble soothe and tend,

What is erring gently sway.

Da tuis fidelibus,

In te confitentibus,

Sacrum septenarium;

To Thy faithful servants give,

Taught by Thee to trust and live,

Sevenfold blessing from this day;

Da virtutis meritum,

Da salutis exitum,

Da perenne gaudium. [488]

Make our title clear, we pray,

When we drop this mortal clay;

Then,--O give us joy for aye.489

The following is a felicitous version by an American divine. [489]

Come, O Spirit! Fount of grace!

From thy heavenly dwelling-place

One bright morning beam impart:

Come, O Father of the poor;

Come, O Source of bounties sure;

Come, O Sunshine of the heart!

O! thrice blessed light divine!

Come, the spirit's inmost shrine

With Thy holy presence fill;

Of Thy brooding love bereft,

Naught to hopeless man is left;

Naught is his but evil still.

Comforter of man the best!

Making the sad soul thy guest;

Sweet refreshing in our fears,

In our labor a retreat,

Cooling shadow in the heat,

Solace in our falling tears.

Wash away each earthly stain,

Flow o'er this parched waste again,

Real the wounds of conscience sore,

Bind the stubborn will within,

Thaw the icy chains of sin,

Guide us, that we stray no more.

Give to Thy believers, give,

In Thy holy hope who live,

All Thy sevenfold dower of love;

Give the sure reward of faith,

Give the love that conquers death,

Give unfailing joy above.

Notker, surnamed the Older, or Balbulus ("the little Stammerer, "from a

slight lisp in his speech), was born about 850 of a noble family in

Switzerland, educated in the convent of St. Gall, founded by Irish

missionaries, and lived there as an humble monk. He died about 912, and

was canonized in 1512. [490]

He is famous as the reputed author of the Sequences (Sequentiae), a

class of hymns in rythmical prose, hence also called Proses (Prosae).

They arose from the custom of prolonging the last syllable in singing

the Allelu-ia of the Gradual, between the Epistle and the Gospel, while

the deacon was ascending from the altar to the rood-loft (organ-loft),

that he might thence sing the Gospel. This prolongation was called

jubilatio or jubilus, or laudes, on account of its jubilant tone, and

sometimes sequentia (Greek ajkolouqiva), because it followed the

reading of the Epistle or the Alleluia. Mystical interpreters made this

unmeaning prolongation of a mere sound the echo of the jubilant music

of heaven. A further development was to set words to these notes in

rythmical prose for chanting. The name sequence was then applied to the

text and in a wider sense also to regular metrical and rhymed hymns.

The book in which Sequences were collected was called Sequentiale.

[491]

Notker marks the transition from the unmeaning musical sequence to the

literary or poetic sequence. Over thirty poems bear his name. His

first, attempt begins with the line

"Laudes Deo concinat orbis ubique totus."

More widely circulated is his Sequence of the Holy Spirit:

"Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia."

"The grace of the Holy Spirit be present with us." [492]

The best of all his compositions, which is said to have been inspired

by the sight of the builders of a bridge over an abyss in the

Martinstobe, is a meditation on death (Antiphona de morte):

"Media vita in morte sumus:

Quem quaerimus adiutorem nisi te, Domine,

Qui pro peccatis nostris juste irasceris?

Sancte Deus, sancte fortis,

Sancte et misericors Salvator:

Amarae morti ne tradas nos." [493]

This solemn prayer is incorporated in many burial services. In the Book

of Common Prayer it is thus enlarged:

"In the midst of life we be in death:

Of whom may we seek for succour, but of Thee,

O Lord, which for our sins justly art moved?

Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty,

O holy and most merciful Saviour,

Deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts.

Shut not up thy merciful eyes to our prayers:

But spare us, Lord most holy,

O God most mighty,

O holy and merciful Saviour,

Thou most worthy Judge eternal,

Suffer us not, at our last hour,

For any pains of death,

To fall from Thee." [494]

Peter Damiani (d. 1072), a friend of Hildebrand and promoter of his

hierarchical refrms, wrote a solemn hymn on the day of death:

"Gravi me terrore pulsas vitae dies ultima"," [495]

"With what heavy fear thou smitest."

He is perhaps also the author of the better known descriptive poem on

the Glory and Delights of Paradise, which is usually assigned to St.

Augustin:

"Ad perennis vitae fontem mens sitivit arida,

Claustra carnis praesto frangi clausa quaerit anima:

Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur exsul frui patria." [496]

The subordinate hymn-writers of our period are the following: [497]

Isidor of Seville (Isidoris Hispalensis, 560-636). A hymn on St.

Agatha: "Festum insigne prodiit."

Cyxilla of Spain. Hymnus de S. Thurso et sociis: Exulta nimium turba

fidelium."

Eugenius of Toledo. Oratio S. Eugenii Toletani Episcopi: "Rex Deus."

Paulus Diaconus (720-800), of Monte Casino, chaplain of Charlemagne,

historian of the Lombards, and author of a famous collection of

homilies. On John the Baptist ("Ut queant laxis), [498] and on the

Miracles of St. Benedict (Fratres alacri pectore).

Odo of Cluny (d. 941). A hymn on St. Mary Magdalene day, "Lauda, Mater

Ecclesiae," translated by Neale: "Exalt, O mother Church, to-day, The

clemency of Christ, thy Lord." It found its way into the York Breviary.

Godescalcus (Gottschalk, d. about 950, not to be confounded with his

predestinarian namesake, who lived in the ninth century), is next to

Notker, the best writer of sequences or proses, as "Laus Tibi, Christe"

("Praise be to Thee, O Christ"), and Coeli enarrant ("The heavens

declare the glory"), both translated by Neale.

Fulbert Of Chartres (died about 1029) wrote a paschal hymn adopted in

several Breviaries: "Chorus novae Jerusalem" ("Ye choirs of New

Jerusalem"), translated by Neale.

A few of the choicest hymns of our period, from the sixth to the

twelfth century are anonymous. [499] To these belong:

"Hymnum dicat turba fratrum." A morning hymn mentioned by Bede as a

fine specimen of the trochaic tetrameter.

"Sancti venite." A communion hymn.

"Urbs beata Jerusalem." [500] It is from the eighth century, and one of

those touching New Jerusalem hymns which take their inspiration from

the last chapter of St. John's Apocalypse, and express the Christian's

home-sickness after heaven. The following is the first stanza (with

Neale's translation):

"Urbs beata Jerusalem,

Dicta pacis visio,

Quae construitur in coelo

Vivis ex lapidibus,

Et angelis coronata

Ut sponsata comite."

Blessed City, Heavenly Salem,

Vision dear of Peace and Love,

Who, of living stones upbuilded,

Art the joy of Heav'n above,

And, with angel cohorts circled,

As a bride to earth dost move!"

"Apparebit repentina." An alphabetic and acrostic poem on the Day of

Judgment, based on Matt. 25:31-36; from the seventh century; first

mentioned by Bede, then long lost sight of; the forerunner of the Dies

Irae, more narrative than lyrical, less sublime and terrific, but

equally solemn. The following are the first lines in Neale's admirable

translation: [501]

"That great Day of wrath and terror,

That last Day of woe and doom,

Like a thief that comes at midnight,

On the sons of men shall come;

When the pride and pomp of ages

All shall utterly have passed,

And they stand in anguish, owning

That the end is here at last;

And the trumpet's pealing clangor,

Through the earth's four quarters spread,

Waxing loud and ever louder,

Shall convoke the quick and dead:

And the King of heavenly glory

Shall assume His throne on high,

And the cohorts of His angels

Shall be near Him in the sky:

And the sun shall turn to sackcloth,

And the moon be red as blood,

And the stars shall fall from heaven,

Whelm'd beneath destruction's flood.

Flame and fire, and desolation

At the Judge's feet shall go:

Earth and sea, and all abysses

Shall His mighty sentence know."

"Ave, Maris Stella." This is the favorite mediaeval Mary hymn, and

perhaps the very best of the large number devoted to the worship of the

"Queen of heaven," which entered so deeply into the piety and devotion

of the Catholic church both in the East and the West. It is therefore

given here in full with the version of Edward Caswall. [502]

"Ave, Maris Stella, [503]

Dei Mater alma

Atque semper Virgo,

Felix coeli porta.

Hail, thou Star-of-Ocean,

Portal of the sky,

Ever-Virgin Mother

Of the Lord Most High!

Sumens illud Ave

Gabrielis ore,

Funda nos in pace,

Mutans nomen Evae. [504]

Oh, by Gabriel's Ave

Uttered long ago

Eva's name reversing,

'Stablish peace below!

Solve vincla reis

Profer lumen coecis,

Mala nostra pelle,

Bona cuncta posce.

Break the captive's fetters,

Light on blindness pour,

All our ills expelling,

Every bliss implore.

Monstra te esse matrem, [505]

Sumat per te precem,

Qui pro nobis natus

Tulit esse tuus.

Show thyself a mother,

Offer Him our sighs,

Who, for us Incarnate,

Did not thee despise.

Virgo singularis,

Inter omnes mitis,

Nos culpis solutos

Mites facet castos.

Virgin of all virgins!

To thy shelter take us--

Gentlest of the gentle!

Chaste and gentle make us.

Vitam praesta puram

Iter para tutum,

Ut videntes Iesum

Semper collaetemur.

Still as on we journey,

Help our weak endeavor,

Till with thee and Jesus,

We rejoice for ever.

Sit laus Deo Patri,

Summo Christo decus,

Spiritui Sancto

Honor trinus et unus.

Through the highest heaven

To the Almighty Three,

Father, Son, and Spirit,

One same glory be.

The Latin hymnody was only, for priests and monks, and those few who

understood the Latin language. The people listened to it as they do to

the mass, and responded with the Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, which

passed from the Greek church into the Western litanies. As the modern

languages of Europe developed themselves out of the Latin, and out of

the Teutonic, a popular poetry arose during the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries, and afterwards received a powerful impulse from

the Reformation. Since that time the Protestant churches, especially in

Germany and England, have produced the richest hymnody, which speaks to

the heart of the people in their own familiar tongue, and is, next to

the Psalter, the chief feeder of public and private devotion. In this

body of evangelical hymns the choicest Greek and Latin hymns in various

translations, reproductions, and transformations occupy an honored

place and serve as connecting links between past and modern times in

the worship of the same God and Saviour.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[470] See the Marianic Te Deum in Daniel, II. 293; and in Mone, II. 229

sq.

[471] A curious mediaeval legend makes the Te Deum the joint product of

St. Ambrose and St. Augustin, which was alternately uttered by both, as

by inspiration, while Augustin ascended from the baptismal font;

Ambrose beginning: Te Deum laudamus, Augustin responding; "Te Dominum

confitemur." But neither the writings of one or the other contain the

slightest trace of the hymn and its origin. The first historic

testimony of its existence and use is the eleventh rule of St. Benedict

of Nursia, a.d. 529, which prescribes to the monks of Monte Casino:

"Post guartum autem responsorium incipiat Abbas hymnum Te Deum

laudamus." But five or eight lines of the hymn are found in Greek as a

part of the Gloria in Excelsis (Doxaenhupsistois, etc. ) in the

Alexandrian Codex of the Bible which dates from the fifth century. See

Daniel, II 289 sqq.;Christ p. 39 (from kathhemeran to eistousaionas),

and Kayser, 437 sqq. Daniel traces the whole Te Deum to a lost Greek

original (of which the lines in the Cod. Alex. are a fragment), Kayser

to an unknown Latin author in the second half of the fifth century,

i.e. about one hundred years after the death of St. Ambrose.

[472] The dates of his birth and death are quite uncertain, and

variously stated from 530 or 550 to 600 or 609.

[473] See two Latin texts with critical notes in Daniel, I. 160 sqq.,

rhymed English Versions by Mant, Caswall, and Neale. The originals are

not rhymed, but very melodious. See vol. III. 597. The Opera of

Fortunatus were edited by Luchi, Rom. 1786, and Migne in "Patrol. Lat."

vol. 88 (Paris 1850). Comp. Amp�re, Hist. litt�r. II. 275 sqq.; Ebert,

l.c. I. 494 sqq. Fortunatus is a very interesting character, and

deserves a special monograph. Kayser devotes to him three chapters (p.

386-434).

[474] Daniel, I. 175-183, gives ten hymns of Gregory, and an additional

one (Laudes canamus) in vol. V. 248. Mone adds some more of doubtful

authorship, I. 370, 376 sqq.; III. 325 sqq., and includes hymns in

praise of Gregory, as "O decus sacerdotum, flosque sanctorum." English

translations of his Breviary hymns in Mant, Chambers, Caswall, Newman.

On his merits as a poet, see Ebert, I. 827 sqq. Luther, in his

Tischreden (which are a strange mixture of truth and fiction), declared

the passion hymn Rex Christe,factor omnium, to be the best of all hymns

("der allerbeste Hymnus"), but this extravagant praise is inconsistent

with the poetic taste of Luther and the fact that he did not reproduce

it in German.

[475] From Newman's free reproduction (in Verses on Various Occasions).

See the Latin text in both recensions in Daniel, I. 175,

[476] Daniel, I. 206 sq.; Mone, I.1 ("Primo Deus coeli globum") and 284

(Ave sacer Christi sanguis). The hymn for the infant martyrs at

Bethlehem is far inferior to the Salvete flores martyrum of Prudentius.

The first of the hymns quoted in the text is translated by Mrs. Charles

and by Neale. German versions by K�nigsfeld (Ihr Siegeshymnen schallet

laut, and Unschuld'ger Kinder Martyrschaar), Knapp, and others. Bede

composed also a metrical history, of St. Cuthbert, which Newman has

translated in part ("Between two comrades dear").

[477] His carmina were edited from an old MS. found in the convent of

Fulda by Christopher Brower, a Jesuit, in 1617 (as an appendix to the

poems of Venantius Fortunatus), and reprinted in Migne's Rab.

MauriOpera (1852) Vol. VI. f. 1583-1682. Comp. Kunstmann, Hrabamus

Magnentius Maurus, Mainz 1841; Koch, I. 90-93; Ebert, II. 120-145;

Hauck in Herzog2XII. 459-465. Hauck refers to D�mmler on the MS.

tradition of the poem, of R. M.

[478] So Brower, and quite recently S. W. Duffield, in an article In

Schaff's "Rel. Encycl." III. 2608 sq. Also Cl�ment, Carmina, etc., p.

379.

[479] 9 In the abridged and not very happy translation of Bishop Cosin

(only four stanzas), beginning:

"Come, Holy Ghost, our souls inspire, And lighten with celestial fire.

Thou the anointing Spirit art, Who dost thy sevenfold gift, impart."

It was introduced into the Prayer Book after the Restoration, 1662. The

alternate ordination hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, eternal God," appeared in

1549, and was altered in 1662.

[480] By Tomasi (I. 375) and even Daniel (I. 213, sq.; IV. 125),

apparently also by Trench (p. 167). Tomasi based his view on an

impossible tradition reported by the Bollandists (Acta SS. Apr. 1,

587), that Notker sent to Charlemagne (who died a hundred years before)

his sequence Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia, and received in

response the Veni, Creator Spiritus from the emperor (whose Latin

scholarship was not sufficient for poetic composition). The author of

the article "Hymns" in the 9th ed. of the "Encycl. Brit." revives the

legend, but removes the anachronism by substituting for Charlemagne his

nephew, Charles the Bald (who was still less competent for the task).

[481] By Mone (I. 242, note), Koch, Wackernagel. Mone's reasons are

"the classical metre with partial rhymes, and the prayer-like

treatment."

[482] In the twelfth and thirteenth century (Komm, Sch�pfer, heiliger

Geist), as also by Luther (Komm, Gott Sch�pfer, heiliger Geist), by

K�nigsfeld (Komm, Sch�pfer, heil'ger Geist, erfreu), and others. The

oldest German translator (as reported by Daniel, I. 214), says that he

who recites this hymn by day or by night, is secure against all enemies

visible or invisible.

[483] As contained in his work De Universo 1. I. c.3 (in Migne's

edition of the Opera, V. 23-26). Here he calls the Holy Spirit digitus

Dei (as in the hymn), and teaches the double procession which had come

to be the prevailing doctrine in the West since the adoption of the

Filioque at the Synod of Aix in Creed. The scanning of Paracl�tus with

a long penultimate differs from that 809, though under protest of Leo

III. against its insertion into the Nicene of other Latin poets

(Paraecletos).

[484] The Latin text is from Brower, as reprinted in Migne (VI. 1657),

with the addition of the first doxology. The first translation is by

Robert Campbell, 1850, the second by Rev. S. W. Duffield, made for this

work, Feb. 1884. Other English versions by Wither (1623), Drummond

(1616), Cosin (1627), Tate (1703), Dryden (1700), Isaac Williams

(1839), Bishop Williams (1845), Mant ("Come, Holy Ghost, Creator

blest"), Benedict ("Spirit, heavenly life bestowing"), MacGill

("Creator Holy Spirit! come"), Morgan ("Creator Spirit, come in love"),

in the Marquess of Bute's Breviary ("Come, Holy Ghost, Creator come").

See nine of these translations in Odenheimer and Bird, Songs of the

Spirit, N. Y. 1871, p. 167-180. German versions are almost as numerous.

Comp. Daniel, I. 213; IV. 124; Mone, I. 242; Koch, 1. 74 sq.

[485] Perpetim, adv., perpetually, constantly. Some copies read perpeti

(from perpes).

[486] The concluding conventional benediction in both forms is a later

addition. The first is given by Daniel (I. 214), and Mone (I. 242), the

second in the text of Rabanus Maurus. The scanning of Paraecletos

differs in both from that in the second stanza.

[487] A few writers claim it for Pope Innocent III.

[488] See the Latin text in Daniel II. 35; V. 69; Mone, I. 244. In ver.

8 line 2 Daniel reads frigidum for languidum.

[489] Dr. E. A. Washburn, late rector of Calvary Church, New York, a

highly accomplished scholar (d. 1881). The version was made in 1860 and

published in "Voices from a Busy Life," N. Y. 1883, p. 142.

[490] Comp. on Notker the biography of Ekkehard; Daniel V. 37 sqq.;

Koch I. 94 sqq.; Meyer von Knonau,Lebensbild des heil. Notker von St.

Gallen, and his article in Herzog2X. 648 sqq. (abridged in

Schaff-Herzog II. 1668); and Ans. Schubiger, Die S�ngerschule St.

Gallens vom 8ten his 12ten Jahrh. (Einsiedlen, 1858). Daniel II. 3-31

gives thirty-five pieces under the title Notker et Notkeriana. Neale

(p. 32) gives a translation of one sequence: Sancti Spiritus adsit

nobis gratia.

[491] For further information on Sequences see especially Neale's

Epistola Critica de Sequentiis at the beginning of the fifth vol. of

Daniel's Thes. (p. 3-36), followed by literary notices of Daniel; also

the works of Bartsch and Kehrein (who gives the largest collection),

and Duffield in Schaff's Rel. Encyl. III. 161. Neale defines a

sequentia: "prolongatio syllabae tou Alleluia."

[492] Translated by Neale, p. 32.

[493] Daniel, II. 329; Mone, I. 397. Several German versions, one by

Luther (1524): "Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfangen." This

version is considerably enlarged and has been translated into English

by Miss Winkworth in "Lyra Germanica" : "In the midst of life behold

Death has girt us round. See notes in Schaff's Deutsches Gesangbuch,

No. 446.

[494] The text is taken from The First Book of Edward VI., 1549 (as

republished by Dr. Morgan Dix, N. Y. 1881, p. 268). In the revision of

the Prayer Book the third line was thus improved: O Lord, who for our

sins art justly displeased (irasceris)."

[495] Daniel, I. 224. English Versions by Neale, Benedict, and Washburn

(l. c. p. 145). German translation by K�nigsfeld: "Wie du mich mit

Schrecken sch�ttelst." Neale (p. 52) calls this "an awful hymn, the

Dies Irae of individual life." His version begins:

"O what terror in thy forethought, Ending scene in mortal life!"

[496] Daniel, I. 116-118 (Rhythmus de gloria et gaudiis Paradisi),

under the name of St. Augustin. So also Cl�ment, Carmina, p. 162-166,

who says that it is, attributed to Augustin "per les melleurs

critiques," and that it is "un reflet de la Cit� de Dieu." But the

great African father put his poetry into prose, and only furnished

inspiring thoughts to poets. German translation by K�nigsfeld (who

gives it likewise under the name of St. Augustin) "Nach des ew'gen

Lebens Quellen."

[497] See their hymns in Daniel, I. 183 sqq., and partly in Mone, and

Cl�ment.

[498] From this poem (see Daniel I. 209 sq.) Guido of Arezzo got names

for the six notes Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La: "Ut queant laxis Re-sonare

fibris Mi-ra gestorum Fa-muli tuorum, Sol ve polluti La-bii reatum,

Sancte Joannes."

[499] See Daniel, Hymni adespotoi circa sec. VI-IX. conscripti, I. 191

sqq. Mone gives a larger number.

[500] In the Roman Breviary: "Coelestis urbs Jerusalem." Neale thinks

that the changes in the revised Breviary of Urban VIII. have deprived

"this grand hymn of half of its beauty."

[501] See the original in Daniel, I. 194. Other English translations by

Mrs. Charles, and E. C. Benedict. In German by K�nigsfeld: "Pl�tzlich

wird der Tag erscheinen."

[502] Daniel (I. 204) says of this hymn: "Hic hymnus Marianus, quem

Catholica semper ingenti cum favore prosecuta est, in omnibus

breviarriis, quae inspiciendi unquam mihi occasio data est, ad honorem

beatissimae virginis cantandus praescribitur, inprimis in

Annunciatione; apud permultos tamen aliis quoque diebus Festis Marianis

adscriptus est. Quae hymni reverentia ad recentiora usque tempora

permansit." It is one of the few hymns which Urban VIII. did not alter

in his revision of the Breviary. Mone (II. 216, 218, 220, 228) gives

four variations of Ave Maris Stella, which is used as the text.

[503] This designation of Mary is supposed to be meant for a

translation of the name; maria being taken for the plural of mare: see

Gen. I: 10 (Vulgate) "congregationes aquarum appellavit maria. Et vidit

Deus, quod esset bonum." (See the note in Daniel, I. 205). Surely a

most extraordinary exposition, not to say imposition, yet not too

far-fetched for the middle ages, when Greek and Hebrew were unknown,

when the Scriptures were supposed to have four senses, and allegorical

and mystical fancies took the place of grammatical and historical

exegesis.

[504] The comparison of Mary with Eve--the mother of obedience

contrasted with the mother of disobedience, the first Eve bringing in

guilt and ruin, the second, redemption and bliss--is as old as Irenaeus

(about 180) and is the fruitful germ of Mariolatry. The mystical change

of Eva and Ave is mediaeval--a sort of pious conundrum.

[505] The words of our Lord to John: "Behold thy mother" (John 19:27),

were supposed to be spoken to all Christians.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 97. The Seven Sacraments.

Mediaeval Christianity was intensely sacramental, sacerdotal and

hierarchical. The ideas of priest, sacrifice, and altar are closely

connected. The sacraments were regarded as the channels of all grace

and the chief food of the soul. They accompanied human life from the

cradle to the grave. The child was saluted into this world by the

sacrament of baptism; the old man was provided with the viaticum on his

journey to the other world.

The chief sacraments were baptism and the eucharist. Baptism was

regarded as the sacrament of the new birth which opens the door to the

kingdom of heaven the eucharist as the sacrament of sanctification

which maintains and nourishes the new life.

Beyond these two sacraments several other rites were dignified with

that name, but there was no agreement as to the number before the

scholastic period. The Latin sacramentum, like the Greek mystery (of

which it is the translation in the Vulgate), was long used in a loose

and indefinite way for sacred and mysterious doctrines and rites.

Rabanus Maurus and Paschasius Radbertus count four sacraments,

Dionysius Areopagita, six; Damiani, as many as twelve. By the authority

chiefly of Peter the Lombard and Thomas Aquinas the sacred number seven

was at last determined upon, and justified by various analogies with

the number of virtues, and the number of sins, and the necessities of

human life. [506]

But seven sacraments existed as sacred rites long before the church was

agreed on the number. We find them with only slight variations

independently among the Greeks under the name of "mysteries" as well as

among the Latins. They are, besides baptism and the eucharist (which is

a sacrifice as well as a sacrament): confirmation, penance (confession

and absolution), marriage, ordination, and extreme unction.

Confirmation was closely connected with baptism as a sort of

supplement. It assumed a more independent character in the case of

baptized infants and took place later. It may be performed in the Greek

church by any priest, in the Latin only by the bishop. [507]

Penance was deemed necessary for sins after baptism. [508]

Ordination is the sacrament of the hierarchy and indispensable for the

government of the church.

Marriage lies at the basis of the family and society in church and

state, and was most closely and jealously guarded by the church against

facility of divorce, against mixed marriages, and marriages between

near relatives.

Extreme unction with prayer (first mentioned among the sacraments by a

synod of Pavia in 850, and by Damiani) was the viaticum for the

departure into the other world, and based on the direction of St. James

5:14, 15 (Comp. Mark 6:13; 16:18). At first it was applied in every

sickness, by layman as well as priest, as a medical cure and as a

substitute for amulets and forms of incantation; but the Latin church

afterwards confined it to of extreme danger.

The efficacy of the sacrament was defined by the scholastic term ex

opere operato, that is, the sacrament has its intended effect by virtue

of its institution and inherent power, independently of the moral

character of the priest and of the recipient, provided only that it be

performed in the prescribed manner and with the proper intention and

provided that the recipient throw no obstacle in the way. [509]

Three of the Sacraments, namely baptism, confirmation, and ordination,

have in addition the effect of conferring an indelible character. [510]

Once baptized always baptized, though the benefit may be forfeited for

ever; once ordained always ordained, though a priest may be deposed and

excommunicated.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[506] Otto, bishop of Bamberg (between 1139 and 1189), is usually

reported to have introduced the seven sacraments among the Pomeranians

whom he had converted to Christianity, but the discourse on which this

tradition rests is of doubtful genuineness. The scholastic number seven

was confirmed by the Council of Florence (the Greek delegates

assenting), and by the Council of Trent which anathematizes all who

teach more or less, Sess. VII. can. I. The Protestant churches admit

only two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, because these alone

are especially commanded by Christ to be observed. Yet ordination and

marriage, and in some churches confirmation also, are retained as

solemn religious ceremonies.

[507] The Lutheran church retains confirmation by the minister, the

Anglican church by the bishop.

[508] See above, � 87.

[509] Here, too, the Protestant (at least the Reformed) confessions

differ from the Roman Catholic by requiring faith in active exercise as

a condition of receiving the benefit of the sacrament. In the case of

infant baptism the faith of the parents or responsible guardians is

taken into account. Without such faith the sacrament would be wasted

and profaned.

[510] Character indelebilis

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 98. The Organ and the Bell.

To the external auxiliaries of worship were added the organ and the

bell.

The Organ, [511] in the sense of a particular instrument (which dates

from the time of St. Augustin), is a development of the Syrinx or

Pandean pipe, and in its earliest form consisted of a small box with a

row of pipes in the top, which were inflated by the performer with the

mouth through means of a tube at one end. It has in the course of time

undergone considerable improvements. The use of organs in churches is

ascribed to Pope Vitalian (657-672). Constantine Copronymos sent an

organ with other presents to King Pepin of France in 767. Charlemagne

received one as a present from the Caliph Haroun al Rashid, and had it

put up in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle. The art of organ-building

was cultivated chiefly in Germany. Pope John VIII. (872-882) requested

Bishop Anno of Freising to send him an organ and an organist.

The attitude of the churches towards the organ varies. It shared to

some extent the fate of images, except that it never was an object of

worship. The poetic legend which Raphael has immortalized by one of his

master-pieces, ascribes its invention to St. Cecilia, the patron of

sacred music. The Greek church disapproves the use of organs. The Latin

church introduced it pretty generally, but not without the protest of

eminent men, so that even in the Council of Trent a motion was made,

though not carried, to prohibit the organ at least in the mass. The

Lutheran church retained, the Calvinistic churches rejected it,

especially in Switzerland and Scotland; but in recent times the

opposition has largely ceased. [512]

The Bell is said to have been invented by Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) in

Campania; [513] but he never mentions it in his description of

churches. Various sonorous instruments were used since the time of

Constantine the Great for announcing the commencement of public

worship. Gregory of Tours mentions a "signum" for calling monks to

prayer. The Irish used chiefly hand-bells from the time of St. Patrick,

who himself distributed them freely. St. Columba is reported to have

gone to church when the bell rang (pulsante campana) at midnight. Bede

mentions the bell for prayer at funerals. St. Sturm of Fulda ordered in

his dying hours all the bells of the convent to be rung (779). In the

reign of Charlemagne the use of bells was common in the empire. He

encouraged the art of bel-founding, and entertained bell-founders at

his court. Tancho, a monk of St. Gall, cast a fine bell, weighing from

four hundred to five hundred pounds, for the cathedral at

Aix-la-Chapelle. In the East, church bells are not mentioned before the

end of the ninth century.

Bells, like other church-furniture, were consecrated for sacred use by

liturgical forms of benediction. They were sometimes even baptized; but

Charlemagne, in a capitulary of 789, forbids this abuse. [514] The

office of bell-ringers [515] was so highly esteemed in that age that

even abbots and bishops coveted it. Popular superstition ascribed to

bells a magical effect in quieting storms and expelling pestilence.

Special towers were built for them. [516] The use of church bells is

expressed in the old lines which are inscribed in many of them:

"Lauda Deum verum, plebem voco, congrego clerum,

Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festaque honoro." [517]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[511] Organum from the Greek organon, which is used in the Septuagint

for several musical terms in Hebrew, as cheli, chinor (cithara), nephel

(nablium), yugab. See the passages in Trommius, Concord. Gr. V. LXX,

II. 144.

[512] See Hopkins and Rimbault: The Organ, its History and

Construction, 1855; E. de Coussemakee: Histoire, des instruments de

musique au moyen-age, Paris 1859; Heinrich Otte: Handbuch der Kirchl.

Kunstarch�ologie, Leipz. 4th ed. 1866, p. 225 sqq. O. Wangermann:

Gesch. der Orgel und der Orgelbaukunst, second ed. 1881. Comp. also

Bingham, Augusti, Binterim, Siegel, Alt, and the art. Organ in Smith

and Cheetham, Wetzer and Welte, and in Herzog.

[513] Hence the names campanum, or campana, nola(continued in the

Italian language), but it is more probable that the name is derived

from Campanian brass (aes campanum), which in early times furnished the

material for bells. In later Latin it is called cloqua, cloccum,

clocca, cloca, also tintinnabulum, English: clock; German: Glocke;

French: cloche; Irish: clog (comp. the Latin clangere and the German

klopfen).

[514] "Ut cloccae non baptizentur." According to Baronius, Annal. ad a.

968, Pope John XIII. baptized the great bell of the Lateran church, and

called it John. The reformers of the. sixteenth century renewed the

protest of Charlemagne, and abolished the baptism of bells as a

profanation of the sacrament, See Siegel, Handbuch der christl.

kirchlichen Alterth�mer, II. 243.

[515] Campanarii, campanatores.

[516] Called Campanile. The one on place of San Marco at Venice is

especially celebrated.

[517] The literature on bells is given by Siegel, II. 239, and Otte,

p.2 and 102. We mention Nic. Eggers: de Origine et Nomine Campanarum,

Jen., 1684; by the same: De Campanarum Materia et Forma 1685; Waller:

De Campanis et praecipuis earum Usibus, Holm., 1694; Eschenwecker:

Circa Campanas, Hal. ) 1708; J. B. Thiers. Trait� des Cloches, Par.,

1719; Montanus: Hist. Nachricht von den Glocken, etc., Chemnitz, 1726;

Chrysander: Hist. Nachricht von Kirchen-Glocken, Rinteln, 1755;

Heinrich Otte: Glockenkunde, Leipz., 1858; Comp. also his Handbuch der

kirchlichen Kunst-Arch�ologie des deutschen Mittelalters, Leipz., 1868,

4th ed., p. 245-248 (with illustrations); and the articles Bells,

Glocken, in the archaeological works of Smith and Cheetham, Wetzer and

Welte, and Herzog. Schiller has made the bell the subject of his

greatest lyric poem, which ends with this beautiful description of its

symbolic meaning: "Und diess sei fortan ihr Beruf, Wozu der Meister sie

erschuf: Hoch �ber'm niedern Erdenleben Soll sie im blauen Himmelszelt,

Die Nachbarin des Donners, schweben Und gr�nzen an die Sternenwelt;

Soll eine Stimme sein von oben, Wie der Gestirne helle Shaar, Die ihren

Sch�pfer wandelnd loben Und f�hren das bekr�nzte Jahr. Nur ewigen und

ersten Dingen Sei ihr metall'ner Mund geweiht, Und st�ndlich mit den

schnellen Schwinger Ber�hr' im Fluge sie die Zeit. Dem Schicksal leihe

sie die Zunge; Selbst herzlos, ohne Mitgef�hl, Begleite sie mit ihrem

Schwunge Des Lebens wechselvolles Spiel. Und wie der Klang im Ohr

vergehet, Der m�chtig t�nend ihr entschallt, So lehre sie, dass nichts

bestehet, Dass alles Irdische verhallt."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 99. The Worship of Saints.

Comp. vol. III. �� 81-87 (p. 409-460).

The Worship of Saints, handed down from the Nicene age, was a Christian

substitute for heathen idolatry and hero-worship, and well suited to

the taste and antecedents of the barbarian races, but was equally

popular among the cultivated Greeks. The scholastics made a distinction

between three grades of worship: 1) adoration (latreia), which belongs

to God alone; 2) veneration (douleia), which is due to the saints as

those whom God himself has honored, and who reign with him in heaven;

3) special veneration (huperdouleia), which is due to the Virgin Mary

as the mother of the Saviour and the queen of all saints. But the

people did not always mind this distinction, and the priests rather

encouraged the excesses of saint-worship. Prayers were freely addressed

to the saints, though not as the givers of the blessings desired, but

as intercessors and advocates. Hence the form "Pray for us" (Ora pro

nobis).

The number of saints and their festivals multiplied very rapidly. Each

nation, country, province or city chose its patron saint, as Peter and

Paul in Rome, St. Ambrose in Milan, St. Martin, St. Denys (Dionysius)

and St. Germain in France, St. George in England, St. Patrick in

Ireland, St. Boniface in Germany, and especially the Virgin Mary, who

has innumerable localities and churches under her care and protection.

The fact of saintship was at first decided by the voice of the people,

which was obeyed as the voice of God. Great and good men and women who

lived in the odor of sanctity and did eminent service to the cause of

religion as missionaries or martyrs or bishops or monks or nuns, were

gratefully remembered after their death; they became patron saints of

the country or province of their labors and sufferings, and their

worship spread gradually over the entire church. Their relics were held

sacred; their tombs were visited by pilgrims. The metropolitans usually

decided on the claims of saintship for their province down to a.d.

1153. [518] But to check the increase and to prevent mistakes, the

popes, since Alexander III. a.d. 1170, claimed the exclusive right of

declaring the fact, and prescribing the worship of a saint throughout

the whole (Latin) Catholic church. [519] This was done by a solemn act

called canonization. From this was afterwards distinguished the act of

beatification, which simply declares that a departed Catholic Christian

is blessed (beatus) in heaven, and which within certain limits permits

(but does not prescribe) his veneration. [520]

The first known example of a papal canonization is the canonization of

Ulrich, bishop of Augsburg (d. 973), by John XV. who, at a Lateran

synod composed of nineteen dignitaries, in 993, declared him a saint at

the request of Luitolph (Leuthold), his successor in the see of

Augsburg, after hearing his report in person on the life and miracles

of Ulrich. His chief merit was the deliverance of Southern Germany from

the invasion of the barbarous Magyars, and his devotion to the

interests of his large diocese. He used to make tours of visitation on

an ox-cart, surrounded by a crowd of beggars and cripples. He made two

pilgrimages to Rome, the second in his eighty-first year, and died as

an humble penitent on the bare floor. The bull puts the worship of the

saints on the ground that it redounds to the glory of Christ who

identifies himself with his saints, but it makes no clear distinction

between the different degrees of worship. It threatens all who

disregard this decree with the anathema of the apostolic see. [521]

A mild interpretation of the papal prerogative of canonization reduces

it to a mere declaration of a fact preceded by a careful examination of

the merits of a case before the Congregation of Rites. But nothing

short of a divine revelation can make such a fact known to mortal man.

The examination is conducted by a regular process of law in which one

acts as Advocatus Diaboli or accuser of the candidate for canonization,

and another as Advocatus Dei. Success depends on the proof that the

candidate must have possessed the highest sanctity and the power of

working miracles either during his life, or through his dead bones, or

through invocation of his aid. A proverb says that it requires a

miracle to prove a miracle. Nevertheless it is done by papal decree on

such evidence as is satisfactory to Roman Catholic believers. [522]

The question, how the saints and the Virgin Mary can hear so many

thousands of prayers addressed to them simultaneously in so many

different places, without being clothed with the divine attributes of

omniscience and omnipresence, did not disturb the faith of the people.

The scholastic divines usually tried to solve it by the assumption that

the saints read those prayers in the omniscient mind of God. Then why

not address God directly?

In addition to the commemoration days of particular saints, two

festivals were instituted for the commemoration of all the departed.

The Festival of All Saints [523] was introduced in the West by Pope

Boniface IV. on occasion of the dedication of the Pantheon in Rome,

which was originally built by Agrippa in honor of the victory of

Augustus at Actium, and dedicated to Jupiter Vindex; it survived the

old heathen temples, and was presented to the pope by the Emperor

Phocas, a.d. 607; whereupon it was cleansed, restored and dedicated to

the service of God in the name of the ever-Virgin Mary and all martyrs.

Baronius tells us that at the time of dedication on May 13 the bones of

martyrs from the various cemeteries were in solemn procession

transferred to the church in twenty-eight carriages. [524] From Rome

the festival spread during the ninth century over the West, and Gregory

IV. induced Lewis the Pious in 835 to make it general in the Empire.

The celebration was fixed on the first of November for the convenience

of the people who after harvest had a time of leisure, and were

disposed to give thanks to God for all his mercies.

The Festival of All Souls [525] is a kind of supplement to that of All

Saints, and is celebrated on the day following (Nov. 2). Its

introduction is traced to Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, in the tenth century.

It spread very soon without a special order, and appealed to the

sympathies of that age for the sufferings of the souls in purgatory.

The worshippers appear in mourning; the mass for the dead is celebrated

with the "Dies irae, Dies illa," and the oft-repeated "Requiem aeternam

dona eis, Domine." In some places (e.g. in Munich) the custom prevails

of covering the graves on that day with the last flowers of the season.

The festival of Michael the Archangel, [526] the leader of the angelic

host, was dedicated to the worship of angels, [527] on the 29th of

September. [528] It rests on no doctrine and no fact, but on the sandy

foundation of miraculous legends. [529] We find it first in the East.

Several churches in and near Constantinople were dedicated to St.

Michael, and Justinian rebuilt two which had become dilapidated. In the

West it is first mentioned by a Council of Mentz in 813, as the

"dedicatio S. Michaelis," among the festivals to be observed; and from

that time it spread throughout the Church in spite of the apostolic

warning against angelolatry (Col. 2:18; Rev. 19:10; 22:8, 9). [530]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[518] Sometimes also bishops, synods, and, in cases of political

importance, kings and emperors. The last case of a metropolitan

canonization is ascribed to the archbishop of Rouen, a.d.1153, in favor

of St. Gaucher, or Gaultier, abbot of Pontoise (d. April 9, 1130). But

Labbe and Alban Butler state that he was canonized by Celestine III. in

1194. It seems that even at a later date some bishops exercised a

limited canonization; hence the prohibition of this practice as

improper by Urban VIII. in 1625 and 1634.

[519] The occasion of the papal decision in 1170 was the fact that the

monks of a convent in the diocese of Lisieux worshiped as a saint their

prefect, who had been killed in the refectory by two of their number in

a state of intoxication.

[520] Comp. on this subject Benedict XIV. (Lambertini): De Servorum Dei

Beatificatione et Beatorum Canonisatione. Bononisae 1734-'38; ed. II.

Venet. et Patav. 1743, 4 vol. fol. Ferraris: Bibliotheca Canonica, a.

v. "Veneratio Sanctorum." Canonization includes seven privileges: 1)

recognition as saint by the whole (Roman) church; 2) invocation in

public and private prayers; 3) erection of churches and altars to the

honor of the saints; 4) invocation at the celebration of the mass; 5)

appointment of special days of commemoration; 6) exhibition of their

images with a crown on their head; 7) exhibition of their bones and

relics for veneration. The question whether the papal bulls of

canonization are infallible and de fide, or only sententia communis et

certa, seems to be still disputed among Roman Catholics.

[521] See Mansi, XIX. f. 169-179. The bull is signed by, the pope, five

bishops, nine cardinal priests, an archdeacon and four deacons. It

decrees that the memory of Saint Udalricus be venerated "affectu

piisimo et devotione fidelissima," and be dedicated to divine worship

("divino cultui dicata"). It justifies it by the reason "quoniam sic

adoramus (!) et colimus reliquius m et confessorum, ut eum, Cuius

martyres et confessores sunt, adoremus Honaramus servos ut honor

redundet in Dominum, qui dixit: Qui vos recipit me recipit': ac proinde

nos, qui fiduciam nostrae justitiae non habemus, illorum precibus et

meritis apud clementissimum Deum jugiter adiuvemur." The bull mentions

many miracles of Ulrich, "quae sive in corpore, sive extra corpus gesta

sunt, videlicet Caecos illuminasse, daemones ab obsessis effugasse,

paralyticos curasse, et quam plurima alia signa gessisse." On the life

of St. Ulrich see the biography by his friend and companion Gerhard

(between 983 and 993), best edition by Wirtz in the Monum. G.

Scriptores, IV. 377 sqq.; Acta Sanct., Bolland. ad 4 Jul.; Mabillon,

Ada Ordinis S. B., V. 415-477; Braun, Gesch. der Bisch�fe von

Augsburg(Augsb. 1813), vol. I.; Schr�dl, in Wetzer and Welte, vol. XI.

370-383, and Vogel in Herzog1vol. XVI. 624-628. Ulrich cannot be the

author of a tract against celibacy which was first published under his

name by Flacius in his Catalogus Testium Veritatis, but dates from the

year 1059 when Pope Nicolas II. issued a decree enforcing celibacy. See

Vogel, l.c. p. 627.

[522] The most recent acts of canonization occurred in our generation.

Pope Pius IX. canonized in 1862 with great solemnity twenty-six

Japanese missionaries and converts of the Franciscan order, who died in

a persecution in 1597. Leo XIII. canonized, December 8, 1881, four

comparatively obscure saints of ascetic habits and self-denying

charity, namely, Giovanni Battista de Rossi, Lorenzo di Brindisi,

Giuseppe Labre, and Clara di Montefalco. A Roman priest describes "the

blessed Labre" as a saint who "never washed, never changed his linen,

generally slept under the arches of the Colosseum and prayed for hours

together in the Church of the Orphanage where there is a tablet to his

memory." St. Labre evidently did not believe that "cleanliness is next

to godliness"

[523] Omnium Sanctorum Natalis, or Festivas, Solemnitas,

Allerheiligenfest. The Greek church had long before a similar festival

in commemoration of all martyrs on the first Sunday after Pentecost,

called KuriaketonHagionpanton. Chrysostom, in a sermon for that day,

says that on the Octave of Pentecost the Christians were surrounded by

the host of martyrs. In the West the first Sunday after Pentecost was

devoted to the Trinity, and closed the festival part of the church

year. See vol. III. 408.

[524] Martyrologio Romano, May 13 and Nov. 1. The Pantheon or Rotunda,

like Westminster Abbey, and St. Paul's Cathedral in London, contains

the ashes of other distinguished men besides saints, and is the

resting-place of Raphael, and since 1883 even of Victor Emanuel, the

founder of the Kingdom of Italy, whom the pope regards as a robber of

the patrimony of Peter.

[525] Omnium Fidelium defunctorum Memoria orCommemoratio,

Allerseelentag.

[526] Festum S. Michaelis, or Michaelis Archangeli, Michaelmas.

[527] Hence also called Festum omnium Angelorum, St. Michael and all

Angels.

[528] In the Eastern church on November 8. The origin of the Eastern

celebration is obscure.

[529] Namely, sundry apparitions of Michael, at Chonae, near Colossae,

in Monte Gargano in the diocese of Sipontum in Apulia (variously

assigned to a.d.492, 520, and 536), in Monte Tumba in Normandy (about

710), and especially one to Pope Gregory I. in Rome, or his successor,

Boniface III. (607-610), after a pestilence over the Moles Hadriani,

which ever since has been called the Castello di St. Angelo, and is

adorned by the statue of an angel.

[530] See vol. III. 444 sq. Acta Sanct., Sept. 29; Siegel, Handbuch der

christl. Kirchl. Alterth�mer, III. 419-425; Smith & Cheetham, II.

1176-1180; also Augusti, Binterim, and the monographs mentioned by

Siegel, p. 419. The angel-worship in Colossae was heretical and

probably of Essenic origin. See the commentaries in loc., especially

Lightfoot, p. 101 sqq. A council of Laodicea near Colossae, about 363,

found it necessary strongly to forbid angelolatry as then still

prevailing in Phrygia. St. Augustin repeatedly objects to it, De vera

Rel. 110; Conf. X. 42; De Civ. D. X. 19, 25.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 100. The Worship of Images. Literature. Different Theories.

Comp. Vol. II., chs. vi. (p.266 sqq.) and vii. (p. 285); Vol. III.

��109-111 (p. 560 sqq.).

(I.) John of Damascus (chief defender of image-worship, about 750):

Lovgoi ajpologhtikoi; pro;" tou;" diabavllonta" ta;" aJgiva" eijkovna"

(ed. Le Quien I. 305). Nicephorus (Patriarch of Constantinople, d.

828): Breviarium Hist. (to a.d. 769), ed. Petavius, Paris, 1616.

Theophanes (Confessor and almost martyr of image-worship, d. c. 820):

Chronographia, cum notis Goari et Combefisii, Par., 1655, Ven. 1729,

and in the Bonn ed. of the Byzant. historians, 1839, Tom. I. (reprinted

in Migne's "Patrol. Graeca," Tom. 108). The later Byzantine historians,

who notice the controversy, draw chiefly from Theophanes; so also

Anastasius (Historia Eccles.) and Paulus Diaconus (Historia miscella

and Hist. Longobardorum).

The letters of the popes, and the acts of synods, especially the Acta

Concilii Nicaeni II. (a.d. 787) in Mansi, Tom. XIII., and Harduin, Tom.

IV.

M. H. Goldast: Imperialia Decreta de Cultu Imaginum in utroque imperio

promulgata. Frankf., 1608.

The sources are nearly all on the orthodox side. The seventh

oecumenical council (787) ordered in the fifth session that all the

books against images should be destroyed.

(II.) J. Dalleus (Calvinist): De Imaginibus. Lugd. Bat., 1642.

L. Maimbourg (Jesuit): Histoire de l'h�r�sie des iconoclastes. Paris,

1679 and 1683, 2 vols. (Hefele, III. 371, calls this work "nicht ganz

zuverl�ssig," not quite reliable).

Fr. Spanheim (Calvinist): Historia Imaginum restituta. Lugd. Bat. 1686

(in Opera, II. 707).

Chr. W. Fr. Walch (Lutheran): Ketzerhistorie. Leipz., 1762 sqq., vol.

X. (1782) p. 65-828, and the whole of vol. XI. (ed. by Spittler, 1785).

Very thorough, impartial, and tedious.

F. Ch. Schlosser: Geschichte der bilderst�rmenden Kaiser des

ostr�mischen Reichs. Frankf. a. M., 1812.

J. Marx (R.C.): Der Bilderstreit der Byzant. Kaiser. Trier, 1839.

Bishop Hefele: Conciliengesch. vol III. 366-490; 694-716 (revised ed.,

Freib. i. B. 1877).

R. Schenk: Kaiser Leo III. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des

Bilderstreites. Halle, 1880.

General Church Histories: 1) R. Cath.: Baronius, Pagi, Natalis

Alexander, Alzog, Hergenr�ther (I. 121-143; 152-168). 2) Protest.:

Basnage, Gibbon (ch. 49), Schr�ckh (vol. XX.), Neander (III. 197-243;

532-553, Bost. ed.; fall and fair); Gieseler (II. 13-19, too short).

The literature on the image-controversy is much colored by the

doctrinal stand-point of the writers. Gibbon treats it with cold

philosophical indifference, and chiefly in its bearing on the political

fortunes of the Byzantine empire.

With the worship of saints is closely, connected a subordinate worship

of their images and relics. The latter is the legitimate application of

the former. But while the mediaeval churches of the East and West--with

the exception of a few protesting voices--were agreed on the worship of

saints, there was a violent controversy about the images which kept the

Eastern church in commotion for more than a century (a.d. 724-842), and

hastened the decline of the Byzantine empire.

The abstract question of the use of images is connected with the

general subject of the relation of art to worship. Christianity claims

to be the perfect and universal religion; it pervades with its

leavening power all the faculties of man and all departments of life.

It is foreign to nothing which God has made. It is in harmony with all

that is true, and beautiful, and good. It is friendly to philosophy,

science, and art, and takes them into its service. Poetry, music, and

architecture achieve their highest mission as handmaids of religion,

and have derived the inspiration for their noblest works from the

Bible. Why then should painting or sculpture or any other art which

comes from God, be excluded from the use of the Church? Why should not

Bible history as well as all other history admit of pictorial and

sculptured representation for the instruction and enjoyment of children

and adults who have a taste for beauty? Whatever proceeds from God must

return to God and spread his glory.

But from the use of images for ornament, instruction and enjoyment

there is a vast step to the worship of images, and experience proves

that the former can exist without a trace of the latter. In the middle

ages, however, owing to the prevailing saint-worship, the two were

inseparable. The pictures were introduced into churches not as works of

art, but as aids and objects of devotion. The image-controversy was

therefore a, purely practical question of worship, and not a

philosophical or artistic question. To a rude imagination an ugly and

revolting picture served the devotional purpose even better than one of

beauty and grace. It was only towards the close of the middle ages that

the art of Christian painting began to produce works of high merit.

Moreover the image-controversy was complicated with the second

commandment of the decalogue which clearly and wisely forbids, if not

all kinds of figurative representations of the Deity, at all events

every idolatrous and superstitious use of pictures. It was also beset

by the difficulty that we have no authentic pictures of Christ, the

Madonna and the Apostles or any other biblical character.

We have traced in previous volumes the gradual introduction of sacred

images from the Roman Catacombs to the close of the sixth century. The

use of symbols and pictures was at first quite innocent and spread

imperceptibly with the growth of the worship of saints. The East which

inherited a love for art from the old Greeks, was chiefly devoted to

images, the Western barbarians who could not appreciate works of art,

cared more for relics.

We may distinguish three theories, of which two came into open conflict

and disputed the ground till the year 842.

1. The theory of Image-Worship. It is the orthodox theory, denounced by

the opponents as a species of idolatry, [531] but strongly supported by

the people, the monks, the poets, the women, the Empresses Irene and

Theodora, sanctioned by the seventh oecumenical Council (787) and by

the popes (Gregory II., Gregory III. and Hadrian I). It maintained the

right and duty of using and worshipping images of Christ, the Virgin,

and the saints, but indignantly rejected the charge of idolatry, and

made a distinction (often disregarded in practice) between a limited

worship due to pictures, [532] and adoration proper due to God alone.

[533] Images are a pictorial Bible, and speak to the eye even more

eloquently than the word speaks to the ear. They are of special value

to the common people who cannot read the Holy Scriptures. The honors of

the living originals in heaven were gradually transferred to their

wooden pictures on earth; the pictures were reverently kissed and

surrounded by the pagan rites of genuflexion, luminaries, and incense;

and prayers were thought to be more effective if said before them.

Enthusiasm for pictures went hand in hand with the worship of saints,

and was almost inseparable from it. It kindled a poetic inspiration

which enriched the service books of the Greek church. The chief

hymnists, John of Damascus, Cosmas of Jerusalem, Germanus, Theophanes,

Theodore of the Studium, were all patrons of images, and some of them

suffered deposition, imprisonment, and mutilation for their zeal; but

the Iconoclasts did not furnish a single poet. [534]

The chief argument against this theory was the second commandment. It

was answered in various ways. The prohibition was understood to be

merely temporary till the appearance of Christ, or to apply only to

graven images, or to the making of images for idolatrous purposes.

On the other hand, the cherubim over the ark, and the brazen serpent in

the wilderness were appealed to as examples of visible symbols in the

Mosaic worship. The incarnation of the Son of God furnished the divine

warrant for pictures of Christ. Since Christ revealed himself in human

form it can be no sin to represent him in that form. The significant

silence of the Gospels concerning his personal appearance was supplied

by fictitious pictures ascribed to St. Luke, and St. Veronica, and that

of Edessa. A superstitious fancy even invented stories of

wonder-working pictures, and ascribed to them motion, speech, and

action.

It should be added that the Eastern church confines images to colored

representations on a plane surface, and mosaics, but excludes

sculptures and statues from objects of worship. The Roman church makes

no such restriction.

2. The Iconoclastic theory occupies the opposite extreme. Its advocates

were called image-breakers. [535] It was maintained by the energetic

Greek emperors, Leo III. and his son Constantine, who saved the

tottering empire against the invasion of the Saracens; it was popular

in the army, and received the sanction of the Constantinopolitan Synod

of 754. It appealed first and last to the second commandment in the

decalogue in its strict sense as understood by the Jews and the

primitive Christians. It was considerably strengthened by the successes

of the Mohammedans who, like the Jews, charged the Christians with the

great sin of idolatry, and conquered the cities of Syria, Palestine,

and Egypt in spite of the sacred images which were relied on for

protection and miraculous interposition. The iconoclastic Synod of 754

denounced image-worship as a relapse into heathen idolatry, which the

devil had smuggled into the church in the place of the worship of God

alone in spirit and in truth.

The iconoclastic party, however, was not consistent; for it adhered to

saint-worship which is the root of image-worship, and instead of

sweeping away all religious symbols, it retained the sign of the cross

with all its superstitious uses, and justified this exception by the

Scripture passages on the efficacy of the cross, though these refer to

the sacrifice of the cross, and not to the sign.

The chief defect of iconoclasm and the cause of its failure was its

negative character. It furnished no substitute for image-worship, and

left nothing but empty walls which could not satisfy the religious

wants of the Greek race. It was very different from the iconoclasm of

the evangelical Reformation, which put in the place of images the

richer intellectual and spiritual instruction from the Word of God.

3. The Moderate theory sought a via media between image-worship and

image-hatred, by distinguishing between the sign and the thing, the use

and the abuse. It allowed the representation of Christ and the saints

as aids to devotion by calling to remembrance the persons and facts set

forth to the eye. Pope Gregory I. presented to a hermit at his wish a

picture of Christ, of Mary, and of St. Peter and St. Paul, with a

letter in which he approves of the natural desire to have a visible

reminder of an object of reverence and love, but at the same time

warned him against superstitious use. "We do not," he says, "kneel down

before the picture as a divinity, but we adore Him whose birth or

passion or sitting on the throne of majesty is brought to our

remembrance by the picture." The same pope commended Serenus, bishop of

Marseilles, for his zeal against the adoration of pictures, but

disapproved of his excess in that direction, and reminded him of the

usefulness of such aids for the people who had just emerged from pagan

barbarism and could not instruct themselves out of the Holy Scriptures.

The Frankish church in the eighth and ninth centuries took a more

decided stand against the abuse, without, however, going to the extent

of the iconoclasts in the East.

In the course of time the Latin church went just as far if not further

in practical image-worship as the Eastern church after the seventh

oecumenical council. Gregory II. stoutly resisted the iconoclastic

decrees of the Emperor Leo, and made capital out of the controversy for

the independence of the papal throne. Gregory III. followed in the same

steps, and Hadrian sanctioned the decree of the second council of

Nicaea. Image-worship cannot be consistently opposed without

surrendering the worship of saints.

The same theories and parties reappeared again in the age of the

Reformation: the Roman as well as the Greek church adhered to

image-worship with an occasional feeble protest against its abuses, and

encouraged the development of fine arts, especially in Italy; the

radical Reformers (Carlstadt, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox) renewed the

iconoclastic theory and removed, in an orderly way, the pictures from

the churches, as favoring a refined species of idolatry and hindering a

spiritual worship; the Lutheran church (after the example set by Luther

and his friend Lucas Kranach), retained the old pictures, or replaced

them by new and better ones, but freed from former superstition. The

modern progress of art, and the increased mechanical facilities for the

multiplication of pictures have produced a change in Protestant

countries. Sunday School books and other works for old and young abound

in pictorial illustrations from Bible history for instruction; and the

masterpieces of the great religious painters have become household

ornaments, but will never be again objects of worship, which is due to

God alone.

Notes.

The Council of Trent, Sess. XXV. held Dec. 1563, sanctions, together

with the worship of saints and relics, also the "legitimate use of

images" in the following terms: "Moreover, that the images of Christ,

of the Virgin Mother of God, and of the other saints, are to be had and

retained particularly in temples, and that due honor and veneration are

to be given them; not that any divinity, or virtue, is believed to be

in them, on account of which they are to be worshiped; or that anything

is to be asked of them; or that trust is to be reposed in images, as

was of old done by the Gentiles, who placed their hope in idols; but

because the honor which is shown them is referred to the prototypes

which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we

kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we

adore Christ, and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear:

as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of

Nicaea, has been defined against the opponents of images." The

Profession of the Tridentine Faith teaches the same in art. IX. (See

Schaff, Creeds, II. p. 201, 209).

The modern standards of the Eastern Church reiterate the decision of

the seventh (Ecumenical Council. The Synod of Jerusalem, or the

Confession of Dositheus, includes pictures of Christ, the mother of

God, the saints and the holy angels who appeared to some of the

patriarchs and prophets, also the symbolic representation of the Holy

Spirit under the form of a dove, among the objects of worship

(proskunou'men kai; timw'men kai; ajspazovmeqa). See Schaff, l.c. II.

436. The Longer Russian Catechism, in the exposition of the second

commandment (Schaff, II. 527), thus speaks of this subject:

"What is an icon (eikon)?

"The word is Greek, and means an image or representation. In the

Orthodox Church this name designates sacred representations of our Lord

Jesus Christ, God incarnate, his immaculate Mother, and his saints.

"Is the use of holy icons agreeable to the second commandment?

It would then, and then only, be otherwise, if any one were to make

gods of them; but it is not in the least contrary to this commandment

to honor icons as sacred representations, and to use them for the

religious remembrance of God's works and of his saints; for when thus

used icons are books, writen(sic) with the forms of persons and things

instead of letters. (See Greg. Magn. lib. ix. Ep. 9, ad Seren. Epis.).

"What disposition of mind should we have when we reverence icons?

"While we look on them with our eyes, we should mentally look to God

and to the saints, who are represented on them."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[531] Its advocates were called eikonolatrai, xulolatrai, eidodolatrai.

[532] timetikeproskunesis. For this word the Latin has no precise

equivalent. The English word " worship" is used in different senses.

[533] latreia. adoratio.

[534] See � 94, p. 403 sqq.

[535] Eikonoklastai(from klao, to break), eikonokaustai, eikonomachoi,

christianokategoroi.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 101. The Iconoclastic War, and the Synod of 754.

The history of the image-controversy embraces three periods: 1) The war

upon images and the abolition of image-worship by the Council of

Constantinople, a.d. 726-754. 2) The reaction in favor of

image-worship, and its solemn sanction by the second Council of Nicaea,

a.d. 754-787. 3) The renewed conflict of the two parties and the final

triumph of image-worship, a.d. 842.

Image-worship had spread with the worship of saints, and become a

general habit among the people in the Eastern church to such an extent

that the Christian apologists had great difficulty to maintain their

ground against the charge of idolatry constantly raised against them,

not only by the Jews, but also by the followers of Islam, who could

point to their rapid successes in support of their abhorrence of every

species of idolatry. Churches and church-books, palaces and private

houses, dresses and articles of furniture were adorned with religious

pictures. They took among the artistic Greeks the place of the relics

among the rude Western nations. Images were made to do service as

sponsors in the name of the saints whom they represented. Fabulous

stories of their wonder-working power were circulated and readily

believed. Such excesses naturally called forth a reaction.

Leo III., called the Isaurian (716-741), a sober and energetic, but

illiterate and despotic emperor, who by his military talents and

successes had risen from the condition of a peasant in the mountains of

Isauria to the throne of the Caesars, and delivered his subjects from

the fear of the Arabs by the new invention of the "Greek fire," felt

himself called, as a second Josiah, to use his authority for the

destruction of idolatry. The Byzantine emperors did not scruple to

interfere with the internal affairs of the church, and to use their

despotic power for the purpose. Leo was influenced by a certain bishop

Constantinus [536] of Nakolia in Phrygia, and by a desire to break the

force of the Mohammedan charge against the Christians. In the sixth

year of his reign he ordered the forcible baptism of Jews and

Montanists (or Manichaeans); the former submitted hypocritically and

mocked at the ceremony; the latter preferred to set fire to their

meeting-houses and to perish in the flames. Then, in the tenth year

(726), [537] he began his war upon the images. At first he only

prohibited their worship, and declared in the face of the rising

opposition that he intended to protect the images against profanation

by removing them beyond the reach of touch and kiss. But in a second

edict (730), he commanded the removal or destruction of all the images.

The pictured walls were to be whitewashed. He replaced the magnificent

picture of Christ over the gate of the imperial palace by a plain

cross. He removed the aged Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, and

put the iconoclastic Anastasius in his place.

These edicts roused the violent opposition of the clergy, the monks,

and the people, who saw in it an attack upon religion itself. The

servants who took down the picture from the palace gate were killed by

the mob. John of Damascus and Germanus, already known to us as

hymnists, were the chief opponents. The former was beyond the reach of

Leo, and wrote three eloquent orations, one before, two after the

forced resignation of Germanus, in defence of image-worship, and

exhausted the argument. [538] The islanders of the Archipelago under

the control of monks rose in open rebellion, and set up a pretender to

the throne; but they were defeated, and their leaders put to death. Leo

enforced obedience within the limits of the Eastern empire, but had no

power among the Christian subjects of the Saracens, nor in Rome and

Ravenna, where his authority was openly set at defiance. Pope Gregory

II. told him, in an insulting letter (about 729), that the children of

the grammar-school would throw their tablets at his head if he avowed

himself a destroyer of images, and the unwise would teach him what he

refused to learn from the wise [539] . Seventy years afterwards the

West set up an empire of its own in close connection with the bishop of

Rome.

Constantine V., surnamed Copronymos, [540] during his long reign of

thirty-four years (741-775), kept up his father's policy with great

ability, vigor and cruelty, against popular clamor, sedition and

conspiracy. His character is very differently judged according to the

doctrinal views of the writers. His enemies charge him with monstrous

vices, heretical opinions, and the practice of magical arts; while the

iconoclasts praise him highly for his virtues, and forty years after

his death still prayed at his tomb. His administrative and military

talents and successes against the Saracens, Bulgarians, and other

enemies, as well as his despotism and cruelty (which he shares with

other Byzantine emperors) are beyond dispute.

He called an iconoclastic council in Constantinople in 754, which was

to be the seventh oecumenical, but was afterwards disowned as a

pseudo-synod of heretics. It numbered three hundred and thirty

subservient bishops under the presidency of Archbishop Theodosius of

Ephesus (the son of a former emperor), and lasted six months (from Feb.

10th to Aug. 27th); but the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and

Alexandria, being under Moslem rule, could not attend, the see of

Constantinople was vacant, and Pope Stephen III. disregarded the

imperial summons. The council, appealing to the second commandment and

other Scripture passages denouncing idolatry (Rom. 1:23, 25; John

4:24), and opinions of the Fathers (Epiphanius, Eusebius, Gregory

Nazianzen, Chrysostom, etc.), condemned and forbade the public and

private worship of sacred images on pain of deposition and

excommunication, but (inconsistently) ordered at the same time that no

one should deface or meddle with sacred vessels or vestments ornamented

with figures, and formally declared its agreement with the six

oecumenical councils, and the lawfulness of invoking the blessed Virgin

and saints. It denounced all religious representations by painter or

sculptor as presumptuous, pagan and idolatrous. Those who make pictures

of the Saviour, who is God as well as man in one inseparable person,

either limit the incomprehensible Godhead to the bounds of created

flesh, or confound his two natures, like Eutyches, or separate them,

like Nestorius, or deny his Godhead, like Arius; and those who worship

such a picture are guilty of the same heresy and blasphemy. The

eucharist alone is the proper image of Christ. A three-fold anathema

was pronounced on the advocates of image-worship, even the great John

of Damascus under the name of Mansur, who is called a traitor of

Christ, an enemy of the empire, a teacher of impiety, and a perverter

of the Scriptures. The acts of the Synod were destroyed except the

decision (o{ro") and a brief introduction, which are embodied and

condemned in the acts of the second Nicene Council. [541]

The emperor carried out the decree with great rigor as far as his power

extended. The sacred images were ruthlessly destroyed and replaced by

white-wash or pictures of trees, birds, and animals. The bishops and

clergy submitted; but the monks who manufactured the pictures,

denounced the emperor as a second Mohammed and heresiarch, and all the

iconoclasts as heretics, atheists and blasphemers, and were subjected

to imprisonment, flagellation, mutilation, and all sorts of

indignities, even death. The principal martyrs of images during this

reign (from 761-775) are Petrus Kalabites (i.e. the inhabitant of a

hut, kaluvbh), Johannes, Abbot of Monagria, and Stephanus, Abbot of

Auxentius, opposite Constantinople (called "the new Stephanus," to

distinguish him from the proto-martyr). The emperor made even an

attempt to abolish the convents. [542]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[536] Not Theophilus, as Baronius and Schlosser erroneously call him.

See Hefele, III. 372. Theophanes mentions also a renegade Beser, who

had become a Mohammedan, and then probably returned to Christianity and

stood in high honor at the court of Leo.

[537] There is considerable confusion about the beginning of the

conflict and the precise order of events. See Hefele, III. 376 sqq.

[538] See summaries of his logoiapologetikoiin Schrceckh and Neander.

[539] According to older historians (Baronius), the pope even

excommunicated the emperor, withdrew his Italian subjects from their

allegiance, and forbade the payment of tribute. But this is an error.

On the contrary, in a second letter, Gregory expressly disclaims the

power of interfering with the sovereign, while he denies in the

strongest terms the right of the emperor to interfere with the Church.

See the two letters of Gregory to Leo (between 726 to 731) in Mansi,

XII. 959 sqq., and the discussion in Hefele, III. 389-404.

[540] The surname Kopronumos(from kopros, dung) was given him by his

enemies on account of his having polluted the baptismal gont in hid

infancy. Theophanes, Chronogr. ed. Bonn. I. 615 He was also called

Cabellinus, from his love of horses.

[541] Mansi, XIII. 205-363; Gieseler, II. 16; Hefele, III. 410-418.

[542] On these persecutions see, besides Theophanes, the Acta Sanct. of

the Bolland. for Oct., Tom. VIII. 124 sqq. (publ. Brussels, 1853), and

Hefele, III. 421-428.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 102. The Restoration of Image-Worship by the Seventh Oecumenical

Council, 787.

Leo IV., called Chazarus (775-780), kept up the laws against images,

though with more moderation. But his wife Irene of Athens distinguished

for beauty, talent, ambition and intrigue, was at heart devoted to

image-worship, and after his death and during the minority of her son

Constantine VI. Porphyrogenitus, labored with shrewdness and

perseverance for its restoration (780-802). At first she proclaimed

toleration to both parties, which she afterwards denied to the

iconoclasts. She raised the persecuted monks to the highest dignities,

and her secretary, Tarasius, to the patriarchal throne of

Constantinople, with the consent of Pope Hadrian, who was willing to

overlook the irregularity of the sudden election of a layman in

prospect of his services to orthodoxy. She removed the iconoclastic

imperial guard, and replaced it by one friendly to her views.

But the crowning measure was an oecumenical council, which alone could

set aside the authority of the iconoclastic council of 754. Her first

attempt to hold such a council at Constantinople in 786 completely

failed. The second attempt, owing to more careful preparations,

succeeded.

Irene convened the seventh oecumenical council in the year 787, at

Nicaea, which was less liable to iconoclastic disturbances than

Constantinople, yet within easy reach of the court, and famous as the

seat of the first and weightiest oecumenical council. It was attended

by about three hundred and fifty bishops, [543] under the presidency of

Tarasius, and held only eight sessions from September 24 to October 23,

the last in the imperial palace of Constantinople. Pope Hadrian I. sent

two priests, both called Peter, whose names stand first in the Acts.

The three Eastern patriarchs, who were subject to the despotic rule of

the Saracens, could not safely leave their homes; but two Eastern

monks, John, and Thomas, who professed to be syncelli of two of these

patriarchs and to have an accurate knowledge of the prevailing

orthodoxy of Egypt and Syria, were allowed to sit and vote in the place

of those dignitaries, although they had no authority from them, and

were sent simply by a number of their fellow-monks. [544]

The Nicene Council nullified the decrees of the iconoclastic Synod of

Constantinople, and solemnly sanctioned a limited worship (proskynesis)

of images. [545]

Under images were understood the sign of the cross, and pictures of

Christ, of the Virgin Mary, of angels and saints. They may be drawn in

color or composed of Mosaic or formed of other suitable materials, and

placed in churches, in houses, and in the street, or made on walls and

tables, sacred vessels and vestments. Homage may be paid to them by

kissing, bowing, strewing of incense, burning of lights, saying prayers

before them; such honor to be intended for the living objects in heaven

which the images represented. The Gospel book and the relics of martyrs

were also mentioned among the objects of veneration.

The decree was fortified by a few Scripture passages about the Cherubim

(Ex. 25:17-22; Ezek. 41:1, 15, 19; Heb. 9:1-5), and a large number of

patristic testimonies, genuine and forged, and alleged miracles

performed by images. [546] A presbyter testified that he was cured from

a severe sickness by a picture of Christ. Bishop after bishop, even

those who had been members of the Synod of 754, renounced his

iconoclastic opinions, and large numbers exclaimed together: "We all

have sinned, we all have erred, we all beg forgiveness." Some professed

conscientious scruples, but were quieted when the Synod resolved that

the violation of an oath which was contrary to the law of God, was no

perjury. At the request of one of the Roman delegates, an image was

brought into the assembly, and reverently kissed by all. At the

conclusion, the assembled bishops exclaimed unanimously: "Thus we

believe. This is the doctrine of the apostles. Anathema upon all who do

not adhere to it, who do not salute the images, who call them idols,

and who charge the Christians with idolatry. Long life to the emperors!

Eternal memory to the new Constantine and the new Helena! God protect

their reign! Anathema upon all heretics! Anathema especially upon

Theodosius, the false bishop of Ephesus, as also upon Sisinnius and

Basilius! The Holy Trinity has rejected their doctrines." Then follows

an anathema upon other distinguished iconoclasts, and all who do not

confess that Christ's humanity has a circumscribed form, who do not

greet the images, who reject the ecclesiastical traditions, written or

unwritten; while eternal memory is given to the chief champions of

image-worship, Germanus of Constantinople, John of Damascus, and George

of Cyprus, the heralds of truth. [547]

The decrees of the Synod were publicly proclaimed in an eighth session

at Constantinople in the presence of Irene and her son, and, signed by

them; whereupon the bishops, with the people and soldiers, shouted in

the usual form: "Long live the Orthodox queen-regent." The empress sent

the bishops home with rich presents.

The second Council of Nicaea stands far below the first in moral

dignity and doctrinal importance, and occupies the lowest grade among

the seven oecumenical synods; but it determined the character of

worship in the oriental church for all time to come, and herein lies

its significance. Its decision is binding also upon the Roman church,

which took part in it by two papal legates, and defended it by a letter

of Pope Hadrian to Charlemagne in answer to the Libri Carolini.

Protestant churches disregard the council because they condemn

image-worship as a refined form of idolatry and as a fruitful source of

superstition; and this theory is supported by the plain sense of the

second commandment, the views of the primitive Christians, and,

negatively, by the superstitions which have accompanied the history of

image-worship down to the miracle-working Madonnas of the nineteenth

century. At the same time it may be readily conceded that the decree of

Nicaea has furnished aid and comfort to a low and crude order of piety

which needs visible supports, and has stimulated the development of

Christian art. Iconoclasm would have killed it. It is, however, a

remarkable fact that the Catholic Raphael and Michael Angelo, and the

Protestant Lucas Kranach and Albrecht D�rer, were contemporaries of the

Reformers, and that the art of painting reached its highest perfection

at the period when image-worship for a great part of Christendom was

superseded by the spiritual worship of God alone.

A few months after the Nicene Council, Irene dissolved the betrothal of

her son, the Emperor Constantine, to Rotrude, a daughter of

Charlemagne, which she herself had brought about, and forced him to

marry an Armenian lady whom he afterward cast off and sent to a

convent. [548] From this time dates her rupture with Constantine. In

her ambition for despotic power, she rendered him odious by encouraging

his bad habits, and at last incapable of the throne by causing his eyes

to be plucked out, while he was asleep, with such violence that he died

of it (797). It is a humiliating fact that Constantine the Great, the

convener of the first Nicene Council, and Irene, the convener of the

second and last, are alike stained with the blood of their own

offspring, and yet honored as saints in the Eastern church, in whose

estimate orthodoxy covers a multitude of sins. [549] She enjoyed for

five years the fruit of unnatural cruelty to her only child. As she

passed through the streets of Constantinople, four patricians marched

on foot before her golden chariot, holding the reins of four milk-white

steeds. But these patricians conspired against their queen and raised

the treasurer Nicephorus to the throne, who was crowned at St. Sophia

by the venal patriarch. Irene was sent into exile on the Isle of

Lesbos, and had to earn her bread by the labors of her distaff as she

had done in the days of her youth as an Athenian virgin. She died of

grief in 803. With her perished the Isaurian dynasty. Startling changes

of fortune were not uncommon among princes and patriarchs of the

Byzantine empire.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[543] The accounts vary between 330 and 367. The Acts are signed by 308

bishops and episcopal representatives. Nicephorus, the almost

contemporaneous patriarch of Constantinople, in a letter to Leo III.,

mentions only 150. See Hefele, III. 460.

[544] Theodore of the Studium, himself a zealous advocate of

image-worship, exposes this trick, and intimates that the council was

not strictly oecumenical, although he sometimes gives it that name. The

question connected with these two irresponsible monks is discussed with

his usual minuteness and prolixity by Walch, X. 551-558. See also

Neander, III. 228, and Hefele, III. 459.

[545] The definition (oros) sanctions the aspasmos kai timetike

proskunesis, osculum (or salutatio) et honoraria adoratio, but not

alethine latreia he prepei mone te theia phusei, vera latria, quae

solam divinam naturam decet. Mansi, XIII. 378 sq. The term Gr.

ajpasmov" embraces salutation and kiss, the proskunesis, bowing the

knee, and other demonstrations of reverence, see p. 450.

[546] Walch (X. 572) says of these proofs from tradition: "Die

untergeschobenen Schriften, die in der Hauptsache nichts entscheidenden

Stellen und die mit grosser Unwissenheit verdrehten Ausspr�che sind so

haeufig, dass man sich beides �ber die Unwissenheit und Unversch�mtheit

nicht genug verwundern kann, welche in diesen Sammlungen sichtbar

sind." Even moderate Roman Catholic historians, as Alexander Natalia

and Fleury, admit quietly the errors in some patristic quotations.

[547] See the acts of the council in the twelfth and thirteenth vols.

of Mansi, and a summary in Hefele, III. 460-482. On the different texts

and defective Latin versions, see Walch, X. 420-422, and Hefele, III.

486. Gibbon calls the acts "a curious monument of superstition and

ignorance, of falsehood and folly." This is too severe, but not without

some foundation. The personal character of Irene cuts a deep shadow

over the Council, and would have been condemned even by the Byzantine

historians, if her devotion to images had not so blinded them and Roman

historians, like Baronius and Maimbourg, that they excuse her darkest

crimes and overwhelm her with praise.

[548] Charlemagne afterwards offered Irene his hand with a view to

unite the Eastern and Western empires, and she accepted the offer; but

her prime-minister, A�tius, who wished to raise his own brother, Leo,

to the throne, prevented the marriage.

[549] The memory of Irene is celebrated by the Greeks on the 15th of

August. Her patriarch, Tarasius (d. 806), is canonized in the Roman as

well as the Greek Church.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 103. Iconoclastic Reaction, and Final Triumph of Image-Worship, a.d.

842.

Walch, X. 592-828. Hefele, IV. 1-6; 38-47; 104-109.

During the five reigns which succeeded that of Irene, a period of

thirty-eight years, the image-war was continued with varying fortunes.

The soldiers were largely iconoclastic, the monks and the people in

favor of image-worship. Among these Theodore of the Studium was

distinguished by his fearless advocacy and cruel sufferings under Leo

V., the Armenian (813-820), who was slain at the foot of the altar.

Theophilus (829-842) was the last and the most cruel of the

iconoclastic emperors. He persecuted the monks by imprisonment,

corporal punishment, and mutilation. [550]

But his widow, Theodora, a second Irene, without her vices, [551] in

the thirteenth year of her regency during the minority of Michael the

Drunkard, achieved by prudent and decisive measures the final and

permanent victory of image-worship. She secured absolution for her

deceased husband by the fiction of a death-bed repentance, although she

had promised him to make no change. The iconoclastic patriarch, John

the Grammarian, was banished and condemned to two hundred lashes; the

monk Methodius of opposite tendency (honored as a confessor and saint)

was put in his place; the bishops trembled and changed or were deposed;

the monks and the people were delighted. A Synod at Constantinople (the

acts of it are lost) re�nacted the decrees of the seven oecumenical

Councils, restored the worship of images, pronounced the anathema upon

all iconoclasts, and decided that the event should be hereafter

commemorated on the first Sunday in Lent by a solemn procession and a

renewal of the anathema on the iconoclastic heretics.

On the 19th of February, 842, the images were again introduced into the

churches of Constantinople. It was the first celebration of the "Sunday

of Orthodoxy," [552] which afterwards assumed a wider meaning, as a

celebration of victory over all heresies. It is one of the most

characteristic festivals of the Eastern church. The old oecumenical

Councils are dramatically represented, and a threefold anathema is

pronounced upon all sorts of heretics such as atheists,

antitrinitarians, upon those who deny the virginity of Mary before or

after the birth of Christ, the inspiration of the Scriptures, or the

immortality of the soul, who reject the mysteries (sacraments), the

traditions and councils, who deny that orthodox princes rule by divine

appointment and receive at their unction the Holy Ghost, and upon all

iconoclasts. After this anathema follows the grateful commemoration of

the orthodox confessors and "all who have fought for the orthodox faith

by their words, writings, teaching, sufferings, and godly example, as

also of all the protectors and defenders of the Church of Christ." In

conclusion the bishops, archimandrites and priests kiss the sacred

icons. [553]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[550] Hefele, IV. 105, says that under this reign the famous poets,

Theophanes and his brother, Theodore of the Studium, were punished with

two hundred lashes and the branding of Greek mock-verses on their

forehead, whence they received the name "the Marked" (graptoi). But,

according to the Bollandists, Theophanes died in 820, and Hefele

himself, III. 370, puts his death in 818, although in vol. IV. 108 be

reports that Theophanes graptoswas made bishop of Smyrna by Theodora,

842. See on this conflict in chronology above, p. 407.

[551] The tongue of slander, however, raised the story of her criminal

intimacy with the patriarch Methodius, whom she had appointed. The

court instituted an investigation during which the patriarch by

indecent exposure furnished the proof of the physical impossibility of

sexual sin on his part; whereupon the accuser confessed that she had

been bribed by his iconoclastic predecessor. Hefele, IV. 109.

[552] hekuriaketesorthodoxias.

[553] See the description of Walch (X. 800-808) from the Byzantine

historians and from Allacci, and King (on the Russian church).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 104. The Caroline Books and the Frankish Church on Image-Worship.

I. Libri Carolini, first ed. by Elias Philyra (i.e., Jean du Tillet, or

Tilius, who was suspected of Calvinism, but afterwards became bishop of

Meaux), from a French (Paris) MS., Paris, 1549; then by Melchior

Goldast in his collection of imperial decrees on the image-controversy,

Francof., 1608 (67 sqq.), and in the first vol. of his Collection of

Constitutiones imperiales, with the addition of the last ch. (lib. IV.,

c. 29), which was omitted by Tilius; best ed. by Ch. A. Heumann,

Hanover, 1731, under the title: Augusta Concilii Nicaeni II. Censura,

h. e., Caroli Magni de impio imaginum cultu libri IV., with prolegomena

and notes. The ed. of Abb� Migne, in his "Patrol. Lat.," Tom. 98, f.

990-1248 (in vol. II. of Opera Caroli M.), is a reprint of the ed. of

Tilius, and inferior to Heumann's ed. ("Es ist zu bedauern," says

Hefele, III. 696, "dass Migne, statt Besseres, entschieden Geringeres

geboten hat, als man bisher schon besass".)

II. Walch devotes the greater part of the eleventh vol. to the history

of image-worship in the Frankish Church from Pepin to Louis the Pious.

Neander, III. 233-243; Gieseler, II. 66-73; Hefele, III 694-716;

Hergenr�ther, I. 553-557. Floss: De suspecta librorum Carolinorum fide.

Bonn, 1860. Reifferscheid: Narratio de Vaticano librorum Carolinorum

Codice. Breslau, 1873.

The church of Rome, under the lead of the popes, accepted and supported

the seventh oecumenical council, and ultimately even went further than

the Eastern church in allowing the worship of graven as well as painted

images. But the church in the empire of Charlemagne, who was not on

good terms with the Empress Irene, took a position between

image-worship and iconoclasm.

The question of images was first discussed in France under Pepin in a

synod at Gentilly near Paris, 767, but we do not know with what result.

[554] Pope Hadrian sent to Charlemagne a Latin version of the acts of

the Nicene Council; but it was so incorrect and unintelligible that a

few decades later the Roman librarian Anastasius charged the translator

with ignorance of both Greek and Latin, and superseded it by a better

one.

Charlemagne, with the aid of his chaplains, especially Alcuin, prepared

and published, three years after the Nicene Council, an important work

on image-worship under the title Quatuor Libri Carolini (790). [555] He

dissents both from the iconoclastic synod of 754 and the

anti-iconoclastic synod of 787, but more from the latter, which he

treats very disrespectfully. [556] He decidedly rejects image-worship,

but allows the use of images for ornament and devotion, and supports

his view with Scripture passages and patristic quotations. The spirit

and aim of the book is almost Protestant. The chief thoughts are these:

God alone is the object of worship and adoration (colondus et

adorandus). Saints are only to be revered (venerandi). Images can in no

sense be worshipped. To bow or kneel before them, to salute or kiss

them, to strew incense and to light candles before them, is idolatrous

and superstitious. It is far better to search the Scriptures, which

know nothing of such practices. The tales of miracles wrought by images

are inventions of the imagination, or deceptions of the evil spirit. On

the other hand, the iconoclasts, in their honest zeal against idolatry,

went too far in rejecting the images altogether. The legitimate and

proper use of images is to adorn the churches and to perpetuate and

popularize the memory of the persons and events which they represent.

Yet even this is not necessary; for a Christian should be able without

sensual means to rise to the contemplation of the virtues of the saints

and to ascend to the fountain of eternal light. Man is made in the

image of God, and hence capable of receiving Christ into his soul. God

should ever be present and adored in our hearts. O unfortunate memory,

which can realize the presence of Christ only by means of a picture

drawn in sensuous colors. The Council of Nicaea committed a great wrong

in condemning those who do not worship images.

The author of the Caroline books, however, falls into the same

inconsistency as the Eastern iconoclasts, by making an exception in

favor of the sign of the cross and the relics of saints. The cross is

called a banner which puts the enemy to flight, and the honoring of the

relics is declared to be a great means of promoting piety, since the

saints reign with Christ in heaven, and their bones will be raised to

glory; while images are made by men's hands and return to dust.

A Synod in Frankfort, a.d. 794, the most important held during the

reign of Charlemagne, and representing the churches of France and

Germany, in the presence of two papal legates (Theophylactus and

Stephanus), endorsed the doctrine of the Libri Carolini, unanimously

condemned the worship of images in any form, and rejected the seventh

oecumenical council. [557] According to an old tradition, the English

church agreed with this decision. [558]

Charlemagne sent a copy of his book, or more probably an extract from

it (85 Capitula or Capitulare de Imaginibus) through Angilbert, his

son-in-law, to his friend Pope Hadrian, who in a long answer tried to

defend the Eastern orthodoxy of Nicaea with due respect for his Western

protector, but failed to satisfy the Frankish church, and died soon

afterwards (Dec. 25, 795). [559]

A Synod of Paris, held under the reign of Charlemagne's son and

successor, Louis the Pious, in the year 825, renewed the protest of the

Frankfort Synod against image-worship and the authority of the second

council of Nicaea, in reply to an embassy of the Emperor Michael

Balbus, and added a slight rebuke to the pope. [560]

Notes.

The Caroline Books, if not written by Charlemagne, are at all events

issued in his name; for the author repeatedly calls Pepin his father,

and speaks of having undertaken the work with the consent of the

priests in his dominion (conniventia sacerdotum in regno a Deo nobis

concesso). The book is first mentioned by Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims

in the ninth century as directed against the pseudo-Synodus Graecorum

(the second Nicene Council), and he quotes a passage from a copy which

he saw in the royal palace. The second mention and quotation was made

by the papal librarian Augustin Steuchus (d. 1550) from a very old copy

in the Bibliotheca Palatina. As soon as it appeared in print, Flavius

and other Protestant polemics used it against Rome. Baronius,

Bellarmin, and other Romanists denied the genuineness, and ascribed the

book to certain heretics in the age of Charlemagne, who sent it to Rome

to be condemned; some declared it even a fabrication of the radical

reformer Carlstadt! But Sirmond and Natalis Alexander convincingly

proved the genuineness. More recently Dr. Floss (R.C.) of Bonn, revived

the doubts (1860), but they are permanently removed since Professor

Reifferscheid (1866) discovered a new MS. from the tenth century in the

Vatican library which differs from the one of Steuchus, and was

probably made in the Cistercian Convent at Marienfeld in Westphalia.

"Therefore," writes Bishop Hefele in 1877 (III. 698), "the genuineness

of the Libri Carolini is hereafter no longer to be questioned (nicht

mehr zu beanstanden)."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[554] See Walch, XI. 7-36; Hefele, III. 461-463. The sources are

silent. Walch carefully gives the different conjectures of Baronius,

Pagi, Daill�, Natalis, Alexander, Maimburg, Fleury, Sirmond, Spanheim,

Basnage, Semler. Nothing new has been added since. But the preceding

iconoclastic zeal of Bishop Serenus of Marseilles, and the succeeding

position of Charlemagne and the Frankish church, rather favor the

inference of Sirmond and Spanheim, that the synod rejected the worship

of images.

[555] Alcuin's share in the composition appears from the similarity of

thoughts in his Commentary on John, and the old English tradition that

he wrote a book against the Council of Nicaea. See Walch, XI. 65 sqq.;

Hefele, III. 697.

[556] He calls it posterior tempore, non tamen posterior crimine,

eloquentia, sensuque carens, synodus ineptissima, etc. He distrusted a

Council in which the Church of his dominions was not represented. He

also objected to a woman assuming the office of teacher in the church,

as being contrary to the lex divina and lex naturae (III. 13, ed.

Migne, fol. 1136). He had reason to be angry with Irene for dissolving

the betrothal of her son with his daughter.

[557] The Synod is often called universalis, and condemned Adoptionism

(see Hefele, III. 678 sqq. ). The decision against images see in Mansi,

xiii. 909. The chief passage is: "Sanctissimi Patres nostri omnimodis

et adorationem et servitutem eis [sc. imaginibus Sanctorum] renuentes

contemserunt atque, consentientes condemnaverunt." Einhard made the

following entry in his Annals ad a.d.794 (in Pertz, Monum. I. 181, and

Gieseler II. 67): "Synodus etiam, quae ante paucos annos in

Constantinopoli [where the Nicene Synod was closed] sub Herena

[Irene,]et Constantino filio ejus congregata, et ab ipsis non solum

septima, verum etiam universalis est appellata, ut nec septima nec

universalis haberetur dicereturve, quasi supervacua in totum ab omnibus

[the bishops assembled at Frankfort] abdicata est." Baronius,

Bellarmin, and even Hefele (III. 689), charge this Synod with

misrepresenting the Council of Nicaea, which sanctioned the worship (in

a wider sense), but not the adoration, of images. But the Latin

version, which the pope sent to Charlemagne, rendered

proskunesisuniformly by adoratio, and Anastasius, the papal librarian,

did the same in his improved translation, thus giving double sanction

to the confusion.

[558] This rests partly on the probable share which the Anglo-Saxon

Alcuin had in the composition of the Caroline Books, partly on the

testimony of Simeon of Durham (about 1100). See Twysden's Hist. Angl.

Scriptores decem I, III; Mon. Hist. Brit., p. 667; Wilkin's Conc. Magn.

Brit., I. 73; Gieseler, II. 67, note 6, and Hardwick's Church Hist. of

the Middle Age, p. 78, note 3.

[559] There is a difference of opinion whether Charlemagne sent to the

pope his whole book, or only an abridgement, and whether he sent

Angilbert before or after the Frankfort synod to Rome. Hefele (III.

713) decides that the Capitula (85) were an extract of the Libri

Carolini (121 chs.), and that Angilbert was twice in Rome, a.d.792 and

794. Hadrian's answer must have been written at all events before Dec.

25, 795. It is printed in Mansi, XIII. 759-810, and Migne, Opera Car.

M. II. fol. 1247-1292. It is full of glaring blunders. Bishop Hefele

(p. 716) divides the responsibility between the (fallible) pope, the

emperor, and the copyists.

[560] Mansi, XIV. 415 sqq.; Walch, XI. 95 sqq.; Gieseler, II. 68;

Hefele, IV. 41 sqq. (second ed. 1879). Walch says (p. 98) that the

Roman church played comedy with the acts of this Synod. Mansi was the

first to publish them, but he did it with an excuse, and added as

indispensable the refutation of Bellarmin in the appendix to his tract

De Cultu Imaginum. Hefele and Hergenr�ther represent this synod as

being guilty of the same injustice to the Nicene Council as the Synod

of Frankfort; but this does not alter the fact.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 105. Evangelical Reformers. Agobardus of Lyons, and Claudius of

Turin.

I. Agobardus: Contra eorum superstitionem qui picturis et imaginibus

SS. adorationis obsequium deferendum putant. Opera ed. Baluzius Par.

1666, 2 vols., and Migne, "Patrol. Lat." vol. 104, fol. 29-351.

Histoire litter. de la France, IV. 567 sqq. C. B. Hundeshagen: De

Agobardi vita et scriptis. Pars I. Giessae 1831; and his article in

Herzog2 I. 212 sq. B�hr: Gesch. der r�m. Lit. in Karoliny. Zeitalter,

p. 383-393. Bluegel: De Agobardi archiep. Lugd. vita et scriptis. Hal.

1865. Simson: Jahrb�cher des fr�nkischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem

Frommen. Leipz. 1874 and '76. C. Deedes in Smith and Wace, I. 63-64.

Lichtenberger, I. 119.

II. Claudius: Opera in Migne's "Patrol. Lat." vol. 104, fol. 609-927.

Commentaries on Kings, Gal., Ephes., etc., Eulogium Augustini, and

Apologeticum. Some of his works are still unpublished. Rudelbach:

Claudii Tur. Ep. ineditorum operum specimina, praemissa de ejus

doctrina scriptisque dissert. Havniae 1824. C. Schmidt: Claudius v.

Turin in Illgen's "Zeitschrift f. die Hist. Theol." 1843. II. 39; and

his art. in Herzog2, III. 243-245.

III. Neander, III. 428-439 (very full and discriminating on Claudius);

Gieseler, II. 69-73 (with judicious extracts); Reuter: Geschichte der

Aufkl�rung im Mittelalter, vol. I. (Berlin 1875), 16-20 and 24-41.

The opposition to image-worship and other superstitious practices

continued in the Frankish church during the ninth century.

Two eminent bishops took the lead in the advocacy of a more spiritual

and evangelical type of religion. In this they differed from the

rationalistic and destructive iconoclasts of the East. They were

influenced by the writings of Paul and Augustin, those inspirers of all

evangelical movements in church history; with this difference, however,

that Paul stands high above parties and schools, and that Augustin,

with all his anti-Pelagian principles, was a strong advocate of the

Catholic theory of the church and church-order.

Agobard (in Lyonese dialect Agobaud or Aguebaud), a native of Spain,

but of Gallic parents, and archbishop of Lyons (816-841), figures

prominently in the political and ecclesiastical history of France

during the reign of Louis the Pious. He is known to us already as an

opponent of the ordeal, the judicial duel and other heathen customs.

[561] His character presents singular contrasts. He was a rigid

ecclesiastic and sacerdotalist, and thoroughly orthodox in dogma

(except that he denied the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures); but,

on the other hand, a sworn enemy of all superstition, and advocate of

liberal views in matters of worship. [562] He took part in the

rebellion of Lothaire against his father Louis in 833, which deprived

him of his bishopric and left a serious stain on his character, but he

was afterwards reconciled to Louis and recovered the bishopric. He

opposed Adoptionism as a milder form of the Nestorian heresy. He

attacked the Jews, who flocked to Lyons in large numbers, and charges

them with insolent conduct towards the Christians. In this he shared

the intolerance of his age. But, on the other hand, he wrote a book

against image-worship. [563] He goes back to the root of the

difficulty, the worship of saints. He can find no authority for such

worship. The saints themselves decline it. It is a cunning device of

Satan to smuggle heathen idolatry, into the church under pretext of

showing honor to saints. He thus draws men away from a spiritual to a

sensual worship. God alone should be adored; to him alone must we

present the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart. Angels and holy

men who are crowned with victory, and help us by their intercessions,

may be loved and honored, but not worshiped. "Cursed be the man that

trusteth in man" (Jer. 17:5). We may look with pleasure on their

pictures, but it is better to be satisfied with the simple symbol of

the cross (as if this were not liable to the same abuse). Agobart

approves the canon of Elvira, which forbade images altogether. He says

in conclusion: "Since no man is essentially God, save Jesus our

Saviour, so we, as the Scripture commands, shall bow our knees to his

name alone, lest by giving this honor to another we may be estranged

from God, and left to follow the doctrines and traditions of men

according to the inclinations of our hearts." [564]

Agobard was not disturbed in his position, and even honored as a saint

in Lyons after his death, though his saintship is disputed. [565] His

works were lost, until Papirius Masson discovered a MS. copy and

rescued it from a bookbinder's hands in Lyons (1605).

Claudius, bishop of Turin (814-839), was a native of Spain, but spent

three years as chaplain at the court of Louis the Pious and was sent by

him to the diocese of Turin. He wrote practical commentaries on nearly

all the books of the Bible, at the request of the emperor, for the

education of the clergy. They were mostly extracted from the writings

of Augustin, Jerome, and other Latin fathers. Only fragments remain. He

was a great admirer of Augustin, but destitute of his wisdom and

moderation. [566]

He found the Italian churches full of pictures and picture-worshipers.

He was told that the people did not mean to worship the images, but the

saints. He replied that the heathen on the same ground defend the

worship of their idols, and may become Christians by merely changing

the name. He traced image-worship and saint-worship to a Pelagian

tendency, and met it with the Augustinian view of the sovereignty of

divine grace. Paul, he says, overthrows human merits, in which the

monks now most glory, and exalts the grace of God. We are saved by

grace, not by works. We must worship the Creator, not the creature.

"Whoever seeks from any creature in heaven or on earth the salvation

which he should seek from God alone, is an idolater." The departed

saints themselves do not wish to be worshipped by us, and cannot help

us. While we live, we may aid each other by prayers, but not after

death. He attacked also the superstitious use of the sign of the cross,

going beyond Charlemagne and Agobard. He met the defence by carrying it

to absurd conclusions. If we worship the cross, he says, because Christ

suffered on it, we might also worship every virgin because he was born

of a virgin, every manger because he was laid in a manger, every ship

because he taught from a ship, yea, every ass because he rode on an ass

into Jerusalem. We should bear the cross, not adore it. He banished the

pictures, crosses and crucifixes from the churches, as the only way to

kill superstition. He also strongly opposed the pilgrimages. He had no

appreciation of religious symbolism, and went in his Puritanic zeal to

a fanatical extreme.

Claudius was not disturbed in his seat; but, as he says himself, he

found no sympathy with the people, and became "an object of scorn to

his neighbors," who pointed at him as "a frightful spectre." He was

censured by Pope Paschalis I. (817-824), and opposed by his old friend,

the Abbot Theodemir of the diocese of Nismes, to whom he had dedicated

his lost commentary on Leviticus (823), by Dungal (of Scotland or

Ireland, about 827), and by Bishop Jonas of Orleans (840), who unjustly

charged him with the Adoptionist and even the Arian heresy. Some

writers have endeavored, without proof, to trace a connection between

him and the Waldenses in Piedmont, who are of much later date. [567]

Jonas of Orleans, Hincmar of Rheims, and Wallafrid Strabo still

maintained substantially the moderate attitude of the Caroline books

between the extremes of iconoclasm and image-worship. But the

all-powerful influence of the popes, the sensuous tendency and

credulity of the age, the ignorance of the clergy, and the grosser

ignorance of the people combined to secure the ultimate triumph of

image-worship even in France. The rising sun of the Carolingian age was

obscured by the darkness of the tenth century.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[561] See � 79.

[562] Reuter (I. 24) calls him "the clearest head of the ninth

century," and "the systematizer of the Aufkl�rung" (i.e. of Rationalism

in the middle age).

[563] De Imaginibus Sanctorum, in Migne, vol. 104, fol. 199-228.

[564] Cap. 35 (in Migne, fol. 227): "Flectamus genu in nomine solius

Jesu, quod est super omne nomen; ne si alteri hunc honorem tribuimus,

alieni judicemur a Deo, et dimittamur secundum cordis nostri ire in

adinventionibus nostris." Gieseler directs attention to the verbal

agreement between Agobart and Claudius in several sentences.

[565] See Acta SS. Jun. II. 748, and the Elogia de S. Agobardo in

Migne, fol. 13-16. The Bollandists honor him with a place in their

work, because Masson, the first editor, allows him the title saint, and

because he is commonly called St. Aguebatud in the church of Lyons, and

is included in the local martyrologies. A rite of nine lessons is

assigned to him in the Breviarium Lugdunense.

[566] In his comments on Paul's Epistles (in Migne, 104 f. 927 sq. ),

he eulogizes Augustin as "amantissimus Domini sanctissimus Augustinus.

calamus Trinitatis lingua Spiritus Sancti, terrenus homo, sed coelestis

angelus, in quaestionibus solvendis acutus, in revincendis haereticis

circumspectus, in explicandis Scripturis canonicis cautus." In the same

place, he says of Paul that his epistles are wholly given to destroy

man's merits and to exalt God's grace ("ut merita hominum tollat, unde

maxime nunc monachi gloriantur, et gratiam Dei commendet"). On his

Augustinianism, see the judicious remarks of Neander. Reuter (I. 20)

calls him both a biblical reformer and a critical rationalist.

[567] C. Schmidt in Herzog2III. 245 says of this view: "Deise, sehr

spaet, in dogmatischem Interesse aufgenommene Ansicht, die sich bei

L�ger und andern ja selbst noch bei Hahn findet, hat keinen

historischen Grund und ist von allen gr�ndlichen Kennern der

Waldensergeshichte l�ngst aufgegeben. Dabei soll nicht geleugnet

werden, dass die Tendenzen des Claudius sich noch eine zeitlang in

Italien erhalten haben; es ist soeben bemerkt worden, dass, nach dem

Zeugniss des Jonas von Orl�ans, man um 840 versuchte, sie von neuen zu

verbreiten. Dass sie sich aber bis zum Auftreten des Peter Waldus und

speciell in den piemontesischen Th�lern fortgepflanzt, davon ist nicht

die geringste Spur vorhanden."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XI.

DOCTRINAL CONTROVERSIES.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 106. General Survey.

Our period is far behind the preceding patristic and the succeeding

scholastic in doctrinal importance, but it mediates between them by

carrying the ideas of the fathers over to the acute analysis of the

schoolmen, and marks a progress in the development of the Catholic

system. It was agitated by seven theological controversies of

considerable interest.

1. The controversy about the single or double Procession of the Holy

Spirit. This belongs to the doctrine of the Trinity and was not

settled, but divides to this day the Greek and Latin churches.

2. The Monotheletic controversy is a continuation of the Eutychian and

Monophysitic controversies of the preceding period. It ended with the

condemnation of Monotheletism and an addition to the Chalcedonian

Christology, namely, the doctrine that Christ has two wills as well as

two natures.

3. The Adoptionist controversy is a continuation of the Nestorian.

Adoptionism was condemned as inconsistent with the personal union of

the two natures in Christ.

4 and 5. Two Eucharistic controversies resulted in the general

prevalence of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

6. The Predestinarian controversy between Gottschalk and Hincmar tended

to weaken the influence of the Augustinian system, and to promote

semi-Pelagian views and practices.

7. The Image-controversy belongs to the history of worship rather than

theology, and has been discussed in the preceding chapter. [568]

The first, second, and seventh controversies affected the East and the

West; the Adoptionist, the two Eucharistic, and the Predestinarian

controversies were exclusively carried on in the West, and ignored in

the East.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[568] See ch. X. �� 100-104.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 107. The Controversy on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

See the Lit. in � 67 p. 304 sq. The arguments for both sides of the

question were fully discussed in the Union Synod of Ferrara-Florence,

1438-'39; see Hefele: Conciliengesch. VII. P. II. p. 683 sqq.; 706

sqq.; 712 sqq.

The Filioque-controversy relates to the eternal procession of the Holy

Spirit, and is a continuation of the trinitarian controversies of the

Nicene age. It marks the chief and almost the only important dogmatic

difference between the Greek and Latin churches. It belongs to

metaphysical theology, and has far less practical value than the

regenerating and sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit in the hearts of

men. But it figures very largely in history, and has occasioned,

deepened, and perpetuated the greatest schism in Christendom. The

single word Filioque keeps the oldest, largest, and most nearly related

churches divided since the ninth century, and still forbids a reunion.

The Eastern church regards the doctrine of the single procession as the

corner-stone of orthodoxy, and the doctrine of the double procession as

the mother of all heresies. She has held most tenaciously to her view

since the fourth century, and is not likely ever to give it up. Nor can

the Roman church change her doctrine of the double procession without

sacrificing the principle of infallibility.

The Protestant Confessions agree with the Latin dogma, while on the

much more vital question of the papacy they agree with the Eastern

church, though from a different point of view. The church of England

has introduced the double procession of the Spirit even into her

litany. [569] It should be remembered, however, that this dogma was not

a controverted question in the time of the Reformation, and was

received from the mediaeval church without investigation. Protestantism

is at perfect liberty to go back to the original form of the Nicene

Creed if it should be found to be more in accordance with the

Scripture. But the main thing for Christians of all creeds is to

produce "the fruit of the Spirit, which is love, joy, peace,

long-suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness,

self-control."

Let us first glance at the external history of the controversy.

1. The New Testament. The exegetical starting-point and foundation of

the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit is the word of our

Lord in the farewell address to his disciples: When the Paraclete (the

Advocate) is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the

Spirit of truth, who proceedeth (or, goeth forth) from the Father, he

shall bear witness of me." [570]

On this passage the Nicene fathers based their doctrine of the

procession of the Holy Spirit, [571] as his personal property or

characteristic individuality [572] while the unbegotten Fatherhood

[573] belongs to the person of the Father, and the eternal generation

[574] to the person of the Son.

Our Lord says neither that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father

alone, nor that he proceeds from the Father and the Son. But in several

other passages of the same farewell addresses he speaks of the Spirit

as being sent by the Father and the Son, and promises this as a future

event which was to take place after his departure, and which actually

did take place on the day of Pentecost and ever since. [575]

On these passages is based the doctrine of the mission of the Spirit.

[576] This is regarded as a temporal or historical act, and must be

distinguished from the eternal procession in the Trinity itself. In

other words, the procession belongs to the Trinity of essence, and is

an intertrinitarian process (like the eternal generation of the Son),

but the mission belongs to the Trinity of revelation in the historical

execution of the scheme of redemption. In this exegesis the orthodox

divines of the Greek and Latin churches are agreed. They differ on the

source of the procession, but not on the mission.

Modern exegetes, who adhere closely to the grammatical sense, and are

not governed by dogmatic systems, incline mostly to the view that no

metaphysical distinction is intended in those passages, and that the

procession of the Spirit from the Father, and the mission of the Spirit

by the Father and the Son, refer alike to the same historic event and

soteriological operation, namely, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on

the day of Pentecost, and his continued work in the church and in the

heart of believers. The Spirit "proceeds" when he "is sent" on his

divine mission to glorify the Son and to apply the redemption to men.

The Saviour speaks of the office and work of the Spirit rather than of

his being and essence. Nevertheless there is a difference which must

not be overlooked. In the procession, the Spirit is active: in the

mission, he is passive; the procession is spoken of in the present

tense (ejkporeuvetai) as a present act, the mission in the future tense

(pevmyw) as a future act, so that the former seems to belong to the

eternal Trinity of essence, the latter to the historical or economical

Trinity of revelation. Now God indeed reveals himself as he actually

is, and we may therefore reason back from the divine office of the

Spirit to his divine nature, and from his temporal mission to his

eternal relation. Yet it may be questioned whether such inference

justifies the doctrine of a double procession in the absence of any

express Scripture warrant. [577]

2. The Nicene Creed, in its original form of 325, closes abruptly with

the article: "And [we believe] into the Holy Spirit. [578] In the

enlarged form (which is usually traced to the Council of

Constantinople, 381, and incorporated in its acts since 451, but is

found earlier in Epiphanius, 373, and Cyril of Jerusalem, 362, we have

the addition: "the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceeds from the

Father," etc. [579] This form was generally adopted in the Eastern

churches since the Council of Chalcedon, 451 (at which both forms were

recited and confirmed), and prevails there to this day unaltered. It is

simply the Scripture phrase without any addition, either of the Greek

"alone," or of the Latin "and from the Son." The Greek church

understood the clause in an exclusive sense, the Latin church, since

Augustin and Leo I., in an incomplete sense. [580]

The Latin church had no right to alter an oecumenical creed without the

knowledge and consent of the Greek church which had made it; for in the

oecumenical Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople the Western church

was scarcely represented, at Nicaea only by one bishop (Hosius of

Spain), in the second not at all; and in the Council of Chalcedon the

delegates of Pope Leo I. fully agreed to the enlarged Greek form of the

Nicene symbol, yet without the Filioque, which was then not thought of,

although the doctrine of the double procession was already current in

the West. A departure from this common symbolical standard of the most

weighty oecumenical councils by a new addition, without consent of the

other party, opened the door to endless disputes.

The Enlargement of the Nicene Creed.

The third national Synod of Toledo in Spain, a.d. 589, held after the

conversion of King Reccared to the Catholic faith, in its zeal for the

deity of Christ against the Arian heresy which lingered longest in that

country, and without intending the least disrespect to the Eastern

church, first inserted the clause Filioque in the Latin version of the

Nicene Creed. [581] Other Spanish synods of Toledo did the same. [582]

From Spain the clause passed into the Frankish church. It was discussed

at the Synod of Gentilly near Paris in 767, but we do not know with

what result. [583] The Latin view was advocated by Paulinus of Aquileja

(796), [584] by Alcuin (before 804), and by Theodulf of Orleans. [585]

It was expressed in the so-called Athanasian Creed, which made its

appearance in France shortly before or during the age of Charlemagne.

[586] The clause was sung in his chapel. He brought the matter before

the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 809, which decided in favor of the

double procession. [587] He also sent messengers to Pope Leo III., with

the request to sanction the insertion of the clause in the Nicene

Creed. The pope decided in favor of the doctrine of the double

procession, but protested against the alteration of the creed, and

caused the Nicene Creed, in its original Greek text and the Latin

version, to be engraved on two tablets and suspended in the Basilica of

St. Peter, as a perpetual testimony against the innovation. [588] His

predecessor, Hadrian I., had a few years before (between 792 and 795)

defended the Greek formula of John of Damascus and patriarch Tarasius,

that the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son. [589] But the

violent assault of Photius upon the Latin doctrine, as heretical, drove

the Latin church into the defensive. Hence, since the ninth century,

the, Filioque was gradually introduced into the Nicene Creed all over

the West, and the popes themselves, notwithstanding their

infallibility, approved what their predecessors had condemned. [590]

The coincidence of the triumph of the Filioque in the West with the

founding of the new Roman Empire is significant; for this empire

emancipated the pope from the Byzantine rule.

The Greek church, however, took little or no notice of this innovation

till about one hundred and fifty years later, when Photius, the learned

patriarch of Constantinople, brought it out in its full bearing and

force in his controversy with Nicolas I., the pope of old Rome. [591]

He regarded the single procession as the principal part of the doctrine

concerning the Holy Spirit on which the personality and deity of the

Spirit depended, and denounced the denial of it as heresy and

blasphemy. After this time no progress was made for the settlement of

the difference, although much was written on both sides. The chief

defenders of the Greek view, after the controversy with Photius, were

Theophylactus, Euthymius Zigabenus, Nicolaus of Methone, Nicetus

Choniates, Eustratius, and in modern times, the Russian divines,

Prokovitch, Zoernicav, Mouravieff, and Philaret. The chief defenders of

the Latin doctrine are Aeneas, bishop of Paris, [592] Ratramnus (or

Bertram), a monk of Corbie, in the name of the French clergy in the

ninth century, [593] Anselm of Canterbury (1098), [594] Peter

Chrysolanus, archbishop of Milan (1112), [595] Anselm of Havelberg

(1120), [596] and Thomas Aquinas (1274), [597] and in more recent

times, Leo Alacci, Michael Le Quien, and Cardinal Hergenr�ther. [598]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[569] "O God the Holy Ghost, who proceedeth from the Father and the

Son, have mercy upon us miserable sinners." No orthodox Greek or

Russian Christian could join an Anglican in this prayer without treason

to his church. It is to be understood, however, that some of the

leading divines of the church of England condemn the insertion of the

Filioque in the Creed. Dr. Neale (Introduction to the History of the

Holy Eastern Church, vol. II. p. 1168) concludes that this insertion

"in the inviolable Creed was an act utterly unjustifiable, and throws

on the Roman church the chief guilt in the horrible schism of 1054. It

was done in the teeth of the veto passed in the sixth session of the

Council of Ephesus, in the fifth of Chalcedon, in the sixth collation

of the second of Constantinople, and in the seventh of the third of

Constantinople. It was done against the express command of a most holy

Pope, himself a believer in the double Procession, who is now with God.

No true union--experience has shown it--can take place--between the

churches till the Filioque be omitted from the Creed, even if a truly

oecumenical Synod should afterwards proclaim the truth of the

doctrine." Bishop Pearson was of the same opinion as to the insertion,

but approved of the Latin doctrine. He says (in his Exposition of the

Creed, Art. VIII): "Now although the addition of the words to the

formal Creed without the consent, and against the protestation of the

Oriental Church, be not justifiable; yet that which was added, is

nevertheless certainly a truth, and may be so used in that Creed by

them who believe the same to be a truth; so long as they pretend it not

to be a definition of that Council, but an addition or explication

inserted, and condemn not those who, out of a greater respect to such

synodical determinations, will admit of no such insertion, nor speak

any other language than the Scriptures and their fathers spake."

[570] John 15:26: ho Parakletos... to pneuma tes aletheias, ho para tou

Patros ekporeuetai(Vulg.: procedit). The verb ekporeuomai(med. ),

procedo, may in itself describe either proceeding from a source, or

proceeding on a mission; but in the former case ek, out of, would be a

more suitable preposition than para, from the side of. Hence the Nicene

Creed and the Greek fathers substitute ekfor parain stating their

dogma. The para, however, does not exclude the ekand the Father is in

any case the source of the Spirit. The question is only, whether he is

the sole source, or jointly with the Son.

[571] ekporeusis, a patristic noun, derived from the biblical and

classical verb ekporeuomai, the Latin processio is from procedere.

[572] Called by the Greeks idionor idiotesby the Latins proprietas

personalis or character hypostaticus. See vol. III. � 130.

[573] agennesia, paternitas.

[574] gennesia, gennesis, generation filiatio.

[575] John 15:26, Christ says of the Spirit: honegopempso. Comp. 16:7;

pempsoauton, and 14:26: hopempseihoPaterento onomatimou.

[576] ekpempsis, missio

[577] On the exegetical question, see the commentaries on John 15:26

and the parallel passages by Lange (Am. ed., p. 469), Luthardt, Meyer,

Weiss (6th ed. of Meyer), Alford, Westcott, Godet. Lange says: "To the

Father doubtless belongs the honor of being the first archefrom which

the Son himself proceeds; but since the Holy Spirit is at the same time

the Spirit of the Son, unto whom it is also given to have life in

himself, the diatouhuiou(ektoupatros) of the Greek theology is not

sufficient." Godet in loc.: " It is difficult (with Luthardt, Meyer,

and most modems) to refer the words: who proceedeth from the Father, to

the same fact as the former: whom I will send to you from the Father,

as this would be mere tautology. Besides, the future pempso. I will

send, refers to an historical fact to take place at an undefined

period, while the present ekporeuetai, proceedeth, seems to refer to a

permanent, divine, and therefore eternal relation. As the historic fact

of the incarnation corresponds to the eternal generation of the Son, so

the pentecostal effusion of the Holy Spirit to the eternal procession

of the Spirit from God. The divine facts of revelation are based upon

the Trinitarian relations, and are, so to speak, their reflections.

(Les faits de la r�v�lation reposent sur les relations trinitaires. Ils

en sont comme les reflets.) As the incarnation of the Son is related to

His eternal generation, so is the mission of the Holy Spirit to His

procession with the divine essence.--The Latin Church, starting from

the words,I will send, is not wrong in affirming the Filioque, nor the

Greek church, starting from the words: from the Father, in maintaining

per Filium, and the subordination. To harmonize these two views, we

must place ourselves at the christological stand-point of St. John's

Gospel, according to which the homoousia and the subordination are both

at the same time true (sont vrais simultan�ment)." Milligan and Moulton

in loc. (in Schaff's Revision Com. ): " The words 'which goeth forth

from the Father,' are not intended to express any metaphysical relation

between the First and Third Persons of the Trinity, but to lead our

thoughts back to the fact that, as it is the distinguishing

characteristic of Jesus that He comes from the Father, so One of like

Divine power and glory is now to take His place. The same words 'from

the Father' are again added to 'I will send,' because the Father is the

ultimate source from which the Spirit as well as the Son 'goes forth,'

and really the Giver of the Spirit through the Son who asks for Him

(comp. 14:16). In the power of this Spirit, therefore, the connection

of the disciples with the Father will, in the time to come, be not less

close, and their strength from the Father not less efficacious, than it

had been while Jesus was Himself beside them."

[578] Kai[pisteuomen] eis to hagion pneuma.

[579] to kurion [kai] to zoopoion, to ek tou patros; ekporeuomenon,

k.t.l. See my Creeds of Christendom, vol. II, 57, 60.

[580] The chief passages of Augustin on the double procession are

quoted in vol. III. � 131. See on his whole doctrine of the Trinity,

Theod. Gangauf, Des heil. Augustinus' speculative Lehre von Gott dem

dreieinigen(Augsb. 1866), and Langen, Die trinitarische Lehrdifferenz,

etc. (Bonn, 1876). On the teaching of Leo. I. comp. Perthel, Leo der

Grosse, p. 138 sqq.

[581] Mansi, IX. 981: "Credimus et in Spiritum S., dominum et

vivificatorem, ex Patre et Filioprocedentem," etc. On the third Synodus

Toletana see Hefele, III. 48 sqq.

[582] The fourth Council of Toledo (633) likewise repeated the Creed

with the Filioque, see Hefele III. 79. All the other Councils of Toledo

(a.d.638, 646, 655, 675, 681, 683, 684, 688, 694) begin with a

confession of faith, several with the unaltered Nicene creed, others

with enlarged forms.

[583] Hefele, III. 432.

[584] At a synod in Forumjulii (Friaul), at that time the seat of the

bishops of Aquileja. Hefele, III. 718 sq.

[585] Alcuin wrote a book De Processione S. Spiritus (Opera, ed. Migne,

II. 63), and Theodulf another, at the request of Charlemagne (Migne,

Tom. 105).

[586] Ver. 23: "Spiritus Sanctus a Patre EtFilio: non factus, nec

creatus, nec genitus: sed procedens." For this reason the Greek church

never adopted the Athanasian Creed. Most Greek copies read only

apotoupatros, and omit et Filio."

[587] It is uncertain whether the Synod also sanctioned the insertion

of the Filioque in the creed. Pagi denies, Burterim, Hefele (III. 751),

and Hergenr�ther (I. 698) affirm it. The Synod of Arles (813) likewise

professed the double procession, Hefele, III. 757.

[588] Mansi, XIV. 18; Baronius, ad arm. 809; Gieseler, II. 75 (Am.

ed.); Hefele, III. 754; Hergenr�ther, Photius, I. 699 sqq. The fact of

the silver tablets weighing nearly one hundred pounds, is related by

Anastasius (in Vita Leonis III.), and by Photius (Epist. ad Patriarch.

Aquilej.), and often appealed to by the Greek controversialists. The

imperial commissioners urged that the belief in the procession of the

Holy Spirit from the Son was necessary for salvation; but the pope

replied that other things were necessary for salvation, and yet not

mentioned in the creed. He also advised to omit the signing of the

clause in the imperial chapel; all other churches in France would

follow the example of omission, and thus the offence given would be

most easily removed.

[589] In his defence of the second council of Nicaea against the Libri

Carolini, which had charged Tarasius with error. See Migne's Opera

Caroli M., II. 1249.

[590] Pope John VIII., in a letter to Photius, condemned the Filioque;

but this letter is disputed, and declared by Roman Catholic historians

to be a Greek fabrication. See above, p. 315, and Hefele, IV. 482. It

is not quite certain when the Roman church adopted the Filioque in her

editions of the Nicene Creed. Some date it from Pope Nicolas, others

from Pope Christophorus (903), still others from Sergius III.

(904-911), but most writers from Benedict VIII. (1014-1015). See

Hergenr�ther, Photius, I. 706.

[591] In his Encyclical letter, 867, and in his Liber de Spiritus

Sancti Mystagogia, written after 885, first edited by Hergenr�ther,

Ratisbon, 1857. Also in PhotiiOpera, ed. Migne (Par., 1861), Tom. II.

722-742 and 279-391. Comp. Hergenr�ther's Phoitius, vol. III., p. 154

sqq. The title mustagogia(=hierologia, theologia, sacra doctrina)

promises a treatise on the whole doctrine of the third person of the

Trinity, but it confines itself to the controverted doctrine of the

procession. The book, says Hergenr�ther (III. 157), shows "great

dialectical dexterity, rare acumen, and a multitude of various

sophisms, and has been extensively copied by later champions of the

schism." On the controversy between Photius and Nicolas, see � 70 this

vol.

[592] Liber adv. Graecos, in Acheri Spileg., and in Migne, "Patrol.

Lat.," vol. 121, fol. 685-762. Insignificant.

[593] Ratamni contra Graecorum opposita, Romanam ecclesiam infamantia,

libri IV., in Acherii Spicil. , and in Migne, l.c., fol. 225-346. This

book is much more important than that of Aeneas of Paris. See an

extract in Hergenr�ther's Photius, I. 675 sqq.

[594] De Processione Spiritus Sancti.

[595] He went in the name of Pope Paschalis II. to Constantinople, to

defend the Latin doctrine before the court.

[596] In his Dialogues with the Greeks when he was ambassador of

Emperor Lothaire II. at the court of Constantinople.

[597] Contra errores Graecorum, and in his Summa Theologiae.

[598] Photius, I. p. 684-711.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 108. The Arguments for and against the Filioque.

We proceed to the statement of the controverted doctrines and the chief

arguments.

I. The Greek and Latin churches agree in holding-

(1) The personality and deity of the third Person of the holy Trinity.

(2) The eternal procession (ekporeusis, prochessio) of the Holy Spirit

within the Trinity.

(3) The temporal mission (pempsis, missio) of the Holy Spirit from the

Father and the Son, beginning with the day of Pentecost, and continued

ever since in the church.

II. They differ on the source of the eternal procession of the Spirit,

whether it be the Father alone, or the Father and the Son. The Greeks

make the Son and the Spirit equally dependent on the Father, as the one

and only source of the Godhead; the Latins teach an absolute

co-ordination of the three Persons of the Trinity as to essence, but

after all admit a certain kind of subordination as to dignity and

office, namely, a subordination of the Son to the Father, and of the

Spirit to both. The Greeks approach the Latins by the admission that

the Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son (this was the

doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascus); the Latins

approach the Greeks by the admission that the Spirit proceeds chiefly

(principaliter) from the Father (Augustin). But little or nothing is

gained by this compromise. The real question is, whether the Father is

the only source of the Deity, and whether the Son and the Spirit are

co-ordinate or subordinate in their dependence on the Father.

1. The Greek doctrine in its present shape. The Holy Spirit proceeds

from the Father alone (ek monou tou patros), as the beginning (arche),

cause or root (aitia, rize, chausa, radix), and fountain (pege) of the

Godhead, and not from the Son. [599]

John of Damascus, who gave the doctrine of the Greek fathers its

scholastic shape, about a.d. 750, one hundred years before the

controversy between Photius and Nicolas, maintained that the procession

is from the Father alone, but through the Son, as mediator. [600] The

same formula, Ex Patre per Filium, was used by Tarasius, patriarch of

Constantinople, who presided over the seventh oecumenical Council

(787), approved by Pope Hadrian I., and was made the basis for the

compromise at the Council of Ferrara (1439), and at the Old Catholic

Conference at Bonn (1875). But Photius and the later Eastern

controversialists dropped or rejected the per Filium, as being nearly

equivalent to ex Filio or Filioque, or understood it as being

applicable only to the mission of the Spirit, and emphasized the

exclusiveness of the procession from the Father. [601]

The arguments for the Greek doctrine are as follows:

(a) The words of Christ, John 15:26, understood in an exclusive sense.

As this is the only passage of the Bible in which the procession of the

Spirit is expressly taught, it is regarded by the Greeks as conclusive.

(b) The supremacy or monarchia of the Father. He is the source and root

of the Godhead. The Son and the Spirit are subordinated to him, not

indeed in essence or substance (oujsiva), which is one and the same,

but in dignity and office. This is the Nicene subordinatianism. It is

illustrated by the comparison of the Father with the root, the Son with

the stem, the Spirit with the fruit, and such analogies as the sun, the

ray, and the beam; the fire, the flame, and the light.

(c) The analogy of the eternal generation of the Son, which is likewise

from the Father alone, without the agency of the Spirit.

(d) The authority of the Nicene Creed, and the Greek fathers,

especially Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Theodore of

Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and John of Damascus. The Antiochean

school is clearly on the Greek side; but the Alexandrian school leaned

to the formula through the Son (dia; tou' uiJou', per Filium). The

Greeks claim all the Greek fathers, and regard Augustin as the inventor

of the Latin dogma of the double procession.

The Latin doctrine is charged with innovation, and with dividing the

unity of the Godhead, or establishing two sources of the Deity. But the

Latins replied that the procession was from one and the same source

common to both the Father and the Son.

2. The Latin theory of the double procession is defended by the

following arguments:

(a) The passages where Christ says that he will send the Spirit from

the Father (John 15:26; 16:7); and that the Father will send the Spirit

in Christ's name (14:26); and where he breathes the Spirit on his

disciples (20:22). The Greeks refer all these passages to the temporal

mission of the Spirit, and understand the insufflation to be simply a

symbolical act or sacramental sign of the pentecostal effusion which

Christ had promised. The Latins reply that the procession and the

mission are parallel processes, the one ad intra, the other ad extra.

(b) The equality of essence (oJmoousiva) of the Father and Son to the

exclusion of every kind of subordinationism (since Augustin) requires

the double procession. The Spirit of the Father is also the Spirit of

the Son, and is termed the Spirit of Christ. But, as already remarked,

Augustin admitted that the Spirit proceeds chiefly from the Father, and

this after all is a kind of subordination of dignity. The Father has

his being (oujsiva) from himself, the Son and the Spirit have it from

the Father by way of derivation, the one by generation, the other by

procession.

(c) The temporal mission of the Spirit is a reflection of his eternal

procession. The Trinity of revelation is the basis of all our

speculations on the Trinity of essence. We know the latter only from

the former.

(d) The Nicene Creed and the Nicene fathers did not understand the

procession from the Father in an exclusive sense, but rather in

opposition to the Pneumatomachi who denied the divinity of the Holy

Spirit. Some Greek fathers, as Epiphanius, Cyril of Alexandria, and

John of Damascus, teach the Latin doctrine. This is not the case

exactly. The procession of the Spirit "through the Son," is not

equivalent to the procession "from the Son," but implies a

subordination.

(e) The Latin fathers are in favor of Filioque, especially Ambrose,

Augustin, Jerome, Leo I., Gregory I. [602]

(f) The insertion of the Filioque is as justifiable as the other and

larger additions to the Apostles' Creed and to the original Nicene

Creed of 325, and was silently accepted, or at least not objected to by

the Greek church until the rivalry of the Patriarch of Constantinople

made it a polemical weapon against the Pope of Rome. To this the Greeks

reply that the other additions are consistent and were made by common

consent, but the Filioque was added without the knowledge and against

the teaching of the East by churches (in Spain and France) which had

nothing to do with the original production.

This controversy of the middle ages was raised from the tomb by the Old

Catholic Conference held in Bonn, 1875, under the lead of the learned

historian, Dr. D�llinger of Munich, and attended by a number of German

Old Catholic, Greek and Russian, and high Anglican divines. An attempt

was made to settle the dispute on the basis of the teaching of the

fathers before the division of the Eastern and Western churches,

especially the doctrine of John of Damascus, that is, the single

procession of the Spirit from the Father mediated through the Son. The

Filioque was surrendered as an unauthorized and unjustifiable

interpolation.

But the Bonn Conference has not been sanctioned by any ecclesiastical

authority, and forms only an interesting modern episode in the, history

of this controversy, and in the history of the Old Catholic communion.

[603]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[599] Confessio Orth., Qu. 71 (Schaff's Creeds of Christendom, II. 349

sq.): Didaskei [he anatolike ekklesia] pos to pneuma to hagion

ekporeuetai ek monou tou Patros , hos peges kai arches tes thuotetos.

Then follow the proofs from John 15:26, and the Greek fathers. In the

same question, the formula khai `ek thou huihou (Filioque) is rejected

as a later adulteration. In the heat of the controversy, it was even

stigmatized as a sin against the Holy Ghost. The Longer Russian

Catechism, on the Eighth Article of the Nicene Creed (in Schaff's

Creeds, etc., II. 481), denies that the doctrine of the single

procession admits of any change or supplement, for the following

reasons: " First, because the Orthodox Church repeats the ver y words

of Christ, and his words are doubtless the exact and perfect expression

of the truth. Secondly, because the Second Ecumenical Council, whose

chief object was to establish the true doctrine respecting the Holy

Spirit, has without doubt sufficiently set forth the same in the Creed;

and the Catholic Church has acknowledged this so decidedly that the

third Oecumenical Council in its seventh canon forbade the composition

of any new creed." Then the Catechism quotes the following passage from

John of Damascus: " Of the Holy Ghost, we both say that He is from the

Father, and call Him the Spirit of the Father; while we nowise say that

He is from the Son, but only call Him the Spirit of the Son." (Theol.,

lib. l.c. 11, v. 4.)

[600] See the doctrine of John of Damascus, with extracts from his

writings, stated by Hergenr�ther, Photius, I. 691 sq.; and in the

proceedings of the D�llinger Conference (Schaff's Creeds of

Christendom, II. 553 sq. ). Dr. Langen (Old Cath. Prof. in Bonn), in

his monograph on John of Damascus (Gotha, 1879, p. 283 sq. ), thus sums

up the views of this great divine on the procession: 1) The Holy Spirit

proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son. 2) He does not proceed

from the Son, but from the Father through the Son. 3) He is the image

of the Son, as the Son is the image of the Father. 4) He forms the

mediation between the Father and the Son, and is through the Son

connected with the Father.

[601] Langen, l.c. p. 286: "So hat demnach die grosse Trennung zwischen

Orient und Occident in diesem Lehrst�cke die Folge gehabt, dass die,

Auffassung des Damasceners, gleichsam in der Mitte stehend, von dem

Patriarchen Tarasius amtlich approbirt und vom Papste Hadrian I.

vertheidigt, weder im Orient noch im Occident zur Geltung kam. Dort

galt sie als zu zweideutig und hier ward sie als unzureichend

befunden."

[602] Hilary of Poitiers is also quoted, as he uses the formula a Patre

et Filio (Trinit. II. 29) as well as the other ex Patre per Filium.

Tertullian, however, is rather on the Greek side: "Spiritum S. non

aliunde puto quam a Patre per Filium." Adv. Prax. c. 4. So also

Novatian, De Trinit.

[603] See the theses of the Conference in the Proceedings published by

Dr. Reusch, Bonn, 1875, p. 80 sqq., and in Schaff's Creeds of

Christendom, vol. II. 552 sqq. Formerly Dr. D�llinger, when he was

still in communion with Rome, gave the usual one-sided Latin view of

the Filioque-controversy, and characterized Photius as a man "of

unbounded ambition, not untouched by the corruption of the court, and

well versed in all its arts of intrigue." Hist. of the Church, trans.

by E. Cox, vol. III. 86. Comp. his remarks on the Council of Photius

(879), quoted in � 70, p. 317.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 109. The Monotheletic Controversy.

Literature.

(I.) Sources: Documents and acts of the first Lateran Synod (649), and

the sixth oecumenical Council or Concilium Trullanum I., held in

Constantinople (680), in Mansi, X. 863 sqq. and XI. 187 sqq.

Anastasius (Vatican librarian, about 870): Collectanea de iis quae

spectant ad controv. et histor. monothelit. haeret., first ed. by

Sirmond, Par. 1620, in his Opera, III., also in Bibl. Max. PP. Lugd.

XII. 833; and in Gallandi, XIII.; also scattered through vols. X. and

XI. of Mansi. See Migne's ed. of Anastas. in "Patrol. Lat." vols.

127-129.

Maximus Confessor: Opera, ed. Combefis, Par. 1675, Tom. II. 1-158, and

his disputation with Pyrrhus, ib. 159 sqq. Also in Migne's reprint,

"Patrol. Gr." vol. 91.

Theophanes: Chronographia, ed. Bonn. (1839), p. 274 sqq.; ed. Migne, in

vol. 108 of his "Patrol. Graeca" (1861).

(II.) Franc. Combefisius (Combefis, a learned French Dominican, d.

1679): Historia haeresis Monothelitarum ac vindiciae actorum Sexti

Synodi, in his Novum Auctuarium Patrum, II. 3 sqq. Par. 1648, fol.

1-198.

Petavius: Dogm. Theol. Tom. V. l. IX. c. 6-10.

Jos. Sim. Assemani, in the fourth vol. of his Bibliotheca Juris

Orientalis. Romae 1784.

CH. W. F. Walch: Ketzerhistorie, vol. IX. 1-666 (Leipzig 1780). Very

dry, but very learned.

Gibbon (Ch. 47, N. Y. ed. IV. 682-686, superficial). Schr�ckh, vol. XX.

386 sqq. Neander, III. 175-197 (Boston ed.), or III. 353-398 (Germ.

ed.). Gieseler, I. 537-544 (Am. ed.).

The respective sections in Baur: Gesch. der Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeii

und Menschwerdung (T�b. 1841-'43, 3 vols.), vol. II. 96-128; Dorner:

Entwicklungsgesch. der Lehre v. d. Person Christi (second ed. 1853),

II. 193-305; Nitzsch: Dogmengesch. I. 325 sqq.; and Hefele:

Conciliengeschichte (revised ed. 1877) III. 121-313. Also W. M�ller. in

Herzog2 X. 792-805.

The literature on the case of Honorius see in the next section.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 110. The Doctrine of Two Wills in Christ.

The Monotheletic or one-will controversy is a continuation of the

Christological contests of the post-Nicene age, and closely connected

with the Monophysitic controversy. [604]

This question had not been decided by the ancient fathers and councils,

and passages from their writings were quoted by both parties. But in

the inevitable logic of theological development it had to be agitated

sooner or later, and brought to a conciliar termination.

The controversy had a metaphysical and a practical aspect.

The metaphysical and psychological aspect was the relation of will to

nature and to person. Monotheletism regards the will as an attribute of

person, Dyotheletism as an attribute of nature. It is possible to

conceive of an abstract nature without a will; it is difficult to

conceive of a rational human nature without impulse and will; it is

impossible to conceive of a human person without a will. Reason and

will go together, and constitute the essence of personality. Two wills

cannot coexist in an ordinary human being. But as the personality of

Christ is complex or divine-human, it may be conceived of as including

two consciousnesses and two wills. The Chalcedonian Christology at all

events consistently requires two wills as the necessary complement of

two rational natures; in other words, Dyotheletism is inseparable from

Dyophysitism, while Monotheletism is equally inseparable from

Monophysitism, although it acknowledged the Dyophysitism of Chalcedon.

The orthodox doctrine saved the integrity and completeness of Christ's

humanity by asserting his human will. [605]

The practical aspect of the controversy is connected with the nature of

the Redeemer and of redemption, and was most prominent with the

leaders. The advocates of Monotheletism were chiefly concerned to guard

the unity of Christ's person and work. They reasoned that, as Christ is

but one person, he can only have one will; that two wills would

necessarily conflict, as in man the will of the flesh rebels against

the Spirit; and that the sinlessness of Christ is best secured by

denying to him a purely human will, which is the root of sin. They made

the pre-existing divine will of the Logos the efficient cause of the

incarnation and redemption, and regarded the human nature of Christ

merely as the instrument through which he works and suffers, as the

rational soul works through the organ of the body. Some of them held

also that in the perfect state the human will of the believer will be

entirely absorbed in the divine will, which amounts almost to a

pantheistic absorption of the human personality in the divine.

The advocates of Dyotheletism on the other hand contended that the

incarnation must be complete in order to have a complete redemption;

that a complete incarnation implies the assumption of the human will

into union with the pre-existing divine will of the Logos; that the

human will is the originating cause of sin and guilt, and must

therefore be redeemed, purified, and sanctified; that Christ, without a

human will, could not have been a full man, could not have been

tempted, nor have chosen between good and evil, nor performed any moral

and responsible act.

The Scripture passages quoted by Agatho and other advocates of the

two-will doctrine, are Matt. 26:39 ("Not as I will, but as Thou wilt");

Luke 22:42 ("Not my will, but thine be done"); John 6:38 ("I am come

down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that

sent me"). For the human will were quoted Luke 2:51 ("he was subject"

to his parents); Phil. 2:8 ("obedient unto death"), also John 1:43;

17:24; 19:28; Matt. 27:34; for the divine will, Luke 13:34; John 5:21.

These Scripture passages, which must in the end decide the controversy,

clearly teach the human will of Jesus, but the other will from which it

is distinguished, is the will of his heavenly Father, to which he was

obedient unto death. The orthodox dogma implies the identity of the

divine will of Christ with the will of God the Father, and assumes that

there is but one will in the divine tripersonality. It teaches two

natures and one person in Christ, but three persons and one nature in

God. Here we meet the metaphysical and psychological difficulty of

conceiving of a personality without a distinct will. But the term

personality is applied to the Deity in a unique and not easily

definable sense. The three Divine persons are not conceived as three

individuals.

The weight of argument and the logical consistency on the basis of the

Chalcedonian Dyophysitism, which was acknowledged by both parties,

decided in favor of the two-will doctrine. The Catholic church East and

West condemned Monotheletism as a heresy akin to Monophysitism. The

sixth oecumenical Council in 680 gave the final decision by adopting

the following addition to the Chalcedonian Christology: [606]

"And we likewise preach two natural wills in him [Jesus Christ], and

two natural operations undivided, inconvertible, inseparable, unmixed,

according to the doctrine of the holy fathers; and the two natural

wills [are] not contrary (as the impious heretics assert), far from it!

but his human will follows the divine will, and is not resisting or

reluctant, but rather subject to his divine and omnipotent will. [607]

For it was proper that the will of the flesh should be moved, but be

subjected to the divine will, according to the wise Athanasius. For as

his flesh is called and is the flesh of the God Logos, so is also the

natural will of his flesh the proper will of the Logos, as he says

himself: 'I came from heaven not to do my own will but the will of the

Father who sent me' (John 6:38). ... Therefore we confess two natural

wills and operations, harmoniously united for the salvation of the

human race." [608]

The theological contest was carried on chiefly in the Eastern church

which had the necessary learning and speculative talent; but the final

decision was brought about by the weight of Roman authority, and Pope

Agatho exerted by his dogmatic epistle the same controlling influence

over the sixth oecumenical Council, as Pope Leo I. had exercised over

the fourth. In this as well as the older theological controversies the

Roman popes--with the significant exception of Honorius--stood firmly

on the side of orthodoxy, while the patriarchal sees of the East were

alternately occupied by heretics as well as orthodox.

The Dyotheletic decision completes the Christology of the Greek and

Roman churches, and passed from them into the Protestant churches; but

while the former have made no further progress in this dogma, the

latter allows a revision and reconstruction, and opened new avenues of

thought in the contemplation of the central fact and truth of the

divine-human personality of Christ.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[604] The name Monotheletism is derived from mononand thelema, will.

The heresy, whether expressive of the teacher or the doctrine, always

gives name to the controversy and the sect which adopts it. The

champions of the heretical one-will doctrine are called (first by John

of Damascus). Monotheletai, or Monotheletai, Monotheletes, or

Monothelites; the orthodox two-will doctrine is called Dyotheletism

(from duothelemata), and its advocates Duotheletai, Dyothelites. The

corresponding doctrines as to one nature or two natures of the Redeemer

are termed Monophysitism and Dyophysitism.

[605] This benefit, however, was lost by the idea of the impersonality

(anhypostasia) of the human nature of Christ, taught by John of

Damascus in his standard exposition of the orthodox Christology. His

object was to exclude the idea of a double personality. But it is

impossible to separate reason and will from personality, or to assert

the impersonality of Christ's humanity without running into docetism.

The most which can be admitted is the Enhypostasia, i.e. the

incorporation or inclusion of the human nature of Jesus in the one

divine personality of the Logos. The church has never officially

committed itself to the doctrine of the impersonality.

[606] Actio XVIII., in Mansi, XI. 637; Gieseler, I. 540 note 15;

Hefele, III. 284 sq.

[607] duho phusikas theleseis etoi thelematha en auto, khai duho

phusikas energeias adiairetos, atreptos, ameristos, asunchutos...

keruttomen(duas naturales voluntates et duas naturales operationes

indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse ...

praedicamus).

[608] Comp. the following passage from the letter of Pope Agatho to the

emperor who called the Council, which evidently suggested the framing

of the decision (Mansi, XI. 239; Gieseler, I. 540; Hefele, III. 255):

"Cum duas autem naturas duasque, naturales voluntates, et duas

naturales operationes confitemur in uno Domino nostro J. Ch., non

contrarias eas, nec adversas ad alterutrum dicimus (sicut a via

veritatis errantes apostolicam traditionem accusant, absit haec

impietas a fidelium cordibus), nec tanquam separatas in duabus personis

vel subsistentiis, sed duas dicimus unum eundemque Dominum nostrum J.

Ch., sicut naturas, ita et naturales in se voluntates et operationes

habere, divinam scilicet a humanam: divinam quidem voluntatem et

operationem habere ex aeterno cum co�ssentiali Patre, communem; humanam

temporaliter ex nobis cum nostra natura susceptam." Agatho quotes

Scripture passages and testimonies of the fathers, but does not define

the mode in which the two wills cooperate.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 111. History of Monotheletism and Dyotheletism.

The triumph of Dyotheletism was the outcome of a bitter conflict of

nearly fifty years (633 to 680). The first act reaches to the issue of

the Ekthesis (638), the second to the issue of the Type (648), the

third and last to the sixth oecumenical Council (680). The theological

leaders of Monophysitism were Theodore, bishop of Pharan in Arabia

(known to us only from a few fragments of his writings), Sergius and

his successors Pyrrhus and Paul in the patriarchal see of

Constantinople, and Cyrus, patriarch of Alexandria; the political

leaders were the Emperors Heraclius and Constans II.

The champions of the Dyotheletic doctrine were Sophronius of Palestine,

Maximus of Constantinople, and the popes Martin and Agatho of Rome; the

political supporter, the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (668-685).

1. The strife began in a political motive, but soon assumed a

theological and religious aspect. The safety of the Byzantine empire

was seriously threatened, first by the Persians, and then by the Arabs,

and the danger was increased by the division among Christians. The

Emperor Heraclius (610-640) after his return from the Persian campaign

desired to conciliate the Monophysites, who were more numerous than the

orthodox in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt. [609] He hoped, by a union of

the parties, to protect these countries more effectually against the

Mohammedan invaders. The Monophysites took offence at the catholic

inference of two energies (ejnevrgeiai) in the person of Christ. The

emperor consulted Sergius, the patriarch of Constantinople (since 610),

who was of Syrian (perhaps Jacobite) descent. They agreed upon the

compromise-formula of "one divine-human energy" (miva qeandrikh;

ejnevrgeia). [610] Sergius secured the consent of Pope Honorius

(625-638), who was afterwards condemned for heresy. Cyrus, the orthodox

patriarch of Alexandria, published the formula (633), and converted

thousands of Monophysites. [611]

But Sophronius, a learned and venerable monk in Palestine, who happened

to be in Alexandria at that time, protested against the

compromise-formula as a cunning device of the Monophysites. When he

became patriarch of Jerusalem (in 633 or 634), he openly confessed, in

a synodical letter to the patriarchs, the doctrine of Dyotheletism as a

necessary part of the Chalcedonian Christology. It is one of the most

important documents in this controversy. [612]

A few years afterwards, the Saracens besieged and conquered Jerusalem

(637); Sophronius died and was succeeded by a Monotheletic bishop.

In the year 638 the Emperor issued, as an answer to the manifesto of

Sophronius, an edict drawn up by Sergius, under the title Exposition of

the Faith (e[kqesi" th'" pivstew"), which commanded silence on the

subject in dispute, but pretty clearly decided in favor of

Monotheletism. It first professes the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity

and incarnation in the Chalcedonian sense, and then forbids the use of

the terms "one" or "two energies" (miva or duvo ejnevrgeiai) since both

are heretically interpreted, and asserts one will (qevlhma) in Christ.

[613]

2. Two synods of Constantinople (638 and 639) adopted the Ekthesis. But

in the remote provinces it met with powerful resistance. Maximus

Confessor became the champion of Dyotheletism in the Orient and North

Africa, and Pope Martinus I. in the West. They thoroughly understood

the controversy, and had the courage of martyrs for their conviction.

Maximus was born about 580 of a distinguished family in Constantinople,

and was for some time private secretary of the Emperor Heraclius, but

left this post of honor and influence in 630, and entered a convent in

Chrysopolis (now Scutari). He was a profound thinker and able debater.

When the Monotheletic heresy spread, he concluded to proceed to Rome,

and passing through Africa be held there, in the presence of the

imperial governor and many bishops, a remarkable disputation with

Pyrrhus, who had succeeded Sergius in the see of Constantinople, but

was deposed and expelled for political reasons. This disputation took

place in July, 645, but we do not know in what city of Africa. It

sounded all the depths of the controversy and ended with the temporary

conversion of Pyrrhus to Dyotheletism. [614]

About the same time, several North-African synods declared in favor of

the Dyotheletic doctrine.

In the year 648 the Emperor Constans II. (642-668) tried in vain to

restore peace by means of a new edict called Typos or Type, which

commanded silence on the subject under dispute without giving the

preference to either view. [615] It set aside the Ekthesis and declared

in favor of neutrality. The aim of both edicts was to arrest the

controversy and to prevent a christological development beyond the

fourth and fifth oecumenical councils. But the Type was more consistent

in forbidding all controversy not only about one energy (miva

ejnevrgeia), but also about one will (e{n qevlhma). Transgressors of

the Type were threatened with deposition; if clergymen, with

excommunication; if monks, with the loss of dignity and place, of

military or civil officers.

3. An irrepressible conflict cannot be silenced by imperial decrees.

Pope Martin I., formerly Apocrisiarios of the papal see at

Constantinople, and distinguished for virtue, knowledge and personal

beauty, soon after his election (July 5th, 649), assembled the first

Lateran Council (Oct., 649), so called from being held in the Lateran

basilica in Rome. It was attended by one hundred and five bishops,

anathematized the one-will doctrine and the two imperial edicts, and

solemnly sanctioned the two-will doctrine. It anticipated substantially

the decision of the sixth oecumenical council, and comes next to it in

authority on this article of faith. [616]

The acts of this Roman council, together with an encyclical of the pope

warning against the Ekthesis and the Type, were sent to all parts of

the Christian world. At the same time, the pope sent a Greek

translation of the acts to the Emperor Constans II., and politely

informed him that the Synod had confirmed the true doctrine, and

condemned the heresy. Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paulus

had violated the full humanity of Christ, and deceived the emperors by

the Ekthesis and the Type.

But the emperor, through his representative, Theodore Calliopa, the

exarch of Ravenna, deposed the pope as a rebel and heretic, and removed

him from Rome (June, 653). He imprisoned him with common criminals in

Constantinople, exposed him to cold, hunger, and all sorts of injuries,

and at last sent him by ship to a cavern in Cherson on the Black Sea

(March, 655). Martin bore this cruel treatment with dignity, and died

Sept. 16, 655, in exile, a martyr to his faith in the doctrine of two

wills.

Maximus was likewise transported to Constantinople (653), and treated

with even greater cruelty. He was (with two of his disciples) confined

in prison for several years, scourged, deprived of his tongue and right

hand, and thus mutilated sent, in his old age, to Lazica in Colchis on

the Pontus Euxinus, where he died of these injuries, Aug. 13, 662. His

two companions likewise died in exile.

The persecution of these martyrs prepared the way for the triumph of

their doctrine. In the meantime province after province was conquered

by the Saracens.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[609] In Egypt the Monophysitic or national Coptic church numbered

between five and six millions, the orthodox and imperial party only

three hundred thousand heads. Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alexandr.

Jacob. (Par., 1713), p 163 sq., as quoted by Hefele, III. 130.

[610] The phrase was borrowed from the mystic writings of Dionysius

Areopagita (Epist. IV. ad Cajum). Maximus, who was an admirer of

Pseudo-Dionysius, gave this passage and a similar one from Cyril Of

Alexandria a different meaning. See Hefele, III. 129.

[611] See the nine chapters of Cyrus in Mansi, XI. 563, and Hefele,

III. 138.

[612] It is preserved in the acts of the sixth oecumenical council. See

Mansi, XV. 461-508; and Hefele, III. 159-166.

[613] Mansi, X. 991 sq.; Hefele, III. 179 sq.

[614] The disputation is printed in the Opera of Maximus, ed. Combefis,

II. 159 sqq., and Migne, I. 287 sqq. Compare Walch, IX. 203 sqq., and

Hefele, III. 190-204. The report in Mansi, X. 709-760, is full of

typographical errors (as Hefele says). Maximus dealt in nice

metaphysical distinctions, as thelesis, boulesis, energeia,

bouleutikonthelema, hupostatikon, exousiastikon, proairetikon,

gnomikon, oikonomikon. Pyrrhus returned afterwards to the see of

Constantinople and adopted the absurd theory of three wills in Christ,

one personal anti two natural.

[615] Also called tuposperipisteos. In Mansi, X. 1029; Walch, IX. 167;

Hefele, III. 210; also Gieseler, 1. 539, note 9. The Typos was composed

by Paul, the second successor of Sergius, who had written the Ekthesis.

[616] See the acts in Mansi, X., and Hefele, III. 212-230.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 112. The Sixth Oecumenical Council. a.d. 680.

Constans II. was murdered in a bath at Syracuse (668). His son,

Constantine IV. Pogonatus (Barbatus, 668-685), changed the policy of

his father, and wished to restore harmony between the East and the

West. He stood on good or neutral terms with Pope Vitalian (6 57-672),

who maintained a prudent silence on the disputed question, and with his

successors, Adeodatus (672-676), Donus or Domnus (676-678), and Agatho

(678-681).

After sufficient preparations, he called, in concert with Agatho, a

General Council. It convened in the imperial palace at Constantinople,

and held eighteen sessions from Nov. 7, 680, to Sept. 16, 681. it is

called the Sixth Oecumenical, and also the First Trullan Synod, from

the name of the hall or chapel in the palace. [617] The highest number

of members in attendance was one hundred and seventy-four, including

three papal legates (two priests and one deacon). The emperor presided

in person, surrounded by civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries. The acts

are preserved in the Greek original and in two old Latin versions.

[618]

After a full discussion of the subject on both sides, the council, in

the eighteenth and last session, defined and sanctioned the two-will

doctrine, almost in the very language of the letter of Pope Agatho to

the emperor. [619] Macarius, the patriarch of Alexandria, who adhered

to Monotheletism, was deposed.

The epistle of Agatho is a worthy sequel of Leo's Epistle to the

Chalcedonian Council, and equally clear and precise in stating the

orthodox view. It is also remarkable for the confidence with which it

claims infallibility for the Roman church, in spite of the monotheletic

heresy of Pope Honorius (who is prudently ignored). Agatho quotes the

words of Christ to Peter, Luke 22:31, 32, in favor of papal

infallibility, anticipating, as it were, the Vatican decision of 1870.

[620]

But while the council fully endorsed the dyotheletic view of Agatho,

and clothed it with oecumenical authority, it had no idea of endorsing

his claim to papal infallibility; on the contrary, it expressly

condemned Pope Honorius I. as a Monotheletic heretic, together with

Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Paulus, Petrus, and Theodore of Pharan.

Immediately after the close of the council, the emperor published the

decision, with an edict enforcing it and anathematizing all heretics

from Simon Magus down to Theodore of Pharan, Sergius, Pope Honorius,

who in all was their follower and associate, and confirmed the heresy.

[621] The edict forbids any one hereafter to teach the doctrine of one

will and one energy under penalty of deposition, confiscation, and

exile.

Pope Agatho died Jan. 10, 682; but his successor, Leo II., who was

consecrated Aug. 17 of the same year, confirmed the sixth council, and

anathematized all heretics, including his predecessor, Honorius, who,

instead of adorning the apostolic see, dared to prostitute its

immaculate faith by profane treason, and all who died in the same

error. [622]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[617] Troullonor Troullion, Trullum, Trulla, Trullus, a technical term

for buildings with a cupola. The Acts say that the sessions were held

ento sekreto toutheioupalatiou, to houtolegomeno Troullo , and

Anastasius: "in basilica, quae Trullus appellatur, intra palatium."

[618] Mansi, XI. 195-922. See a full account in Hefele, III. 252-313.

[619] See above, � 110.

[620] Comp. Creeds of Christendom, I. 163 and 187.

[621] ton kata panta toutois sunaireten kai sundromon kaibebaioten tes

haireseos.

[622] "Honorium [anathematizamus] qui hanc apostolicam sedem non

apostolicae traditionis doctrina lustraVit. sed profana proditione

immaculatam fidem subvertere conatus est, et omnes qui in suo errore

defuncti sunt." Mansi, XI. 731; Hefele, III. 289. See � 113.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 113. The Heresy of Honorius.

J. von D�llinger (Old Cath.): Papstfabeln des Mittelalters. M�nchen,

1863. The same translated by A. Plummer: Fables respecting the Popes in

the Middle Ages; Am ed. enlarged by Henry B. Smith, N. York, 1872. (The

case of Honorius is discussed on pp. 223-248 Am. ed.; see German ed. p.

131 sqq.).

Schneemann (Jesuit): Studien �ber die Honoriusfrage. Freiburg i. B,

1864.

Paul Bottala (S. J.): Pope Honorius before the Tribunal of Reason and

History. London, 1868.

P. Le Page Renouf: The Condemnation of Pope Honorius. Lond., 1868. The

Case of Honorius reconsidered. Lond. 1870.

Maret (R.C.): Du Concil et de la paix relig. Par. 1869.

A. Gratry (R.C.): Four Letters to the Bishop of Orleans (Dupanloup) and

the Archbishop of Malines (Dechamps), 1870. Several editions in French,

German, English. He wrote against papal infallibility, but recanted on

his death-bed.

A. de Margerie: Lettre au R. P. Gratry sur le Pape Honorius et le

Br�viaire Romain. Nancy, 1870.

Jos. von Hefele (Bishop of Rottenburg and Member of the Vatican

Council): Causa Honorii Papae. Neap., 1870. Honorius und das sechste

allgemeine Concil. T�bingen, 1870. (The same translated by Henry B.

Smith in the "Presbyt. Quarterly and Princeton Review, "N. York, April,

1872, p. 273 sqq.). Conciliengeschichte, Bd. III. (revised ed., 1877),

pp. 145 sqq., 167 sqq., 290 sqq.

Job. Pennachi (Prof. of Church Hist. in the University of Rome): De

Honorii I. Romani Pontificis causa in Concilio VI. ad Patres Concilii

Vaticani. Romae, 1870. 287 pp. Hefele calls this the most important

vindication of Honorius from the infallibilist standpoint. It was

distributed among all the members of the Vatican Council; while books

in opposition to papal infallibility by Bishop Hefele, Archbishop

Kenrick, and others, had to be printed outside of Rome.

A. Ruckgaber: Die Irrlehre des Honorius und das Vatic. Concil.

Stuttgart, 1871.

Comp. the literature in Hergenr�ther; Kirchengesch., III. 137 sqq.

The connection of Pope Honorius I. (Oct. 27, 625, to Oct. 12, 638) with

the Monotheletic heresy has a special interest in its bearing upon the

dogma of papal infallibility, which stands or falls with a single

official error, according to the principle: Si falsus in uno, falsus in

omnibus. It was fully discussed by Catholic scholars on both sides

before and during the Vatican Council of 1870, which proclaimed that

dogma, but could not alter the facts of history. The following points

are established by the best documentary evidence:

1. Honorius taught and favored in several official letters (to Sergius,

Cyrus, and Sophronius), therefore ex cathedra, the one-will heresy. He

fully agreed with Sergius, the Monotheletic patriarch of

Constantinople. In answer to his first letter (634), he says:

"Therefore we confess one will (qevlhma, voluntas) of our Lord Jesus

Christ." [623] He viewed the will as an attribute of person, not of

nature, and reasoned: One willer, therefore only one will. In a second

letter to Sergius, he rejects both the orthodox phrase: "two energies,"

and the heterodox phrase: "one energy" (ejnevrgeia, operatio), and

affirms that the Bible clearly teaches two natures, but that it is

quite vain to ascribe to the Mediator between God and man one or two

energies; for Christ by virtue of his one theandric will showed many

modes of operation and activity. [624] The first letter was decidedly

heretical, the second was certainly not orthodox, and both occasioned

and favored the imperial Ekthesis (638) and Type (648), in their vain

attempt to reconcile the Monophysites by suppressing the Dyotheletic

doctrine. [625]

The only thing which may and must be said in his excuse is that the

question was then new and not yet properly understood. He was, so to

say, an innocent heretic before the church had pronounced a decision.

As soon as it appeared that the orthodox dogma of two natures required

the doctrine of two wills, and that Christ could not be a full man

without a human will, the popes changed the position, and Honorius

would probably have done the same had he lived a few years longer.

Various attempts have been made by papal historians and

controversialists to save the orthodoxy of Honorius in order to save

the dogma of papal infallibility. Some pronounce his letters to be a

later Greek forgery. [626] Others admit their genuineness, but distort

them into an orthodox sense by a nonnatural exegesis. [627] Still

others maintain, at the expense of his knowledge and logic, that

Honorius was orthodox at heart, but heretical, or at least very

unguarded in his expressions. [628] But we have no means to judge of

his real sentiment except his own language, which is unmistakably

Monotheletic. And this is the verdict not only of Protestants, [629]

but also of Gallican and other liberal Catholic historians. [630]

2. Honorius was condemned by the sixth oecumenical Council as "the

former pope of Old Rome," who with the help of the old serpent had

scattered deadly error. [631] This anathema was repeated by the seventh

oecumenical Council, 787, and by the eighth, 869. The Greeks, who were

used to heretical patriarchs of New Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, felt

no surprise, and perhaps some secret satisfaction at the heresy of a

pope of Old Rome.

Here again ultramontane historians have resorted to the impossible

denial either of the genuineness of the act of condemnation in the

sixth oecumenical Council, [632] or of the true meaning of that act.

[633] The only consistent way for papal infallibilists is to deny the

infallibility of the oecumenical Council as regards the dogmatic fact.

[634] In this case it would involve at the same time a charge of gross

injustice to Honorius.

3. But this last theory is refuted by the popes themselves, who

condemned Honorius as a heretic, and thus bore testimony for papal

fallibility. His first success or, Severinus, had a brief pontificate

of only three months. His second successor, John IV., apologized for

him by putting a forced construction on his language. Agatho prudently

ignored him. [635] But his successor, Leo II., who translated the acts

of the sixth Council from Greek into Latin, saw that he could not save

the honor of Honorius without contradicting the verdict of the council

in which the papal delegates had taken part; and therefore he expressly

condemned him in the strongest language, both in a letter to the Greek

emperor and in a letter to the bishops of Spain, as a traitor to the

Roman church for trying to subvert her immaculate fate. Not only so,

but the condemnation of the unfortunate Honorius was inserted in the

confession of faith which every newly-elected pope had to sign down to

the eleventh century, and which is embodied in the Liber Diurnus, i.e.

the official book of formulas of the Roman church for the use of the

papal curia. [636] In the editions of the Roman Breviary down to the

sixteenth century his name appears, yet without title and without

explanation, along with the rest who had been condemned by the sixth

Council. But the precise facts were gradually forgotten, and the

mediaeval chroniclers and lists of popes ignore them. After the middle

of the sixteenth century the case of Honorius again attracted

attention, and was urged as an irrefutable argument against the

ultramontane theory. At first the letter of Leo II. was boldly,

rejected as a forgery as well as those of Honorius; [637] but this was

made impossible when the Liber Diurnus came to light.

The verdict of history, after the most thorough investigation from all

sides and by all parties remains unshaken. The whole church, East and

West, as represented by the official acts of oecumenical Councils and

Popes, for several hundred years believed that a Roman bishop may err

ex cathedra in a question of faith, and that one of them at least had

so erred in fact. The Vatican Council of 1870 decreed papal

infallibility in the face of this fact, thus overruling history by

dogmatic authority. The Protestant historian can in conscience only

follow the opposite principle: If dogma contradicts facts, all the

worse for the dogma.

Notes.

Bishop Hefele, one of the most learned and impartial Roman Catholic

historians, thus states, after a lengthy discussion, his present view

on the case of Honorius (Conciliengesch., vol. III. 175, revised ed.

1877), which differs considerably from the one he had published before

the Vatican decree of papal infallibility (in the first ed. of his

Conciliengesch., vol. III. 1858, p. 145 sqq., and in big pamphlet on

Honorius, 1870). It should be remembered that Bishop Hefele, like all

his anti-infallibilist colleagues, submitted to the decree of the

Vatican Council for the sake of unity and peace.

"Die beiden Briefe des Papstes Honorius, wie wir sie jetzt haben, sind

unverf�lscht und zeigen, dass Honorius von den beiden monotheletischen

Terminis ejn qevlhma und miva ejnevrgeia den erstern (im ersten Brief)

selbst gebrauchte, den anderen dagegen, ebenso auch den orthodoxen

Ausdruck duvo ejnevrgeiai nicht angewendet wissen wollte. Hat er auch

Letzteres (die, Missbilligung des Ausdruckes duvo ejnevrg.) im zweiten

Brief wiederholt, so hat er doch in demselben selbst zwei nat�rliche

Energien in Christus anerkannt und in beiden Briefen sich so

ausgedr�ckt, dass man annehmen muss, er habe nicht den menschlichen

Willen �berhaupt, sondern nur den Verdorbenen menschlichen Willen in

Chistus gel�ugnet, aber obgleich orthodoz denkend, die monotheletische

Tendenz des Sergius nicht geh�rig durchschaut und sich missverst�ndlich

ausgedr�ckt, so dass seine Briefe, besonders der erste, den

Monotheletismus zu best�tigen schienen und damit der H�resie Factisch

Vorschub leisteten. In dieser Weise erledigt sich uns die Frage nach

der Orthodoxie des Papstes Honorius, und wir halten sonach den

Mittelweg zwischen denen, welche ihn auf die gleiche Stufe mit Sergius

von Constantinopel und Cyrus von Alexandrien stellen und den

Monotheleten beiz�hlen wollten, und denen, welche durchaus keine Makel

an ihn duldend in das Schicksal der nimium probantes verfallen sind, so

dass sie lieber die Aechtheit der Acten des sechsten allgemeinen

Concils und mehrerer anderer Urkunden l�ugnen, oder auch dem sechsten

Concil einen error in facto dogmatico zuschreiben wollten." Comp. his

remarks on p. 152; "Diesen Hauptgedanken muss ich auch jetzt noch

festhalten, dass Honorius im Herzen richtig dachte, sich aber

ungl�cklich ausdr�ckte, wenn ich auch in Folge wiederholter neuer

Besch�ftigung mit diesem Gegenstand und unter Ber�cksichtigung dessen,

was Andere in neuer Zeit zur Vertheidigung des Honorius geschrieben

haben, manches Einzelne meiner fr�heren Aufstellungen nunmehr

modificire oder v�llig aufgebe, und insbesondere �ber den ersten Brief

des Honorius jetzt milder urtheile als fr�her."

Cardinal Hergenr�ther (Kirchengeschichte, vol. I. 358, second ed.

Freiburg i. B. 1879) admits the ignorance rather than the heresy of the

pope. "Honorius," he says, "zeigt wohl Unbekanntschaft mit dem Kern der

Frage, aber keinerlei h�retische oder irrige Auffassung. Er

unterscheidet die zwei unvermischt qebliebenen Naturen sehr genau und

verst�sst gegen kein einziges Dogma der Kirche."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[623] hothen kai hen thelema homologoumen tou Kuriou Ies. Chr. ---unde

et unam voluntatatem fatemur Domini nostri lesu Christi. Mansi, XI. 538

sqq.; Hefele, III. 146 sq.

[624] Mansi, p. 579; Hefele, p. 166 sq.

[625] The same view is taken by Neander, the fairest among Protestant,

and by D�llinger, the most learned of modern Catholic, historians.

Neander (III. 179, E. ed.; 1II. 360, Germ. ed.) says: "Honorius, in two

letters, declared his entire concurrence (erkl�rte, sich ganz

�bereinstimmend) with the views of Sergius, and wrote also in the same

terms to Cyrus and Sophronius. He too was afraid of logical

determinations on such matters. It seemed to him altogether necessary

to suppose but one will in Christ, as it was impossible to conceive, in

him, any strife between the human and divine will such as by, reason,

of sin exists in men." ["It seemed to him, as well as to Sergius, that

a duplicity of will in one and the same subject could not subsist

without opposition." From the foot-note.] "He approved, indeed, of the

accommodation (oikonomia), whereby the patriarch Cyrus had brought

about the re-union of the Monophysites with the Catholic Church. But as

hitherto no public decision of the church had spoken of 'one mode of

working,' or of 'two modes of working' of Christ, it seemed to him the

safest course, that in future such expressions should be avoided, as

the one might lead to Eutychianism, the other to Nestorianism. He

reckoned this whole question among the unprofitable subtilties which

endanger the interests of piety. Men should be content to hold fast to

this, in accordance with the hitherto established doctrine of the

church, that the self-same Christ works that which is divine and human

in both his natures. Those other questions should be left to the

grammarians in the schools. If the Holy Spirit operates in the

faithful, as St. Paul says, in manifold ways how much more must this

hold good of the Head himself!" Neander adds in a note: "Although the

theory, of two modes of working" [which is the orthodox doctrine] "lies

at the foundation of the very thing he here asserts, yet he carefully

avoided expressing this." In the same sense, Dr. D�llinger, when still

in communion with Rome, stated the doctrine of Honorius, and said

(Fables of the Popes, p. 226, Am. ed.): "This doctrine of Honorius, so

welcome to Sergius and the other favorers and supporters of

Monotheletism, led to the two imperial edicts, the Ekthesis and the

Typus."

[626] Bellarmin, and Bishop Bartholus (Bartoli) of Feltre, who

questioned also the integrity of the letters of Sergius to Honorius (in

his Apol. pro Honorio I., 1750, as quoted by, D�llinger, p. 253, and

Hefele, III. 142). D�llinger declares this to be "a lamentable

expedient!'

[627] So Perrone, Pennachi, Manning. These divines presume to know

better than the infallible Pope Leo II., who ex cathedra denounced

Honorius as a heretic.

[628] So Pope John IV. (640-642), who apologized for his predecessor

that he merely meant to reject the notion of two mutually opposing

wills, as if Christ had a will tainted with sin (Mansi, X. 683). But

nobody dreamed of ascribing a sinful will to Christ. Bishop Hefele and

Cardinal Hergenr�ther resort substantially to the same apology; see

notes at the end of this section.

[629] Walch, Neander, Gieseler, Baur, Dorner, Kurtz, etc. See note on

p. 502.

[630] Richer, Dupin, Bossuet, D�llinger.

[631] Mansi, XI. 622, 635, 655, 666

[632] Baronius (Ad ann. 633 and 681), and Pighius (Diatribe de Actis

VI. et VII. concil.).

[633] As a condemnation, not of the heresy of Honorius, but of his

negligence in suppressing heresy by his counsel of silence (ob

imprudentem silentii oeconomiam). So the Jesuit Garnier De Honorii et

concilii VI. causa, in an appendix to his edition of the Liber diurnus

Romanorum pontificum, quoted by Hefele (III. 175), who takes the

trouble of refuting this view by, three arguments.

[634] An error not in the dogmatic definition, but in facto dogmatico.

It is argued that an oecumenical council as well as a pope may err in

matter, de facto, though not de fide and de jure. This view was taken

by Anastasius, the papal librarian, Cardinal Turrecremata, Bellarmin,

Pallavicino, Melchior Canus, Jos. Sim. Assemani, and recently by

Professor Pennachi. See Hefele, III. 174, note 4.

[635] Or rather he told an untruth when be declared that all popes had

done their duty with regard to false doctrine.

[636] In this Confession the popes are required to anathematize

"Sergium ... una cum Honorio, qui pravis eorum assertionibus fomentum

impendit." Lib. Diurn. cap. II. tit. 9, professio 2. The oath was

probably prescribed by Gregory II. at the beginning of the eighth

century.

[637] Baronius rejects the letter of Leo II. as spurious, Bellarmin as

corrupted. Bower (History of the Popes) remarks: "Nothing but the

utmost despair could have suggested to the annalist (Baronius) so

desperate a shift."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 114. Concilium Quinisextum. a.d. 692.

Mansi., XI. 930-1006. Hefele, III. 328-348. Gieseler,I. 541 sq.

Wm. Beveridge (Bishop of St. Asaph, 1704-1708): Synodicon, sive

Pandectae canonum. Oxon. 1672-82. Tom. I. 152-283. Beveridge gives the

comments of Theod. Balsamon, Joh. Zonaras, etc., on the Apostolical

Canons.

Assemani (R.C.): Bibliotheca juris orientalis. Rom 1766, Tom. V.

55-348, and Tom. I. 120 and 408 sqq. An extensive discussion of this

Synod and its canons.

The pope of Old Rome had achieved a great dogmatic triumph in the sixth

oecumenical council, but the Greek church had the satisfaction of

branding at least one pope as a heretic, and soon found an opportunity

to remind her rival of the limits of her authority.

The fifth and sixth oecumenical councils passed doctrinal decrees, but

no disciplinary canons. This defect was supplied by a new council at

Constantinople in 692, called the Concilium Quinisextum, [638] also the

Second Trullan Council, from the banqueting hall with a domed roof in

the imperial palace where it was held. [639]

It was convened by the Emperor Justinian II. surnamed Rinotmetos, [640]

one of the most heartless tyrants that ever disgraced a Christian

throne. He ruled from 685-695, was deposed by a revolution and sent to

exile with a mutilated nose, but regained the throne in 705 and was

assassinated in 711. [641]

The supplementary council was purely oriental in its composition and

spirit. It adopted 102 canons, most of them old, but not yet legally or

oecumenically sanctioned. They cover the whole range of clerical and

ecclesiastical life and discipline, and are valid to this day in the

Eastern church. They include eighty-five apostolic canons so called

(thirty-five more than were acknowledged by the Roman church), the

canons of the first four oecumenical councils, and of several minor

councils, as Ancyra, Neo-Caesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, etc.;

also the canons of Dionysius the Great of Alexandria, Peter of

Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa

and Gregory of Nazianzum, Amphilochius of Iconium, Timothy of

Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria, Gennadius of Constantinople, and an

anti-Roman canon of Cyprian of Carthage. The decretals of the Roman

bishops are ignored.

The canons were signed first, by the emperor; the second place was left

blank for the pope, but was never filled; then follow the names of Paul

of Constantinople, Peter of Alexandria, Anastasius of Jerusalem, George

of Antioch (strangely after that of the patriarch of Jerusalem), and

others, in all 211 bishops and episcopal representatives, all Greeks

and Orientals, of whom 43 had been present at the sixth oecumenical

council.

The emperor sent the acts of the Trullan Council to Sergius of Rome,

and requested him to sign them. The pope refused because they contained

some chapters contrary to ecclesiastical usage in Rome. The emperor

dispatched the chief officer of his body guard with orders to bring the

pope to Constantinople. But the armies of the exarch of Ravenna and of

the Pentapolis rushed to the protection of the pope, who quieted the

soldiers; the imperial officer had to hide himself in the pope's bed,

and then left Rome in disgrace. [642] Soon afterwards Justinian II. was

dethroned and sent into exile. When he regained the crown with the aid

of a barbarian army (705), he sent two metropolitans to Pope John VII.

with the request to call a council of the Roman church, which should

sanction as many of the canons as were acceptable. The pope, a timid

man, simply returned the copy. Subsequent negotiations led to no

decisive result.

The seventh oecumenical Council (787) readopted the 102 canons, and

erroneously ascribed them to the sixth oecumenical Council.

The Roman church never committed herself to these canons except as far

as they agreed with ancient Latin usage. Some of them were inspired by

an anti-Roman tendency. The first canon repeats the anathema on Pope

Honorius. The thirty-sixth canon, in accordance with the second and

fourth oecumenical Councils, puts the patriarch of Constantinople on an

equality of rights with the bishop of Rome, and concedes to the latter

only a primacy of honor, not a supremacy of jurisdiction. Clerical

marriage of the lower orders is sanctioned in canons 3 and 13, and it

is clearly hinted that the Roman church, by her law of clerical

celibacy, dishonors wedlock, which was instituted by God and sanctioned

by the presence of Christ at Cana. But second marriage is forbidden to

the clergy, also marriage with a widow (canon 3), and marriage after

ordination (canon 6). Bishops are required to discontinue their

marriage relation (canon 12). Justinian had previously forbidden the

marriage of bishops by a civil law. Fasting on the Sabbath in Lent is

forbidden (canon 55) in express opposition to the custom in Rome. The

second canon fixes the number of valid apostolical canons at

eighty-five against fifty of the Latin church. The decree of the

Council of Jerusalem against eating blood and things strangled (Acts

15) is declared to be of perpetual force, while in the West it was

considered merely as a temporary provision for the apostolic age, and

for congregations composed of Jewish and Gentile converts. The

symbolical representation of Christ under the figure of the lamb in

allusion to the words of John the Baptist is forbidden as belonging to

the Old Testament, and the representation in human form is commanded

(canon 82).

These differences laid the foundation for the great schism between the

East. and the West. The supplementary council of 692 anticipated the

action of Photius, and clothed it with a quasi-oecumenical authority.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[638] Sunodos penthekte. The Greeks consider it simply as the

continuation of the sixth oecumenical council, and call its canons

kanones tes ektes sunodou. For this reason it was held in the same

locality. The Latins opposed it from the start as a "Synodus erratica,"

or "Conciliabulum pseudosextum." But they sometimes erroneously

ascribed its canons to the sixth council.

[639] Concilium Trullanum in an emphatic sense. The sixth council was

held in the same locality.

[640] Rhinotmetos from rhis, nose, in allusion to his mutilation.

[641] Gibbon (ch. 48) gives the following description of his character:

"After the decease of his father the inheritance of the Roman world

devolved to Justinian II.; and the name of a triumphant law-giver was

dishonored by the vices of a boy, who imitated his namesake only in the

expensive luxury of building. His passions were strong; his

understanding was feeble; and he was intoxicated with a foolish pride

that his birth had given him the command of millions, of whom the

smallest community would not have chosen him for their local

magistrate. His favorite ministers were two beings the least

susceptible of human sympathy, a eunuch and a monk: to the one he

abandoned the palace, to the other the finances; the former corrected

the emperor's mother with a scourge, the latter suspended the insolvent

tributaries, with their heads downward, over a slow and smoky fire.

Since the days of Commodus and Caracalla the cruelty of the Roman

princes had most commonly been the effect of their fear; but Justinian,

who possessed some vigor of character, enjoyed the sufferings, and

braved the revenge of his subjects about ten years, till the measure

was full of his crimes and of their patience."

[642] This is related by Anastasius, Bede, and Paulus Diaconus. See

Mansi, XII. 3, Baronius ad a. 692, and Hefele, III. 346.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 115. Reaction of Monotheletism. The Maronites.

The great oecumenical councils, notably that of Chalcedon gave rise to

schismatic sects which have perpetuated themselves for a long time,

some of them to the present day.

For a brief period Monotheletism was restored by Bardanes or

Philippicus, who wrested the throne from Justinian II. and ruled from

711 to 713. He annulled the creed of the sixth oecumenical Council,

caused the names of Sergius and Honorius to be reinserted in the

diptycha among the orthodox patriarchs, and their images to be again

set up in public places. He deposed the patriarch of Constantinople and

elected in his place a Monotheletic deacon, John. He convened a council

at Constantinople, which set aside the decree of the sixth council and

adopted a Monotheletic creed in its place. The clergy who refused to

sign it, were deposed. But in Italy he had no force to introduce it,

and an attempt to do so provoked an insurrection.

The Emperor Anastasius II. dethroned the usurper, and made an end to

this Monotheletic episode. The patriarch John accommodated himself to

the new situation, and wrote an abject letter to the Pope Constantine,

in which he even addressed him as the head of the church, and begged

his pardon for his former advocacy of heresy.

Since that time Dyotheletism was no more disturbed in the orthodox

church.

But outside of the orthodox church and the jurisdiction of the

Byzantine rulers, Monotheletism propagated itself among the inhabitants

of Mount Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon under the lead of abbot John Marun

(Marwvn), their first patriarch (d. 701). The maronites, [643] as they

were called after him, maintained their independence of the Greek

empire and the Saracens, and adhered to the Monotheletic doctrine till

the time of the crusades, when they united themselves with the Roman

church (1182), retaining, however, the celebration of the communion

under both kinds, the Syrian liturgy, the marriage of the lower clergy,

their own fast-days, and their own saints.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[643] Maroneitai.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 116. The Adoptionist Controversy. Literature.

I. Sources.

The sources are printed in Harduin, Vol. IV., Mansi, XIII., and in

Alcuin's Opera, ed. Frobenius (1777), reprinted by Migne (in his

"Patrol. Lat.," vols. 100 and 101), with historical and dogmatical

dissertations.

(1.) The writings of the Adoptionists: a letter of Elipandus Ad Fide

lem, Abbatem, a.d. 785, and one to Alcuin. Two letters of the spanish

bishops--one to Charlemagne, the other to the Gallican bishops. Felicis

Libellus contra Alcuinum; the Confessio Fidei Felicis; fragments of a

posthumous book of Felix addressed Ad Ludovicum Pium, Imperat.

(2.) The orthodox view is represented in Beatus et Etherius: Adv.

Elipandum libri II. Alcuin: Seven Books against Felix, Four Books

against Elipandus, and several letters, which are best edited by Jaff�

in Biblioth. rer. Germ. VI. Paulinus (Bishop of Aquileja): Contra

Felicem Urgellitanum libri tres. In Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," vol. 99,

col. 343-468. Agobard of Lyons: Adv. Dogma Felicis Episc. Urgellensis,

addressed to Louis the Pious, in Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," vol. 104, col.

29-70. A letter of Charlemagne (792) to Elipandus and the bishops of

Spain. The acts of the Synods of Narbonne (788), Ratisbon (792),

Francfort (794), and Aix-la-Chapelle (799).

II. Works.

(1.) By Rom. Cath. Madrisi (Congreg. Orat.): Dissertationes de Felicis

et Elipandi haeresi, in his ed. of the Opera Paulini Aquil., reprinted

in Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," vol. 99( col. 545-598). Against Basnage.

Enhueber (Prior in Regensburg): Dissert. dogm. Hist. contra Christ.

Walchium, in Alcuin's Opera, ed. Frobenius, reprinted by Migne (vol.

101, col. 337-438). Against Walch's Hist. Adopt., to prove the

Nestorianism of the Adoptionists. Frobenius: Diss. Hist. de haer. Elip.

et Felicis, in Migne's ed., vol. 101, col. 303-336. Werner: Gesch. der

Apol. und polem. Lit. II. 433 sqq. Gams: Kirchengesch. Spaniens

(Regensb., 1874), Bd. II. 2. (Very prolix.) Hefele: Conciliengesch.,

Bd. III. 642-693 (revised ed. of 1877). Hergenr�ther: Kirchengesch.,

2nd ed., 1879, Bd. I. 558 sqq. Bach: Dogmengesch. des Mittelalters

(Wien, 1873), I. 103-155.

(2.) By Protestants. Jac. Basnage: Observationes historicae circa

Felicianam haeresin, in his Thesaurus monum. Tom. II. 284 sqq. Chr. G.

F. Walch: Historia Adoptianorum, G�ttingen, 1755; and his

Ketzergeschichte, vol. IX. 667 sqq. (1780). A minute and accurate

account. See also the Lit. quoted by Walch.

Neander, Kirchengeschichte, vol. III., pp. 313-339, Engl. transl. III.

156-168. Gieseler, vol. II., P. I., p. 111 sqq.; Eng. transl. II.

75-78. Baur: Die christliche Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit und

Menschwerdung Gottes, T�bingen, 1842, vol. II., pp. 129-159. Dorner:

Entwicklungs-Geschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, second ed.,

Berlin, 1853, vol. II., pp. 306-330. Helfferich: Der Westgothische

Arianismus und die spanische Ketzergeschichte, Berlin, 1880. Niedner:

Lehrbuch der christl. K. G., Berlin, 1866, pp. 424-427. J. C.

Robertson: History of the Christian Church from 590 to 1122 (Lond.,

1856), p. 154 sqq. Milman: Lat. Christ. II. 498-500; Baudissin:

Eulogius und Alvar, Leipz., 1872. Schaff, in Smith and Wace, I. (1877),

pp. 44-47. W. M�ller, in Herzog2 I. 151-159.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 117. History of Adoptionism.

The Adoptionist controversy is a revival of the Nestorian controversy

in a modified form, and turns on the question whether Christ, as to his

human nature, was the Son of God in essence, or only by adoption. Those

who took the latter view were called Adoptionists. [644] They taught

that Christ as to his divinity is the true Son [645] of God, the

Only-Begotten of the Father; but as man he is his adopted Son, [646]

the First-Born of Mary. They accepted the Chalcedonian Christology of

one person and two natures, but by distinguishing a natural Son of God

and an adopted Son of God, they seemed to teach two persons or a double

Christ, and thus to run into the Nestorian heresy.

The orthodox opponents held that Christ was the one undivided and

indivisible Son of God; that the Virgin Mary gave birth to the eternal

Son of God, and is for this reason called "the mother of God;" that

sonship is founded on the person, not on the nature; and that

Adoptionism leads to two Christs and to four persons in the Trinity.

Both parties displayed a degree of patristic learning which one would

hardly expect in this period of the middle ages.

The history of this movement is confined to the West (Spain and Gaul);

while all the older Christological controversies originated and were

mainly carried on and settled in the East. It arose in the Saracen

dominion of Spain, where the Catholics had to defend the eternal and

essential Sonship of Christ against the objections both of the Arians

and the Mohammedans.

The Council of Toledo, held in 675, declared in the preface to the

Confession of Faith, that Christ is the Son of God by, nature, not by

adoption. [647] But about a century afterwards Elipandus, the aged

Archbishop of Toledo, and primate of that part of Spain which was under

Mohammedan rule, endeavored to modify the orthodox doctrine by drawing

a distinction between a natural and an adopted sonship of Christ, and

by ascribing the former to his divine, the latter to his human nature.

He wished to save the full humanity of Christ, without, however,

denying his eternal divinity. Some historians assert that he was

influenced by a desire to avoid the Mohammedan objection to the

divinity of Christ; [648] but the conflict of the two religions was too

strong to admit of any compromise. He may have read Nestorian writings.

[649] At all events, he came to similar conclusions.

Having little confidence in his own opinions, Elipandus consulted

Felix, bishop of Urgel [650] in Catalonia, in that part of Spain which,

since 778, was incorporated with the dominion of Charlemagne. Felix was

more learned and clear-headed than Elipandus, and esteemed, even by his

antagonist Alcuin, for his ability and piety. Neander regards him as

the originator of Adoptionism; at all events, he reduced it to a

formulated statement.

Confirmed by his friend, Elipandus taught the new doctrine with all the

zeal of a young convert, although he was already eighty years of age;

and, taking advantage of his influential position, he attacked the

orthodox opponents with overbearing violence. Etherius, Bishop of Osma

or Othma (formerly his pupil), and Beatus, a presbyter, and after

Alcuin abbot at Libana in Asturia, [651] took the lead in the defence

of the old and the exposure of the new Christology. Elipandus charged

them with confounding the natures of Christ, like wine and water, and

with scandalous immorality, and pronounced the anathema on them.

Pope Hadrian, being informed of these troubles, issued a letter in 785

to the orthodox bishops of Spain, warning them against the new doctrine

as rank Nestorianism. [652] But the letter had no effect; the papal

authority plays a subordinate role in this whole controversy. The

Saracen government, indifferent to the theological disputes of its

Christian subjects, did not interfere.

But when the Adoptionist heresy, through the influence of Felix, spread

in the French portion of Spain, and even beyond the Pyrenees into

Septimania, creating a considerable commotion among the clergy, the

Emperor Charlemagne called a synod to Regensburg (Ratisbon) in Bavaria,

in 792, and invited the Bishop of Urgel to appear, that his case might

be properly investigated. The Synod condemned Adoptionism as a renewal

of the Nestorian heresy.

Felix publicly and solemnly recanted before the Synod, and also before

Pope Hadrian, to whom he was sent. But on his return to Spain he was so

much reproached for his weakness, that, regardless of his solemn oath,

he yielded to the entreaties of his friends, and re-affirmed his former

opinions.

Charlemagne, who did not wish to alienate the spanish portion of his

kingdom, and to drive it into the protection of the neighboring

Saracens, directed Alcuin, who in the mean time had come to France from

England, to send a mild warning and refutation of Adoptionism to Felix.

When this proved fruitless, and when the Spanish bishops, under the

lead of Elipandus, appealed to the justice of the emperor, and demanded

the restoration of Felix to his bishopric, he called a new council at

Frankfort on the Main in 794, which was attended by about three hundred

(?) bishops, and may be called "universal," as far as the West is

concerned. [653] As neither Felix nor any of the Adoptionist bishops

appeared in person, the council, under the lead of Alcuin, confirmed

the decree of condemnation passed at Ratisbon.

Subsequently Felix wrote an apology, which was answered and refuted by

Alcuin. Elipandus reproached Alcuin for having twenty thousand slaves

(probably belonging to the convent of Tours), and for being proud of

wealth. Charles sent Archbishop Leidrad of Lyons and other bishops to

the Spanish portion of his kingdom, who succeeded, in two visits, in

converting the heretics (according to Alcuin, twenty thousand).

About that time a council at Rome, under Leo III., pronounced, on very

imperfect information, a fresh anathema, erroneously charging that the

Adoptionists denied to the Saviour any other than a nuncupative

Godhead.

Felix himself appeared, 799, at a Synod in Aix-la-Chapelle, and after a

debate of six days with Alcuin, he recanted his Adoptionism a second

time. He confessed to be convinced by some passages, not of the

Scriptures, but of the fathers (especially Cyril of Alexandria, Leo I.,

and Gregory I.), which he had not known before, condemned Nestorius,

and exhorted his clergy and people to follow the true faith. [654] He

spent the rest of his life under the supervision of the Archbishop of

Lyons, and died in 818. He left, however, a paper in which the doctrine

of Adoptionism is clearly stated in the form of question and answer;

and Agobard, the successor of Leidrad, felt it his duty to refute it.

Elipandus, under the protection of the government of the Moors,

continued openly true to his heretical conviction. But Adoptionism lost

its vitality with its champions, and passed away during the ninth

century. Slight traces of it are found occasionally during the middle

ages. Duns Scotus (1300) and Durandus a S. Porciano (1320) admit the

term Filius adoptivus in a qualified sense. [655] The defeat of

Adoptionism was a check upon the dyophysitic and dyotheletic feature in

the Chalcedon Christology, and put off indefinitely the development of

the human side in Christ's Person. In more recent times the Jesuit

Vasquez, and the Lutheran divines G. Calixtus and Walch, have defended

the Adoptionists as essentially orthodox.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[644] Adoptiani, Adoptivi; in English Adoptianists or Adoptionists

(from adoptio)

[645] Filius proprius or verus.

[646] Filius adoptivus or nuncupativus.

[647] "Hic etiam Filius Dei natura est Filius, non adoptione."

[648] So Baronius, Gfr�rer, Baudissin; but Hefele (III. 649) objects to

this for the reason that the Adoptionists very strongly asserted the

Trinity and the divinity of Christ, which were so offensive to the

Mohammedans.

[649] So Neander and Jacobi; see his ed. of Neander's Dogmengesch. II.

26 sqq. Jacobi tries to show a connection of Adoptionism with the

writings of Theodor of Mopsueste. Gams (Kirchengesch. Spaniens, II. 2,

p. 261 sqq.) conjectures that some Eastern Nestorians settled in Spain

under Moslem rule, and suggested the Adoptionist theory. Hefele (III.

646) and M�ller (Herzog2I. 159) are inclined to the same view.

Enhueber, Walch, and Bach hold that Elipandus was led to his view by

opposition to Migetius, who made no distinction between the Logos and

Christ, as if the second person of the Trinity had not existed before

the incarnation.--The reports on Migetius are vague. Elipandus charged

him with teaching three corporeal persons in the Trinity who became

incarnate in David (the Father), in Jesus (the Son), and in Paul (the

Holy Spirit). He probably fell into the error of the Priscillianists,

which was confounded with Sabellianism (hence his name magister

Salibanorum, which is a corruption for Sabellianorum). See on this

mysterious phenomenon Henrique Florez, Espa�a sagrada, T. V. 543 sq.,

and Hefele, l.c. III. 629-635 and 657.

[650] Urgelis, Urgela, Orgellis, in the Marca Hispanica. It formerly

belonged to the metropolis of Tarracona, but since the middle of the

eighth century, to the province of Narbonne.

[651] He is still honored in Spain as San Biego, but Elipandus called

him a disciple of Antichrist,"heretical, schismatical, ignorant, and

devoted to carnal lusts, and the very opposite of what his name Beatus

(Blessed) would suggest.

[652] Hadrian is also reported to have written to Charlemagne, and

called the Synod of Narbonne, 788; but the acts of this Synod (first

published by Cattell, 1633) are rejected as spurious by Pagi, Walch,

and Hefele (III. 662 sq. ).

[653] See a full account in Hefele III. 678 sqq. He calls it the most

splendid of all the synods of Charlemagne. It was held apostolica

auctoritate, two delegates of Pope Hadrian being present. But

Charlemagne himself presided. The number of members is not given in the

sources, but Baronius and many others after him say 300.

[654] Hard. IV. 929-934; Alcuin, Epp. 92, 176; and the Confessio Fidei

Felicis in Mansi, XIII. 1035 sq.

[655] 6 See Walch, Hist. Adopt., p. 253; Gieseler, Church History, 4th

Germ. ed vol. II., part I., p. 117, note 13 (E. tr. II. 78).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 118. Doctrine of Adoptionism.

The doctrine of Adoptionism is closely allied in spirit to the

Nestorian Christology; but it concerns not so much the constitution of

Christ's person, as simply the relation of his humanity to the

Fatherhood of God. The Adoptionists were no doubt sincere in admitting

at the outset the unity of Christ's person, the communication of

properties between the two natures, and the term Theotokos (though in a

qualified sense) as applied to the Virgin Mary. Yet their view implies

an abstract separation of the eternal Son of God and the man Jesus of

Nazareth, and results in the assertion of two distinct Sons of God. It

emphasized the dyophysitism and dyotheletism of the orthodox

Christology, and ran them out into a personal dualism, inasmuch as

sonship is an attribute of personality, not of nature. The Adoptionists

spoke of an adoptatus homo instead of an adoptata natura humana, and

called the adopted manhood an adopted Son. They appealed to Ambrose,

Hilary, Jerome, Augustin, and Isidore of Seville, and the Mozarabic

Liturgy, which was used in Spain. [656] Sometimes the term adoptio is

indeed applied to the Incarnation by earlier writers, and in the

Spanish liturgy, but rather in the sense of assumptio or analepsis,

i.e. the elevation of the human nature, through Christ, to union with

the Godhead. [657] They might, with better reason, have quoted Theodore

of Mopsuestia as their predecessor; for his doctrine of the huios

thetosis pretty much the same as their Filius Dei adoptivus. [658]

The fundamental point in Adoptionism is the distinction of a double

Sonship in Christ--one by nature and one by grace, one by generation

and one by adoption, one by essence and one by title, one which is

metaphysical and another which is brought about by an act of the divine

will and choice. The idea of sonship is made to depend on the nature,

not on the person; and as Christ has two natures, there must be in him

two corresponding Sonships. According to his divine nature, Christ is

really and essentially (secundum naturam or genere) the Son of God,

begotten from eternity; but according to his human nature, he is the

Son of God only nominally (nuncupative) by adoption, or by divine

grace. By nature he is the Only-Begotten Son of God; [659] by adoption

and grace he is the First-Begotten Son of God. [660]

The Adoptionists quoted in their favor mainly John 14:28 Luke 1:80;

18:19; Mark 13:32; John 1:14; 10:35; Rom. 8:29; 1 Cor. 11:3; 1 John

3:2; Deut. 18:15; Ps. 2: 8; 22:23, and other passages from the Old

Testament, which they referred to the Filius primogenitus et adoptivus;

while Ps. 60:4 (ex utero ante Luciferum genui te); 44:2; Is. 45:23;

Prov. 8:25, were understood to apply to the Filius unigenitus. None of

these passages, which might as well be quoted in favor of Arianism,

bear them out in the point of dispute. Christ is nowhere called the

"adopted" Son of God. Felix inferred from the adoption of the children

of God, that they must have an adoptive head. He made use of the

illustration, that as a son cannot have literally two fathers, but may

have one by birth and the other by adoption, so Christ, according to

his humanity, cannot be the Son of David and the Son of God in one and

the same sense; but he may be the one by nature and the other by

adoption. [661]

It is not clear whether he dated the adopted Sonship of Christ from his

exaltation [662] or from his baptism, [663] or already from his birth.

[664] He speaks of a double birth of Christ, compares the baptism of

Christ with the baptism or regeneration of believers, and connects both

with the spiritualis generatio per adoptionem; [665] but, on the other

hand, he seems to trace the union of the human nature with the divine

to the womb of the Virgin. [666]

The Adoptionists, as already remarked, thought themselves in harmony

with the Christology of Chalcedon, and professed faith in one divine

person in two full and perfect natures; [667] they only wished to bring

out their views of a double Sonship, as a legitimate consequence of the

doctrine of two natures.

The champions of orthodoxy, among whom Alcuin, the teacher and friend

of Charlemagne, was the most learned and able, next to him Paulinus of

Aquileja, and Agobard of Lyons, unanimously viewed Adoptionism as a

revival or modification of the Nestorian heresy, which was condemned by

the third Oecumenical Council (431). [668]

Starting from the fact of a real incarnation, the orthodox party

insisted that it was the eternal, only begotten Son of God, who assumed

human nature from the womb of the Virgin, and united it with his divine

person, remaining the proper Son of God, notwithstanding this change.

[669] They quoted in their favor such passages as John 3:16; Rom. 8:32;

Eph. 5:2; Acts 3:13-15.

The radical fault of this heresy is, that it shifts the whole idea of

Sonship from the person to the nature. Christ is the Son of God as to

his person, not as to nature. The two natures do not form two Sons,

since they are inseparably united in the one Christ. The eternal Son of

God did not in the act of incarnation assume a human personality, but

human nature. There is therefore no room at all for an adoptive

Sonship. The Bible nowhere calls Christ the adopted Son of God. Christ

is, in his person, from eternity or by nature what Christians become by

grace and regeneration.

In condemning Monotheletism, the Church emphasized the duality of

natures in Christ; in condemning Adoptionism, she emphasized the unity

of person. Thus she guarded the catholic Christology both against

Eutychian and Nestorian departures, but left the problem of the full

and genuine humanity of Christ unsolved. While he is the eternal Son of

God, he is at the same time truly and fully the Son of man. The

mediaeval Church dwelt chiefly on the divine majesty of Christ, and

removed him at an infinite distance from man, so that he could only be

reached through intervening mediators; but, on the other hand, she kept

a lively, though grossly realistic, remembrance of his passion in the

daily sacrifice of the mass, and found in the worship of the tender

Virgin-Mother with the Infant-Saviour on her protecting arm a

substitute for the contemplation and comfort of his perfect manhood.

The triumph of the theory of transubstantiation soon followed the

defeat of Adoptionism, and strengthened the tendency towards an

excessive and magical supernaturalism which annihilates the natural,

instead of transforming it.

Note.

The learned Walch defends the orthodoxy of the Adoptionists, since they

did not say that Christ, in his two-fold Sonship, was alius et alius,

allos kai allos(which is the Nestorian view), but that he was Son

aliter et aliter, a[llw" kai; a[llw". Ketzerhistorie, vol. IX., pp.

881, 904. Baur (II., p. 152) likewise justifies Adoptionism, as a

legitimate inference from the Chalcedonian dogma, but on the assumption

that this dogma itself includes a contradiction. Neander, Dorner,

Niedner, Hefele, and M�ller concede the affinity of Adoptionism with

Nestorianism, but affirm, at the same time, the difference and the new

features in Adoptionism (see especially Dorner II., p. 309 sq.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[656] A strong passage was quoted in the letter of the Spanish bishops

to Charlemagne from Isidore of Seville, who says (Etymolog., lib. II.,

c. 2; see Mignes ed. of Alcuin II. 1324): "Unigenitus vocatur secundum

Divinitatis excellentiam, quia sine fratribus: Primogenitussecundum

susceptionem hominis, in qua per adoptionem gratiae fratres habere

dignatus est, de quibus esset primogenitus." From the Mozarabic liturgy

they quoted seven passages. See Hefele III. 650 sqq.

[657] In a passage of Hilary (De Trinit. II. 29), there is a dispute

between two readings--"carnis humilitas Adoptatur," and "adoratur"

(Alcuin)--although the former alone is consistent with the context, and

"adoptatur" is used in a more general sense for assumitur (so Agobard).

See Walch, Hist. Adopt. , p. 22 sqq., and Gieseler, II. 76, note 2.

[658] See Neander, Kirchengeschichte, III. p. 318 sqq.; E. ed. III. 159

sqq.

[659] Unigenitus, monogenes, John 1: 14, 18.

[660] Primogenitus, prototokos en pollois adelphois, Rom. 8:29; Comp.

Col. 1:15.

[661] Alcuin, Contra Felicem, I. 12, and III. 1.

[662] Dorner, II. 319.

[663] Walch.

[664] Neander.

[665] l.c. II. 15.

[666] l.c. V. 1.

[667] "In una persona, duabus quoque naturis plenis atque perfectis."

Alcuin, Opp. II. 567.

[668] Alcuin, contra Felicem, lib. l.c. 11: "Sicut Nestoriana impietas

in duas Christum dividit personas propter duas naturas; ita et vestra

indocta temeritas in duos eum dividit filios, unum proprium, alterum

adoptivum. Si vero Christus est proprius Filius Dei Patris et

adoptivus, ergo est alter et alter," etc. Lib. IV. c. 5: "Nonne duo

sunt, qui verus est Deus, et qui nuncupativus Deus? Nonne etiam et duo

sunt, qui adoptivus est Filius, et ille, qui verus est Filius?"

[669] Ibid. II. 12: "Nec in illa assumptione alius est Deus, alius

homo, vel alius Filius Dei, et alius Filius Virginis; sed idem est

Filius Dei, qui et Filius Virginis; ut sit unus Filius etiam proprius

et perfectus in duabus naturis Dei et hominis." In the Confession which

Felix had to sign in 799 when he abjured his error, it is said that the

Son of God and the Son of man are one and the same true and proper Son

of the Father, "non adoptione, non appellatione seu nuncupased in

utraque natura unus Dei Patrus verus et proprius Dei Dei Filius."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 119. The Predestinarian Controversy.

Comp. vol. III., �� 158-160, pp. 851 sqq.

Literature.

I. The sources are: (1) The remains of the writings of Gottschalk,

viz., three Confessions (one before the Synod of Mainz, two composed in

prison), a poetic Epistle to Ratramnus, and fragment of a book against

Rabanus Maurus. Collected in the first volume of Mauguin (see below),

and in Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," Tom. 121, col. 348-372.

(2) The writings of Gottschalk's friends: Prudentius: Epist. ad

Hincmarum, and Contra Jo. Scotum; Ratramnus: De Praedest., 850;

Servatus Lupus: De tribus Questionibus (i.e., free will,

predestination, and the extent of the atonement), 850; Florus Magister:

De Praed. contra J. Scot.; Remigius: Lib. de tribus Epistolis, and

Libellus de tenenda immobiliter Scripturae veritate. Collected in the

first vol. of Mauguin, and in Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," vols. 115, 119

and 121. A poem of Walafrid Strabo on Gottschalk, in Migne, Tom. 114,

col. 1115 sqq.

(3) The writings of Gottschalk's opponents: Rabanus Maurus (in Migne,

Tom. 112); Hincmar of Rheims: De Praedestinatione et Libero Arbitrio,

etc. (in Migne, Tom. 125 and 126); Scotus Erigena: De Praedest. Dei

contra Gottescalcum, 851 (first ed. by Mauguin, 1650, and in 1853 by

Floss in Migne, Tom. 122). See also the Acts of Councils in Mansi, Tom.

XIV. and XV.

II. Works of historians: Jac. Ussher (Anglican and Calvinist):

Gotteschalci et Praedestinatianae controversiae ab eo motto Historia.

Dublin, 1631; Hanover, 1662; and in the Dublin ed. of his works.

Gilb. Mauguin (Jansenist, d. 1674): Vet. Auctorum, qui IX. saec. de

Praedest. et Grat. scripserunt, Opera et Fragm. plurima nunc primum in

lucem edita, etc. Paris, 1650, 2 Tom. In the second volume he gives the

history and defends the orthodoxy of Gottschalk.

L. Cellot (Jesuit): Hist. Gotteschalci praedestinatiani. Paris, 1655,

fol. Against Gottschalk and Mauguin.

J. J. Hottinger (Reformed): Fata doctrinae de Praedestinatione et

Gratia Dei. Tiguri, 1727. Also his Dissertation on Gottschalk, 1710.

Card. Noris: Historia Gottesc., in his Opera. Venice, 1759, Tom. III.

F. Monnier: De Gotteschalci et Joan. Erigenae Controversia. Paris,

1853.

Jul. Weizs�cker (Luth.): Das Dogma von der g�ttl. Vorherbestimmung im

9ten Jahrh., in Dorner's "Jahrb�cher f�r Deutsche Theol." Gotha, 1859,

p. 527-576.

Hefele (R. Cath.): Conciliengesch. IV. 130-223 (second ed., 1879).

V. Borrasch: Der M�nch Gottschalk v. Orbais, sein Leben u. seine Lehre.

Thorn, 1868.

Kunstmann: Hrabanus Maurus (Mainz, 1841); Spingler: Rabanus Maurus

(Ratisbon, 1856); and C. v. Noorden: Hinkmar v. Rheims (Bonn, 1863); H.

Schr�rs: Hincmar Erzbisch v. R. (Freil. B. 1884).

See also Schr�ckh, vol. XXIV. 1-126; Neander, Gieseler, Baur, in their

Kirchengeschichte and their Dogmengeschichte; Bach (Rom. Cath.), in his

Dogmengesch. des Mittelalters, I. 219-263; Guizot: Civilization in

France, Lect. V.; Hardwick: Middle Age, 161-165; Robertson, II.

288-299; Reuter, Rel. Aufkl�rung im Mittelalter, I. 43-48; and M�ller

in Herzog2, V. 324-328.

Gottschalk or Godescalcus, [670] an involuntary monk and irregularly

ordained priest, of noble Saxon parentage, strong convictions, and

heroic courage, revived the Augustinian theory, on one of the most

difficult problems of speculative theology, but had to suffer bitter

persecution for re-asserting what the great African divine had

elaborated and vindicated four centuries before with more depth, wisdom

and moderation.

The Greek church ignored Augustin, and still more Gottschalk, and

adheres to this day to the anthropology of the Nicene and ante-Nicene

fathers, who laid as great stress on the freedom of the will as on

divine grace. John of Damascus teaches an absolute foreknowledge, but

not an absolute foreordination of God, because God cannot foreordain

sin, which he wills not, and which, on the contrary, he condemns and

punishes; and he does not force virtue upon the reluctant will.

The Latin church retained a traditional reverence for Augustin, as her

greatest divine, but never committed herself to his scheme of

predestination. [671] It always found individual advocates, as

Fulgentius of Ruspe, and Isidore of Seville, who taught a two-fold

predestination, one of the elect unto life eternal, and one of the

reprobate unto death eternal. Beda and Alcuin were Augustinians of a

milder type. But the prevailing sentiment cautiously steered midway

between Augustinianism and Semi-Pelagianism, giving the chief weight to

the preceding and enabling grace of God, yet claiming some merit for

man's consenting and cooperating will. [672] This compromise may be

called Semi-Augustinianism, as distinct from Semi-Pelagianism. It was

adopted by the Synod of Orange (Arausio) in 529, which condemned the

Semi-Pelagian error (without naming its adherents) and approved

Augustin's views of sin and grace, but not his view of predestination,

which was left open. It was transmitted to the middle ages through Pope

Gregory the Great, who, next to Augustin, exerted most influence on the

theology of our period; and this moderated and weakened Augustinianism

triumphed in the Gottschalk controversy.

The relation of the Roman church to Augustin in regard to

predestination is similar to that which the Lutheran church holds to

Luther. The Reformer held the most extreme view on divine

predestination, and in his book on the Slavery of the Human Will,

against Erasmus, he went further than Augustin before him and Calvin

after him; [673] yet notwithstanding his commanding genius and

authority, his view was virtually disowned, and gave way to the

compromise of the Formula of Concord, which teaches both an absolute

election of believers and a sincere call of all sinners to repentance.

The Calvinistic Confessions, with more logical consistency, teach an

absolute predestination as a necessary sequence of Divine omnipotence

and omniscience, but confine it, like Augustin, to the limits of the

infralapsarian scheme, with an express exclusion of God from the

authorship of sin. Supralapsarianism, however, also had its advocates

as a theological opinion. In the Roman church, the Augustinian system

was revived by the Jansenists, but only to be condemned.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[670] There axe several persons of that name; the three best known are,

1) the subject of this chapter; 2) the writer of sequences mentioned in

this volume, p. 433; 3) the prince of the Slavonic and Wendish tribes

on the borders of Northern Germany, who died a martyr June 7, 1066. The

meaning of Gottschalk is God's servant. The German word Schalk, Knecht,

has undergone the same change as the English word knave. Milman (IV.

184) calls our Gottschalk a "premature Luther" (who was also a Saxon),

but gives no account of the controversy on "the dark subject of

predestination." Schr�rs (l.c. 96) likewise compares Gottschalk with

Luther, but the difference is much greater than the resemblance.

[671] See vol. III. 866 sqq. Neander says (Church Hist. III. 472): "The

Augustinian doctrine of grace had finally gained a complete victory

even over Semi-Pelagianism; but on the doctrine of predestination

nothing had as yet been publicly determined." Gieseler (II. 84):

"Strict Augustinianism had never been generally adopted even in the

West. "

[672] In the language of Gregory I.: "Bonum, quod agimus, et Dei est,

et nostrum: Dei per praevenientem gratiam, nostrum per obsequentem

liberam voluntatem. Si enim Dei non est, unde ei gratias in eteruum

agimus? Rursum si nostrum non est, unde. nobis retribui praemia

speramus?" Moral., Lib. XXXI. in Cap. 41 Job, in Migne's ed. of

Gregory's Opera, II. 699.

[673] Melanchthon, too, at first was so strongly impressed with the

divine sovereignty that he traced the adultery of David and the treason

of Judas to the eternal decree of God; but be afterwards changed his

view in favor of synergism, which Luther never did.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 120. Gottschalk and Babanus Maurus.

Gottschalk, the son of Count Berno (or Bern), was sent in his childhood

by his parents to the famous Hessian convent of Fulda as a pious

offering (oblatus). When he had attained mature age, he denied the

validity of his involuntary tonsure, wished to leave the convent, and

brought his case before a Synod of Mainz in 829. The synod decided in

his favor, but the new abbot, Rabanus Maurus, appealed to the emperor,

and wrote a book, De Oblatione Puerorum, in defence of the obligatory

character of the parental consecration of a child to monastic life. He

succeeded, but allowed Gottschalk to exchange Fulda for Orbais in the

diocese of Soissons in the province of Rheims. From this time dates his

ill feeling towards the reluctant monk, whom he called a vagabond, and

it cannot be denied that Rabanus appears unfavorably in the whole

controversy.

At Orbais Gottschalk devoted himself to the study of Augustin and

Fulgentius of Ruspe (d. 533), with such ardent enthusiasm that he was

called Fulgentius. [674] He selected especially the passages in favor

of the doctrine of predestination, and recited them to his fellow-monks

for hours, gaining many to his views. But his friend, Servatus Lupus,

warned him against unprofitable speculations on abstruse topics,

instead of searching the Scriptures for more practical things. He

corresponded with several scholars' and made a pilgrimage to Rome. On

his return in 847 or 848, he spent some time with the hospitable Count

Eberhard of Friuli, a son-in-law of the Emperor Louis the Pious, met

there Bishop Noting of Verona, and communicated to him his views on

predestination. Noting informed Rabanus Maurus, who had in the mean

time become archbishop of Mainz, and urged him to refute this new

heresy.

Rabanus Maurus wrote a letter to Noting on predestination, intended

against Gottschalk, though without naming him. [675] He put the worst

construction upon his view of a double predestination, and rejected it

for seven reasons, chiefly, because it involves a charge of injustice

against God; it contradicts the Scriptures, which promise eternal

reward to virtue; it declares that Christ shed his blood in vain for

those that are lost; and it leads some to carnal security, others to

despair. His own doctrine is moderately Augustinian. He maintains that

the whole race, including unbaptized children, lies under just

condemnation in consequence of Adam's sin; that out of this mass of

corruption God from pure mercy elects some to eternal life, and leaves

others, in view of their moral conduct, to their just punishment. God

would have all men to be saved, yet he actually saves only a part; why

he makes such a difference, we do not know and must refer to his hidden

counsel. Foreknowledge and foreordination are distinct, and the latter

is conditioned by the former. Here is the point where Rabanus departs

from Augustin and agrees with the Semi-Pelagians. He also distinguishes

between praesciti and praedestinati. The impenitent sinners were only

foreknown, not foreordained. He admitted that "the punishment is

foreordained for the sinner," but denied that "the sinner is

foreordained for punishment." [676] He supported his view with passages

from Jerome, Prosper, Gennadius, and Augustin. [677]

Gottschalk saw in this tract the doctrine of the Semi-Pelagian

Gennadius and Cassianus rather than of "the most catholic doctor"

Augustin. He appeared before a Synod at Mainz, which was opened Oct. 1,

848, in the presence of the German king, and boldly professed his

belief in a two-fold predestination, to life and to death, God having

from eternity predestinated his elect by free grace to eternal life,

and quite similarly all reprobates, by a just judgment for their evil

deserts, to eternal death. [678] The offensive part in this confession

lies in the words two-fold (gemina) and quite similarly (similiter

omnino), by which he seemed to put the two foreordinations, i.e.

election and reprobation, on the same footing; but he qualified it by a

reference to the guilt and future judgment of the reprobate. He also

maintained against Rabanus that the Son of God became man and died only

for the elect. He measured the extent of the purpose by the extent of

the effect. God is absolutely unchangeable, and his will must be

fulfilled. What does not happen, cannot have been intended by him.

The details of the synodical transaction are unknown, but Rabanus, who

presided over the Synod, gives as the result, in a letter to Hincmar,

that Gottschalk was condemned, together with his pernicious doctrine

(which he misrepresents), and handed over to his metropolitan, Hincmar,

for punishment and safe-keeping.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[674] By Walafrid Strabo his fellow-student at Fulda, who had a high

opinion of his learning and piety, and wrote a poem entitled

"Gotescalcho monacho qui et Fulgentius;" in Opera ed. Migne, Tom. II.

("Patr. Lat.," Tom. 114, col. 1115-1117). Neander (III. 474, note)

supposes that Gottschalk probably borrowed from Fulgentius the term

praedestinatio duplex.

[675] Epist, V. ad Notingum, De Praedestinatione, first published,

together with a letter Ad Eberhardum comitem, by Sirmond, Paris, 1647;

also in Rabani Mauri Opera, Tom. VI., ed. Migne ("Patr. Lat.," Tom.

112, col. 1530-1553). Hefele (IV. 134) complains that this edition has

many inaccuracies and typographical errors.

[676] Hefele (IV. 136) declares this to be inconsistent, because both

sentences amount to the same thing and give a good orthodox sense. "In

Wahrheit ist ja auch der S�nder praedestinirt ad mortem oder poenam,

aber seine Praedestination ist keine absolute, wie die des electus,

sondern sie ist bedingt durch die praevisa demerita."

[677] Chiefly from the Hypomnesticon (Commonitorium, Memorandum),

usually called Augustinian work against the called Hypognosticon

(Subnotationes), a pseudo-Pelagians, which was freely quoted at that

time as Augustinian by Scotus Erigena and Hincmar; while Remigius

proved the spuriousness. It is printed in the tenth vol. of the

Benedict. ed. of Augustin, and in Migne's reprint, X. 1611-1664. See

Feuerlein: Disquis. Hist. de libris Hypognosticon, an ab Hincmaro, in

Augustana Confessione et alibi recte tribuantur divo Augustino.

Altdorf, 1735.

[678] The fragment of this confession is preserved by Hincmar, De

Praedest., c.5 (Migne, 125, col. 89 sq. ): "Ego Gothescalcus credo et

confiteor, profiteor et testificor ex Deo Patre, per Deum Filium, in

Deo Spiritu Sancto, et affirmo atque approbo coram Deo et sanctis .

ejus, quod gemina est praedestinatio, sive electorum ad requiem, sive

reproborum ad mortem [so far quoted verbatim from Isidore of Seville,

Sent. II. 6]: quia sicut Deus incommutabilis ante mundi constitutionem

omnes electos suos incommutabiliter per gratuitam gratiam suam

praedestinavit ad vitam aeternam, similter omnino omnes reprobos, quia

in die judicii damnabuntur propter ipsorum mala merita, idem ipse

incommutabilis Deus per justum judicium suum incommutabiliter

praedestinavit ad mortem merito sempiternam."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 121. Gottschalk and Hincmar.

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, a most influential, proud and intolerant

prelate, was ill-disposed towards Gottschalk, because he had been

somewhat irregularly (though not invalidly) ordained to the priesthood

by a rural bishop (chorepiscopus), Rigbold of Rheims, without the

knowledge of his own bishop of Soissons, and gone on travels without

permission of his abbot. [679] He treated the poor monk without mercy.

Gottschalk was summoned before a synod of Chiersy (in palatio

Carisiaco) [680] in the spring of 849. He refused to recant, and was

condemned as an incorrigible heretic, deposed from the priesthood,

publicly scourged for obstinacy, according to the rule of St. Benedict,

compelled to burn his books, and shut up in the prison of a convent in

the province of Rheims. [681] According to the report of

eye-witnessses, he was scourged "most atrociously" and "nearly to

death," until half dead he threw his book, which contained the proofs

of his doctrine from the Scriptures and the fathers, into the fire. It

is a relief to learn that St. Remigius, archbishop of Lyons, expressed

his horror at the "unheard of impiety and cruelty" of this treatment of

the miserabilis monachus, as Gottschalk is often called by his friends.

In his lonely prison at Hautvilliers, the condemned monk composed two

confessions, a shorter and a longer one, in which he strongly

re-asserted his doctrine of a double predestination. He appealed to

Pope Nicolas, who seems to have had some sympathy with him, and

demanded a reinvestigation, which, however, never took place. He also

offered, in reliance on the grace of God, to undergo the fiery ordeal

before the king, the bishops and monks, to step successively into four

cauldrons of boiling water, oil, fat and pitch, and then to walk

through a blazing pile; but nobody could be found to accept the

challenge. Hincmar refused to grant him in his last sickness the

communion and Christian burial) except on condition of full

recantation. [682] Gottschalk scorned the condition, died in his

unshaken faith, and was buried in unconsecrated soil after an

imprisonment of twenty years (868 or 869).

He had the courage of his convictions. His ruling idea of the

unchangeableness of God reflected itself in his inflexible conduct. His

enemies charged him with vanity, obstinacy, and strange delusions.

Jesuits (Sirmond, Peteau, Cellot) condemn him and his doctrine; while

Calvinists and Jansenists (Ussher, Hottinger, Mauguin) vindicate him as

a martyr to the truth.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[679] Mauguin vindicates Gottschalk in both respects.

[680] Carisiacum, Cressy or Cr�cy in Northern France, in the department

of Somme, celebrated by the battle of 1346 between the English Edward

III. and the French Philip VI.

[681] Mansi, XIV. 921; Pertz, Monum. I. 443 sq.; Migne, Tom. 115, col.

1402; Hefele, IV. 142 sqq. Hefele doubts, with plausible reason, the

concluding sentence of the synod, in which Gottschalk is condemned to

everlasting silence.

[682] Gottschalk had provoked him by his disregard of episcopal

authority, and by the charge of Sabellianism for altering "trina

Deitas," in a church hymn, into "summa Deitas." Hincmar charged him in

turn with Arianism, but the word to which he had objected, retained its

place in the Gallican service.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 122. The Contending Theories on Predestination, and the Victory of

Semi-Augustinianism.

During the imprisonment of Gottschalk a lively controversy, was carried

on concerning the point in dispute, which is very creditable to the

learning of that age, but after all did not lead to a clear and

satisfactory settlement. The main question was whether divine

predestination or foreordination which all admitted as a necessary

element of the Divine perfection, was absolute or relative; in other

words, whether it embraced all men and all acts, good and bad, or only

those who are saved, and such acts as God approves and rewards. This

question necessarily involved also the problem of the freedom of the

human will, and the extent of the plan of redemption. The absolute

predestinarians denied, the relative predestinarians affirmed, the

freedom of will and the universal import of Christ's atoning death.

The doctrine of absolute predestination was defended, in substantial

agreement with Gottschalk, though with more moderation and caution, by

Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes, Ratramnus, monk of Corbie, Servatus

Lupus, Abbot of Ferri�res, and Remigius, Archbishop of Lyons, and

confirmed by the Synod of Valence, 855, and also at Langres in 859.

The doctrine of free will and a conditional predestination was

advocated, in opposition to Gottschalk, by Archbishop Rabanus Maurus of

Mainz, Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, and Bishop Pardulus of Laon, and

confirmed at a synod of Chiersy, 853, and in part again at Savonni�res,

near Toul, in 859.

A third theory was set forth by John Scotus Erigena, intended against

Gottschalk, but was in fact still more against the orthodox view, and

disowned by both parties.

I. The doctrine of an Absolute and Two-Fold Predestination.

Gottschalk professed to follow simply the great Augustin. This is true;

but he gave undue disproportion to the tenet of predestination, and

made it a fundamental theological principle, inseparable from the

immutability of God; while with Augustin it was only a logical

inference from his anthropological premises. He began where Augustin

ended. To employ a later (Calvinistic) terminology, he was a

supralapsarian rather than an infralapsarian. He held a two-fold

predestination of the elect to salvation, and of the reprobate to

perdition; not in the sense of two separate predestinations, but one

predestination with two sides (gemina, i.e. bipartita), a positive side

(election) and a negative side (reprobation). He could not conceive of

the one without the other; but he did not teach a predestination of the

sinner to sin, which would make God the author of sin. In this respect

he was misrepresented by Rabanus Maurus. [683] In his shorter

Confession from his prison, he says: "I believe and confess that God

foreknew and foreordained the holy angels and elect men to unmerited

eternal life, but that he equally (pariter) foreordained the devil with

his host and with all reprobate men, on account of their foreseen

future evil deeds, by a just judgment, to merited eternal death." He

appeals to passages of the Scriptures, to Augustin, Fulgentius, and

Isidor, who taught the very same thing except the pariter. In the

larger Confession, which is in the form of a prayer, he substitutes for

equally the milder term almost or nearly (propemodum), and denies that

God predestinated the reprobates to sin. "Those, O God," he says, "of

whom thou didst foreknow that they would persist by their own misery in

their damnable sins, thou didst, as a righteous judge, predestinate to

perdition." He spoke of two redemptions, one common to the elect and

the reprobate, another proper and special for the elect only. In

similar manner the Calvinists, in their controversy, with the

Arminians, maintained that Christ died efficiently only for the elect,

although sufficiently for all men.

His predestinarian friends brought out the difference in God's relation

to the good and the evil more clearly. Thus Ratramnus says that God was

the author (auctor) as well as the ruler (ordinator) of good thoughts

and deeds, but only the ruler, not the author, of the bad. He

foreordained the punishment of sin, not sin itself (poenam, not

peccatum). He directs the course of sin, and overrules it for good. He

used the evil counsel of Judas as a means to bring about the

crucifixion and through it the redemption. Lupus says that God foreknew

and permitted Adam's fall, and foreordained its consequences, but not

the fall itself. Magister Florus also speaks of a praedestinatio

gemina, yet with the emphatic distinction, that God predestinated the

elect both to good works and to salvation, but the reprobate only to

punishment, not to sin. He was at first ill-informed of the teaching of

Gottschalk, as if he had denied the meritum damnationis. Remigius

censured the "temerity" and "untimely loquacity" of Gottschalk, but

defended him against the inhuman treatment, and approved of all his

propositions except the unqualified denial of freedom to do good after

the fall, unless he meant by it that no one could use his freedom

without the grace of God. He subjected the four chapters of Hincmar to

a severe criticism. On the question whether God will have all men to be

saved without or with restriction, and whether Christ died for all men

or only for the elect, he himself held the particularistic view, but

was willing to allow freedom of opinion, since the church had not

decided that question, and the Bible admitted of different

interpretations. [684]

The Synod of Valence, which met at the request of the Emperor Lothaire

in 855, endorsed, in opposition to Hincmar and the four chapters of the

Synod of Chiersy, the main positions of the Augustinian system as

understood by Remigius, who presided. [685] It affirms a two-fold

predestination ("praedestinationem electorum ad vitam et

praedestinationem impiorum ad mortem"), but with such qualifications

and distinctions as seemed to be necessary to save the holiness of God

and the moral responsibility of man. The Synod of Langres in the

province of Lyons, convened by Charles the Bald in 859, repeated the

doctrinal canons of Valence, but omitted the censure of the four

chapters of Chiersy, which Charles the Bald had subscribed, and thus

prepared the way for a compromise.

We may briefly state the system of the Augustinian school in the

following propositions:

(1) All men are sinners, and justly condemned in consequence of Adam's

fall.

(2) Man in the natural state has no freedom of choice, but is a slave

of sin. (This, however, was qualified by Remigius and the Synod of

Valence in the direction of Semi-Pelagianism.)

(3) God out of free grace elected from eternity and unalterably a part

of mankind to holiness and salvation, and is the author of all their

good deeds; while he leaves the rest in his inscrutable counsel to

their merited damnation.

(4) God has unalterably predestinated the impenitent and persistent

sinner to everlasting punishment, but not to sin, which is the guilt of

man and condemned by God.

(5) Christ died only for the elect.

Gottschalk is also charged by his opponents with slighting the church

and the sacraments, and confining the effect of baptism and the

eucharist to the elect. This would be consistent with his theory. He is

said to have agreed with his friend Ratramnus in rejecting the doctrine

of transubstantiation. Augustin certainly did not teach

transubstantiation, but he checked the logical tendency of

Predestinarianism by the Catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration,

and of the visible historical church as the mediatrix of salvation.

[686]

II. The doctrine of a Conditional and Single Predestination.

Rabanus and Hincmar, who agreed in theology as well as in unchristian

conduct towards Gottschalk, claimed to be Augustinians, but were at

heart Semi-Pelagians, and struck a middle course, retaining the

Augustinian premises, but avoiding the logical consequences.

Foreknowledge (praescientia) is a necessary attribute of the omniscient

mind of God, and differs from foreordination or predestination

(praedestinatio), which is an attribute of his omnipotent will. The

former may exist without the latter, but not the latter without the

former. Foreknowledge is absolute, and embraces all things and all men,

good and bad; foreordination is conditioned by foreknowledge, and

refers only to what is good. God foreknew sin from eternity, but did

not predestinate it; and so he foreknew the sinners, but did not

predestinate them to sin or death; they are simply praesciti, not

praedestinati. There is therefore no double predestination, but only

one predestination which coincides with election to eternal life. The

fall of Adam with its consequences falls under the idea of divine

permission. God sincerely intends to save all men without distinction,

and Christ shed his blood for all; if any are lost, they have to blame

themselves.

Hincmar secured the confirmation of his views by the Synod of Chiersy,

held in presence of the Emperor, Charles the Bald, 853, It adopted four

propositions: [687]

(1) God Almighty made man free from sin, endowed him with reason and

the liberty of choice, and placed him in Paradise. Man, by the abuse of

this liberty, sinned, and the whole race became a mass of perdition.

Out of this massa perditionis God elected those whom he by grace

predestinated unto life eternal; others he left by a just judgment in

the mass of perdition, foreknowing that they would perish, but not

foreordaining them to perdition, though he foreordained eternal

punishment for them. [688] This is Augustinian, but weakened in the

last clause.

(2) We lost the freedom of will through the fall of the first man, and

regained it again through Christ. This chapter, however, is so vaguely

worded that it may be understood in a Semi-Pelagian as well as in an

Augustinian sense. [689]

(3) God Almighty would have all men without exception to be saved,

although not all are actually saved. Salvation is a free gift of grace;

perdition is the desert of those who persist in sin.

(4) Jesus Christ died for all men past, present and future, though not

all are redeemed by the mystery of his passion, owing to their

unbelief.

The last two propositions are not Augustinian, but catholic, and are

the connecting link between the catholic orthodoxy and the

Semi-Pelagian heresy.

Hincmar defended these propositions against the objections of Remigius

and the Synod of Valence, in two books on Predestination and Free Will

(between 856 and 863). The first is lost, the second is preserved. It

is very prolix and repetitious, and marks no real progress. He made

several historical blunders, and quoted freely from the

pseudo-Augustinian Hypomnesticon, which he thought presented Augustin's

later and better views.

The two parties came to a sort of agreement at the National Synod of

France held at Toucy, near Toul, in October, 860, in presence of the

Emperor, Charles the Bald, King Lothaire II., and Charles of Provence,

and the bishops of fourteen ecclesiastical provinces. [690] Hincmar was

the leading man, and composed the synodical letter. He still maintained

his four propositions, but cleared himself of the suspicion of

Semi-Pelagianism. The first part of the synodical letter, addressed to

all the faithful, gives a summary of Christian doctrine, and asserts

that nothing can happen in heaven and earth without the will or

permission of God; that he would have all men to be saved and none

lost; that he did not deprive man after the fall of free will, but

heals and supports it by grace; that Christ died on the cross for all

men; that in the end all the predestinated who are now scattered in the

massa perditionis, will be gathered into the fulness of the eternal

church in heaven.

Here ended the controversy. It was a defeat of predestinarianism in its

rigorous form and a substantial victory of Semi-Augustinianism, which

is almost identical with Semi-Pelagianism except that it gives greater

prominence to divine grace.

Practically, even this difference disappeared. The mediaeval church

needed the doctrine of free will and of universal call, as a basis for

maintaining the moral responsibility, the guilt and merit of man, and

as a support to the sacerdotal and sacramental mediation of salvation;

while the strict predestinarian system, which unalterably determines

the eternal fate of every soul by a pre-temporal or ante-mundane

decree, seemed in its logical consequences to neutralize the appeal to

the conscience of the sinner, to cut off the powerful inducement of

merit and reward, to limit the efficacy of the sacraments to the elect,

and to weaken the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

But while churchly and sacerdotal Semi-Augustinianism or covert

Semi-Pelagianism triumphed in France, where Hincmar had the last word

in the controversy, it was not oecumenically sanctioned. Pope Nicolas,

who was dissatisfied with Hincmar on hierarchical grounds, had some

sympathy with Gottschalk, and is reported to have approved the

Augustinian canons of the Synods of Valence and Langres in regard to a

"two-fold predestination" and the limitation of the atonement. [691]

Thus the door was left open within the Catholic church itself for a

revival of strict Augustinianism, and this took place on a grand scale

in the sixteenth century.

Notes.

The Gottschalk controversy was first made the subject of historical

investigation and critical discussion in the seventeenth century, but

was disturbed by the doctrinal antagonism between Jansenists (Jansen,

Mauguin) and Jesuits (Sirmond, Cellot). The Calvinistic historians

(Ussher, Hottinger) sided with Gottschalk and the Jansenists. The

controversy has been more calmly and impartially considered by the

Protestant historians of the nineteenth century, but with a slight

difference as to the limits and the result of the controversy; some

representing it merely as a conflict between a stricter and a milder

type of Augustinianism (Neander, Kurtz), others as a conflict between

Augustinianism and a revived and triumphant Semi-Pelagianism (Baur,

Weizs�cker). The former view is more correct. Semi-Pelagianism was

condemned by the Synod of Orange (Arausio), 529; again by the Synod of

Valence in the same year, and by Pope Boniface II., 530, and has ever

since figured in the Roman catalogue of heresies. The Catholic Church

cannot sanction what she has once condemned.

Both parties in the contest of the ninth century (leaving the isolated

Scotus Erigena out of view) appealed to Augustin as the highest

patristic authority in the Latin church. Both agreed in the Augustinian

anthropology and soteriology, i.e. in the doctrine of a universal fall

in Adam, and a partial redemption through Christ; both maintained that

some men are saved by free grace, that others are lost by their own

guilt; and both confined the possibility of salvation to the present

life and to the limits of the visible church (which leads logically to

the horrible and incredible conclusion that the overwhelming majority

of the human race, including all unbaptized infants, are eternally

lost). But the Augustinian party went back to absolute predestination,

as the ultima ratio of God's difference of dealing with the saved and

the lost, or the elect and the reprobate; while the Semi-Augustinian

party sought the difference rather in the merits or demerits of men,

and maintained along-side with a conditional predestination the

universal benevolence of God and the universal offer of saving grace

(which, however, is merely assumed, and not at all apparent in this

present life). The Augustinian scheme is more theological and logical,

the Semi-Augustinian more churchly and practical. Absolute

predestinarianism starts from the almighty power of God, but is checked

by the moral sense and kept within the limits of infralapsarianism,

which exempts the holy God from any agency in the fall of the race, and

fastens the guilt of sin upon man. Relative predestinarianism

emphasizes the responsibility and salvability of all men, but

recognizes also their perfect dependence upon divine grace for actual

salvation. The solution of the problem must be found in the central

idea of the holy love of God, which is the key-note of all his

attributes and works.

The practical difference between the catholic Semi-Augustinianism and

the heterodox Semi-Pelagianism is, as already remarked, very small.

They are twin-sisters; they virtually ignore predestination, and lay

the main stress on the efficacy of the sacramental system of the

historical church, as the necessary agency for regeneration and

salvation.

The Lutheran system, as developed in the Formula of Concord, is the

evangelical counterpart of the Catholic Semi-Augustinianism. It retains

also its sacramental feature (baptismal regeneration and the

eucharistic presence), but cuts the root of human merit by the doctrine

of justification by faith alone.

Calvinism is a revival of Augustinianism, but without its sacramental

and sacerdotal checks.

Arminianism, as developed in the Reformed church of Holland and among

the Wesleyan Methodists, and held extensively in the Church of England,

is an evangelical counterpart of Semi-Pelagianism, and differs from

Lutheranism by teaching a conditional election and freedom of the will

sufficient to accept as well as to reject the universal offer of saving

grace.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[683] Rabanus makes Gottschalk teach a "praedestinatio Dei, sicut in

bono, sic ita et in malo ... quasi Deus eos [reprobos] fecisset ab

initio incorrigibiles." But even Hincmar concedes (De Praed., c. 15, in

Migne 125, col. 126) that the predestinarians of his day (moderni

Praedestinatiani) taught only a predestination of the reprobates ad

interitum, not ad peccatum. Cardinal Noris and Hefele (IV. 140) admit

the perversion of Gottschalk's words in malam partem by Rabanus. The

same charge of making God the author of sin by predestinating and

creating men for sin and damnation, has again and again been raised

against supralapsarians and Calvinists generally, in spite of their

express denial.

[684] The particularists appealed to the passage Matt. 26:26, pro

multis (peripollon, without the article), and understood it in the

restricted sense as distinct from pro omnibus; while they arbitrarily

restricted the omnes (pan'tes) in 1 Tim. 2:3 and similar passages.

[685] See the canons of this Synod in Mansi, XV. I sqq., and Hefele,

IV. 193-195.

[686] Dr. Bach, a learned Roman Catholic historian, states this point

thus (l.c., I. 230): "Der historische Christus und die Kirche, der

sichtbare Leib Christi verfl�chtigt sich schon bei Gottschalk zu einem

leeren Abstraktum, sobald der concrete Boden der Erw�hlung nicht mehr

die Kirche und ihre Sakramente, sondern ein lediglich fingirtes

vorzeitliches Decret Gottes ist. Es taucht dann immer ein Surrogat der

Phantasie, die s. g. unsichtbare Kirche auf, und diejenigen, welche die

grossartige realistische Lehre des hl. Augustin von der Kirche und den

Sakramenten zerst�ren, nennen sich vorz�glich Augustinianer, indem sie

nicht wissen, dass die Lehre Augustins von der Praedestination auf dem

concreten Boden der Christologie und Anthropologie steht und ohne diese

zur gef�hrlichsten H�resie wird."

[687] Capitula IV. Carisiacensia, in Hincmar, De Praed., c. 2; in

Mansi, XIV. 920; Gieseler, II. 88; and Hefele, IV. 187.

[688] "perituros praescivit, sed non ut perirent praedestinavit, poenam

autem illis, quia justus est, praedestinavit aeternam."

[689] "Libertatem arbitrii in primo homine perdidimus, quam per

Christum Dominum nostrum recepimus: et habemus liberum arbitrium ad

bonum, praeventum et adjutum gratia: et habemus liberum arbitrium ad

malum, desertum gratia. Liberum autem habemus arbitrium, quia gratia

liberatum, et gratia de corrupto sonatum."

[690] Mansi, XV. 563; Hefele, IV. 215 sqq.

[691] The decree of the pope is lost; but the fact rests on the

authority of the well-informed Prudentius of Troyes in the Annales

Bertiniani ad ann. 859 (Pertz, Mon. Germ., I. 453 sq.): "Nicolas,

pontifex Romanus, de qratia Dei et libero arbitrio, de veritate

Geminaepraedestinationis et sanguine Christi, ut pro credentibusomnibus

fusus sit, fideliter confirmat et catholice decernit." Hincmar doubted

such a decision, and charged Prudentius with partiality (Ep. 24

addressed to Egilo, Bishop of Sens). The Jesuits labored hard to set it

aside against the Jansenists and Calvinists, but without good reason.

Weizs�cker (p. 574), Hardwick (p. 165), and M�ller (in Herzog2V. 327)

accept the statement of Prudentius, and Weizs�cker says: "Hatte in

Gallien die Hoftheologie des K�nigs den Semipeligianimus (?)

durchgebracht, so hat doch der Papst f�r Augustin entschieden ... Die

Kirchengeschichte darf ganz unbedenklich in ihre Bl�tter diese

Entscheidung des r�mischen Stuhls gegen den Semipelagianismus des

neunten Jahrhunderts aufnehmen, die man seit Mauguin niemals h�tte

bezweifeln sollen." Neander and Gieseler are silent on this point.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 123. The Doctrine of Scotus Erigena.

A complete ed. of the works of Scotus Erigena by H. J. Floss, 1853, in

Migne's "P. L.," Tom. 122. The book De Praedestinatione in col.

355-440. Comp. the monographs on S. E. by Hjort (1823), Staudenmaier

(1834), Taillandier (1843), Christlieb (1860, and his art. in Herzog2

XIII. 788 sqq.), Hermens (1861), Huber (1861); the respective sections

in Schr�ckh, Neander, Baur (on the Trinity), Dorner (on Christology);

and in the Histories of Philosophy by Ritter, Erdmann, and Ueberweg.

Also Reuter: Gesch. der relig. Aufkl�rung im Mittelalter (1875), I.

51-64 (a discussion of Erigena's views on the relation of authority and

reason).

At the request of Hincmar, who was very anxious to secure learned aid,

but mistook his man, John Scotus Erigena wrote a book on Predestination

(in 850), and dedicated it to Hincmar and his friend Pardulus, Bishop

of Laon. This most remarkable of Scotch-Irishmen was a profound scholar

and philosopher, but so far ahead of his age as to be a wonder and an

enigma. He shone and disappeared like a brilliant meteor. We do not

know whether he was murdered by his pupils in Malmsbury (if he ever was

called to England), or died a natural death in France (which is more

likely). He escaped the usual fate of heretics by the transcendental

character of his speculations and by the protection of Charles the

Bald, with whom he was on such familiar terms that he could answer his

saucy question at the dinner-table: "What is the difference between a

Scot and a sot?" with the quick-witted reply: "The table, your

Majesty." His system of thought was an anachronism, and too remote from

the spirit of his times to be properly understood and appreciated. He

was a Christian Neo-Platonist, a forerunner of Scholasticism and

Mysticism and in some respects of Spinoza, Schleiermacher, and Hegel.

With him church authority resolves itself into reason, theology into

philosophy, and true philosophy is identical with true religion.

Philosophy is, so to say, religion unveiled and raised from the cloudy

region of popular belief to the clear ether of pure thought. [692]

From this alpine region of speculation he viewed the problem of

predestination and free will. He paid due attention to the Scriptures

and the fathers. He often quotes St. Augustin, and calls him,

notwithstanding his dissent, "the most acute inquirer and asserter of

truth." [693] But where church authority contradicts reason, its

language must be understood figuratively, and, if necessary, in the

opposite sense. [694] He charges Gottschalk with the heresy of denying

both divine grace and human freedom, since he derived alike the crimes

which lead to damnation, and the virtues which lead to eternal life,

from a necessary and compulsory predestination. Strictly speaking,

there is in God neither before nor after, neither past nor future;

[695] and hence neither fore-knowledge nor fore-ordination, except in

an anthropopathic sense. He rejects a double predestination, because it

would carry a contradiction into God. There is only one predestination,

the predestination of the righteous, and this is identical with

foreknowledge. [696] For in God knowledge and will are inseparable, and

constitute his very being. The distinction arises from the limitation

of the human mind and from ignorance of Greek; for prooravw means both

praevideo and praedestino. There is no such thing as predestination to

sin and punishment; for sin is nothing real at all, but simply a

negation, an abuse of free will; [697] and punishment is simply the

inner displeasure of the sinner at the failure of his bad aims. If

several fathers call sinners praedestinati, they mean the reverse, as

Christ called Judas amice instead of inimice, and as lucus is called a

non lucendo. Sin lies outside of God, and does not exist for him at

all; he does not even foreknow it, much less foreordain it; for knowing

and being are identical with him. [698] But God has ordered that sin

punishes itself; he has established immutable laws, which the sinner

cannot escape. Free will is the very essence of man, and was not lost

by the fall; only the power and energy of will are impaired. But

Erigena vindicates to man freedom in the same sense in which he

vindicates it to God, and identifies it with moral necessity. His

pantheistic principles lead him logically to universal restoration.

[699]

This appears more clearly from his remarkable work, De Divisione

Naturae, where he develops his system. The leading idea is the initial

and final harmony of God and the universe, as unfolding itself under

four aspects: 1) Natura creatrix non creata, i.e. God as the creative

and uncreated beginning of all that exists; 2) Natura creatrix creata,

i.e. the ideal world or the divine prototypes of all things; 3) Natura

creata non creans, i.e. the created, but uncreative world of time and

sense, as the reflex and actualization of the ideal world; 4) Natura

nec creata nec creans, i.e. God as the end of all creation, which,

after the defeat of all opposition, must return to him in an

apokatastasis ton panton. "The first and the last form," he says, "are

one, and can be understood only of God, who is the beginning and the

end of all things."

The tendency of this speculative and mystical pantheism of Erigena was

checked by the practical influence of the Christian theism which

entered into his education and personal experience, so that we may say

with a historian who is always just and charitable: "We are unwilling

to doubt, that he poured out many a devout and earnest prayer to a

redeeming God for his inward illumination, and that he diligently

sought for it in the sacred Scripture, though his conceptual

apprehension of the divine Being seems to exclude such a relation of

man to God, as prayer presupposes." [700]

Hincmar had reason to disown such a dangerous champion, and complained

of the Scotch "porridge." [701] John Scotus was violently assailed by

Archbishop Wenilo of Sens, who denounced nineteen propositions of his

book (which consists of nineteen chapters) as heretical, and by Bishop

Prudentius, who increased the number to seventy-seven. He was charged

with Pelagianism and Origenism, and censured for substituting

philosophy for theology, and sophistical subtleties for sound arguments

from Scripture and tradition. Remigius thought him insane. Florus

Magister likewise wrote against him, and rejected as blasphemous the

doctrine that sin and evil were nonentities, and therefore could not be

the subjects of divine foreknowledge and foreordination. The Synod of

Valence (855) rejected his nineteen syllogisms as absurdities, and his

whole book as a "commentum diaboli potius quam argumentum fidei." His

most important work, which gives his whole system, was also condemned

by a provincial Synod of Sens, and afterwards by Pope Honorius III. in

1225, who characterized it as a book "teeming with the vermin of

heretical depravity," and ordered all copies to be burned. But,

fortunately, a few copies survived for the study of later ages.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[692] So it was with Hegel. His pious widow told me that her husband

often politely declined her request to accompany her to church, with

the remark: "Mein liebes Kind, dos Denken ist auch Gottesdienst."

[693] "De Praed., cap. 15, col. 413: "acutissimus veritatis et

inquisitor et assertor."

[694] katantiphrasin, e contrario.

[695] De Praed., cap. 9 (in Migne, col. 392): "In Deo sicut nulla

locorum sunt, ita nulla temporum intervalla." A profound thought, not

fully considered by either party in the strife.

[696] He thus sums up his discussion at the close (Migne, col. 438)

"Cum omnibus orthodoxis fidelibus anathematizo eos, qui dicunt, duas

praedestinationes esse, aut unum geminam, bipartitam, aut duplam. Si

enim duae sunt, non est una divina substantia. Si gemina, non est

individua. Si bipartita, non est simplex, sed partibus composita. Si

dupla est, complicata est. Quod si prohibemur divinam unitatem dicere

triplam, qua dementia audet haereticus eam asserere duplam? Tali igitur

monstroso, venenoso, mortifero dogmate a cordibus nostris radicitus

exploso, credamus, unam aeternam praedestinationem Dei Domini esse, et

non nisi in his, quae sunt, ad ea vero, quae non sunt, nullo modo

pertinere."

[697] Negatio, privatio, defectus justitiae, absentia boni, corruptio

boni. On the other hand, Scotus seems to regard sin as a necessary

limitation of the creature. But this idea is inconsistent with the

freedom of will, and runs into necessitarianism and pantheism. As sin

is the defect of justice, so death is simply the defect of life, and

pain the defect of bliss. See cap. 15 (col. 416).

[698] God knows only what is, and sin has no real existence. "Sicut Dem

mali auctor non est ita nec praescius mali, nec praedestinans est."

Cap. 10 (col. 395). "Ratio pronunciare non dubitat, peccata eorumque

supplicia nihil esse, ac per hoc nec praesciri nec praedestinari posse;

quomodo enim vel praesciuntur, vel praedestinantur, quae non sunt?"

Cap. 15. The same thought occurs in his work, De Divis. Nat. He refers

to such passages of the Scriptures where it is said of God that he does

not know the wicked.

[699] The predestination theory of Scotus has some points of

resemblance with that of Schleiermacher, who defended the Calvinistic

particularism, but only as a preparatory stage to universal election

and restoration.

[700] Neander, III. 462. The same may be said still more confidently of

Schleiermacher, who leaned with his head to pantheism, but lovingly

clung with his heart to Christ as his Lord and Saviour. He keenly felt

the speculative difficulty of confining the absolute being to the

limitations of personality ("omnis definitio est negatio"), and yet

sincerely prayed to a personal God. We cannot pray to an abstraction,

but only to a personal being that is able to hear and to answer. Nor is

personality necessarily a limitation. There may be an absolute

personality as well as an absolute intelligence and an absolute will.

[701] "Pultes Scotorum."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 124. The Eucharistic Controversies. Literature.

The general Lit. on the history of the doctrine of the Eucharist, see

in vol. I., � 55, p. 472, and II. 241.

Add the following Roman Catholic works on the general Subject: Card.

Jo. de Lugo (d. 1660): Tractatus de venerabili Eucharistiae Sacramento,

in Migne's "Cursus Theol. Completus," XXIII. Card. Wiseman: Lectures on

the Real Presence. Lond., 1836 and l842. Oswald: Die dogmat. Lehre von

den heil. Sacramenten der katholischen Kirche. M�nster, 3rd ed., 1870,

vol. I. 375-427.

On the Protestant side: T. K. Meier: Versuch einer Gesch. der

Transsubstantiationslehre. Heilbronn, 1832. Ebrard: Das Dogma v. heil.

Abendmahl und seine Gesch. Frankf. a. M., 1845 and '46, 2 vols. Steitz:

Arts. on Radbert, Ratramnus, and Transubstantiation in Herzog. Schaff:

Transubstantiation in "Rel. Encycl." III. 2385.

Special Lit. on the eucharistic controversies in the ninth and eleventh

centuries.

I. Controversy between Ratramnus and Paschasius Radbertus.

(1) Paschasius Radbertus: Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini,

dedicated to Marinus, abbot of New Corbie, 831, second ed., 844,

presented to Charles the Bald; first genuine ed. by Nic. Mameranus,

Colon. 1550; best ed. by Martene and Durand in "Veter. Script. et

Monum. amplissima Collectio," IX. 367.--Comm. in Matth. (26:26);

Epistola ad Fridegardum, and treatise De Partu Virginis. See S. Pasch.

Radb.: Opera omnia in Tom. 120 of Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," Par. 1852.

Haimo: Tract. de Corp. et Sang. Dom. (a fragment of a Com. on 1 Cor.),

in D'Achery, "Spicil." I. 42, and in Migne, "P. L.," Tom. 118, col.

815-817. Hincmar: Ep. ad Carol. Calv. de cavendis vitiis et virtutibus

exercendis, c. 9. In Migne, T. 125, col. 915 sqq.

(2) Ratramnus: De Corpore et Sanguine Domini liber ad Carolum Calvum

Reg. Colon., 1532 (under the name of Bertram), often publ. by Reformed

divines in the original and in translations (from 1532 to 1717 at

Z�rich, Geneva, London, Oxford, Amsterdam), and by Jac. Boileau, Par.,

1712, with a vindication of the catholic orthodoxy of Ratramnus. See

Ratramni Opera in Migne," P. L.," Tom. 121, col. 10-346.

Rabanus Maurus: Poenitentiale, cap. 33. Migne," P. L." Tom. 110, col.

492, 493. Walafrid Strabo: De Rebus Eccls., c. 16, 17. See extracts in

Gieseler, II. 80-82.

(3) Discussions of historians: Natalis Alexander, H. Eccl. IX. and X.,

Dissert. X. and XIII. Neander, IV. 458-475, Germ. ed., or III. 495-501,

Engl. transl., Bost. ed. Gieseler, II. 79-84, N. Y. ed. Baur:

Vorlesungen �ber Dogmengesch. II. 161-175.

II. Controversy between Berengar and Lanfranc.

(1) LANFRANCUS: De Eucharistiae Sacramento contra Berengarium lib.,

Basil,. 1528, often publ., also in "Bibl. PP. Lugd.," XVIII. 763, and

in Migne," Patrol. Lat.," Tom. 150 (1854), col. 407-442.

(2) Berengarius: De Sacra Coena adv. Lanfrancum liber posterior, first

publ. by A. F. & F. Th. Vischer. Berol., 1834 (from the MS. in

Wolfenb�ttel, now in G�ttingen. Comp. Lessing: Berengarius Turon. oder

Ank�ndigung eines wichtigen Werkes desselben. Braunschweig, 1770). H.

Sudendorf: Berengarius Turonensis oder eine Sammlung ihn betreffender

Briefe. Hamburg and Gotha, 1850. Contains twenty-two new documents, and

a full list of the older sources.

(3) Neander: III. 502-530 (E. Tr. Bost. ed.; or IV. 476-534 Germ. ed.).

Gieseler: II. 163-173 (E. Tr. N. York ed.). Baur: II. 175-198.

Hardwick: Middle Age, 169-173 (third ed. by Stubbs). Milman: III. 258

sqq. Robertson: II. 609 sqq. (small ed., IV. 351-367). Jacobi:

Berengar, in Herzog2 II. 305-311. Reuter: Gesch. der relig. Aufkl�rung

im Mittelalter (1875), I. 91 sqq. Hefele: IV. 740 sqq. (ed. 1879).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 125. The Two Theories of the Lord's Supper.

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper became the subject of two

controversies in the Western church, especially in France. The first

took place in the middle of the ninth century between Paschasius

Radbertus and Ratramnus, the other in the middle of the eleventh

century between Berengar and Lanfranc. In the second, Pope Hildebrand

was implicated, as mediator between Berengar and the orthodox party.

In both cases the conflict was between a materialistic and a

spiritualistic conception of the sacrament and its effect. The one was

based on a literal, the other on a figurative interpretation of the

words of institution, and of the mysterious discourse in the sixth

chapter of St. John. The contending parties agreed in the belief that

Christ is present in the eucharist as the bread of life to believers;

but they differed widely in their conception of the mode of that

presence: the one held that Christ was literally and corporeally

present and communicated to all communicants through the mouth; the

other, that he was spiritually present and spiritually communicated to

believers through faith. The transubstantiationists (if we may coin

this term) believed that the eucharistic body of Christ was identical

with his historical body, and was miraculously created by the priestly

consecration of the elements in every sacrifice of the mass; their

opponents denied this identity, and regarded the eucharistic body as a

symbolical exhibition of his real body once sacrificed on the cross and

now glorified in heaven, yet present to the believer with its

life-giving virtue and saving power.

We find both these views among the ancient fathers. The realistic and

mystical view fell in more easily with the excessive supernaturalism

and superstitious piety of the middle age, and triumphed at last both

in the Greek and Latin churches; for there is no material difference

between them on this dogma. [702] The spiritual theory was backed by

the all-powerful authority of St. Augustin in the West, and ably

advocated by Ratramnus and Berengar, but had to give way to the

prevailing belief in transubstantiation until, in the sixteenth

century, the controversy was revived by the Reformers, and resulted in

the establishment of three theories: 1) the Roman Catholic dogma of

transubstantiation, re-asserted by the Council of Trent; 2) the

Lutheran theory of the real presence in the elements, retaining their

substance; [703] and 3) the Reformed (Calvinistic) theory of a

spiritual real or dynamic presence for believers. In the Roman church

(and herein the Greek church fully agrees with her), the doctrine of

transubstantiation is closely connected with the doctrine of the

sacrifice of the mass, which forms the centre of worship.

It is humiliating to reflect that the, commemorative feast of Christ's

dying love, which should be the closest bond of union between

believers, innocently gave rise to the most violent controversies. But

the same was the case with the still more important doctrine of

Christ's Person. Fortunately, the spiritual benefit of the sacrament

does not depend upon any particular human theory of the mode of

Christ's presence, who is ever ready to bless all who love him.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[702] The Greek fathers do not, indeed, define the real presence as

transubstantiatio or metousiosis, but Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom,

and John of Damascus use similar terms which imply a miraculous change

of the elements.

[703] The Lutheran theory, as formulated by the Formula of Concord, is

usually and conveniently styled consubstantiation, in distinction from

transubstantiation; but Lutheran divines disown the term, because they

confine the real presence to the time and act of the sacramental

fruition, and hence reject the adoration of the consecrated elements.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 126. The Theory of Paschasius Radbertus.

Paschasius Radbertus (from 800 to about 865), a learned, devout and

superstitious monk, and afterwards abbot of Corbie or Corvey in France

[704] is the first who clearly taught the doctrine of

transubstantiation as then believed by many, and afterwards adopted by

the Roman Catholic church. He wrote a book "on the Body and Blood of

the Lord," composed for his disciple Placidus of New Corbie in the year

831, and afterwards reedited it in a more popular form, and dedicated

it to the Emperor Charles the Bald, as a Christmas gift (844). He did

not employ the term transubstantiation, which came not into use till

two centuries later; but he taught the thing, namely, that "the

substance of bread and wine is effectually changed (efficaciter

interius commutatur) into the flesh and blood of Christ," so that after

the priestly consecration there is "nothing else in the eucharist but

the flesh and blood of Christ," although "the figure of bread and wine

remain" to the senses of sight, touch, and taste. The change is brought

about by a miracle of the Holy Spirit, who created the body of Christ

in the womb of the Virgin without cohabitation, and who by the same

almighty power creates from day to day, wherever the mass is

celebrated, the same body and blood out of the substance of bread and

wine. He emphasizes the identity of the eucharistic body with the body

which was born of the Virgin, suffered on the cross, rose from the

dead, and ascended to heaven; yet on the other hand he represents the

sacramental eating and drinking as a spiritual process by faith. [705]

He therefore combines the sensuous and spiritual conceptions. [706] He

assumes that the soul of the believer communes with Christ, and that

his body receives an imperishable principle of life which culminates at

last in the resurrection. He thus understood, like several of the

ancient fathers, the words of our Saviour: "He that eateth my flesh and

drinketh my blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the

last day" (John 6:54).

He supports his doctrine by the words of institution in their literal

sense, and by the sixth chapter of John. He appealed also to marvellous

stories of the visible appearances of the body and blood of Christ for

the removal of doubts or the satisfaction of the pious desire of

saints. The bread on the altar, he reports, was often seen in the shape

of a lamb or a little child, and when the priest stretched out his hand

to break the bread, an angel descended from heaven with a knife,

slaughtered the lamb or the child, and let his blood run into a cup!

[707]

Such stories were readily believed by the people, and helped to

strengthen the doctrine of transubstantiation; as the stories of the

appearances of departed souls from purgatory confirmed the belief in

purgatory.

The book of Radbert created a great sensation in the West, which was

not yet prepared to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation without a

vigorous struggle. Radbert himself admits that some of his

contemporaries believed only in a spiritual communion of the soul with

Christ, and substituted the mere virtue of his body and blood for the

real body and blood, i.e., as he thinks, the figure for the verity, the

shadow for the substance. [708]

His opponents appealed chiefly to St. Augustin, who made a distinction

between the historical and the eucharistic body of Christ, and between

a false material and a true spiritual fruition of his body and blood.

In a letter to the monk Frudegard, who quoted several passages of

Augustin, Radbert tried to explain them in his sense. For no divine of

the Latin church dared openly to contradict the authority of the great

African teacher.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[704] Corbie, Corvey, Corbeia (also called Corbeia aurea or vetus), was

a famous Benedictine Convent in the diocese of Amiens, founded by King

Clotar and his mother Rathilde in 664, in honor of Peter and Paul and

the Protomartyr Stephen. It boasted of many distinguished men, as St.

Ansgarius (the Apostle of the Danes), Radbert, Ratramnus, Druthmar. New

Corbie (Nova Corbeia) was a colony of the former, founded in 822, near

H�xter on the Weser in Germany, and became the centre for the

christianization of the Saxons. Gallia Christiana, X., Wiegand, Gesch.

v. Corvey, H�xter, 1819; Klippel, Corvey, in Herzog2III. 365-370.

[705] He denies the grossly Capernaitic conception ("Christum vorari

fas dentibus non est") and the conversion of the body and blood of

Christ into our flesh and blood. He confines the spiritual fruition to

believers ("iste eucharistiae cibus non nisi filiorum Dei est"). The

unworthy communicants, whom he compares to Judas, receive the

sacramental "mystery" to their judgment, but not the "virtue of the

mystery" to their benefit. He seems not to have clearly seen that his

premises lead to the inevitable conclusion that all communicants alike

receive the same substance of the body and blood of Christ, though with

opposite effects. But Dr. Ebrard is certainly wrong when he claims

Radbert rather for the Augustinian view, and denies that he was the

author of the theory of transubstantiation. See his Dogma v. heil.

Abendmahl I. 406, and his Christl. Kirchen- und Dogmengesch. II. 27 and

33.

[706] See Steitz on Radbert, and also Reuter (I. 43), who says: "Die

Radbertische Doctrin war das synkretistische Gebilde, in welchem die

spiritualistische Lehre Augustin's mit der uralten Anschauung von der

realen Gegenwart des Leibes und dei Blutes Christi, aber in Analogie

mit dem religi�sen Materialismus der Periode combinirt wurde; die

gegnerische Theorie der Protest gegen das Becht dieser Combination."

[707] See several such examples in ch. 14 (Opera, ed. Migne, col. 1316

sqq. ).

[708] He clearly contrasts the two theories, probably with reference to

Ratramnus, in his comments on the words of institution, Matt. 26:26

(Expos. in Matt., ed. Migne, col. 890 sq.): "Neque itaque dixit cum

fregit et dedit eis panem, 'hoc est, vel in hoc mysterio est virtus vel

figura corporis mei,' sed ait non ficte, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' Ubi

Lucas addidit, 'Quod pro vobis tradetur,' vel sicut alii codices

habent, 'datur.' Sed et Joannes ex persona Domini, 'Panis,' inquit,

'quem ego dabo caro mea est, non alia quam, pro mundi vita' (Joan. VI.

52). Ac deinde, 'Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit sanguinem meum, in

me manet et ego in illo' (ver. 57). Unde miror quid velint uno quidam

dicere, non in re esse veritatem carnis Christi vel sanguinis; sed in

sacramento virtutem carnis et non carnem, virtutem sanguinis et non

sanquinem; figuram et non veritatem, umbram et non corpus, cum hic

species accipit veritatem et figuram, veterum hostiarum corpus. Unde

veritas cum porrigeret discipulis panem, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' et non

aliud quam, 'quod pro vobis tradetur;' et cum calicem, 'Hic est calix

Novi Testamenti, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.'

Necdum itaque erat fusus, et tamen ipse porrigetur in calice sanguis,

qui fundendus erat. Erat quidem jam in calice, qui adhuc tamen

fundendus erat in pretium; et ideo ipse idemque sanguis jam erat in

calice. qui et in corpore sicut et corpus vel caro in pane. Erat autem

integer Christus et corpus Christi coram oculis omnium positum; necnon

et sanguis in corpore, sicut et adhuc hodie integerrimum est et manet,

qui vere dabatur eis ad comedendum, et ad bidendum, in remissionem

peccatorum, quam in Christo."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 127. The Theory of Ratramnus.

The chief opponent of transubstantiation was Ratramnus, [709] a

contemporary monk at Corbie, and a man of considerable literary

reputation. He was the first to give the symbolical theory a scientific

expression. At the request of King Charles the Bald he wrote a

eucharistic tract against Radbert, his superior, but did not name him.

[710] He answered two questions, whether the consecrated elements are

called body and blood of Christ after a sacramental manner (in

mysterio), or in the literal sense; and whether the eucharistic body is

identical with the historical body which died and rose again. He denied

this identity which Radbert had strongly asserted; and herein lies the

gist of the difference. He concluded that the elements remain in

reality as well as for the sensual perception what they were before the

consecration, and that they are the body and blood of Christ only in a

spiritual sense to the faith of believers. [711] He calls the

consecrated bread and wine figures and pledges of the body and blood of

Christ. They are visible tokens of the Lord's death, that, remembering

his passion, we may become partakers of its effect. He appealed to the

discourse in the sixth chapter of John, as well as Radbert; but, like

Augustin, his chief authority, he found the key to the whole chapter in

John 6:63, which points from the letter to the spirit and from the

carnal to the spiritual understanding. [712] The souls of believers are

nourished in the communion by the Word of God (the Logos), which dwells

in the natural body of Christ, and which dwells after an invisible

manner in the sacrament. Unbelievers cannot receive Christ, as they

lack the spiritual organ. He refers to the analogy of baptism, which is

justly called a fount of life. Viewed by the senses, it is simply a

fluid element; but by the consecration of the priest the regenerating

power of the Holy Spirit is added to it, so that what properly is

corruptible water becomes figuratively or in mystery a healing virtue.

[713]

It is consistent with this view that Ratramnus regarded the sacrifice

of the mass not as an actual (though unbloody) repetition, but only as

a commemorative celebration of Christ's sacrifice whereby Christians

are assured of their redemption. When we shall behold Christ face to

face, we shall no longer need such instruments of remembrance.

John Scotus Erigena is also reported to have written a book against

Radbert at the request of Charles the Bald. Hincmar of Rheims mentions

among his errors this, that in the sacrament of the altar the true body

and blood of Christ were not present, but only a memorial of them.

[714] The report may have arisen from a confusion, since the tract of

Ratramnus was at a later period ascribed to Scotus Erigena. [715] But

he expresses his view incidentally in other writings from which it

appears that he agreed with Ratramnus and regarded the eucharist only

as a typical representation of a spiritual communion with Christ. [716]

In his book De Divisione Naturae, he teaches a mystic ubiquity of

Christ's glorified humanity or its elevation above the limitations of

space. Neander infers from this that he held the eucharistic bread and

wine to be simply symbols of the deified, omnipresent humanity of

Christ which communicates itself, in a real manner, to believing soul.

[717] At all events the hypothesis of ubiquity excludes a miraculous

change of the elements, and gives the real presence a

christo-pantheistic aspect. The Lutheran divines used this hypothesis

in a modified form (multipresence, or multivolipresence, dependent on

the will of Christ) as a dogmatic support for their doctrine of the

real presence.

Among the divines of the Carolingian age who held the Augustinian view

and rejected that of Radbert, as an error, were Rabanus Maurus,

Walafrid Strabo, Christian Druthmar, and Florus Magister. They

recognized only a dynamic and spiritual, not a visible and corporeal

presence, of the body of Christ, in the sacrament. [718]

On the other hand, the theory of Radbert was accepted by Archbishop

Hincmar of Rheims, Bishop Haimo of Halberstadt, and other leading

ecclesiastics. It became more and more popular during the dark

post-Carolingian period. Bishop Ratherius of Verona (about 950), who,

however, repelled all curious questions about the mode of the change,

and even the learned and liberal-minded Gerbert (afterwards Pope

Sylvester II., from 999 to 1003), defended the miraculous

transformation of the eucharistic elements by the priestly

consecration. It is characteristic of the grossly sensuous character of

the theology of the tenth century that the chief point of dispute was

the revolting and indecent question whether the consecrated elements

pass from the communicant in the ordinary way of nature. The opponents

of transubstantiation affirmed this, the advocates indignantly denied

it, and fastened upon the former the new heretical name of

"Stercorianists." Gerbert called stercorianism a diabolical blasphemy,

and invented the theory that the eucharistic body and blood of Christ

do not pass in noxios et superfluos humores, but are preserved in the

flesh for the final resurrection. [719]

Radbertus was canonized, and his memory, is celebrated since 1073, on

the 26th of April in the diocese of Soissons. [720] The book of

Ratramnus, under the supposed authorship of Scotus Erigena, was twice

condemned in the Berengar controversy (1050 and 1059), and put in the

Tridentine Index of prohibited books . [721]

Notes.

In connection with this subject is the subordinate controversy on the

delicate question whether Christ, admitting his supernatural

conception, was born in the natural way like other children, or

miraculously (clauso utero). This question troubled the pious curiosity

of some nuns of Vesona (?), and reached the convent of Corbie.

Paschasius Radbertus, following the lead of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome,

defended the theory that the holy Virgin remained virgo in partu and

post partum, and used in proof some poetic passages on the hortus

conclusus and fons signatus in Cant. 4:12, and the porta clausa Domini

in Ezek. 44:2. The whole incarnation is supernatural, and as the

conception so the birth of Christ was miraculous. He was not subject to

the laws of nature, and entered the world "sine dolore et sine gemitu

et sine ulla corruptione carnis." See Radbert's tract De Partu Virginis

in his Opera, ed. Migne, col. 1365-1386.

Ratramnus, in his book De eo quod Christus ex Virgine natus est (in

D'Achery, "Spicilegium," I., and in Migne, Tom. 121, col. 82-102),

likewise taught the perpetual virginity of Mary, but assumed that

Christ came into the world in the natural way ("naturaliter per aulam

virgineam" or "per virginalis januam vulvae"). The conception in utero

implies the birth ex utero. But he does not controvert or name Radbert,

and uses the same Scripture passages for his view. He refers also to

the analogy of Christ's passing through the closed doors on the day of

the resurrection. He quotes from Augustin, Jerome, Pope Gregory, and

Bede in support of his view. He opposes only the monstrous opinion that

Christ broke from the womb through some unknown channel ("monstruose de

secreto ventris incerto tramite luminis in auras exisse, quod non est

nasci, sed erumpi." Cap. 1, col. 83). Such an opinion, he thinks, leads

to the docetic heresy, and to the conclusion that "nec vere natus

Christus, nec vere genuit Maria."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[709] In the middle ages and during the Reformation he was known by a

writing error under the name of Bertram.

[710] De Corpore et Sanguine Domini, in Migne 121, col. 103-170, to

which is added the Dissertation of Boileau, 171-222. The tract of

Ratramnus, together with Bullinger's tract on the same subject and the

personal influence of Ridley, Peter Martyr, and Bucer, produced a

change in Archbishop Cranmer, who was successively a believer in

transubstantiation, consubstantiation, and a symbolic presence. See

Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, I. 601.

[711] Cap. 88 (col. 164): "Quapropter corpus et sanguis, quod in

ecclesia geritur, differt ab illo corpore et sanquine, quod in Christi

corpore per resurrectionem jam glorificatum cognoscitur. Et hoc corpus

pignus est et species, illud vero ipsa veritas."--"Videmus itaque multa

differentia separari mysterium sanguinis et corporis Christi, quod nunc

a fidelibus sumitur in ecclesia, et illud, quod natum est de Maria

Virgine, quod passum, quod sepultum, quod resurrexit, quod ad caelos

ascendit, quod ad dexteram Patris sedet." Cap. 89, col. 165.

[712] Cap. 78-83 (col. 160-162).

[713] Cap. 17 and 18 (col. 135 sq. ): "Consideremus sacri fontem

baptismatis, qui fons vitae non immerito nuncupatur. ... Si

consideretur solummodo, quod corporeus aspicit sensus, elementum

fluidum conspicitur ... Sed accessit Sancti Spiritus per sacerdotis

consecrationem virtus et efficax facta est non solum corpora, verum

etiam animas diluere. ... Igitur in proprietate humor corruptibilis, in

mysterio vero virtus sanabilis.

[714] De Praed., c. 31.

[715] See Laufs, Ueber die f�r verloren gehaltene Schrift des Johannes

Scotus Erigena von der Eucharistic, in the 'Studien und Kritiken" of

Ullmann and Umbreit, 1828, p. 755 sqq. Laufs denies that Erigena wrote

on the Eucharist.

[716] In his newly discovered Expositions on the Celestial, and on the

Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of St. Dionysius, and the fragments of a Com.

on St. John. See Op. ed. Floss in Migne, 122 (col. 126-356);

Christlieb, Scotus Er., p. 68-81, and in Herzog2XIII. 790 sq., and

Huber, Sc. Erig., p. 98 sqq.

[717] Dr. Baur is of the same opinion (Dogmengesch. II. 173): "Scotus

Erigena dachte sich(De Div. Nat. V. 38) eine Ubiquit�t der

vergeistigten und verg�ttlichten Natur, die die Annahme einer

speciellen Gegenwart in den Elementen des Abendmahls nicht zuliess,

sondern dieselben nur als Symbole zu nehmen gestattete. Brod und Wein

konnten ihm daher nur als Symbolejener Ubiquit�t der verherrlichten

menschlichen Natur gelten; er hat sich aber hier�ber nicht n�her

erkl�rt."

[718] "Corpus Christi esse non in specie visibili, sed in virtute

spirituali," etc. See Baur, II. 166, 172, and the notes in Gieseler,

II. 80 and 82.

[719] De Corpore et Sanguini Domini, edited by Pez, in "Thes. nov.

Anecd." I., Pars II. 133 sqq.

[720] See the Acta Sanct Bolland. ad 26 Apr., with the Vita of Pasch.

Radb. by Sirmond, and the Martyrol. Bened. with the Vita by M�nard.

[721] Notwithstanding this prohibition, Mabillon, Natalis Alexander,

and Boileau have defended the catholic orthodoxy of Ratramnus, with the

apologetic aim to wrest from the Protestants a weighty authority of the

ninth century. See Gieseler II. 82, and J. G. M�ller in Wetzer and

Welte (first ed. ) VIII. 170 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 128. The Berengar Controversy.

While the doctrine of a corporeal presence and participation of Christ

in the eucharist made steady progress in the public opinion of Western

Christendom in close connection with the rising power of the

priesthood, the doctrine of a spiritual presence and participation by

faith was re-asserted by way of reaction in the middle of the eleventh

century for a short period, but condemned by ecclesiastical authority.

This condemnation decided the victory of transubstantiation.

Let us first review the external history of the controversy, which runs

into the next period (till 1079).

Berengar (c. 1000-1088), a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1029), was

canon and director of the cathedral school in Tours, his native city,

afterwards archdeacon of Angers, and highly esteemed as a man of rare

learning and piety before his eucharistic views became known. [722] He

was an able dialectician and a popular teacher. He may be ranked among

the forerunners of a Christian rationalism, who dared to criticize

church authority and aimed to reconcile the claims of reason and faith.

[723] But he had not the courage of a martyr, and twice recanted from

fear of death. Nor did he carry out his principle. He seems to have

been in full accord with catholic orthodoxy except on the point of the

sacrament. He was ascetic in his habits and shared the prevailing

respect for monastic life, but saw clearly its danger. "The hermit," he

says with as much beauty as truth, in an Exhortatory Discourse to

hermits who had asked his advice, "is alone in his cell, but sin

loiters about the door with enticing words and seeks admittance. I am

thy beloved--says she--whom thou didst court in the world. I was with

thee at the table, slept with thee on thy couch; without me, thou didst

nothing. How darest thou think of forsaking me? I have followed thy

every step; and dost thou expect to hide away from me in thy cell? I

was with thee in the world, when thou didst eat flesh and drink wine;

and shall be with thee in the wilderness, where thou livest only on

bread and water. Purple and silk are not the only colors seen in

hell,--the monk's cowl is also to be found there. Thou hermit hast

something of mine. The nature of the flesh, which thou wearest about

thee, is my sister, begotten with me, brought up with me. So long as

the flesh is flesh, so long shall I be in thy flesh. Dost thou subdue

thy flesh by abstinence?--thou becomest proud; and lo! sin is there.

Art thou overcome by the flesh, and dost thou yield to lust? sin is

there. Perhaps thou hast none of the mere human sins, I mean such as

proceed from sense; beware then of devilish sins. Pride is a sin which

belongs in common to evil spirits and to hermits." [724]

By continued biblical and patristic studies Berengar came between the

years 1040 and 1045 to the conclusion that the eucharistic doctrine of

Paschasius Radbertus was a vulgar superstition contrary to the

Scriptures, to the fathers, and to reason. He divulged his view among

his many pupils in France and Germany, and created a great sensation.

Eusebius Bruno, bishop of Angers, to whose diocese he belonged, and

Frollant, bishop of Senlis, took his part, but the majority was against

him. Adelmann, his former fellow-student, then arch-deacon at L�ttich

(Li�ge), afterwards bishop of Bresci, remonstrated with him in two

letters of warning (1046 and 1048).

The controversy was fairly opened by Berengar himself in a letter to

Lanfranc of Bec, his former fellow-student (1049). He respectfully, yet

in a tone of intellectual superiority, perhaps with some feeling of

jealousy of the rising fame of Bec, expressed his surprise that

Lanfranc, as he had been informed by Ingelram of Chartres, should agree

with Paschasius Radbertus and condemn John Scotus (confounded with

Ratramnus) as heretical; this showed an ignorance of Scripture and

involved a condemnation of Ambrose (?), Jerome, and Augustin, not to

speak of others. The letter was sent to Rome, where Lanfranc then

sojourned, and caused, with his co-operation, the first condemnation of

Berengar by a Roman Synod held under Pope Leo IX. in April, 1050, and

attended mostly by Italian bishops. At the same time he was summoned

before another Synod which was held at Vercelli in September of the

same year; and as he did not appear, [725] he was condemned a second

time without a hearing, and the book of Ratramnus on the eucharist was

burned. "If we are still in the figure," asked one member indignantly

(probably Peter Damiani), "when shall we have the thing?" A Synod of

Paris in October, 1050 or 1051, is said to have confirmed this judgment

and threatened Berengar and his friends with the severest punishment,

even death; but it is uncertain whether such a Synod was held. [726]

After a short interval of silence, he was tried before a Synod of Tours

in 1054 under Leo IX., [727] but escaped condemnation through the aid

of Hildebrand who presided as papal representative, listened calmly to

his arguments and was perfectly satisfied with his admission that the

consecrated bread and wine are (in a spiritual sense) the body and

blood of Christ. [728] At the same time he was invited by Hildebrand to

accompany him to Rome for a final settlement.

Confiding in this powerful advocate, Berengar appeared before a Lateran

council held in 1059, under Nicolas II., but was bitterly disappointed.

The assembled one hundred and thirteen bishops, whom he compares to

"wild beasts," would not listen to his notion of a spiritual communion,

and insisted on a sensuous participation of the body and blood of

Christ. The violent and bigoted Cardinal Humbert, in the name of the

Synod, forced on him a formula of recantation which cuts off all

spiritual interpretation and teaches a literal mastication of Christ's

body. [729] Berengar was weak enough from fear of death to accept this

confession on his knees, and to throw his books into the fire. [730]

"Human wickedness," he says, "extorted from human weakness a different

confession, but a change of conviction can be effected only by the

agency of Almighty God." He would rather trust to the mercy of God than

the charity of his enemies, and found comfort in the pardon granted to

Aaron and to St. Peter.

As soon as he returned to France, he defended his real conviction more

boldly than ever. He spoke of Pope Leo IX. and Nicolas II. in language

as severe as Luther used five centuries later. [731] Lanfranc attacked

him in his book on the eucharist, and Berengar replied very sharply in

his chief work on the Lord's Supper (between 1063 and 1069.) [732] His

friends gradually withdrew, and the wrath of his enemies grew so

intense that he was nearly killed at a synod in Poitiers (1075 or

1076).

Hildebrand who in the mean time had ascended the papal throne as

Gregory VlI., summoned Berengar once more to Rome in 1078, hoping to

give him peace, as he had done at Tours in 1054. He made several

attempts to protect him against the fanaticism of his enemies. But they

demanded absolute recantation or death. A Lateran Council in February,

1079, required Berengar to sign a formula which affirmed the conversion

of substance in terms that cut off all sophistical escape. [733] He

imprudently appealed to his private interviews with Gregory, but the

pope could no longer protect him without risking his own reputation for

orthodoxy, and ordered him to confess his error. Berengar submitted.

"Confounded by the sudden madness of the pope," he says, "and because

God in punishment for my sins did not give me a steadfast heart, I

threw myself on the ground and confessed with impious voice that I had

erred, fearing the pope would instantly pronounce against me the

sentence of excommunication, and that, as a necessary consequence, the

populace would hurry me to the worst of deaths." The pope, however,

remained so far true to him that he gave him two letters of

recommendation, one to the bishops of Tours and Angers, and one to all

the faithful, in which he threatened all with the anathema who should

do him any harm in person or estate, or call him a heretic. [734]

Berengar returned to France with a desponding heart and gave up the

hopeless contest. He was now an old man and spent the rest of his life

in strict ascetic seclusion on the island of St. C�me (Cosmas) near

Tours, where he died in peace 1088. Many believed that he did penance

for his heresy, and his friends held an annual celebration of his

memory on his grave. But what he really regretted was his cowardly

treason to the truth as he held it. This is evident from the report of

his trial at Rome which he drew up after his return. [735] It concludes

with a prayer to God for forgiveness, and to the Christian reader for

the exercise of charity. "Pray for me that these tears may procure me

the compassion of the Almighty."

His doctrine was misrepresented by Lanfranc and the older historians,

as denying the real presence. [736] But since the discovery of the

sources it is admitted also by Roman Catholics that, while he

emphatically rejected transubstantiation, he held to a spiritual real

presence and participation of Christ in the eucharist.

This explains also the conduct of Gregory VII., which is all the more

remarkable, as he was in every other respect the most strenuous

champion of the Roman church and the papal power. This great pope was

more an ecclesiastic than a theologian. He was willing to allow a

certain freedom on the mysterious mode of the eucharistic presence and

the precise nature of the change in the elements, which at that time

had not yet been authoritatively defined as a change of substance. He

therefore protected Berengar, with diplomatic caution, as long and as

far as he could without endangering his great reforms and incurring

himself the suspicion of heresy. [737] The latest known writing of

Berengar is a letter on the death of Gregory (1085), in which he speaks

of the pope with regard, expresses a conviction of his salvation, and

excuses his conduct towards himself.

Berengar was a strange compound of moral courage and physical

cowardice. Had he died a martyr, his doctrine would have gained

strength; but by his repeated recantations he injured his own cause and

promoted the victory of transubstantiation.

Notes. Hildebrand and Berengar.

Sudendorf's Berengarius Turonensis (1850) is, next to the discovery and

publication of Berengar's De Sacra Coena (1834), the most important

contribution to the literature on this chapter. [738] Dr. Sudendorf

does not enter into the eucharistic controversy, and refers to the

account of St�udlin and Neander as sufficient; but he gives 1) a

complete chronological list of the Berengar literature, including all

the notices by friends and foes (p. 7-68); 2) an account of Gaufried

Martell, Count of Anjou, stepfather of the then-ruling Empress Agnes of

Germany, and the most zealous and powerful protector of Berengar (p.

69-87); and 3) twenty-two letters bearing on Berengar, with notes (p.

88-233). These letters were here published for the first time from

manuscripts of the royal library at Hanover, contained in a folio

volume entitled: "Codex epistolaris Imperatorum, Regum, Pontificum,

Episcoporum." They throw no new light on the eucharistic doctrine of

Berengar; but three of them give us interesting information on his

relation to Hildebrand.

1. A letter of Count Gaufried of Anjou (d. 1060) to Cardinal

Hildebrand, written in March, 1059, shortly before the Lateran Synod

(April, 1059), which condemned Berengar (p. 128 and 215). The Count

calls here, with surprising boldness and confidence, on the mighty

Cardinal to protect Berengar at the approaching Synod of Rome, under

the impression that he thoroughly agreed with him, and had concealed

his real opinion at Tours. He begins thus: "To the venerable son of the

church of the Romans, H.[ildebrand]. Count Gauf. Bear thyself not

unworthy of so great a mother. B.[erengar] has gone to Rome according

to thy wishes and letters of invitation. Now is the time for thee to

act with Christian magnanimity (nunc magnanimitate christiana tibi

agendum est), lest Berengar have the same experience with thee as at

Tours [1054], when thou camest to us as delegate of apostolic

authority. He expected thy advent as that of an angel. Thou wast there

to give life to souls that were dead, and to kill souls that should

live .... Thou didst behave thyself like that person of whom it is

written [John 19:38]: 'He was himself a disciple of Jesus, but secretly

from fear of the Jews.' Thou resemblest him who said [Luke 23:22]: 'I

find no cause of death in him,' but did not set him free because he

feared Caesar. Thou hast even done less than Pilate, who called Jesus

to him and was not ashamed to bear witness: I find no guilt in him .. .

To thee applies the sentence of the gospel [Luke 9:26]: 'Whosoever

shall be ashamed of me and of my words, of him shall I be ashamed

before my heavenly Father.' To thee applies the word of the Lord [Luke

11:52]: 'Woe unto you, for ye took away the key of knowledge; ye

entered not in yourselves, and hindered those that were entering.'...

Now the opportune time has come. Thou hast Berengar present with the

pope. If thou again keepest silence on the error of those fools, it is

clear that thou formerly didst not from good reasons wait for the

proper time, but from weakness and fear didst not dare to defend the

cause of the innocent. Should it come to this, which God forbid, we

would be wholly disappointed in our great hope placed on thee; but thou

wouldst commit a monstrous injustice to thyself, yea even to God. By

thee the Orient with all its perverseness would be introduced into the

Occident; instead of illuminating our darkness, thou wouldest turn our

light into darkness according to the best of thy ability. All those who

excel in erudition and judge the case according to the Scriptures, bore

testimony that Berengar has the right view according to the Scriptures

.... That popular delusion [of transubstantiation] leads to pernicious

heresy. The resurrection of the body, of which Paul says that the

corruptible must put on the incorruptible, cannot stand, if we contend

that the body of Christ is in a sensuous manner broken by the priest

and torn with the teeth (sensualiter sacerdotum manibus frangi,

dentibus atteri). Thou boastest of thy Rome that she was never

conquered in faith and military glory. Thou wilt put to shame that

glory, if, at this time when God has elevated thee above all others at

the papal see, that false doctrine, that nursery of the most certain

heresy, by thy dissimulation and silence should raise its head. Leave

not thine honor to others, by retiring to the corner of disgraceful

silence."

2. A letter of Berengar to Pope Gregory VII. from the year 1077, in

which he addresses him as "pater optime," and assures him of his

profound reverence and love (p. 182 and 230). He thanks him for a

letter of protection he had written to his legate, Bishop Hugo of Die

(afterwards Archbishop of Lyons), but begs him to excuse him for not

attending a French council of his enemies, to which he had been

summoned. He expresses the hope of a personal conference with the pope

(opportunitatem vivendi praesentiam tuam et audiendi), and concludes

with the request to continue his patronage. "Vel [i.e. Valeat]

Christianitas tua, pater optime, longo parvitati meae tempore dignum

sede apostolica patrocinium impensura." The result of this

correspondence is unknown. Berengar's hope of seeing and hearing the

pope was fulfilled in 1078, when he was summoned to the Council in

Rome; but the result, as we have seen, was his condemnation by the

Council with the pope's consent.

3. A letter of Berengar to Archbishop Joscelin of Bordeaux, written in

a charitable Christian spirit after May 25, 1085, when Gregory VII.

died (p. 196 and 231). It begins thus: "The unexpected death of our G.

[regory] causes me no little disturbance (G. nostri me non parum mors

inopinato [a] perturbat)." The nostri sounds rather too familiar in

view of Gregory's conduct in 1079, but must be understood of the

personal sympathy shown him before and after in the last commendatory

letters. B. then goes on to express confidence in the pope's salvation,

and forgives him his defection, which he strangely compares with the

separation of Barnabas from Paul. "Sed, quantum mihi videor novisse

hominem, de salute hominis certum constat, quicquid illi prejudicent,

qui, secundum dominicam sententiam [Matt. 23:24], culicem culantes,

camelum sorbent. In Christo lesu, inquit Apostolus [Gal. 6:15], neque

circumcisio est aliquid, neque preputium, sed nova creatura. Quod illum

fuisse, quantum illum noveram, de misericordia presumo divina.

Discessit a Paulo Barnabas [Acts 15:39, 40], ut non cum illo secundum

exteriorem commaneret hominem, nec minus tamen secundum interiorem

hominem Barnabas in libro vitae permansit." In remembrance of Gregory's

conduct in forcing him at the Roman Council in 1079 to swear to a

formula against his conviction, he asserts that the power of the keys

which Christ gave to Peter (Matt. 16:19) is limited. The binding must

not be arbitrary and unjust. The Lord speaks through the prophet to the

priests (per prophetam ad prelatos): "I will curse your blessings (Mal.

2:2: maledicam benedictionibus vestris)." From this it follows

necessarily that He also blesses their curses (Ex quo necessarium

constat, quod etiam benedicat maledictionibus talium). Hence the

Psalmist says (Ps. 109:28): "Let them curse, but bless thou." The

blessed Augustin, in his book on the Words of the Lord, says: "Justice

solves the bonds of injustice;" and the blessed Gregory [I.] says

[Homil. XXVI.]: "He forfeits the power to bind and to loose, who uses

it not for the benefit of his subjects, but according to his arbitrary

will (ipsa hac ligandi atque solvendi potestate se privat, qui hanc non

pro subditorum moribus, sed pro suae voluntatis motibus exercet)."

Berengar thus turns the first Gregory against the seventh Gregory.

Hildebrand's real opinion on the eucharistic presence can only be

inferred from his conduct during the controversy. He sincerely

protected Berengar against violence and persecution even after his

final condemnation; but the public opinion of the church in 1059 and

again in 1079 expressed itself so strongly in favor of a substantial or

essential change of the eucharistic elements, that he was forced to

yield. Personally, he favored a certain freedom of opinion on the mode

of the change, provided only the change itself was admitted, as was

expressly done by Berengar. Only a few days before the Council of 1078

the pope sought the opinion of the Virgin Mary through an esteemed

monk, and received as an answer that nothing more should be held or

required on the reaI presence than what was found in the Holy

Scriptures, namely, that the bread after consecration was the true body

of Christ. So Berengar reports; see Mansi, XIX. 766; Gieseler, II. 172;

Neander, III. 519. (The charge of Ebrard that the pope acted

hypocritically and treacherously towards B., is contradicted by facts).

The same view of a change of the elements in a manner inexplicable and

therefore indefinable, is expressed in a fragment of a commentary on

Matthew by a certain "Magister Hildebrand," published by Peter Allix

(in Determinatio Ioannis praedicatoris de, modo existendi Corp. Christi

in sacramento altaris. Lond., 1686)." In this fragment," says Neander,

III. 511, "after an investigation of the different ways in which the

conversio of the bread into the body of Christ may be conceived, the

conclusion is arrived at, that nothing can be decided with certainty on

this point; that the conversio therefore is the only essential part of

the doctrine, namely, that bread and wine become body and blood of

Christ, and that with regard to the way in which that conversion takes

place, men should not seek to inquire. This coincides with the view

which evidently lies at the basis of the cardinal's proceedings. But

whether the author was this Hildebrand, must ever remain a very

doubtful question, since it is not probable, that if a man whose life

constitutes an epoch in history wrote a commentary on the Gospel of

Matthew, it should have been so entirely forgotten." Sudendorf, however

(p. 186), ascribes the fragment to Pope Hildebrand.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[722] During and after the eucharistic controversy he was charged with

vanity, ambition, and using improper means, such as money and

patronage, for the spread of his opinions. See Hefele, IV. 742. Card.

Hergenr�ther (I. 707) calls Berengar oberfl�chlich, eitel, ehrgeizig,

verwegen and neuerungs�chtig. Archbishop Trench (Lectures on Medieval

Church History, p. 189 sq. ), dissenting from Coleridge's charitable

judgment, finds fault with Berengar's "insolent tone of superiority" in

addressing Lanfranc, and with a "passionate feebleness" and "want of

personal dignity" in his whole conduct. He thinks his success would

have been a calamity, since it would have involved the loss of the

truth which was concealed under the doctrine of transubstantiation.

"Superstition sometimes guards the truth which it distorts,

caricatures, and in part conceals." Coleridge wrote a touching poem on

Berengar's recantation.

[723] As an "Aufkl�rer," Berengar is one-sidedly represented by Reuter,

l.c. Comp. also Baur, in his Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters, p. 66 sqq.

[724] Neander III. 504. The Discourse is published in Mart�ne and

Durand, Thes. nov. Anecdotorum, Tom. I.

[725] He was prevented by a violent act of King Henry I. of France, who

committed him to prison and seized his property.

[726] Berengar makes no mention of this Synod. Lessing, Gieseler and

Baur (II. 178) doubt whether it was held. Neander, Sudendorf, Robertson

and Hefele (IV. 753 sqq.) credit the report of Durandus, but correct

his dates.

[727] This seems to be the correct date, instead of 1055 under Victor

II., according to Lanfranc's account. The difference involves the

veracity of Berengar, who assigns the Synod to the pontificate of Leo

IX.; but it is safer to assume, with Leasing, Sudendorf (p. 45), and

Hefele (IV. 778), that Lanfranc, after a lapse of ten or more years had

forgotten the correct date.

[728] "Panis atque vinum altaris post consecrationem sunt corpus

Christi et sanguis." De S. Coena, p. 52. Berengar meant a real, though

uncorporeal presence. He admitted a conversion of the elements in the

sense of consecration, but without change of substance. Hildebrand was

willing to leave this an open question. See below.

[729] "Ego Berengarius, indignus diaconus ... anathematizo omnem

haeresim, praecipue eam de qua hactenus infamatus sum, quae astruere

conatur, panem et vinum, quae in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem

solummodo sacramentum, et non verum et sanguinem Domini nostri I. Ch.

esse nec posse sensualiterin solo sacramento [non solum sacramento,

sed, in veritate] manibus sacerdotum tractari, vel frangi, aut fidelium

dentibus atteri," etc. So Lanfranc reports the creed in De Corp. et

Sang. Dom., c.2 (Migne, vol. 150, p. 410); comp. Berengar, De S. Coena,

p. 68. Gieseler calls this creed "truly Capernaitic." Hergenr�ther (I.

703) admits that it sounds very hard, but may be defended by similar

language of Chrysostom. Luther expressed his faith in the real presence

almost as strongly when be instructed Melanchthon to insist, in his

conference with Bucer, 1534, that Christ's body was literally eaten and

torn with the teeth ("gegessen und mit den Z�hnen zerbissen"). See his

letters to Jonas and Melanchthon in Briefe, ed. De Wette, Bd. IV. 569

and 572. But I doubt whether any Lutheran divine would endorse such

language now.

[730] Lanfranc charges him with downright perjury. But according to his

own report, Berengar did not sign the formula, nor was he required to

do so. De S. Coena, p. 25 sq.; comp. p. 59 sq.

[731] Leo is "minime leo de tribu Iuda;" the pope is not a pontifex,

but a pompifex and pulpifex, and the see of Rome not a sedes

apostolica, but a sedes Satanae. De S. Coena, p. 34, 40, 42, 71.

Lanfranc, c. 16. See Neander, III. 513, who refers to other testimony

in Bibl. P. Lugd. XVIII. 836.

[732] De Sacra Coena adversus Lanfrancum Liber posterior (290 pages).

This book, after having been long lost, was discovered by Lessing in

the Library of Wolfenb�ttel (1770), who gave large extracts from it,

and was published in full by A. F. and F. Th. Vischer, Berlin, 1834,

with a short preface by Neander. Berengar gives here a very different

version of the previous history, and charges Lanfranc with falsehood.

He fortifies his view by quotations from Ambrose and Augustin, and

abounds in passion, vituperation and repetition. The style is obscure

and barbarous. The MS. is defective at the beginning and the close.

Lessing traced it to the eleventh or twelfth century, St�udlin to

Berengar himself, the editors (p. 23), more correctly to a negligent

copyist who had the original before him. Comp. Sudendorf, p. 47.

[733] "Corde credo et ore confiteor, panem et vinum, quae ponuntur in

altari, per mysterium sacrae orationis et verba nostri Remptoris

substantialiter converti in veram et propriam et vivifratricem carnem

et sanguinem Jesu Christi Domini nostri, et post consecrationem esse

verum Christi corpus, quod natum est de Virgine, et quod pro salute

mundi oblatum in cruce pependit, et quod sedet ad dexteram Patris, et

verum sanguinem Christi, qui de latere ejus effusus est, non tantum per

signum et virtutem sacramenti, sed in proprietate naturae et veritate

substantiae." Berengar was willing to admit a conversio panis, but

salva sua substantia,i.e. non amittens quod erat, sed assumens quod non

erat; in other words, conversion without annihilation. A mere

sophistry. Substantialiter can mean nothing else but secundum

substantiam. See the Acts of the Council in Mansi, XIX. 762.

[734] D'Achery, Spicileg. III. 413. Mansi, XX. 621. Neander, III. 520.

Sudendorf, 57.

[735] See the Acta Concilii Romani sub Gregorio papa VII. in causa

Berengarii ab ipso Berengario conscripta cum ipsius recantatione (after

Febr., 1079), printed in Mansi, XIX. 761. Comp. Neander, III. 521, and

Sudendorf, p. 58 sqq. Berengar is reported to have repeated his creed

before one of the two Synods which were held at Bordeaux in 1079 and

1080, but of these we have only fragmentary accounts. See Mansi, XX.

527; Hefele, V. 142 sq.; Sudendorf, p. 196.

[736] He was treated as a heretic not only by Roman Catholics, but also

by Luther and several Lutheran historians, including Guericke.

[737] His enemies of the party of Henry IV. charged him with skepticism

or infidelity on account of his sympathy with Berengar. See the

quotations in Gieseler, II. 172.

[738] I obtained a copy by the kindness of Professor Thayer from the

library of Harvard College, after hunting for one in vain in the

libraries of New York, and the Niedner library in Andover (which has

B.'s D. S. Coena, but not Sudendorf's B. T.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 129. Berengar's Theory of the Lord's Supper.

The chief source is Berengar's second book against Lanfranc, already

quoted. His first book is lost with the exception of a few fragments in

Lanfranc's reply.

Berengar attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, and used against

it nearly every argument: it is not only above reason, but against

reason and against the testimony of the senses; it involves a

contradiction between subject and predicate, and between substance and

its qualities, which are inseparable; it is inconsistent with the fact

of Christ's ascension and presence in heaven; it virtually assumes

either a multiplication or an omnipresence of his body, which

contradicts the necessary limitations of corporeality. [739] There can

be only one body of Christ, and only one sacrifice of Christ. The

stories of the appearances of blood on the altar, be treated with

scorn, from which some of his enemies inferred that he denied all

miracles. He called the doctrine of transubstantiation an absurdity

(ineptio) and an insane folly of the populace (vecordia vulgi).

To this notion of a corporeal or material presence on the altar, he

opposed the idea of a spiritual or dynamic presence and participation.

His positive view agrees essentially with that of Ratramnus; but he

went beyond him, as Calvin went beyond Zwingli. He endeavors to save

the spiritual reality without the carnal form. He distinguishes, with

St. Augustin and Ratramnus, between the historical and the eucharistic

body of Christ, and between the visible symbol or sacramentum and the

thing symbolized or the res sacramenti. He maintains that we cannot

literally eat and drink Christ's body and blood, but that nevertheless

we may have real spiritual Communion by faith with the flesh, that is,

with the glorified humanity of Christ in heaven. His theory is

substantially the same as that of Calvin. [740] The salient points are

these:

1) The elements remain in substance as well as in appearance, after the

consecration, although they acquire a new significance. Hence the

predicate in the words of institution must be taken figuratively, as in

many other passages, where Christ is called the lion, the lamb, the

door, the vine, the corner-stone, the rock, etc. [741] The discourse in

the sixth chapter of John is likewise figurative, and does not refer to

the sacrament at all, but to the believing reception of Christ's death.

[742]

2) Nevertheless bread and wine are not empty, symbols, but in some

sense the body and blood of Christ which they represent. They are

converted by being consecrated; for whatever is consecrated is lifted

to a higher sphere and transformed. They do not lose their substance

after consecration; but they lose their emptiness, and become

efficacious to the believer. So water in baptism remains water, but

becomes the vehicle of regeneration. Wherever the sacramentum is, there

is also the res sacramenti.

3) Christ is spiritually present and is spiritually received by faith.

Without faith we can have no real communion with him, nor share in his

benefits. "The true body of Christ," he says in a letter to Adelmann,"

is placed on the altar, but spiritually to the inner man and to those

only who are members of Christ, for spiritual manducation. This the

fathers teach openly, and distinguish between the body and blood of

Christ and the sacramental signs of the body and blood. The pious

receive both, the sacramental sign (sacramentum) visibly, the

sacramental substance (rem sacramenti) invisibly; while the ungodly

receive only the sacramental sign to their own judgment."

4) The communion in the Lord's Supper is a communion with the whole

undivided person of Christ, and not with flesh and blood as separate

elements. As the whole body of Christ was sacrificed in death, so we

receive the whole body in a spiritual manner; and as Christ's body is

now glorified in heaven, we must spiritually ascend to heaven." [743]

Here again is a strong point of contact with Calvin, who likewise

taught such an elevation of the soul to heaven as a necessary condition

of true communion with the life-giving power of Christ's humanity. He

meant, of course, no locomotion, but the sursum corda, which is

necessary in every act of prayer. It is the Holy, Spirit who lifts us

up to Christ on the wings of faith, and brings him down to us, and thus

unites heaven and earth.

A view quite similar to that of Berengar seems to have obtained about

that time in the Anglo-Saxon Church, if we are to judge from the

Homilies of Aelfric, which enjoyed great authority and popularity.

[744]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[739] "Quod diversis in locis eodem momento sensualiter adsit corpus,

corpus non esse constabit." De S. Coena, p. 199.

[740] Baur very clearly puts the case (II. 190): "Die Lehre Berengar's

schliesst sich ganz an die des Ratramnus an, ist aber zugleich eine

Fortbildung derselben. Wie Ratramnus sich eigentlich nur in der Sph�re

des Verh�ltnisses von Bild und Sache bewegt, so sucht dagegen Berengar

zu zeigen, dass ungeachtet keine andere Ansicht vom Abendmahl m�glich

sei, als die symbolische, dem Abendmahldoch seine volle Realit�t

bleibe, dass, wenn man auch im Abendmahl den Leib und das Blut Christi

nicht wirklich geniesse, doch auch so eine reelle Verbindung mit den

Fleisch oder der in den Himmel erh�chten Menschheit Christi stattfinde.

Es ist im Allgemeinen zwischen Ratramnus und Berengar ein analoges

Verh�ltniss wie sp�ter zwischen Zwingli und Calvin." Comp. also the

exposition of Neander, III. 521-526, and of Herzog, in his

Kirchengesch. II. 112-114.

[741] De S. Coena, p. 83. B. lays down the hermeneutic principle:

"Ubicunque praedicatur non praedicabile, quia tropica locutio est, de

non susceptibili, alter propositionis terminus tropice, alter proprie

accipiatur." Zwingli used the same and other examples of figurative

speech in his controversy with Luther. He found the figure in the verb

(esti=significat), OEcolampadius in the predicate (corpus=figura

corporis).

[742] L.c., p. 165 and 236. He quotes Augustin in his favor, and refers

to John 4:14 where Christ speaks of drinking the water of life and

eating meat (4:32-34), in a spiritual sense.

[743] P. 157. The believer receives "totam et integram Domini Dei sui

carnem, non autem coelo devocatam, sed in coelo manentem," and he

ascends to heaven "cordis ad videndum Deum mundati devotione

spatiosissima."

[744] Thus he says in the Homily on Easter day: "Great is the

difference between the invisible might of the holy housel [sacrament]

and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is

corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is, by the power of the

Divine word, truly Christ's body and blood: not, however, bodily, but

spiritually. Great is the difference between the body in which Christ

suffered and the body which is hallowed for housel. ... In his ghostly

body, which we call housel, there is nothing to be understood bodily,

but all is to be understood spiritually." The passage is quoted by J.

C. Robertson from Thorpe's edition of Aelfric, II. 271. Thorpe

identifies the author of these Anglo-Saxon Homilies with Aelfric,

Archbishop of York, who lived till the beginning of the Berengar

controversy (d. 1051), but the identity is disputed. See Hardwick, p.

174, and L. Stephen's "Dict. of Nat. Biogr." I. 164 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 130. Lanfranc and the Triumph of Transubstantiation.

The chief opponent of Berengar was his former friend, Lanfranc, a

native of Pavia (b. 1005), prior of the Convent of Bet in Normandy

(1045), afterwards archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), and in both

positions the predecessor of the more distinguished Anselm. [745] He

was, next to Berengar, the greatest dialectician of his age, but used

dialectics only in support of church authority and tradition, and thus

prepared the way for orthodox scholasticism. He assailed Berengar in a

treatise of twenty-three chapters on the eucharist, written after 1063,

in epistolary form, and advocated the doctrine of transubstantiation

(without using the term) with its consequences. [746] He describes the

change as a miraculous and incomprehensible change of the substance of

bread and wine into the very body and blood of Christ. [747] He also

teaches (what Radbert had not done expressly) that even unworthy

communicants (indigne sumentes) receive the same sacramental substance

as believers, though with opposite effect. [748]

Among the less distinguished writers on the Eucharist must be mentioned

Adelmann, Durandus, and Guitmund, who defended the catholic doctrine

against Berengar. Guitmund (a pupil of Lanfranc, and archbishop of

Aversa in Apulia) reports that the Berengarians differed, some holding

only a symbolical presence, others (with Berengar) a real, but latent

presence, or a sort of impanation, but all denied a change of

substance. This change he regards as the main thing which nourishes

piety. "What can be more salutary," he asks," than such a faith? Purely

receiving into itself the pure and simple Christ alone, in the

consciousness of possessing so glorious a gift, it guards with the

greater vigilance against sin; it glows with a more earnest longing

after all righteousness; it strives every day to escape from the world

... and to embrace in unclouded vision the fountain of life itself."

[749]

From this time on, transubstantiation may be regarded as a dogma of the

Latin church. It was defended by the orthodox schoolmen, and

oecumenically sanctioned under Pope Innocent III. in 1215.

With the triumph of transubstantiation is closely connected the

withdrawal of the communion cup from the laity, which gradually spread

in the twelfth century, [750] and the adoration of the presence of

Christ in the consecrated elements, which dates from the eleventh

century, was enjoined by Honorius III. in 1217, and gave rise to the

Corpus Christi festival appointed by Urban IV., in 1264. The withdrawal

of the cup had its origin partly in considerations of expediency, but

chiefly in the superstitious solicitude to guard against profanation by

spilling the blood of Christ. The schoolmen defended the practice by

the doctrine that the whole Christ is present in either kind. [751] It

strengthened the power of the priesthood at the expense of the rights

of the laity and in plain violation of the command of Christ: "Drink ye

all of it" (Matt. 26:27).

The doctrine of transubstantiation is the most characteristic tenet of

the Catholic Church of the middle age, and its modern successor, the

Roman Church. It reflects a magical supernaturalism which puts the

severest tax upon the intellect, and requires it to contradict the

unanimous testimony of our senses of sight, touch and taste. It

furnishes the doctrinal basis for the daily sacrifice of the mass and

the power of the priesthood with its awful claim to create and to offer

the very body and blood of the Saviour of the world. For if the

self-same body of Christ which suffered on the cross, is truly present

and eaten in the eucharist, it must also be the self-same sacrifice of

Calvary which is repeated in the mass; and a true sacrifice requires a

true priest, who offers it on the altar. Priest, sacrifice, and altar

form an inseparable trio; a literal conception of one requires a

literal conception of the other two, and a spiritual conception of one

necessarily leads to a spiritual conception of all.

Notes.

A few additional remarks must conclude this subject, so that we need

not return to it in the next volume.

1. The scholastic terms transsubstantiatio, transsubstantiare (in Greek

metousivwsi", Engl. transubstantiation, Germ. Wesensverwand-lung),

signify a change of one substance into another, and were introduced in

the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The phrase substantialiter converti

was used by the Roman Synod of 1079 (see p. 559). Transsubstantiatio

occurs first in Peter Damiani (d. 1072) in his Expos. can. Missae

(published by Angelo Mai in "Script. Vet. Nova Coll." VI. 215), and

then in the sermons of Hildebert, archbishop of Tours (d. 1134); the

verb transsubstantiare first in Stephanus, Bishop of Autun (1113-1129),

Tract. de Sacr. Altaris, c. 14 ("panem, quem accepi, in corpus meum

transsubstantiavi"), and then officially in the fourth Lateran Council,

1215. See Gieseler, II. ii. 434 sq. (fourth Germ. ed.). Similar terms,

as mutatio, transmutatio, transformatio, conversio, transitio, had been

in use before. The corresponding Greek noun metousivwsi" was formally

accepted by the Oriental Church in the Orthodox Confession of Peter

Mogilas, 1643, and later documents, yet with the remark that the word

is not to be taken as a definition of the manner in which the bread and

wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ. See Schaff's Creeds

of Christendom, II. 382, 427, 431, 495, 497 sq. Similar expressions,

such as metabolhv, metabavllein, metapoiei'n, had been employed by the

Greek fathers, especially by Cyril of Jerusalem, Chrysostom, and John

of Damascus. The last is the chief authority quoted in the Russian

Catechism (see Schaff, l.c. II. 498).

All these terms attempt to explain the inexplicable and to rationalize

the irrational--the contradiction between substance and accidents,

between reality and appearance. Transubstantiation is devotion turned

into rhetoric, and rhetoric turned into irrational logic.

2. The doctrine of transubstantiation was first strongly expressed in

the confessions of two Roman Synods of 1059 and 1079, which Berengar

was forced to accept against his conscience; see p. 557 and 559. It was

oecumenically sanctioned for the whole Latin church by the fourth

Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III., a.d. 1215, in the creed of

the Synod, cap. 1: "Corpus et sanguis [Christi] in sacramento altaris

sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, TRANSSUBSTAN-TIATIS

PANE IN CORPUS ET VINO IN SANGUINEM, POTESTATE DIVINA, ut ad

perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo, quod accepit

ipse de nostro. Et hoc utique sacramentum nemo potest conficere, nisi

sacerdos, qui fuerit rite ordinatus secundum claves Ecclesiae, quas

ipse concessit Apostolis et eorum successoribus lesus Christus."

The Council of Trent, in the thirteenth session, 1551, reaffirmed the

doctrine against the Protestants in these words: "that, by the

consecration of the bread and of the wine, a conversion is made of the

whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ

our Lord (conversionem fieri totius substantiae panis in substantiam

corporis Christi Domini), and of the whole substance of the wine into

the substance of his blood; which conversion is by the holy Catholic

Church suitably and properly called Transubstantiation." The same synod

sanctioned the adoration of the sacrament (i.e. Christ on the altar

under the figure of the elements), and anathematizes those who deny

this doctrine and practice. See Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, II.

130-139.

3. Thomas Aquinas, the prince of scholastic divines, has given the

clearest poetic expression to the dogma of transubstantiation in the

following stanzas of his famous hymn, "Lauda Sion Salvatorem," for the

Corpus Christi Festival:

"Dogma datur Christianis,

Quod in carnem transit panis,

Et vinum in sanguinem.

Quod non capis, quod non

Animosa firmat fides

Praeter rerum ordinem.

"Hear what holy Church maintaineth,

That the bread its substance changeth

Into Flesh, the wine to Blood.

Doth it pass thy comprehending?

Faith, the law of sight transcending,

Leaps to things not understood.

"Sub diversis speciebus,

Signis tantum et non rebus,

Latent res eximiae.

Caro cibus, sanguis potus,

Manet tamen Christus totus,

Sub utraque specie.

Here, in outward signs, are hidden

Priceless things, to sense forbidden;

Signs, not things, are all we see:

Flesh from bread, and Blood from wine:

Yet is Christ, in either sign,

All entire, confess'd to be.

"A sumente non concisus,

Non confractus, non divisus,

Integer accipitur.

Sumit unus, sumunt mille,

Quantum isti, tantum ille,

Nec sumitus consumitur.

They, too, who of Him partake,

Sever not, nor rend, nor break,

But entire, their Lord receive.

Whether one or thousands eat,

All receive the self-same meat,

Nor the less for others leave.

"Sumunt boni, sumunt mali,

Sorte tamen inaequali

Vitae vel interitus.

Mors est malis, vita bonis:

Vide, paris sumptionis

Quam sit dispar exitus."

Both the wicked and the good

Eat of this celestial Food;

But with ends how opposite!

Here 'tis life, and there tis death;

The same yet issuing to each

In a difference infinite."

See the Thes. Hymnol. of Daniel, II. 97-100, who calls St. Thomas

"summus laudator venerabilis sacramenti," and quotes the interesting,

but opposite judgments of M�hler and Luther. The translation is by

Edward Caswall (Hymns and Poems, 2nd ed., 1873, and previously in Lyra

Catholica, Lond., 1849, p. 238). The translation of the last two

stanzas is not as felicitous as that of the other two. The following

version preserves the double rhyme of the original:

"Eaten, but without incision,"

"Here alike the good and evil,

Broken, but without division,

High and low in social level,

Each the whole of Christ receives:

Take the Feast for woe or weal:

Thousands take what each is taking,

Wonder! from the self-same eating,

Each one breaks what all are breaking,

Good and bad their bliss are meeting

None a lessened body leaves.

Or their doom herein they seal."

4. The doctrine of transubstantiation has always been regarded by

Protestants as one of the fundamental errors and grossest superstitions

of Romanism. But we must not forget the underlying truth which gives

tenacity to error. A doctrine cannot be wholly false, which has been

believed for centuries not only by the Greek and Latin churches alike,

but as regards the chief point, namely, the real presence of the very

body and blood of Christ--also by the Lutheran and a considerable

portion of the Anglican communions, and which still nourishes the piety

of innumerable guests at the Lord's table. The mysterious discourse of

our Saviour in the synagogue of Capernaum after the miraculous feeding

of the multitude, expresses the great truth which is materialized and

carnalized in transubstantiation. Christ is in the deepest spiritual

sense the bread of life from heaven which gives nourishment to

believers, and in the holy communion we receive the actual benefit of

his broken body and shed blood, which are truly present in their power;

for his sacrifice, though offered but once, is of perpetual force to

all who accept it in faith. The literal miracle of the feeding of the

five thousand is spiritually carried on in the vital union of Christ

and the believer, and culminates in the sacramental feast. Our Lord

thus explains the symbolic significance of that miracle in the

strongest language; but he expressly excludes the carnal, Capernaitic

conception, and furnishes the key for the true understanding, in the

sentence: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth

nothing: the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit, and are

life" (John 6:63).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[745] He was the first of the Norman line of English archbishops, and

the chief adviser of William the Conqueror in the conquest of England.

See Freeman, History of the Norman Conquest, vols. III. and IV.; and

R.C. Jenkins, Diocesan History of Canterbury (London, 1880), p. 78 sqq.

[746] On the different editions and the date of the book (between 1063

and 1069), see Sudendorf p. 39 sqq.

[747] De Corp. et Sang. Dom., c. 18 (in Migne, T. 150, col. 430):

"Credimus terrenas substantias, quae in mensa Dominica per sacerdale

mysterium divinitus sanctificantur, ineffabiliter,

incomprehensibiliter, mirabiliter, operante superna potentia, converti

in essentiam Dominici corporis, reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus, et

quibusdam aliis qualitatibus, ne percipientes cruda et cruenta

horrerent, et ut credentes fidei praemia ampliora perciperent, ipso

tamen Dominico corpore existente in coelestibus ad dexteram Patris,

immortali, inviolato, integro, incontaminato, illaeso: ut vere dici

posset, et ipsum corpus, quod de Virgine sumptum est, nos sumere, et

tamen non ipsum.''

[748] Cap 20 (col. 436): "Est quidem et peccatori bus et indigne

sumentibus vera Christi caro, verusque sanguis, sed essentia, non

salubri efficentia."

[749] Neander, III. 529 sq., from Guitmund's De Corp. et Sang. Christi

veritate in eucharistia. It was written about 1076, according to

Sudendorf, p. 52 sqq.

[750] In place of the older custom of administering the bread dipped in

wine, especially to infants and sick persons. In the Greek church,

where infant communion still prevails, both elements are delivered in a

golden spoon; but the priest receives each element separately as in the

Roman church.

[751] Anselm was the first to teach "in utraque, specie totum Christum

sumi." See J. J. de Lith, De Adoratione Panis consecrati, et

Interdictione sacri Calicis in Eucharistia, 1753; Spittler, Gesch. des

Kelchs im Abendmahl, 1780; Gieseler, I. 480 sqq., notes.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XII.

HERETICAL SECTS.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 131. The Paulicians.

I. Petrus Siculus (imperial commissioner in Armenia, about 870):

Historia Manichaeorum, qui Pauliciani dicuntur ( JIstoriva peri; th'"

kenh'" kai; mataiva" aiJrevsew" tw'n Maniccaivwn tw'n kai; Paulikianw'n

legomevnwn). Gr. Lat. ed. Matth. Raderus. Ingolst., 1604. Newly ed. by

J. C. L. Gieseler. G�ttingen, 1846, with an appendix, 1849. Photius (d.

891): Adv. recentiors Manichaeos, lib. IV. Ed. by J. Chr. Wolf.

Hamburg, 1722; in Gallandii "Bibl. PP." XIII. 603 sq., and in Photii

Opera ed. Migne, Tom. II., col. 9-264 (reprint of Wolf). For the

history of the sect after a.d. 870 we must depend on the Byzantine

historians, Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Cedrenus.

II. Mosheim: Century IX., ch. V. Schroeckh: vols. XX. 365 sqq., and

XXIII. 318 sqq. Gibbon: Ch. LIV. (vol. V. 534-554). F. Schmidt:

Historia Paulicianorum Orientalium. Kopenhagen, 1826. Gieseler:

Untersuchungen �ber die Gesch. der Paulicianer, in the "Studien und

Kritiken," 1829, No. I., 79 sqq.; and his Church History, II. 21 sqq.,

and 231 sqq. (Germ. ed. II. 1, 13 and 400). Neander, III. 244-270, and

586-592. Baur: Christl. K. im Mittelalter, p. 22-25. Hergenr�ther, I.

524-527. Hardwick, Middle Age, p. 78-84. Robertson, II. 164-173

(revised ed. IV. 117-127). C. Schmidt, in Herzog2 XI. 343-348. A.

Lombard: Pauliciens, Bulgares et Bons-hommes en Orient et Occident.

Gen�ve, 1879.

The Monothelites, the Adoptionists, the Predestinarians, and the

Berengarians moved within the limits of the Catholic church, dissented

from it only in one doctrine, and are interwoven with the development

of' catholic orthodoxy which has been described in the preceding

chapter. But there were also radical heretical sects which mixed

Christianity with heathen notions, disowned all connection with the

historic church, and set themselves up against it as rival communities.

They were essentially dualistic, like the ancient Gnostics and

Manichaeans, and hence their Catholic opponents called them by the

convenient and hated name of New Manichaeans; though the system of the

Paulicians has more affinity with that of Marcion. They appeared first

in the East, and spread afterwards by unknown tracks in the West. They

reached their height in the thirteenth century, when they were crushed,

but not annihilated, by a crusade under Pope Innocent III.

These sects have often been falsely represented [752] as forerunners of

Protestantism; they are so only in a purely negative sense, while in

their positive opinions they differ as widely from the evangelical as

from the Greek and Roman creed. The Reformation came out of the bosom

of Mediaeval Catholicism, retained its oecumenical doctrines, and kept

up the historic continuity.

The Paulicians [753] are the most important sect in our period. They

were confined to the territory of the Eastern church. They flourished

in Armenia, where Christianity came in conflict with Parsism and was

mixed with dualistic ideas. They probably inherited some traditions of

the Manichaeans and Marcionites.

I. Their name is derived by their Greek opponents [754] from two

brothers, Paul and John sons of a Manichaean a woman Kallinike, in

Samosata; but, more probably, by modern historians [755] from their

preference for St. Paul whom they placed highest among the Apostles.

They borrowed the names of their leading teachers from his disciples

(Sylvanus, Titus, Timothy, Tychicus, Epaphroditus), and called their

congregations after his (Corinth, Philippi, Achaia, etc.). They

themselves preferred simply the name "Christians" (Cristianoiv,

Cristopoli'tai), in opposition to the professors of the Roman

state-religion ( JRwmaivou").

II. The founder of the sect is Constantine a Syrian from a Gnostic

(Marcionite) congregation in Mananalis near Samosata. Inspired by the

epistles of St. Paul and pretending to be his genuine disciple, he

propagated under the name of Sylvanus dualistic doctrines in Kibossa in

Armenia and in the regions of Pontus and Cappadocia, with great success

for twenty-seven years, until the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus

(668-685) sent an officer, Symeon, for his arrest and execution. He was

stoned to death in 684, and his congregation scattered. But Symeon was

struck and converted by the serene courage of Constantine-Sylvanus,

revived the congregation, and ruled it under the name of Titus. When

Justinian II. heard of it, he condemned him and the other leaders to

death by fire (690), according to the laws against the Manichaeans.

But in spite of repeated persecution and inner dissensions, the sect

spread throughout Asia Minor. When it decayed, a zealous reformer rose

in the person of Sergius, called Tychieus, the second founder of the

sect (801-835). He had been converted by a woman, visited the old

congregations and founded new ones, preached and wrote epistles,

opposed the antinomian practices of Baanes, called "the Filthy" (oJ

rJuparov"), and introduced strict discipline. His followers were called

Sergiotes in distinction from the Baanites.

The fate of the sect varied with the policy of the Greek emperors. The

iconoclastic Leo the Isaurian did not disturb them, and gave the leader

of the sect, Gegnaesius, after a satisfactory examination by the

patriarch, a letter of protection against persecution; but the wily

heretic had answered the questions in a way that deceived the

patriarch. Leo the Armenian (813-820) organized an expedition for their

conversion, pardoning the apostates and executing the constant.

Theodora, who restored the worship of images, cruelly persecuted them,

and under her short reign one hundred thousand Paulicians were put to

death by the sword, the gibbet, or the flames (844). Perhaps this large

number included many iconoclasts.

Provoked by these cruelties, the Paulicians raised the standard of

revolt under the lead of Karbeas. He fled with five thousand to the

Saracens, built a strong fort, Tephrica, [756] on the Arab frontier,

and in alliance with the Moslems made successful military invasions

into the Byzantine territory. His son-in-law, Chrysocheres, proceeded

as far as Ephesus, and turned the cathedral into a stable (867), but

was killed by the Greeks in 871, and the sect had to submit to the

Emperor Basil the Macedonian. He sent among them the monk Petrus

Siculus, who thus became acquainted with their doctrines and collected

the materials for his work.

After this the sect lost its political significance, and gradually

disappeared from history. Many were transferred to Philippopolis in

Thrace about 970, as guards of the frontier, and enjoyed toleration.

Alexius Comnenus (1081-1118) disputed with their leaders, rewarded the

converts, and punished the obstinate. The Crusaders found some remains

in 1204, when they captured Constantinople.

III. The doctrines and practices of the Paulicians are known to us only

from the reports of the orthodox opponents and a few fragments of the

epistles of Sergius. They were a strange mixture of dualism,

demiurgism, docetism, mysticism and pseudo-Paulinism, and resemble in

many respects the Gnostic system of Marcion.

(1) Dualism was their fundamental principle. [757] The good God created

the spiritual world; the bad God or demiurge created the sensual world.

The former is worshipped by the Paulicians, i.e. the true Christians,

the latter by the "Romans" or Catholics.

(2) Contempt of matter. The body is the seat of evil desire, and is

itself impure. It holds the divine soul as in a prison.

(3) Docetism. Christ descended from heaven in an ethereal body, passed

through the womb of Mary as through a channel, suffered in appearance,

but not in reality, and began the process of redemption of the spirit

from the chains of matter.

(4) The Virgin Mary was not "the mother of God," and has a purely

external connection with Jesus. Peter the Sicilian says, that they did

not even allow her a place among the good and virtuous women. The true

theotokos is the heavenly Jerusalem, from which Christ came out and to

which he returned.

(5) They rejected the Old Testament as the work of the Demiurge, and

the Epistles of Peter. They regarded Peter as a false apostle, because

he denied his master, preached Judaism rather than Christianity, was

the enemy of Paul (Gal. 2:11) and the pillar of the Catholic hierarchy.

They accepted the four Gospels, the Acts, fourteen Epistles of Paul,

and the Epistles of James, John and Jude. At a later period, however,

they seem to have confined themselves, like Marcion, to the writings of

Paul and Luke, adding to them probably the Gospel of John. They claimed

also to possess an Epistle to the Laodiceans; but this was probably

identical with the Epistle to the Ephesians. Their method of exposition

was allegorical.

(6) They rejected the priesthood, the sacraments, the worship of saints

and relics, the sign of the cross (except in cases of serious illness),

and all externals in religion. Baptism means only the baptism of the

Spirit; the communion with the body and blood of Christ is only a

communion with his word and doctrine.

In the place of priests (hiereisand presbuteroi) the Paulicians had

teachers and pastors (didaskaloiand poimenes), companions or itinerant

missionaries (sunekdemoi), and scribes (notarioi). In the place of

churches they had meeting-houses called "oratories" (proseuchai); but

the founders and leaders were esteemed as "apostles" and "prophets."

There is no trace of the Manichaean distinction between two classes of

the electi and credentes.

(7) Their morals were ascetic. They aimed to emancipate the spirit from

the power of the material body, without, however, condemning marriage

and the eating of flesh; but the Baanites ran into the opposite extreme

of an antinomian abuse of the flesh, and reveled in licentiousness,

even incest. In both extremes they resembled the Gnostic sects.

According to Photius, the Paulicians were also utterly deficient in

veracity, and denied their faith without scruple on the principle that

falsehood is justifiable for a good end.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[752] Antipathetically by Roman Catholic, sympathetically by Protestant

historians.

[753] Paulikoi, Paulikianoi, Paulianitoi.

[754] Peter the Sicilian and Photius, followed by Mosheim and

Schroeckh.

[755] Gibbon, Gieseler, Neander, Baur, Hardwick.

[756] Now Divrigni in the mountains between Sirvas and Trebizond, still

occupied by a fierce people.

[757] Petrus Siculus puts this first (p. 16): Proton men gar esti to

kat autous gnorisma to duo archas homologein, poneron theon kai

agathon. He says the Paulicians reject the impious writings of the

Manichaeans, but propagate their contents by tradition from generation

to generation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 132. The Euchites and other Sects in the East.

I. Michael Psellus (a learned Constantinopolitan, 11th cent.):

Diavlogo" peri; ejnergeiva" daimovnwn, ed. Gaulmin. Par. 1615; also by

J. F. Boissonade. Norimbergae, 1838. Cedrenus (in the 11th cent.):

Histor. Compend. (ed. Bonn. I. 514).--On the older Euchites and

Messalians see Epiphanius (Haer. 80), Theodoret (Hist. Eccl. IV. 10),

John of Damascus (De Haer., c. 80), Photius (Bibl. cod. 52), and Walch:

Ketzer-Historie, III. 481 sqq. and 536 sqq.

II. Schnitzer: Die Euchiten im elften Jahrh., in Stirm's "Studien der

evang. Geistlichkeit W�rtemberg's," vol. XI., H. I. 169. Gieseler, II.

232 sq. Neander, III. 590 sqq., comp. II. 277 sqq.

The Euchites were mystic monks with dualistic principles derived from

Parsism. They held that a demon dwells in every man from his birth, and

can be expelled only by unceasing silent prayer, which they exalted

above every spiritual exercise. Hence their name. [758] They were also

called Enthusiasts by the people on account of their boasted ecstasies,

in which they fancied that they received special revelations. Psellus

calls them "devil-worshippers." They despised all outward forms of

worship. Rumor charged them with lewdness and infanticide in their

secret assemblies; but the same stories were told of the early

Christians, and deserve no credit.

They appear in the eleventh century in Mesopotamia and Armenia, in some

connection with the Paulicians. They were probably the successors of

the older Syrian Euchites or Messalians of the fourth and fifth

centuries, who in their conceit had reached the height of ascetic

perfection, despised manual labor and all common occupations, and lived

on alms--the first specimens of mendicant friars.

From the Euchites sprang towards the close of the eleventh century the

Bogomiles (the Slavonic name for Euchites), [759] and Catharists (i.e.

the Purists, Puritans), and spread from Bulgaria into the West. They

will occupy our attention in the next period.

Another Eastern sect, called Thondracians (from the village Thondrac),

was organized by Sembat, a Paulician, in the province of Ararat,

between 833 and 854. They sprang from the Paulicians, and in spite of

persecution made numerous converts in Armenia, among them a bishop,

Jacob, in 1002, who preached against the corruptions in the Armenian

church, but was branded, exposed to public scorn, imprisoned, and at

last killed by his enemies. [760]

Little is known of the sect of the Athingians who appeared in Upper

Phrygia. [761] They seem to have been strongly Judaistic. They observed

all the rites of the law except circumcision, for which they

substituted baptism. Neander conjectures, that they were the successors

of the Colossian errorists opposed by St. Paul.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[758] Euchetaior Euchitai, from Euche, prayer. The Syriac name

Messalians (nyltsm), praying people, from 'lts oravit(Dan. 6:11; Ezra

6:10).

[759] From Hospodi pomilui, the Slavonic Kyrie eleison, Lord, have

mercy upon us. It is the response in the Russian litany, and is usually

chanted by a choir with touching effect. Schaffarik derives the name

from a Bulgarian bishop named Bogomil, who represented that heresy in

the middle of the tenth century.

[760] See Tschamtschean's "History of Armenia," used by Neander (from

Petermann's communications), III. 587-589.

[761] ' Athgganoi, from thingano, to touch, to handle; probably with

reference to Col. 2:21, me thiges, touch not (things that defile). The

translator of Neander calls them Athinganians (III. 592).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 133. The New Manichaeans in the West.

I. The chief sources for the sects of the Middle Age belong to the next

period, namely, the letters of Pope Innocent III., Honorius III.,

Bernhard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable; the acts of Councils; the

chronicles; and the special writings against them, chiefly those of the

Dominican monk Reinerius Sacchoni of Lombardy (d. 1259), who was

himself a heretic for seventeen years. The sources are collected in the

"Maxima Biblioth. Patr." (Lugd., 1677, Tom. XXII., XXIV.); in Martene

and Durand's "Thesaurus novus anecdotorum" (Par., 1682); in Muratori's

"Rerum Italic. Scriptores" (Mediol., 1723 sqq.); in Bouquet's "Recueil

des historiens des Gaules et de la France" (Par., 1738 sqq.), etc. See

the Lit. in Hahn I. 23 sqq.

II. J. Conr. Fuesslin: Neue unparth. Kirchen-und Ketzerhistorie der

mittleren Zeit. Frankf, 1770. 2 Parts.

Chr. U. Hahn: Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter, besonders im 11.,

12. und 13. Jahrh., nach den Quellen bearbeitet. Stuttgart, 1845-'50, 3

vols. The first vol. contains the History of the New Manichaeans.

C. Schmidt: Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares. Paris, 1849,

2 vols.

Razki: Bogomili i Catareni. Agram, 1869.

Neander, III. 592-606. Gieseler, II. 234-239. Hardwick, p. 187-190.

Robertson, II. 417-424.

The heretical sects in the West are chiefly of three distinct classes:

1) the dualistic or Manichaean; 2) the pantheistic and mystic; 3) the

biblical (the Waldenses). Widely differing among themselves, they were

united in hatred of the papal church and the sacerdotal system. They

arose from various causes: the remains of heathen notions and older

heresies; opposition to the corruptions of the church and the clergy;

the revolt of reason against tyrannical authority; and popular thirst

for the word of God. They spread with astonishing rapidity during the

twelfth and thirteenth centuries from Bulgaria to Spain, especially

through Italy and Southern France, and called forth all the energies of

the papacy at the zenith of its power (under Innocent III.) for their

forcible suppression. One only survived the crusade, the Waldenses,

owing to their faithful adherence to the positive truths of the

Scriptures.

In the West the heretical tendency in organized form made its first

appearance during the eleventh century, when the corruption of the

church and the papacy had reached its height. It appeared to that age

as a continuation or revival of the Manichaean heresy. [762] The

connecting link is the dualistic principle. The old Manichaeans were

never quite extirpated with fire and sword, but continued secretly in

Italy and France, waiting for a favorable opportunity to emerge from

obscurity. Nor must we overlook the influence from the East. Paulicians

were often transported under Byzantine standards from Thrace and

Bulgaria to the Greek provinces of Italy and Sicily, and spread the

seed of their dualism and docetism and hatred of the ruling church.

[763]

New Manichaeans were first discovered in Aquitania and Orleans, in

1022, in Arras, 1025, in Monteforte near Turin, 1030, in Goslar, 1025.

They taught a dualistic antagonism between God and matter, a docetic

view of the humanity of Christ, opposed the worship of saints and

images, and rejected the whole Catholic church with all the material

means of grace, for which they substituted a spiritual baptism, a

spiritual eucharist, and a symbol of initiation by the imposition of

hands. Some resolved the life of Christ into a myth or symbol of the

divine life in every man. They generally observed an austere code of

morals, abstained from marriage, animal food, and intoxicating drinks.

A pallid, emaciated face was regarded by the people as a sign of

heresy. The adherents of the sect were common people, but among their

leaders were priests, sometimes in disguise. One of them, Dieudonn�,

precentor of the church in Orleans, died a Catholic; but when three

years after his death his connection with the heretics was discovered,

his bones were dug up and removed from consecrated ground.

The Oriental fashion of persecuting dissenters by the faggot and the

sword was imitated in the West. The fanatical fury of the people

supported the priests in their intolerance. Thirteen New Manichaeans

were condemned to the stake at Orleans in 1022. Similar executions

occurred in other places. At Milan the heretics were left the choice

either to bow before the cross, or to die; but the majority plunged

into the flames.

A few men rose above the persecuting spirit of the age, following the

example of St. Martin of Tours, who had vigorously protested against

the execution of the Priscillianists at Treves. Wazo, bishop of Li�ge,

about 1047, raised his voice for toleration when he was asked for his

opinion concerning the treatment of the heretics in the diocese of

Ch�lons-sur-Marne. Such doctrines, he said, must be condemned as

unchristian; but we are bound to bear with the teachers after the

example of our Saviour, who was meek and humble and came not to strive,

but rather to endure shame and the death of the cross. The parable of

the wheat and the tares teaches us to wait patiently for the repentance

of erring neighbors. "We bishops," he tells his fellow-bishops, "should

remember that we did not receive, at our ordination, the sword of

secular power, the vocation to slay, but only the vocation to make

alive." All they had to do was to exclude obstinate heretics from the

communion of the church and to guard others against their dangerous

doctrines. [764]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[762] Other names, however, were invented to distinguish the different

branches which were compared to foxes with tails tied together. In the

time of Innocent III., more than forty heretical names were used, about

twelve of them for the Manichaean branch, chiefly "Manichaeans,"

"Catharists," and "Patareni." See Hahn, I. 49 sqq.

[763] On the different derivations see the notes of Gieseler, II. 234

sq., and Hahn, I. 30 sqq.

[764] Neander, III. 605 sq.; Gieseler, II. 239, note.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XIII.

THE STATE OF LEARNING.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 134. Literature.

Comp. the list of works in vol. II. 621 sqq.

I. The ecclesiastical writers of this period are collected for the

first time by Migne, the Greek in his Patrologia Graeca, Tom. 90

(Maximus Confessor) to 136 (Eustathius); the Latin in his Patrologia

Latina, Tom. 69 (Cassiodorus) and 75 (Gregory I.) to 148 (Gregory

VII.).

II. General works: Du Pin, Ceillier, and Cave, and the bibliographical

works of Fabricius (Biblioth. Graeca, and Bibl. Latina); especially the

Histoire G�n�rale des auteurs sacr�s eccl�siastiques by the Benedictine

Dom Remy Ceillier (1688-1761), first ed., 1729-63, in 23 vols.; revised

ed. by Abb� Bauzon, Paris, 1857-'62, in 14 vols. 4to. This ed. comes

down to St. Bernard and Peter the Lombard. Tom. XI., XII. and XIII.

cover the 6th century to the 11th.

A. H. L. Heeren (Prof. in G�ttingen): Geschichte der classischen

Literatur im Mittelalter. G�ttingen, 1822. 2 Parts. The first part goes

from the beginning of the Middle Age to the 15th century.

Henry Hallam: State of Europe in the Middle Ages. Ch. IX. (New York ed.

of 1880, vol. III. 254 sqq.); and his Introduction to the Literature of

Europe in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries. Part I., Ch.1 (N. York ed.

of 1880, vol. I., p. 25-103).

Hermann Reuter: Geschichte der relig. Aufkl�rung in Mittelalter.

Berlin, 1875, 2 vols.

III. Special works.

(1) Learning and Literature in the East: Leo Allatius: Graeciae

orthodoxae Scriptores. Rom., 1652-'59, 2 vols. The Byzantine

Historians, ed. by Niebuhr and others, Gr. and Lat. Bonn, 1828-'78, 50

vols., 8vo. Monographs on Photius, especially Hergenr�ther (the third

volume), and on John of Damascus by Langen (1879), etc.; in part also

Gass: Symbolik der griech. Kirche (1872).

(2) Literature in the Latin church: Johann Christ. Felix B�hr:

Geschichte der r�mischen Literatur. Carlsruhe, 1836 sqq.; 4th revised

ed., 1868-'72, 4 vols. The 4th vol. embraces the Christian Roman

literature to the age of Charlemagne. This formerly appeared in three

supplementary vols., 1836, 1837 and 1840, the third under the title:

Gesch. der r�m. Lit. im karolingischen Zeitalter (619 pages).--Wilhelm

S. Teuffel: Geschichte der r�mischen Literatur. Leipzig, 1870, 4th ed.

edited by L. Schwabe, 1882. Closes with the middle of the eighth

century. Adolph Ebert: Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im

Abendlande. Leipzig, 1874-'80, 2 vols.

Comp. also L�on Maitre: Les �coles episcopales et monastiques de

l'occident depuis Charlemagne jusqu' � Philippe-Auguste, 1866. H. Jos.

Schmitz: Das Volksschulwesen im Mittelalter. Frankf a. M., 1881.

(3) For Italy: Muratori: Antiquitates italicae medii aevi (Mediol.,

1738-'42, 6 vols. fol.), and Rerum italicarum Scriptores praecipui ab

anno D. ad MD. (Mediol., 1723-'51, 29 vols. fol.). Tirabsoschi (a very

learned Jesuit): Storia della letteratura italiana, antica e moderna.

Modena, 177l-'82, and again 1787-'94; another ed. Milan, 1822-26, 16

vols. Gregorovius: Geschichte 'der Stadt Rom. im Mittelalter.

Stuttgart, 1859 sqq., 3rd ed. 1874 sqq., 8 vols.

(4) For France: the Benedictine Histoire litteraire de la France.

Paris, 1733-'63, 12 vols. 4to., continued by members of the Acad�mie

des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1814 sqq.--Bouquet: Recueil des

historiens des Gaules et de la France. Paris, 1738-1865, 22 vols. fol.;

new ed. 1867 sqq. Guizot: Histoire g�n�rale de la civilisation en

Europe et en France depuis la chute de l'empire romain jusqu' � la

revolution fran�aise. Paris, 1830, 6 vols., and many editions, also two

English translations.--Ozanam: La civilisation chr�tienne chez les

Francs. Paris, 1849.

(5) For Spain: The works of Isidore of Seville. Comp. Balmez: European

Civilization, in Spanish, Barcelona, 1842-44, in 4 vols.; transl. into

French and English (against Guizot and in the interest of Romanism).

(6) For England: The works and biographies of Bede, Alcuin, Alfred.

Monumenta Historica Brittannica, ed. by Petrie, Sharpe, and Hardy.

Lond., 1848 (the first vol. extends to the Norman conquest). Rerum

Britannicarum medii xvi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of

Great Britain. London, 1858-1865, 55 vols. 8vo. Comp. J. R. Lumby:

Greek Learning in the Western Church during the Seventh and Eighth

Centuries. Cambridge, 1878.

(7) For Germany: The works and biographies of Bonifacius, Charlemagne,

Rabanus Maurus. The Scriptores in the Monumenta Germaniae historica,

ed. Pertz and others, Han., 1826 sqq. (from 500 to 1500); also in a

small ed. Scriptores rer. Germ. in usum scholarum, 1840-1866, 16 vols.

8vo. Wilhelm Wattenbach: Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter

his zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts. Berlin, 1858, 4th ed., 1877-'78, 2

vols.

(8) On the era of Charlemagne in particular: J. J. Ampere: Histoire

litt�raire de la France avant Charlemagne (second ed., 1867, 2 vols.),

and Histoire litteraire de la France sous Charlemagne et durant les Xe

et XIe si�cles. Paris, 1868.--B�hr: De litter. studiis a Carolo M.

revocatis ac schola Palatina. Heidelb., 1856.--J. Bass Mullinger: The

Schools of Charles the Great, and the Restoration of Education in the

Ninth Century. London, 1877.--Ebert: Die liter. Bewegung zur Zeit Karls

des Gr., in "Deutsche Rundschau," XI. 1877. Comp. also Rettberg:

Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands, I. 427 sqq., and the works quoted on p.

236. The poetry of the Carolingian age is collected in two magnificent

volumes by E. D�mmler.: Po�tae Latini Aevi Carolini. Berlin, 2 vols. in

3 parts, 1880-'84 (in the Scriptorum series of the Mon. Germania).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 135. Literary Character of the Early Middle Ages.

The prevailing character of this period in sacred learning is a

faithful traditionalism which saved the remains of the ancient

classical and Christian literature, and transferred them to a new soil.

The six centuries which intervene between the downfall of the West

Roman Empire (476) and the age of Hildebrand (1049-1085), are a period

of transition from an effete heathen to a new Christian civilization,

and from patristic to scholastic theology. It was a period of darkness

with the signs of approaching daylight. The fathers were dead, and the

schoolmen were not yet born. The best that could be done was to

preserve the inheritance of the past for the benefit of the future. The

productive power was exhausted, and gave way to imitation and

compilation. Literary industry took the place of independent

investigation.

The Greek church kept up the connection with classical and patristic

learning, and adhered closely to the teaching of the Nicene fathers and

the seven oecumenical councils. The Latin church bowed before the

authority of St. Augustin and St. Jerome. The East had more learning;

the West had more practical energy, which showed itself chiefly in the

missionary field. The Greek church, with her head turned towards the

past, tenaciously maintains to this day the doctrinal position of the

eighth century; the Latin church, looking to the future, passed through

a deep night of ignorance, but gathered new strength from new blood.

The Greek church presents ancient Christianity at rest; while the Latin

church of the middle ages is Christianity in motion towards the modern

era.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 136. Learning in the Eastern Church.

The Eastern church had the advantage over the Western in the knowledge

of the Greek language, which gave her direct access to the Greek

Testament, the Greek classics, and the Greek fathers; but, on the other

hand, she had to suffer from the Mohammedan invasions, and from the

intrigues and intermeddling of a despotic court.

The most flourishing seats of patristic learning, Alexandria and

Antioch, were lost by the conquests of Islam. The immense library at

Alexandria was burned by order of Omar (638), who reasoned: "If these

writings of the Greeks agree with the book of God (the Koran), they are

useless and need not be preserved; if they disagree, they are

pernicious and ought to be destroyed." [765] In the eighth century,

however, the Saracens themselves began to cultivate learning, to

translate Greek authors, to collect large libraries in Bagdad, Cairo,

and Cordova. The age of Arabic learning continued about five hundred

years, till the irruption of the Moguls. It had a stimulating effect

upon the scholarship of the church, especially upon the development of

scholastic philosophy, through the writings of Averro�s of Cordova (d.

1198), the translator and commentator of Aristotle.

Constantinople was the centre of the literary, activity of the Greek

church during the middle ages. Here or in the immediate vicinity

(Chalcedon, Nicaea) the oecumenical councils were held; here were the

scholars, the libraries, the imperial patronage, and all the facilities

for the prosecution of studies. Many a library was destroyed, but

always replaced again. [766] Thessalonica and Mount Athos were also

important seats of learning, especially in the twelfth century.

The Latin was the official language of the Byzantine court, and

Justinian, who regained, after a divorce of sixty years, the dominion

of ancient Rome through the valor of Belisarius (536), asserted the

proud title of Emperor of the Romans, and published his code of laws in

Latin. But the Greek always was and remained the language of the

people, of literature, philosophy, and theology.

Classical learning revived in the ninth century under the patronage of

the court. The reigns of Caesar Bardas (860-866), Basilius I. the

Macedonian (867-886), Leo VI. the Philosopher (886-911), who was

himself an author, Constantine VII. Porphyrogenitus (911-959), likewise

an author, mark the most prosperous period of Byzantine literature. The

family of the Comneni, who upheld the power of the sinking empire from

1057 to 1185, continued the literary patronage, and the Empress Eudocia

and the Princess Anna Comnena cultivated the art of rhetoric and the

study of philosophy.

Even during the confusion of the crusades and the disasters which

overtook the empire, the love for learning continued; and when

Constantinople at last fell into the hands of the Turks, Greek

scholarship took refuge in the West, kindled the renaissance, and

became an important factor in the preparation for the Reformation.

The Byzantine literature presents a vast mass of learning without an

animating, controlling and organizing genius. "The Greeks of

Constantinople," says Gibbon, [767] with some rhetorical exaggeration,

"held in their lifeless hands the riches of the fathers, without

inheriting the spirit which had created and improved that sacred

patrimony: they read, they praised, they compiled; but their languid

souls seemed alike incapable of thought and action. In the revolution

of ten centuries, not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity

or promote the happiness of mankind. Not a single idea has been added

to the speculative systems of antiquity; and a succession of patient

disciples became in their turn the dogmatic teachers of the next

servile generation. Not a single composition of history, philosophy or

literature has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of

style or sentiment, of original fancy, and even of successful imitation

.... The leaders of the Greek church were humbly content to admire and

copy the oracles of antiquity, nor did the schools or pulpit produce

any rivals of the fame of Athanasius and Chrysostom."

The theological controversies developed dialectical skill, a love for

metaphysical subtleties, and an over-estimate of theoretical orthodoxy

at the expense of practical piety. The Monotheletic controversy

resulted in an addition to the christological creed; the iconoclastic

controversy determined the character of public worship and the relation

of religion to art.

The most gifted Eastern divines were Maximus Confessor in the seventh,

John of Damascus in the eighth, and Photius in the ninth century.

Maximus, the hero of Monotheletism, was an acute and profound thinker,

and the first to utilize the pseudo-Dyonysian philosophy in support of

a mystic orthodoxy. John of Damascus, the champion of image-worship,

systematized the doctrines of the orthodox fathers, especially the

three great Cappadocians, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzum, and Gregory of

Nyssa, and produced a monumental work on theology which enjoys to this

day the same authority in the Greek church as the "Summa" of Thomas

Aquinas in the Latin. Photius, the antagonist of Pope Nicolas, was the

greatest scholar of his age, who read and digested with independent

judgment all ancient heathen and Christian books on philology,

philosophy, theology, canon law, history, medicine, and general

literature. In extent of information and fertility of pen he had a

successor in Michael Psellus (d. 1106).

Exegesis was cultivated by Oecumenius in the tenth, Theophylact in the

eleventh, and Euthymius Zygabenus in the twelfth century. They compiled

the valuable exegetical collections called "Catenae." [768] Simeon

Metaphrastes (about 900) wrote legendary biographies and eulogies of

one hundred and twenty-two saints. Suidas, in the eleventh century,

prepared a Lexicon, which contains much valuable philological and

historical information [769] The Byzantine historians, Theophanes,

Syncellus, Cedrenus, Leo Grammaticus, and others, describe the

political and ecclesiastical events of the slowly declining empire. The

most eminent scholar of the twelfth century, was Eustathius, Archbishop

of Thessalonica, best known as the commentator of Homer, but deserving

a high place also as a theologian, ecclesiastical ruler, and reformer

of monasticism.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[765] Gibbon (ch. 50) doubts this fact, related by Abulpharagius and

other Mohammedan authorities; but Von Hammer, Silv. de Sacy, and other

Oriental scholars accept it as well authenticated. See the note of

Smith in his edition of Gibbon (vol. V. 358 sq.). The library was

variously estimated as containing from four to seven hundred thousand

volumes.

[766] A library of 120,000 volumes, begun by Constantius and Julian the

Apostate, was burned by accident under Basiliscus (478). Another

Constantinopolitan library of 33,000 volumes perished in the reign of

the iconoclastic Leo the Isaurian, who is made responsible for the

calamity by Cedrenus and other orthodox historians.

[767] Decline and Fall, Ch. LIII. (V. 529).

[768] So called from being connected like chains, seirai, catenae.

Other terms are: epitomaior sullogai hermeneion, glossae, postillae.

Among Latin collections of that kind, the Catena Aurea of Thomas

Aquinas on the Gospels is the most famous. See Fabricius, Biblioth.

Graeca, vol. VII., and Noesselt, De Catenis patrum Graecorum in N. T.

Hal., 1762. What these Catenae did for patristic exegesis, the Critici

Sacri (London, 1660 sqq.; Frankfort, 1695 sqq.; Amsterdam, 1698-1732,

with supplements, 13 vols.), and Matthew Poole's Synopsis (London, 1669

sqq., an abridgment of the former) did for the exegesis of the

reformers and other commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries.

[769] Still indispensable to Greek scholars, and important to

theologians and historians for the biblical glosses, the explanations

of theological terms, and the biographical and literary notices of

ecclesiastical writers. Best editions by Gaisford (Oxford, 1834), and

Bernhardy (Halle, 1853, 4 vols.).

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 137. Christian Platonism and the Pseudo-Dionysian Writings.

Literature.

I. Best ed. of Pseudo-Dionysius in Greek and Latin by Balthasar

Corderius (Jesuit), Antwerp, 1634; reprinted at Paris, 1644; Venice,

1755; Brixiae, 1854; and by Migne, in "Patrol. Gr.," Tom. III. and IV.,

Paris, 1857, with the scholia of Pachymeres, St. Maximus, and various

dissertations on the life and writings of Dionysius. French

translations by Darboy (1845), and Dulac (1865). German transl. by

Engelhardt (see below). An English transl. of the Mystical Theology in

Everard's Gospel Treasures, London, 1653.

II. Older treatises by Launoy: De Areopagiticis Hilduini (Paris, 1641);

and De duabus Dionysiis (Par., 1660). P�re Sirmond: Dissert. in qua

ostenditur Dion. Paris. et Dion. Areop. discrimen (Par., 1641). J.

Daill�: De scriptis quo sub Dionys. Areop. et Ignatii Antioch.

nominibus circumferuntur (Geneva, 1666, reproduced by Engelhardt).

III. Engelhardt: Die angeblichen Schriften des Areop. Dion. �bersetzt

und mit Abhandl. begleitet (Sulzbach, 1823); De Dion. Platonizante

(Erlangen, 1820); and De Origine script. Dion. Areop. (Erlangen, 1823).

Vogt: Neuplatonismus und Christenthum. Berlin, 1836. G. A. Meyer:

Dionys. Areop. Halle, 1845. L. Montet: Les livres du Pseudo-Dionys.,

1848. Neander: III. 169 sqq.; 466 sq. Gieseler: I. 468; II. 103 sq.

Baur: Gesch. der Lehre v. der Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes,

II. 251-263. Dorner: Entw. Gesch. der L. v. d. Pers. Christi, II.

196-203. Fr. Hipler: Dionys. der Areopagite. Regensb., 1861. E. B�hmer:

Dion. Areop., 1864. Westcott: Dion. Areop. in the "Contemp. Review" for

May, 1867 (with good translations of characteristic passages). Joh.

Niemeyer: Dion. Areop. doctrina philos. et theolog. Halle, 1869. Dean

Colet: On the Hierarchies of Dionysius. 1869. J. Fowler: On St. Dion.

in relation to Christian Art, in the "Sacristy," Febr., 1872. Kanakis:

Dionys. der Areop. nach seinem Character als Philosoph. Leipz., 1881.

M�ller in "Herzog"2 III. 617 sqq.; and Lupton in "Smith & Wace," I. 841

sqq. Comp. the Histories of Philosophy by Ritter, II. 514 sqq., and

Ueberweg (Am. ed.), II. 349-352.

The Real and the Ficitious Doinysius.

The tendency to mystic speculation was kept up and nourished chiefly

through the writings which exhibit a fusion of Neo-Platonism and

Christianity, and which go under the name of Dionysius Areopagita, the

distinguished Athenian convert of St. Paul (Acts 17:34). He was,

according to a tradition of the second century, the first bishop of

Athens. [770] In the ninth century, when the French became acquainted

with his supposed writings, he was confounded with St. Denis, the first

bishop of Paris and patron saint of France, who lived and died about

two hundred years after the Areopagite. [771] He thus became, by a

glaring anachronism, the connecting link between Athens and Paris,

between Greek philosophy and Christian theology, and acquired an almost

apostolic authority. He furnishes one of the most remarkable examples

of the posthumous influence of unknown authorship and of the power of

the dead over the living. For centuries he was regarded as the prince

of theologians. He represented to the Greek and Latin church the

esoteric wisdom of the gospel, and the mysterious harmony between faith

and reason and between the celestial and terrestrial hierarchy.

Pseudo-Dionysius is a philosophical counterpart of Pseudo-Isidor: both

are pious frauds in the interest of the catholic system, the one with

regard to theology, the other with regard to church polity; both

reflect the uncritical character of mediaeval Christianity; both

derived from the belief in their antiquity a fictitious importance far

beyond their intrinsic merits. Doubts were entertained of the

genuineness of the Areopagitica by Laurentius Valla, Erasmus, and

Cardinal Cajetan; but it was only in the seventeenth century that the

illusion of the identity of Pseudo-Dionysius with the apostolic convert

and the patron-saint of France was finally dispelled by the torch of

historical criticism. Since that time his writings have lost their

authority and attraction; but they will always occupy a prominent place

among the curiosities of literature, and among the most remarkable

systems of mystic philosophy.

Authorship.

Who is the real author of those productions? The writer is called

simply Dionysius, and only once. [772] He repeatedly mentions an

unknown Hierotheos, as his teacher; but he praises also "the divine

Paul," as the spiritual guide of both, and addresses persons who bear

apostolic names, as Timothy, Titus, Caius, Polycarp, and St. John. He

refers to a visit he made with Hierotheos, and with James, the brother

of the Lord (ajdelfovqeo"), and Peter, "the chief and noblest head of

the inspired apostles," to gaze upon the (dead) body of her (Mary) who

was "the beginning of life and the recipient of God;" on which occasion

Hierotheos gave utterance to their feelings in ecstatic hymns. It is

evident then that he either lived in the apostolic age and its

surroundings, or that he transferred himself back in imagination to

that age. [773] The former alternative is impossible. The inflated

style, the reference to later persons (as Ignatius of Antioch and

Clement of Alexandria), the acquaintance with Neo-Platonic ideas, the

appeal to the "old tradition" (ajrcai'a paravdosi") of the church as

well as the Scriptures, and the elaborate system of church polity and

ritual which he presupposes, clearly prove his post-apostolic origin.

He was not known to Eusebius or Jerome or any ecclesiastical author

before 533. In that year his writings were first mentioned in a

conference between orthodox bishops and heretical Severians at

Constantinople under Justinian I. [774] The Severians quoted them as an

authority for their Monophysitic Christology and against the Council of

Chalcedon; and in reply to the objection that they were unknown, they

asserted that Cyril of Alexandria had used them against the Nestorians.

If this be so, they must have existed before 444, when Cyril died; but

no trace can be found in Cyril's writings. On the other hand, Dionysius

presupposes the christological controversies of the fifth century, and

shows a leaning to Monophysitic views, and a familiarity with the last

and best representatives of Neo-Platonism, especially with Proclus, who

died in Athens, a.d. 485. The resemblance is so strong that the

admirers of Dionysius charged Proclus with plagiarism. [775] The writer

then was a Christian Neo-Platonist who wrote towards the close of the

fifth or the beginning of the sixth century in Greece or in Egypt, and

who by a literary fiction clothed his religious speculations with the

name and authority of the first Christian bishop of Athens. [776]

In the same way the pseudo-Clementine writings were assigned to the

first bishop of Rome.

The Fortunes of Pseudo-Dionysius.

Pseudo-Dionysius appears first in the interest of the heretical

doctrine of one nature and one will in the person of Christ. [777] But

he soon commended himself even more to orthodox theologians. He was

commented on by Johannes Scythopolitanus in the sixth century, and by

St. Maximus Confessor in the seventh. John of Damascus often quotes him

as high authority. Even Photius, who as a critic doubted the

genuineness, numbers him among the great church teachers and praises

his depth of thought. [778]

In the West the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius were first noticed about

590 by Pope Gregory I., who probably became acquainted with them while

ambassador at Constantinople. Pope Hadrian I. mentions them in a letter

to Charlemagne. The Emperor Michael II. the Stammerer, sent a copy to

Louis the Pious, 827. Their arrival at St. Denis on the eve of the

feast of the saint who reposed there, was followed by no less than

nineteen miraculous cures in the neighborhood. They naturally recalled

the memory of the patron-saint of France, and were traced to his

authorship. The emperor instructed Hilduin, the abbot of St. Denis, to

translate them into Latin; but his scholarship was not equal to the

task. John Scotus Erigena, the best Greek scholar in the West, at the

request of Charles the Bald, prepared a literal translation with

comments, about 850, and praised the author as "venerable alike for his

antiquity and for the sublimity of the heavenly mysteries" with which

he dealt. [779] Pope Nicolas I. complained that the work had not been

sent to him for approval," according to the custom of the church"

(861); but a few years later Anastasius, the papal librarian, highly

commended it (c. 865).

The Areopagitica stimulated an intuitive and speculative bent of mind,

and became an important factor in the development of scholastic and

mystic theology. Hugo of St. Victor, Peter the Lombard, Albertus

Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Robert Grosseteste, and Dionysius Carthusianus

wrote commentaries on them, and drew from them inspiration for their

own writings. [780] The Platonists of the Italian renaissance likewise

were influenced by them.

Dante places Dionysius among the theologians in the heaven of the sun:

"Thou seest next the lustre of that taper,

Which in the flesh below looked most within

The angelic nature and its ministry." [781]

Luther called him a dreamer, and this was one of his heretical views

which the Sorbonne of Paris condemned.

The Several Writings.

The Dionysian writings, as far as preserved, are four treatises

addressed to Timothy, his "fellow-presbyter," namely: 1) On the

Celestial Hierarchy (peri tes ouranias hierarchias). 2) On the

Ecclesiastical Hierarchy (peri tes ekklesiastikes hierarchias). 3) On

the Divine Names (peri theion onomaton). 4) On Mystic Theology (peri

mustikes theologias). To these are added ten letters addressed to

various persons of the apostolic age. [782]

The System of Dionysius.

These books reveal the same authorship and the same system of mystic

symbolism, in which Neo-Platonism and Christianity are interwoven. The

last phase of Hellenic philosophy which heretofore had been hostile to

the church, is here made subservient to it. The connecting ideas are

the progressive revelation of the infinite, the hierarchic triads, the

negative conception of evil, and the striving of man after mystic union

with the transcendent God. The system is a counterpart of the

Graeco-Jewish theology, of Philo of Alexandria, who in similar manner

mingled the Platonic philosophy with the Mosaic religion. The

Areopagite and Philo teach theology in the garb of philosophy; both

appeal to Scripture, tradition, and reason; both go behind the letter

of the Bible and the facts of history to a deeper symbolic and

allegoric meaning; both adulterate the revealed truths by foreign

elements. But Philo is confined to the Old Testament, and ignores the

New, which was then not yet written; while the system of the Areopagite

is a sort of philosophy of Christianity.

The Areopagite reverently ascends the heights and sounds the depths of

metaphysical and religious speculation, and makes the impression of

profound insight and sublime spirituality; and hence he exerted such a

charm upon the great schoolmen and mystics of the middle ages. But he

abounds in repetitions; he covers the poverty of thought with

high-sounding phrases; he uses the terminology of the Hellenic

mysteries; [783] and his style is artificial, turgid, involved, and

monotonous.

The unity of the Godhead and the hierarchical order of the universe are

the two leading ideas of the Areopagite. He descends from the divine

unity through a succession of manifestations to variety, and ascends

back again to mystic union with God. His text, we may say, is the

sentence of St. Paul: "From God, and through God, and unto God, are all

things" (Rom. 11:36).

He starts from the Neo-Platonic conception of the Godhead, as a being

which transcends all being and existence [784] and yet is the beginning

and the end of all existence, as unknowable and yet the source of all

reason and knowledge, as nameless and inexpressible and yet giving

names to all things, as a simple unity and yet causing all variety. He

describes God as "a unity of three persons, who with his loving

providence penetrates to all things, from super-celestial essences to

the last things of earth, as being the beginning and cause of all

beings, beyond all beginning, and enfolding all things transcendentally

in his infinite embrace." If we would know God, we must go out of

ourselves and become absorbed in Him. All being proceeds from God by a

sort of emanation, and tends upward to him.

The world forms a double hierarchy, that is, as he defines it, "a holy

order, and science, and activity or energy, assimilated as far as

possible to the godlike and elevated to the imitation of God in

proportion to the divine illuminations conceded to it." There are two

hierarchies, one in heaven, and one on earth, each with three triadic

degrees.

The celestial or supermundane hierarchy consists of angelic beings in

three orders: 1) thrones, cherubim, and seraphim, in the immediate

presence of God; 2) powers, mights, and dominions; 3) angels (in the

narrower sense), archangels, and principalities. [785] The first order

is illuminated, purified and perfected by God, the second order by the

first, the third by the second.

The earthly or ecclesiastical hierarchy is a reflex of the heavenly,

and a school to train us up to the closest possible communion with God.

Its orders form the lower steps of the heavenly ladder which reaches in

its summit to the throne of God. It requires sensible symbols or

sacraments, which, like the parables of our Lord, serve the double

purpose of revealing the truth to the holy and hiding it from the

profane. The first and highest triad of the ecclesiastical hierarchy

are the sacraments of baptism which is called illumination (fwvtisma),

the eucharist (suvnaxi", gathering, communion), which is the most

sacred of consecrations, and the holy unction or chrism which

represents our perfecting. Three other sacraments are mentioned: the

ordination of priests, the consecration of monks, and the rites of

burial, especially the anointing of the dead. The three orders of the

ministry form the second triad. [786] The third triad consists of

monks, the holy laity, and the catechumens.

These two hierarchies with their nine-fold orders of heavenly and

earthly ministrations are, so to speak, the machinery of God's

government and of his self-communication to man. They express the

divine law of subordination and mutual dependence of the different

ranks of beings.

The Divine Names or attributes, which are the subject of a long

treatise, disclose to us through veils and shadows the fountain-head of

all life and light, thought and desire. The goodness, the beauty, and

the loveliness of God shine forth upon all created things, like the

rays of the sun, and attract all to Himself. How then can evil exist?

Evil is nothing real and positive, but only a negation, a defect. Cold

is the absence of heat, darkness is the absence of light; so is evil

the absence, of goodness. But how then can God punish evil? For the

answer to this question the author refers to another treatise which is

lost. [787]

The Mystic Theology briefly shows the way by which the human soul

ascends to mystic union with God as previously set forth under the

Divine Names. The soul now rises above signs and symbols, above earthly

conceptions and definitions to the pure knowledge and intuition of God.

Dionysius distinguishes between cataphatic or affirmative theology)

[788] and apophatic or negative theology. [789] The former descends

from the infinite God, as the unity of all names, to the finite and

manifold; the latter ascends from the finite and manifold to God, until

it reaches that height of sublimity where it becomes completely

passive, its voice is stilled, and man is united with the nameless,

unspeakable, super-essential Being of Beings.

The ten Letters treat of separate theological or moral topics, and are

addressed, four to Caius, a monk (therapeutes), one to Dorotheus, a

deacon (leitourgos), one to Sosipater, a priest (hiereus), one to

Demophilus, a monk, one to Polycarp (called hierarches, no doubt the

well-known bishop of Smyrna), one to Titus (hierarches, bishop of

Crete), and the tenth to John, "the theologian," i.e. the Apostle John

at Patmos, foretelling his future release from exile.

Dionysian Legends.

Two legends of the Pseudo-Dionysian writings have passed in exaggerated

forms into Latin Breviaries and other books of devotion. One is his

gathering with the apostles around the death-bed of the Virgin Mary.

[790] The other is the exclamation of Dionysius when he witnessed at

Heliopolis in Egypt the miraculous solar eclipse at the time of the

crucifixion: [791] "Either the God of nature is suffering, or He

sympathizes with a suffering God." [792] No such sentence occurs in the

writings of Dionysius as his own utterance; but a similar one is

attributed by him to the sophist Apollophanes, his fellow-student at

Heliopolis. [793]

The Roman Breviary has given solemn sanction, for devotional purposes,

to several historical errors connected with Dionysius the Areopagite:

1) his identity with the French St. Denis of the third century; 2) his

authorship of the books upon "The Names of God," upon "The Orders in

Heaven and in the Church," upon "The Mystic Theology," and "divers

others," which cannot have been written before the end of the fifth

century; 3) his witness of the supernatural eclipse at the time of the

crucifixion, and his exclamation just referred to, which he himself

ascribes to Apollophanes. The Breviary also relates that Dionysius was

sent by Pope Clement of Rome to Gaul with Rusticus, a priest, and

Eleutherius, a deacon; that he was tortured with fire upon a grating,

and beheaded with an axe on the 9th day of October in Domitian's reign,

being over a hundred years old, but that "after his head was cut off,

he took it in his hands and walked two hundred paces, carrying it all

the while!" [794]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[770] Dionysius of Corinth (d. 170) in Euseb., Hist. Eccl. III. 4; IV.

23. So also in Const. Apost. VII. 46. Nothing is said in these passages

of his martyrdom, which is an uncertain tradition of later date.

Quadratus, the oldest Christian writer of Athens, makes no mention of

him. Suidas (eleventh century), in his Lexicon, sub

DionusioshoAreopagites(Kuster's ed, Cambridge, 1705, vol. I. 598-600),

says that Dionysius visited Egypt in the reign of Tiberius, witnessed

with a friend at Heliopolis the extraordinary eclipse of the sun which

occurred at the time of the crucifixion (comp. the 7th Ep. of Dion.);

that he was converted by Paul and elected bishop of the Athenians; that

he excelled in all secular and sacred learning, and was so profound

that his works seem to be the productions of a celestial and divine

faculty rather than of a human genius. He knows nothing of the French

Dionysius.

[771] According to the oldest authorities (Sulpicius Severus, d. 410,

and Gregory of Tours, d. 595, see his Hist. Franc. I. 28), the French

Dionysius belongs to the middle of the third century, and died a martyr

either under Decius (249-251) or under Aurelian (270-273). Afterwards

he was put back to the first century. The confusion of the French

martyr with the Areopagite of the same name is traced to Hilduin, abbot

of St. Denis, A.D. 835, who at the request of the Emperor Louis the

Pious compiled an uncritical collection of the traditions concerning

Dionysius (Areopagitica). Gieseler (II. 103) traces it further back to

the age of Charlemagne and the Acta Dionys., which were first printed

in the Acta Sanct. mens. Oct. IV. 792. After that time it was currently

believed that Dionysius was sent by Pope Clement of Rome to Gaul with

twelve companions, or (according to another tradition) with a presbyter

Rusticus, and a deacon Eleutherius, and that he suffered martyrdom with

them under Domitian. His identity with the Areopagite became almost an

article of faith; and when Ab�lard dared to call it in question, he was

expelled from St. Denis as a dangerous heretic. It has been

conclusively disproved by Launoy, Sirmond, Morinus, Le Nourry, Daill�;

and yet it still finds defenders among French Catholics, e.g. the

Archbishop Darboy of Paris, who was shot by the Commune in May, 1871.

The Abb� Dulac thus epigrammatically expresses this exploded tradition

(Oeuvres de Saint Denis, 1865, p. 13): "N� dans Ath�nes, Lut�ce

d'Orient, il meurt � Lut�ce, Ath�nes d'Occident; successivement epoux

de deux �glises, dont l'une poss�dera son borceau, et l'autre sa tombe.

Montmartre vaudra la colline de Mars."

[772] In Ep. VII. 3, where Agollophanes addresses him: "O Dionysius."

[773] Hipler and Boehmer assume that those names do not refer to the

well-known apostolic characters, but this is untenable.

[774] See the Collatio Catholicorum cum Severianis in Mansi, VIII. 817

sqq., and an account of the conference in Walch's Ketzergeschichte, VII

134 sqq.

[775] Westcott asserts (p. 6) that the coincidences with Damascius, the

second in succession from Proclus, and the last Platonic teacher at

Athens, are even more remarkable. He was of Syrian origin.

[776] Different conjectures as to the author, time and place of

composition: 1) A pseudonymous Dionysius (of Egypt) at the end of the

fifth century. Gieseler, Engelhardt, Dorner, and others. 2) Dionysius

of Alexandria, d. 265. Baratier. 3) Another Dionysius of the fourth

century. 4) During the Eutychian and Nestorian controversies. Le

Nourry. 5) A Pseudo-Dionysius of the third century, who wished to

introduce the Eleusynian mysteries into the church. Baumgarten Crusius.

6) Apollinaris the elder, d. 360. 7) Apollinaris the younger, d. 370.

Laurentius Valla. 8) Synesius of Ptolemais, c. 410. La Croze. 9) Peter

Gnapheus or Fullo, patriarch of Constantinople. Le Quien. 10) A writer

in Edessa, or under the influence of the Edessene school, between 480

and 520. Westcott.--See the Prolegomena of Le Nourry, De Rubeis,

Corderius, in the first vol. of Migne's ed., and Lupton, l.c.

[777] The Monothelites appealed to a passage in Ep. IV. ad Caium. See

Hefele, III. 127 sq. Dorner (II. 196 sqq.) correctly represents the

mystic Christology of Pseudo-Dionysius as a connecting link between

Monophysitism and the orthodox dogma.

[778] The first book which he notices in his "Bibliotheca" (about 845)

is a defense of the genuineness of the Dionysian writings by a

presbyter Theodorus, who mentions four objections: 1) they were unknown

to the earlier fathers; 2) they are not mentioned in the catalogues of

writing by Eusebius; 3) they are filled with comments on church

traditions which grew by degrees long after the apostolic age; 4) they

quote an epistle of Ignatius, written on his way to martyrdom under

Trojan. Photius seems to think that the objections are stronger than

the answers of Theodorus. See Neander, III. 170; Westcott, l.c. p. 4,

and Hergenroether, Photius, III. 29 and 331.

[779] Other Latin versions were made afterwards by Johannes Sarracinus

in the twelfth century, by Ambrosius Camaldulensis in the fifteenth, by

Corderius in the seventeenth.

[780] St. Thomas, the "Angelic Doctor," is so full of quotations from

Dionysius that Corderius says, he drew from him "totam fere doctrinam

theologicam." Migne I. 96.

[781] Paradiso, X. 115.

[782] An eleventh letter which exists only in Latin (said to have been

written by Scotus Erigena), and a Latin Liturgy of Dionysius (published

by Renaudot and in Migne's ed. I. 1123-1132), are spurious.

[783] As for the three stages of spiritual ascent, katharsis, muesis,

teleiosis, and the verb epopteuesthai,i.e. to be admitted to the

highest grade at mysteries, to become an epoptesor mustes. For other

rare words see the vocabulary of Dion. in Migne, I. 1134 sqq., and II.

23 sqq.

[784] to `hon huperousion, das ueberseiende Sein.

[785] Or, in the descending order, they are: (a) seraphim, cheroubim,

thronoi. (b) kuriotetes, dunameis , exousiai. (c) archai, archangeloi,

angeloi. Five of these orders are derived from St. Paul, Eph. 1:21

(arche, exousia, dunamis, kuriotes), and Col. 1:16 (thronoi,

kuriotetes. archai, exousiai); the other four (seraphim, cheroubim,

archangeloi, angeloi) are likewise biblical designations of angelic

beings, but nowhere mentioned in this order. Thomas Aquinas, in his

doctrine of angels, closely follows Dionysius, quoting him literally,

or more frequently interpreting his meaning. Dante introduced the three

celestial triads into his Divina Commedia (Paradiso, Canto XXVIII. 97

sqq.): "These orders upward all of them are gazing, And downward so

prevail, that unto God They all attracted are and all attract. And

Dionysius with so great desire To contemplate these orders set himself,

He named them and distinguished them as I do." (Longfellow's

translation .)

[786] They are not called bishop, priest, and deacon, but hierarches,

hiereus, and leitourgos. Yet Dionysius writes to Timothy as presbuteros

to sumpresbutero.

[787] Peri dikaiou kai `theiou dikaioteriou.

[788] kataphatikos, affirmative from kataphasko(kataphemi), to affirm

[789] apophatikos, negative, from apophasko(apophemi), to deny.

[790] See above p. 592, and Peritheiononomat. cap. III. 2. (ed. of

Migne, I. 682 sq.) Comp. the lengthy discussion of Baronius, Annal. ad

ann. 48. In this connection St. Peter is called by Dionysius

koruphaiakaipresbutatetontheologonakrotes(suprema ista atque

antiquissima summitas theologorum). Corderius (see Migne I, 686)

regards this as "firmissimum argumentum pro primatu Petri d

consequeenter (?) Pontificum Romanorumm ejusdem successorum."

[791] Matt. 27:45; Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44. See the notes in Lange, on

Matthew, p. 525 (Am. ed.).

[792] The exclamation is variously given:

hoagnostosensarkipascheitheosby Syngelus); or e totheionpaschei, e to

paschontisumpaschei ("Aut Deus patitur, aut patienti compatitur"), or,

as the Roman Breviary has it: "Aut Deus naturae patitur, aut mundi

machina dissolvitur," "Either the God of nature is suffering, or the

fabric of the world is breaking up." See Corderius in his annotations

to Ep. VII., in Migne, I. 1083, and Halloix, in Vita S. Dion., ibid.

II. 698. The exclamation of Dionysius is sometimes (even by so accurate

a scholar as Dr. Westcott, l.c., p. 8) erroneously traced to the 7th

Ep. of Dion., as a response to the exclamation of Apollophanes.

[793] In Ep. VII. 2, where Dionysius asks Polycarp to silence the

objections of Apollophanes to Christianity and to remind him of that

incident when be exclaimed: tauta, o kale Dionusie, theion amoibai

pragmaton, "Istae O praeclare Dionysi, divinarum sunt vicissitudines

rerum." The same incident is alluded to in the spurious eleventh letter

addressed to Apollophanes himself. So Suidas also gives the exclamation

of Apollophanes, sub verbo Dion.

[794] Brev. Rom. for Oct. 9, in the English ed. of the Marquess of

Bute, vol. II. 1311. Even Alban Butler, in his Lives of the Saints

(Oct. 9), rejects the fable of the identity of the two Dionysii.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 138. Prevailing Ignorance in the Western Church.

The ancient Roman civilization began to decline soon after the reign of

the Antonines, and was overthrown at last by the Northern barbarians.

The treasures of literature and art were buried, and a dark night

settled over Europe. The few scholars felt isolated and sad. Gregory,

of Tours (540-594) complains, in the Preface to his Church History of

the Franks, that the study of letters had nearly perished from Gaul,

and that no man could be found who was able to commit to writing the

events of the times. [795]

"Middle Ages" and "Dark Ages" have become synonymous terms. The tenth

century is emphatically called the iron age, or the saeculum obscurum.

[796] The seventh and eighth were no better. [797] Corruption of morals

went hand in hand with ignorance. It is re-ported that when the papacy

had sunk to the lowest depth of degradation, there was scarcely a

person in Rome who knew the first elements of letters. We hear

complaints of priests who did not know even the Lord's Prayer and the

Creed. If we judge by the number of works, the seventh, eighth and

tenth centuries were the least productive; the ninth was the most

productive; there was a slight increase of productiveness in the

eleventh over the tenth, a much greater one in the twelfth, but again a

decline in the thirteenth century. [798]

But we must not be misled by isolated facts into sweeping generalities.

For England and Germany the tenth century was in advance of the ninth.

In France the eighth and ninth centuries produced the seeds of a new

culture which were indeed covered by winter frosts, but not destroyed,

and which bore abundant fruit in the eleventh and twelfth.

Secular and sacred learning was confined to the clergy and the monks.

The great mass of the laity, including the nobility, could neither read

nor write, and most contracts were signed with the mark of the cross.

Even the Emperor Charlemagne wrote only with difficulty. The people

depended for their limited knowledge on the teaching of a poorly

educated priesthood. But several emperors and kings, especially

Charlemagne and Alfred, were liberal patrons of learning and even

contributors to literature.

Scarcity of Libraries.

One of the chief causes of the prevailing ignorance was the scarcity of

books. The old libraries were destroyed by ruthless barbarians and the

ravages of war. After the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens, the

cultivation and exportation of Egyptian papyrus ceased, and parchment

or vellum, which took its place, was so expensive that complete copies

of the Bible cost as much as a palace or a farm. King Alfred paid eight

acres of land for one volume of a cosmography. Hence the custom of

chaining valuable books, which continued even to the sixteenth century.

Hence also the custom of erasing the original text of manuscripts of

classical works, to give place to worthless monkish legends and ascetic

homilies. Even the Bible was sometimes submitted to this process, and

thus "the word of God was made void by the traditions of men." [799]

The libraries of conventual and cathedral schools were often limited to

half a dozen or a dozen volumes, such as a Latin Bible or portions of

it, the liturgical books, some works of St. Augustin and St. Gregory,

Cassiodorus and Bo�thius, the grammars of Donatus and Priscianus, the

poems of Virgil and Horace. Most of the books had to be imported from

Italy, especially from Rome.

The introduction of cotton paper in the tenth or eleventh century, and

of linen paper in the twelfth, facilitated the multiplication of books.

[800]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[795] In Migne's ed., Tom. LXXIX. 159.

[796] According to the terminology of Cave and others, the 7th century

is called Saeculum Monotheleticum; the eighth, S. Eiconoclasticum; the

ninth, S. Photianum; the eleventh, S. Hildebrandinum; the twelfth, S.

Waldenses; the thirteenth, S. Scholasticum; the fourteenth, S.

Wicklevianum; the fifteenth, S. Synodale; the sixteenth, S.

Reformationis. All one-sided or wrong except the last. Historical

periods do not run parallel with centuries.

[797] Hallam (Lit. of Europe, etc., ch. 1, � 10) puts the seventh and

eighth centuries far beneath the tenth as to illumination in France,

and quotes Meiners who makes the same assertion in regard to Germany.

Guizot dates French civilization from the tenth century; but it began

rather with Charlemagne in the eighth.

[798] In Migne's Patrologia Latina the number of volumes which contain

the works of Latin writers, is as follows: Writers of the seventh

century, Tom. 80--88 8 vols. " " " eighth

" " 89--96 7 " " " " ninth

" " 97--130 33 " " " " tenth

" " 131-138 7 " " " " eleventh

" " 139-151 12 " " " " twelfth

" " 152-191 39 " " " " thirteenth

" " 192-217 25 " None of these centuries comes up to

the Nicene and post-Nicene ages. Migne gives to Augustine alone 12, and

to Jerome 11 volumes, and both of these were no compilers, but original

writers. The contrast between the literary poverty of the middle ages

and the exuberant riches of the sixteenth or nineteenth century is

still greater; but of course the invention of the art of printing and

all the modern facilities of education must be taken into account.

[799] One of the most important uncial manuscripts of the Scriptures,

the Codex Ephraem (C), is a palimpsest (codex rescriptus), but the

original text can with difficulty be deciphered, and has been published

by Tischendorf (Lipsiae, 1843). See Schaff's Companion to the Greek

Testament, p. 120 sq., and Gregory's Prolegomena to Tischendorf's

eighth critical ed. of the Gr. Test. (Leipzig, 1884), I. 366 sq.

[800] The oldest manuscript on cotton paper in the British Museum is

dated 1049; the oldest in the National Library of Paris, 1050. The

oldest dated specimen of linen paper is said to be a treaty of peace

between the kings of Aragon and Castile of 1177.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 139. Educational Efforts of the Church.

The mediaeval church is often unjustly charged with hostility to

secular learning. Pope Gregory I. is made responsible for the

destruction of the Bibliotheca Palatina and the classical statues in

Rome. But this rests on an unreliable tradition of very late date.

[801] Gregory was himself, next to Isidore of Seville (on whom he

conferred the pall, in 599), the best scholar and most popular writer

of his age, and is lauded by his biographers and Gregory of Tours as a

patron of learning. If he made some disparaging remarks about Latin

grammar and syntax, in two letters addressed to bishops, they must be

understood as a protest against an overestimate of these lower studies

and of heathen writers, as compared with higher episcopal duties, and

with that allegorical interpretation of the Bible which he carried to

arbitrary excess in his own exposition of Job. [802] In the Commentary

on Kings ascribed to him, he commends the study of the liberal arts as

a useful and necessary means for the proper understanding of the

Scriptures, and refers in support to the examples of Moses, Isaiah, and

St. Paul. [803] We may say then that he was an advocate of learning and

art, but in subordination and subserviency to the interests of the

Catholic church. This has been the attitude of the papal chair ever

since. [804]

The preservation and study of ancient literature during the entire

mediaeval period are due chiefly to the clergy and monks, and a few

secular rulers. The convents were the nurseries of manuscripts.

The connection with classical antiquity was never entirely broken.

Bo�thius (beheaded at Pavia, c. 525), and Cassiodorus (who retired to

the monastery, of Viviers, and died there about 570), both statesmen

under Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king of Italy, form the connecting

links between ancient and mediaeval learning. They were the last of the

old Romans; they dipped the pen of Cicero and Seneca in barbaric ink,

[805] and stimulated the rising energies of the Romanic and Germanic

nations: Bo�thius by his "Consolation of Philosophy" (written in

prison), [806] Cassiodorus by his encyclopedic "Institutes of Divine

Letters," a brief introduction to the profitable study of the Holy

Scriptures. [807] The former looked back to Greek philosophy; the

latter looked forward to Christian theology. The influence of their

writings was enhanced by the scarcity of books beyond their intrinsic

merits.

Bo�thius has had the singular fortune of enjoying the reputation of a

saint and martyr who was put to death, not for alleged political

treason, but for defending orthodoxy against the Arianism of Theodoric.

He is assigned by Dante to the fourth heaven in company with Albertus

Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Gratian, Peter the Lombard, Dionysius the

Areopagite, and other great teachers of the church:

"The saintly soul that maketh manifest

The world's deceitfulness to all who hear well,

Is feasting on the sight of every good.

The body, whence it was expelled, is lying

Down in Cieldauro, and from martyrdom

And exile rose the soul to such a peace." [808]

And yet it is doubtful whether Bo�thius was a Christian at all. He was

indeed intimate with Cassiodorus and lived in a Christian atmosphere,

which accounts for the moral elevation of his philosophy. But, if we

except a few Christian phrases, [809] his "Consolation" might almost

have been written by a noble heathen of the school of Plato or Seneca.

It is an echo of Greek philosophy; it takes an optimistic view of life;

it breathes a beautiful spirit of resignation and hope, and derives

comfort from a firm belief in God; in an all-ruling providence, and in

prayer, but is totally silent about Christ and his gospel. [810] It is

a dialogue partly in prose and partly in verse between the author and

philosophy in the garb of a dignified woman (who sets as his celestial

guide, like Dante's Beatrice). The work enjoyed an extraordinary

popularity throughout the middle ages, and was translated into several

languages, Greek, Old High German (by Notker of St. Gall), Anglo-Saxon

(by King Alfred), Norman English (by Chaucer), French (by Meun), and

Hebrew (by Ben Banshet). Gibbon admires it all the more for its

ignoring Christianity, and calls it "a golden volume not unworthy of

the leisure of Plato or Tully, but which claims incomparable merit from

the barbarism of the times and the situation of the author. The

celestial guide whom he had so long invoked at Rome and Athens, now

condescended to illumine his dungeon, to revive his courage, and to

pour into his wounds her salutary balm .... From the earth Bo�thius

ascended to heaven in search of the Supreme Good; explored the

metaphysical labyrinth of chance and destiny, of prescience and

freewill, of time and eternity; and generously attempted to reconcile

the perfect attributes of Deity with the apparent disorders of his

moral and physical government." [811]

Greek And Hebrew Learning.

The original languages of the Scriptures were little understood in the

West. The Latin took the place of the Greek as a literary and sacred

language, and formed a bond of union among scholars of different

nationalities. As a spoken language it rapidly degenerated under the

influx of barbaric dialects, but gave birth in the course of time to

the musical Romanic languages of Southern Europe.

The Hebrew, which very few of the fathers (Origen and Jerome) had

understood, continued to live in the Synagogue, and among eminent

Jewish grammarians and commentators of the Old Testament; but it was

not revived in the Christian Church till shortly before the

Reformation. Very few of the divines of our period (Isidore, and,

perhaps, Scotus Erigena), show any trace of Hebrew learning.

The Greek, which had been used almost exclusively, even by writers of

the Western church, till the time of Tertullian and Cyprian, gave way

to the Latin. Hence the great majority of Western divines could not

read even the New Testament in the original. Pope Gregory did not know

Greek, although he lived several years as papal ambassador in

Constantinople. The same is true of most of the schoolmen down to the

sixteenth century.

But there were not a few honorable exceptions. [812] The Monotheletic

and Iconoclastic controversies brought the Greek and the Latin churches

into lively contact. The conflict between Photius and Nicolas

stimulated Latin divines to self-defence.

As to Italy, the Greek continued to be spoken in the Greek colonies in

Calabria and Sicily down to the eleventh century. Bo�thius was familiar

with the Greek philosophers. Cassiodorus often gives the Greek

equivalents for Latin technical terms. [813]

Several popes of this period were Greeks by birth, as Theodore I.

(642), John VI. (701), John VII. (705), Zachary (741); while others

were Syrians, as John V. (685), Sergius I. (687), Sisinnius (708),

Constantine I. (708), Gregory III. (731). Zachary translated Gregory's

"Dialogues" from Latin into Greek. Pope Paul I. (757-768) took pains to

spread a knowledge of Greek and sent several Greek books, including a

grammar, some works of Aristotle, and Dionysius the Areopagite, to King

Pepin of France. He provided Greek service for several monks who had

been banished from the East by the iconoclastic emperor Copronymus.

Anastasius, librarian of the Vatican, translated the canons of the

eighth general Council of Constantinople (869) into Latin by order of

Pope Hadrian II. [814]

Isidore of Seville (d. 636) mentions a learned Spanish bishop, John of

Gerona, who in his youth had studied seven years in Constantinople. He

himself quotes in his "Etymologies" from many Greek authors, and is

described as "learned in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew."

Ireland was for a long time in advance of England, and sent learned

missionaries to the sister island as well as to the Continent. That

Greek was not unknown there, is evident from Scotus Erigena.

England derived her knowledge of Greek from Archbishop Theodore, who

was a native of Tarsus, educated in Athens and appointed by the pope to

the see of Canterbury (a.d. 668). [815] He and his companion Hadrian,

[816] an Italian abbot of African descent, spread Greek learning among

the clergy. Bede says that some of their disciples were living in his

day who were as well versed in Greek and Latin as in their native

Saxon. Among these must be mentioned Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, and

Tobias, bishop of Rochester (d. 726). [817] The Venerable Bede (d. 735)

gives evidence of Greek knowledge in his commentaries, [818] his

references to a Greek Codex of the Acts of the Apostles, and especially

in his book on the Art of Poetry. [819] In France, Greek began to be

studied under Charles the Great. Alcuin (d. 804) brought some knowledge

of it from his native England, but his references may all have been

derived from Jerome and Cassiodorus. [820] Paulus Diaconus frequently

uses Greek words. Charlemagne himself learned Greek, and the Libri

Carolini show a familiarity with the details of the image-controversy

of the Greek Church. His sister Giesela, who was abbess of Challes near

Paris, uses a few Greek words in Latin letters, [821] in her

correspondence with Alcuin, though these may have been derived from the

Latin.

The greatest Greek scholar of the ninth century, and of the whole

period in the West was John Scotus Erigena (850), who was of Irish

birth and education, but lived in France at the court of Charles the

Bald. He displays his knowledge in his Latin books, translated the

pseudo-Dionysian writings, and attempted original Greek composition.

In Germany, Rabanus Maurus, Haymo of Halberstadt, and Walafrid Strabo

had some knowledge of Greek, but not sufficient to be of any material

use in the interpretation of the Scriptures.

The Course of Study. [822]

Education was carried on in the cathedral and conventual schools, and

these prepared the way for the Universities which began to be founded

in the twelfth century.

The course of secular learning embraced the so-called seven liberal

arts, namely, grammar, dialectics (logic), rhetoric, music, arithmetic,

geometry, and astronomy. The first three constituted the Trivium, the

other four the Quadrivium. [823] Seven, three, and four were all

regarded as sacred numbers. The division is derived from St. Augustin,

[824] and was adopted by Bo�thius and Cassiodorus. The first and most

popular compend of the middle ages was the book of Cassiodorus, De

Septem Disciplinis. [825]

These studies were preparatory to sacred learning, which was based upon

the Latin Bible and the Latin fathers.

The Chief Theologians.

A few divines embraced all the secular and religious knowledge of their

age. In Spain, Isidore of Seville (d. 636) was the most learned man at

the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. His

twenty books of "Origins" or "Etymologies" embrace the entire contents

of the seven liberal arts, together with theology, jurisprudence,

medicine, natural history, etc., and show familiarity with Plato,

Aristotle, Bo�thius, Demosthenes, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Anacreon,

Herodotus, Cicero, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Terence, Juvenal, Caesar,

Livy, Sallust. [826] The Venerable Bede occupied the same height of

encyclopaedic knowledge a century later. Alcuin was the leading divine

of the Carolingian age. From his school proceeded RABANUS MAURUS, the

founder of learning and higher education in Germany. [827] Scotus

Erigena (d. about 877) was a marvel not only of learning, but also of

independent thought, in the reign of Charles the Bald, and showed, by

prophetic anticipation, the latent capacity of the Western church for

speculative theology. [828] With Berengar and Lanfranc, in the middle

of the eleventh century, dialectical skill was applied in opposing and

defending the dogma of transubstantiation. [829] The doctrinal

controversies about adoptionism, predestination, and the real presence

stimulated the study of the Scriptures and of the fathers, and kept

alive the intellectual activity.

Biblical Studies.

The literature of the Latin church embraced penitential books,

homilies, annals, translations, compilations, polemic discussions, and

commentaries. The last are the most important, but fall far below the

achievements of the fathers and reformers.

Exegesis was cultivated in an exclusively practical and homiletical

spirit and aim by Gregory the Great, Isidore, Bede, Alcuin, Claudius of

Turin, Paschasius Radbertus, Rabanus Maurus, Haymo, Walafrid Strabo,

and others. The Latin Vulgate was the text, and the Greek or Hebrew

seldom referred to. Augustin and Jerome were the chief sources.

Charlemagne felt the need of a revision of the corrupt text of the

Vulgate, and entrusted Alcuin with the task. The theory of a verbal

inspiration was generally accepted, and opposed only by Agobard of

Lyons who confined inspiration to the sense and the arguments, but not

to the "ipsa corporalia verba."

The favorite mode of interpretation was the spiritual, that is,

allegorical and mystical. The literal, that is, grammatico-historical

exegesis was neglected. The spiritual interpretation was again divided

into three ramifications: the allegorical proper, the moral, and the

anagogical [830] corresponding to the three cardinal virtues of the

Christian: the first refers to faith (credenda), the second to practice

or charity (agenda), the third to hope (speranda, desideranda). Thus

Jerusalem means literally or historically, the city in Palestine;

allegorically, the church; morally, the believing soul; anagogically,

the heavenly Jerusalem. The fourfold sense was expressed in the

memorial verse:

"Litera Gesta docet; quid Credas, Allegoria;

Moralis, quid Agas; quo Tendas, Anagogia."

Notes.

St. Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, who was first (like Cyprian, and

Ambrose) a distinguished layman, and father of four children, before he

became a monk, and then a bishop, wrote in the middle of the fifth

century (he died c. 450) a brief manual of mediaeval hermeneutics under

the title Liber Formularum Spiritalis Intelligentiae (Rom., 1564, etc.,

in Migne's "Patrol." Tom. 50, col. 727-772). This work is often quoted

by Bede and is sometimes erroneously ascribed to him. Eucherius shows

an extensive knowledge of the Bible and a devout spirit. He anticipates

many favorite interpretations of mediaeval commentators and mystics. He

vindicates the allegorical method from the Scripture itself, and from

its use of anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions which can not

be understood literally. Yet he allows the literal sense its proper

place in history as well as the moral and mystical. He identifies the

Finger of God (Digitus Dei) with the Spirit of God (cap. 2; comp. Luke

11:20 with Matt. 12:28), and explains the several meanings of Jerusalem

(ecclesia, vel anima, cap. 10), ark (caro Dominica, corda sanctorum Deo

plena, ecclesia intra quam salvanda clauduntur), Babylon (mundus, Roma,

inimici), fures (haeretici et pseudoprophetae, gentes, vitia),

chirographum, pactum, praeputium, circumcisio, etc. In the last chapter

he treats of the symbolical significance of numbers, as 1=Divine Unity;

2=the two covenants, the two chief commandments; 3=the trinity in

heaven and on earth (he quotes the spurious passage 1 John 5:7);

4="the" four Gospels, the four rivers of Paradise; 5=the five books of

Moses, five loaves, five wounds of Christ (John 20:25); 6="the" days of

creation, the ages of the world; 7=the day of rest, of perfection;

8=the day of resurrection; 10=the Decalogue; 12=the Apostles, the

universal multitude of believers, etc.

The theory of the fourfold interpretation was more fully developed by

Rabanus Maurus (776-856), in his curious book, Allegoriae in Universam

Sacram Scripturam (Opera, ed. Migne, Tom. VI. col. 849-1088). He calls

the four senses the four daughters of wisdom, by whom she nourishes her

children, giving to beginners drink in lacte historiae, to the

believers food in pane allegoriae, to those engaged in good works

encouragement in refectione tropologiae, to those longing for heavenly

rest delight in vino anagogiae. He also gives the following definition

at the beginning of the treatise: "Historia ad aptam rerum gestarum

narrationem pertinet, quae et in superficie litterae continetur, et sic

intelligitur sicut legitur. Allegoria vero aliquid in se plus continet,

quod per hoc quod locus [loquens] de rei veritate ad quiddam dat

intelligendum de fidei puritate, et sanctae Ecclesiae mysteria, sive

praesentia, sive futura, aliud dicens, aliud significans, semper autem

figmentis et velatis ostendit. Tropologia quoque et ipsa, sicut

allegoria, in figuratis, sive dictis, sive factis, constat: sed in hoc

ab allegoria distat quod Allegoria quidem fidem, Tropologia vero

aedificat moralitem. Anagogia autem, sive velatis, sive apertis dictis,

de aeternis supernae patriae gaudiis constat, et quae merces vel fidem

rectam, vel vitam maneat sanctam, verbis vel opertis, vel apertis

demonstrat. Historia namque perfectorum exempla quo narrat, legentem ad

imitationem sanctitatis excitat; Allegoria in fidei revelatione ad

cognitionem veritatis; Tropologia in instructione morum ad amorem

virtutis; Anagogia in manifestatione sempiternorum gaudiorum ad

desiderium aeternae felicitatis. In nostrae ergo animae domo Historia

fundamentum ponit; Allegoria parietes erigit; Anagogia tectum supponit;

Tropologia vero tam interius per affectum quam exterius per effectum

boni operis, variis ornatibus depingit."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[801] The testimony of John of Salisbury in the twelfth century (c.

1172) is more than neutralized by opposite contemporary testimonies,

and is justly rejected by Bayle (Diction.), Heeren (I. 66),

Gregorovius, Neander (III. 150 sq. , Baur (Dogmengesch. II. 4), and

Ebert (I. 525). Gieseler (I. 490 sq.) speaks of "the monkish contempt

of Gregory for the liberal sciences;" but he adds that "the law

traditions of his hostility to all literature are not to be fully

believed."

[802] Ep. ad Leandrum, prefixed to his Expos. of Job, and Ep. ad

Desiderium, XI. 54 (Opera, ed. Migne, III. 1171).

[803] The author of this commentary represents it as a device of the

evil spirit to dissuade Christians from liberal studies, "ut et

secularia nesciant et ad sublimitatem spiritualium non pertingant."

[804] The Vatican library, which can be traced back to Pope Nicolas V.,

is perhaps the most valuable in the world for manuscripts (e.g. the

Cod. B. of the Greek Bible) and important ecclesiastical documents, but

also one of the most inaccessible to outsiders. The present Pope Leo

XIII. has liberalized the management, but under the exclusive direction

of cardinals and in the interest of the Roman church (1883).

[805] "Bo�tius barbara verba miscuit Latinis." Opera ed. Migne, II.

578.

[806] De Consolatione Philosophiae Libri V., first printed, Venice,

1497; best ed. by Theod. Obbarius, Jenae, 1843, in Migne's ed., I.

578-862. Bo�thius translated also works of Aristotle, and wrote books

on arithmetic, geometry, rhetoric, and music; but the theological works

which bear his name, De sancta Trinitate, De duabus naturis et una

persona Christi, Fidei Confessio seu Brevis Institutio religionis

Christianae, based upon the Aristotelian categories and drawn in great

part from St. Augustin, are not mentioned before Alcuin and Hincmar,

three centuries after his death, and are probably the production of

another Bo�thius, or of the martyr St. Severinus, with whom he was

confounded. The most complete edition of his works is that of Migne in

two vols. (in the "Patrol. Lat.," Tom. 63 and 64). Comp. Fr. Nitzsch,

Das System des Bo�thius und die ihm zugeschriebenen Theol. Schriften

(Berlin, 1860); Dean Stanley's article in Smith's "Dictionary of Greek

and Roman Biography," I. 496; and Jourdain, De l'origine des traditions

sur le christianisme de Bo�ce, Paris, 1861.

[807] De Institutione Divinarum Literarum, in 33 chps., in Migne, Tom.

70, col. 1106-1150. Cassiodorus wrote also a work on the Liberal Arts,

twelve books of Varieties (letters, edicts, and rescripts), a

Tripartite Church-History from Constantine to his time (an epitome of

Sozomen, Socrates, Theodoret), and commentaries. Best edition is that

of Migne, "Patrol. Lat." in 2 vols. (vols. 69 and 70.) He will be more

fully discussed in the next chapter, 153.

[808] Paradiso, X. 125-129. Cieldauro or Cieldoro is the church San

Pietro in Ciel d'oro at Pavia, where Liutprand, King of the Lombards,

erected a monument to Bo�thius, about 726. So says Karl Witte, in Dante

Allighieri's Goettliche Komoedie(1865), p. 676.

[809] As angelica virtus, coaeternus, purgatoria clementia.

[810] Some suppose that he reserved this for a sixth book which he was

prevented from writing; others read Christianity into the work by

allegorical interpretation, or supplement it by theological works

falsely ascribed to him.

[811] Decline and Fall, Ch. 39 (vol. IV. 138). Ebert (Gesch. der

christl. lat. Lit. I. 472) assumes a partial influence of Christianity

upon this work. "Bo�tius," he says, "war nur ein Namenchrist, aber doch

immerhin ein solcher; die erste christliche Erziehung war keineswegs

spurlos an ihm voruebergegangen. Sein Werk ruht zwar seinem ganzen

Gehalt nach auf der heidnisch-antiken Philosophie, haupts�chlich dem

Platonismus, und zwar in der neuplatonischen Form, wie schon eine sehr

fluechtige Kenntniss desselben alsbald zeigt, und in allen

Einzelheiten, freilich nicht ohne einige Uebertreibung, von Nitzsch

nach gewiessen worden Werk erh�lt nicht bloss durch das starke

Hervortreten stoischroemischer Ethik einen christlichen Anschein,

sondern diesenimmt hier auch mitunter in der That eine specifisch

christliche F�rbung an, wie es denn selbst auch an Reminiscenzen aus

der Bibel nicht ganz fehlt. Hoechst merkwuerdig ist, wie in diesem

Werke des letzten der roemischen Philosophen, wie Zeller ihn mit Recht

nennt, diese verschiedenen, zum Theil ganz heterogenen Elemente sich

durchdringen zu einer doch einigen Gesammtwirkung in Folge des

sittlichen Moments, worin seine, wie ueberhaupt des r�mischen

Eklekticismus St�rke beruht."

[812] Comp. Cramer, De Graecis medii aevi studiis, and the pamphlet of

Lumby quoted on p. 584.

[813] E.g. in De Artibus, etc., cap. 1 (in Migne's ed. II. 1154):

"Nominis partes sunt: Qualitas, poiotes. Comparatio, sunkrisis. Genus,

genos. Numerus, arithmos. Figura, schema. Casus, ptosis." In the same

work he gives the divisions of philosophy and the categories of

Aristotle in Greek and Latin, and uses such words as ethos, pathos,

parekbasis, anakephalaiosis, stasis, antenklema, antistasis,

pragmatike, apodeixis, epicheiremata, etc.

[814] See Hefele, IV. 385 sq.

[815] Bede (Hist. Eccl. IV. 1) calls him "vir et saeculari et divina

literatura et Graece instructus et Latine." Pope Zachary speaks of

Theodore as "Athenis eruditus" and "Graeco-Latinus philosophus."

[816] William of Malmesbury calls this Hadrian "a fountain of letters

and a river of arts."

[817] L.c. V. c. 2, and V. 8, 23.

[818] He quotes e.g. In Luc. 6:2 the Greek, for Sabbatum secundum

primum (deuteroproton). Opera, ed. Migne, III. 392.

[819] De Arte Metrica Opera, I. l50-176. He explains here the different

metres of Greek poetry.

[820] Lumby (l.c., p. 15) mentions his allusions to Eusebius,

Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and a few familiar words, as episkopos,

parabates, and anthropos.

[821] As paradeigma, gazophylacia, paraclitus.

[822] Comp. besides the Lit. already quoted in this vol. �134, the

following: Heppe: Das Schulwesen des Mittelalters. Marburg, 1860.

K�mmel: Mittelalterliches Schulwesenin Schmid's "Encykl. des gesammten

Erziehungs und Unterrichswesens." Gotha. Bd. IV. (1865), p. 766-826.

[823] The division is expressed in the memorial lines: "Grammatica

loquitur, Dialectica verba docet, Rhetorica verba colorat; Musica

canit, Arithmetica numerat, Geometria ponderat, Astronomia colit

astra."

[824] De Ordine, II., c. 12 sqq., in Migne's ed. of Augustin, Tom. l.

1011 sqq. Augustin connects po�tica with musica.

[825] Or, De Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Literarum, in Migne's

ed. of Cassiodori Opera, II. 1150-1218. It is exceedingly meagre if

judged by the standard of modern learning, but very useful for the

middle ages.

[826] "However we may be disposed to treat the labors of Isidore with

something of contempt, it is probably not possible to overrate the

value and usefulness of this treatise to the age in which he lived, and

indeed for many ages it was the most available handbook to which the

world had access." Smith & Wace III. 308. Comp. this vol. � 155.

[827] See this vol. � 169.

[828] Comp. this vol. �� 123 and 175.

[829] See this vol. �� 128-130.

[830] From anagogikos, exalting, lifting up; anagoge, a leading up, is

used in ecclesiastical Greek for higher, spiritual interpretation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 140. Patronage of Letters by Charles the Great, and Charles the Bald.

Comp. �� 56, 90, 134 (pp. 236, 390, 584).

Charlemagne stands out like a far-shining beacon-light in the darkness

of his age. He is the founder of a new era of learning, as well as of a

new empire. He is the pioneer of French and German civilization. Great

in war, he was greater still as a legislator and promoter of the arts

of peace. He clearly saw that religion and education are the only solid

and permanent basis of a state. In this respect he rose far above

Alexander the Great and Caesar, and is unsurpassed by Christian rulers.

He invited the best scholars from Italy and England to his

court,--Peter of Pisa, Paul Warnefrid, Paulinus of Aquileia, Theodulph

of Orleans, Alcuin of York. [831] They formed a sort of royal academy

of sciences and arts, and held literary symposiacs. Each member bore a

nom de plume borrowed from the Bible or classic lore: the king presided

as "David" or "Solomon"; Alcuin, a great admirer of Horace and Virgil,

was "Flaccus" Angilbert (his son-in-law) was "Homerus"; Einhard (his

biographer), "Bezaleel," after the skilful artificer of the Tabernacle

(Ex. 31:2); Wizo, "Candidus"; Arno, "Aquila"; Fredegisus, "Nathanael";

Richbod, "Macarius," etc. Even ladies were not excluded: the emperor's

sister, Gisela, under the name "Lucia"; his learned cousin, Gundrad, as

"Eulalia;" his daughter, Rotrude, as "Columba." He called Alcuin, whom

he first met in Italy (781), his own "beloved teacher," and he was

himself his most docile pupil. He had an insatiable thirst for

knowledge, and put all sorts of questions to him in his letters, even

on the most difficult problems of theology. He learned in the years of

his manhood the art of writing, the Latin grammar, a little Greek (that

he might compare the Latin Testament with the original), and acquired

some knowledge of rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics and astronomy. He

delighted in reading the poets and historians of ancient Rome, and

Augustin's "City of God." He longed for a dozen Jeromes and Augustins,

but Alcuin told him to be content since the Creator of heaven and earth

had been pleased to give to the world only two such giants. He had some

share in the composition of the Libri Carolini, which raised an

enlightened protest against the superstition of image-worship. Poems

are also attributed to him or to his inspiration. He ordered Paul

Warnefrid (Paulus Diaconus) to prepare a collection of the best

homilies of the Latin fathers for the use of the churches, and

published it with a preface in which he admonished the clergy to a

diligent study of the Scriptures. Several Synods held during his reign

(813) at Rheims, Tours, Chalons, Mainz, ordered the clergy to keep a

Homiliarium and to translate the Latin sermons clearly into rusticam

Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam, so that all might understand them.

Charles aimed at the higher education not only of the clergy, but also

of the higher nobility, and state officials. His sons and daughters

were well informed. He issued a circular letter to all the bishops and

abbots of his empire (787), urging them to establish schools in

connection with cathedrals and convents. At a later period he rose even

to the grand but premature scheme of popular education, and required in

a capitulary (802) that every parent should send his sons to school

that they might learn to read. Theodulph of Orleans (who died 821)

directed the priests of his diocese to hold school in every town and

village, [832] to receive the pupils with kindness, and not to ask pay,

but to receive only voluntary gifts.

The emperor founded the Court or Palace School (Schola Palatina) for

higher education and placed it under the direction of Alcuin. [833] It

was an imitation of the Paedagogium ingenuorum of the Roman emperors.

It followed him in his changing residence to Aix-la-Chapelle, Worms,

Frankfurt, Mainz, Regensburg, Ingelheim, Paris. It was not the

beginning of the Paris University, which is of much later date, but the

chief nursery of educated clergymen, noblemen and statesmen of that

age. It embraced in its course of study all the branches of secular and

sacred learning. [834] It became the model of similar schools, old and

new, at Tours, Lyons, Orleans, Rheims, Chartres, Troyes, Old Corbey and

New Corbey, Metz, St. Gall, Utrecht, L�ttich. [835] The rich literature

of the Carolingian age shows the fruits of this imperial patronage and

example. It was, however, a foreign rather than a native product. It

was neither French nor German, but essentially Latin, and so far

artificial. Nor could it be otherwise; for the Latin classics, the

Latin Bible, and the Latin fathers were the only accessible sources of

learning, and the French and German languages were not yet organs of

literature. This fact explains the speedy decay, as well as the

subsequent revival in close connection with the Roman church.

The creations of Charlemagne were threatened with utter destruction

during the civil wars of his weak successors. But Charles the Bald, a

son of Louis the Pious, and king of France (843-877), followed his

grandfather in zeal for learning, and gave new lustre to the Palace

School at Paris under the direction of John Scotus Erigena, whom he was

liberal enough to protect, notwithstanding his eccentricities. The

predestinarian controversy, and the first eucharistic controversy took

place during his reign, and called forth a great deal of intellectual

activity and learning, as shown in the writings of Rabanus Maurus,

Hincmar, Remigius, Prudentius, Servatus Lupus, John Scotus Erigena,

Paschasius Radbertus, and Ratramnus. We find among these writers the

three tendencies, conservative, liberal, and speculative or mystic,

which usually characterize periods of intellectual energy and literary

productivity.

After the death of Charles the Bald a darker night of ignorance and

barbarism settled on Europe than ever before. It lasted till towards

the middle of the eleventh century when the Berengar controversy on the

eucharist roused the slumbering intellectual energies of the church,

and prepared the way for the scholastic philosophy and theology of the

twelfth century.

The Carolingian male line lasted in Italy till 875, in Germany till

911, in France till 987.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[831] "Toutes les provinces de l'occident," says Ozanam, "concoururernt

au grand ouvrage des �coles carlovinggiennes."

[832] "per villas et vicos."

[833] A similar school had existed before under the Merovingians, but

did not accomplish much.

[834] Comp. Oebeke, De academia Caroli M. Aachen, 1847. Philips, Karl

der Gr. im Kreise der Gelehrten. Wien, 1856.

[835] The Histoire litteraire de France, Tom. III., enumerates about

twenty episcopal schools in the kingdom of the Franks.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 141. Alfred the Great, and Education in England.

Comp. the Jubilee edition of the Whole Works of Alfred the Great, with

Preliminary Essays illustrative of the History, Arts and Manners of the

Ninth Century. London, 1858, 2 vols. The biographies of Alfred, quoted

on p. 395, and Freemann's Old English History 1859.

In England the beginning of culture was imported with Christianity by

Augustin, the first archbishop of Canterbury, who brought with him the

Bible, the church books, the writings of Pope Gregory and the doctrines

and practices of Roman Christianity; but little progress was made for a

century. Among his successors the Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus

(668-690), was most active in promoting education and discipline among

the clergy. The most distinguished scholar of the Saxon period is the

Venerable Bede (d. 735), who, as already stated, represented all

historical, exegetical and general knowledge of his age. Egbert,

archbishop of York, founded a flourishing school in York (732), from

which proceeded Alcuin, the teacher and friend of Charlemagne.

During the invasion of the heathen Danes and Normans many churches,

convents and libraries were destroyed, and the clergy itself relapsed

into barbarism so that they did not know the meaning of the Latin

formulas which they used in public worship.

In this period of wild confusion King Alfred the Great (871-901), in

his twenty-second year, ascended the throne. He is first in war and

first in peace of all the Anglo-Saxon rulers. What Charlemagne was for

Germany and France, Alfred was for England. He conquered the forces of

the Danes by land and by sea, delivered his country from foreign rule,

and introduced a new era of Christian education. He invited scholars

from the old British churches in Wales, from Ireland, and the Continent

to influential positions. He made collections of choice sentences from

the Bible and the fathers. In his thirty-sixth year he learned Latin

from Asser, a monk of Wales, who afterwards wrote his biography. He

himself, no doubt with the aid of scholars, translated several standard

works from Latin into the Anglo-Saxon, and accompanied them with notes,

namely a part of the Psalter, Bo�thius on the Consolation of

Philosophy, Bede's English Church History, Pope Gregory's Pastoral

Theology, Augustin's Meditations, the Universal History of Orosius, and

Aesop's Fables. He sent a copy of Gregory's Pastoral Theology to every

diocese for the benefit of the clergy. It is due to his influence

chiefly that the Scriptures and service-books at this period were

illustrated by so many vernacular glosses.

He stood in close connection with the Roman see, as the centre of

ecclesiastical unity and civilization. He devoted half of his income to

church and school. He founded a school in Oxford similar to the Schola

Palatina; but the University of Oxford, like those of Cambridge and

Paris, is of much later date (twelfth or thirteenth century). He seems

to have conceived even the plan of a general education of the people.

[836] Amid great physical infirmity (he had the epilepsy), he developed

an extraordinary activity during a reign of twenty-nine years, and left

an enduring fame for purity, and piety of character and unselfish

devotion to the best interests of his people. [837]

His example of promoting learning in the vernacular language was

followed by Aelfric, a grammarian, homilist and hagiographer. He has

been identified with the archbishop Aelfric of Canterbury (996-1009),

and with the archbishop Aelfric of York (1023-1051), but there are

insuperable difficulties in either view. He calls himself simply "monk

and priest." He left behind him a series of eighty Anglo-Saxon Homilies

for Sundays and great festivals, and another series for Anglo-Saxon

Saints' days, which were used as an authority in the Anglo-Saxon

Church. [838]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[836] In the preface to Gregory's Pastoral, he expresses his desire

that every freeborn English youth might learn to read English. The work

has also great philological importance, and was edited by H. Sweet in

1872 for the "Early English Text Society."

[837] Freeman calls Aelfred "the most perfect character in history," a

saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a conqueror

whose hands were never stained by cruelty. History of the Norman

Conquest, I. 49, third ed. (1877)

[838] They were edited by Thorpe. See Wright's Biograph. Britan. Lit.

(Anglo-Saxon Period), p. 485, 486; and article "Aelfric" in Leslie

Stephen's "Dictionary of National Biography." London and New York,

1885, vol. I. 164-166.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

CHAPTER XIV.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS.

[This chapter, with the exception of the last four sections, has been

prepared under my direction by the Rev. Samuel M. Jackson, M. A., from

the original sources, with the use of the best modern authorities, and

has been revised, completed and adapted to the plan of the work.--P. S.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 142. Chronological List of the Principal Ecclesiastical Writers from

the Sixth to the Twelfth Century.

I. Greek Authors.

St. Maximus Confessor

c. 580-662 [839]

St. John of Damascus

c. 676-754 [840]

Photius

c. 805-891 [841]

Simeon Metaphrastes

10th century.

Oecumenius

10th century.

Theophylact

11th century.

Michael Psellus

c. 1020-c. 1106

Euthymius Zigabenus

12th century.

Eustathius of Thessalonica

12th century

Nicetas Acominatos

d. c. 1126

I. Latin Authors.

Cassiodorus

c. 477-c. 580

St. Gregory of Tours

538-594

St. Gregory the Great

c. 540-604 [842]

St. Isidore of Seville

c. 560-636

The Venerable Bede (Baeda)

674-735 [843]

Paulus Diaconus (Paul Warnefrid)

c. 725-800

St. Paulinus of Aquileia

c. 726-804

Alcuin

735-804 [844]

Liudger

c. 744-809

Theodulph of Orleans

-821

Eigil

-822

Amalarius

-837

Claudius of Turin

-839 [845]

Agobard of Lyons

779-840 [846]

Einhard (Eginhard)

c. 770-840

Smaragdus

-c. 840

Jonas of Orleans

-844

Rabanus Maurus

c. 776-856 [847]

Haymo

c. 778-853

Walafrid Strabo

c. 809-849

Florus of Lyons

-c. 860

Servatus Lupus

805-862

Druthmar

c. 860

St. Paschasius Radbertus

c. 790-865 [848]

Ratramnus

-c. 868 [849]

Hincmar of Rheims

c. 806-882 [850]

Johannes Scotus Erigena

c. 815-877 [851]

Anastasius

-886

Ratherius of Verona

c. 890-974

Pope Sylvester II. (Gerbert)

-1003 [852]

Fulbert of Chartres

c. 950-1029

Peter Damiani

1007-1072

Bere

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[839] See �� 109-112, pp. 495, 496, 498.

[840] See �� 94, 100-102, pp. 405 sq., 413, 450, 456.

[841] See �� 67, 70, 107 and 108, pp. 304, 312 sqq., 476 sqq.

[842] See �� 10, p. 30 sqq., and 50, 52, pp. 211 sqq.

[843] See �� 13, p. 40 sq.

[844] See �� 116, p. 511 sqq.

[845] See � 105, p. 472 sqq.

[846] See � 105, p. 471 sq.

[847] See � 96, p. 426, and 120, p. 525 sq.

[848] See � 127, p. 549.

[849] � See � 126, p. 546 sqq.

[850] See � 123, p. 529 sqq.

[851] � See � 121, p. 528 sqq.

[852] �� 64 and 65, pp. 292 and 295.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 143. St. Maximus Confessor.

I. Maximus Confessor: Opera in Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom. XC., XCI.,

reprint of ed. of Fr. Combefis, Paris, 1673 (only the first two volumes

ever appeared), with a few additional treatises from other sources.

There is need of a complete critical edition.

II. For his life and writings see his Acta in Migne, XC. col. 109-205;

Vita Maximi (unknown authorship) col. 67-110; Acta Sanctorum, under

Aug. 13; Du Pin (Eng. transl., Lond. 1693 sqq. ), VI. 24-58; Ceillier

(second ed., Paris, 1857 sqq. ), XI. 760-772.

III. For his relation to the Monotheletic controversy see C. W. Franz

Walch: Historie der Kezerien, etc., IX. 60-499, sqq.; Neander: III. 171

sqq.; this History, IV. 409, 496-498. On other aspects see J. N. Huber:

Die Philosophie der Kirchenv�ter. M�nchen, 1859. Josef Bach: Die

Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters. Wien, 1873-75, 2 parts, I. l5-49.

Cf. Weser: Maximi Confesoris de incarnatione et deificatione doctrina.

Berlin, 1869.

As a sketch of St. Maximus Confessor (c. 580-Aug. 13, 662) has been

elsewhere given, [853] it is only necessary in this place to pass in

review his literary activity, and state briefly his theological

position.

Notwithstanding his frequent changes of residence, Maximus is one of

the most prolific writers of the Greek Church, and by reason of his

ability, stands in the front rank. Forty-eight of his treatises have

been printed, others exist in MS., and some are lost. By reason of his

pregnant and spiritual thoughts he has always been popular with his

readers, notwithstanding his prolixity and frequent obscurity of which

even Photius and Scotus Erigena complain.

His Works may be divided into five classes.

I. Exegetical. A follower of the Alexandrian school, he does not so

much analyze and expound as allegorize, and make the text a starting

point for theological digressions. He wrote (1) Questions [and Answers]

upon difficult Scripture passages, [854] sixty-five in number addressed

to Thalassius, a friend who had originally asked him the questions. The

answers are sometimes very short, sometimes rich speculative essays.

Thus he begins with a disquisition upon evil. Unless one is expert in

allegorical and mystical writings, the answers of Maximus will be hard

reading. He seems to have felt this himself, for he added explanatory

notes in different places. [855] (2) Questions, seventy-five in number,

similar to the preceding, but briefer and less obscure. (3) Exposition

of Psalm LIX. [856] (4) The Lord's Prayer. [857] Both are very

mystical.

II. Scholia upon Dionysius Areopagita and Gregory Nazianzen, which were

translated by Scotus Erigena (864). [858]

III. Dogmatical and polemical. (1) Treatises. [859] The first

twenty-five are in defense of the Orthodox dyotheletic doctrine (i.e.

that there are in Christ two perfect natures, two wills and two

operations) against the Severians. One treatise is on the Holy Trinity;

another is on the procession of the Holy Spirit; the rest are upon

cognate topics. (2) Debate with Pyrrhus (held July, 645) upon the

Person of Christ, in favor of two wills. [860] It resulted in Pyrrhus'

retraction of his Monotheletic error. This work is easier to read than

most of the others. (3) Five Dialogues on the Trinity. [861] (4) On the

Soul. [862]

IV. Ethical and ascetic. (1) On asceticism [863] a dialogue between an

abbot and a young monk, upon the duties of the monastic life. A famous

treatise, very simple, clear and edifying for all Christians. It

insists upon love to God, our neighbors and our enemies, and the

renunciation of the world. (2) Chapters upon Charity, [864] four in

number, of one hundred aphorisms, each, ascetic, dogmatic and mystical,

added to the preceding, but not all are upon charity. There are Greek

scholia upon this book. (3) Two Chapters, theological and oeconomical,

[865] each of one hundred aphorisms, upon the principles of theology.

(4) Catena, [866] five chapters of one hundred aphorisms each, upon

theology.

V. Miscellaneous. (1) Initiation into the mysteries, [867] an

allegorical exposition of the Church and her worship. Incidentally it

proves that the Greek liturgy has not changed since the seventh

century. (2) Commonplaces, [868] seventy-one sections, containing texts

of Scripture and quotations from the Fathers, arranged under heads. (3)

Letters [869] forty-five in number, on theological and moral matters;

several are on the Severian heresy, others supply biographical details.

Many of his letters exist in MS. only. (4) Hymns, [870] three in

number.

Maximus was the pupil of Dionysius Areopagita, and the teacher of John

of Damascus and John Scotus Erigena, in the sense that he elucidated

and developed the ideas of Dionysius, and in turn was an inspiration

and guide to the latter. John of Damascus has perpetuated his influence

in the Greek Church to the present day. Scotus Erigena introduced some

of his works to Western Europe. The prominent points of the theology of

Maximus are these: [871] Sin is not a positive quality, but an inborn

defect in the creature. In Christ this defect is supplied, new life is

imparted, and the power to obey the will of God is given. The

Incarnation is thus the Divine remedy for sin's awful consequences: the

loss of free inclination to good, and the loss of immortality. Grace

comes to man in consequence of Christ's work. It is not the divine

nature in itself but in union with the human nature which is the

principle of atoning and saving grace. God is the fountain of all being

and life, the alpha and omega of creation. By means of the Incarnation

he is the Head of the kingdom of grace. Christ is fully Man, and not

only fully God. This is the mystery of the Incarnation. Opposed to the

Monophysites and Monothelites, Maximus exerts all his ingenuity to

prove that the difference of natures in Christ requires two wills, a

human and a divine will, not separated or mixed, but in harmony. Christ

was born from eternity from the Father, and in time from the Virgin,

who was the veritable Mother of God. Christ's will was a natural, human

will, one of the energies of his human nature. The parallel to this

union of the divine and human in Christ is the human soul wrought upon

by the Holy Spirit. The divine life begins in faith, rules in love, and

comes to its highest development in the contemplative life. The

Christian fulfils the command to pray without ceasing, by constantly

directing his mind to God in true piety and sincere aspiration. All

rational essences shall ultimately be re-united with God, and the final

glorification of God will be by the complete destruction of all evil.

An interesting point of a humane interest is his declaration that

slavery is a dissolution, introduced by sin, of the original unity of

human nature, and a denial of the original dignity of man, created

after the image of God.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[853] See pp. 409, 496-498.

[854] Migne, XC. col. 244-785.

[855] l.c. col. 785-856.

[856] l.c. col. 856-872.

[857] l.c. col 872-909.

[858] XCI. col. 1032-1417.

[859] l.c. col. 9-285.

[860] l.c. col. 288-353.

[861] Migne, XXVIII. col. 1116-1285.

[862] XCI. col. 353-361.

[863] XC. col. 912-956

[864] l.c. Cols. 960-1080.

[865] l.c. cols. 1084-1176.

[866] l.c. cols. 1177-1392.

[867] XCI. cols. 657-717.

[868] l.c. cols. 721-1017.

[869] l.c. cols. 364-649.

[870] l.c. cols. 1417-1424, and this; vol., p. 409.

[871] Cf. Neander and Bach in loco.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 144. John of Damascus.

Cf. �� 89 and 103.

I. Joannes Damascenus: Opera omnia in Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom.

XCIV.-XCVI. (reprint, with additions, of Lequien's ed. Paris, 1712. 2

vols. fol. 2d ed. Venice, 1748).

II. John of Jerusalem: Vita Damasceni (Migne, XCIV. col. 429-489); the

Prolegomena of Leo Allatius (l.c. 118-192). Perrier: Jean Damasc�ne, sa

vie et ses �crits. Paris, 1862. F. H. J. Grundlehner: Johannes

Damascenus. Utrecht, 1876 (in Dutch). Joseph Langen (Old-Catholic

professor at Bonn): Johannes von Damaskus. Gotha, 1879. J. H. Lupton:

St. John of Damascus. London, 1882. Cf. Du Pin, V. 103-106; Ceillier,

XII., 67-99; Schroeckh, XX., 222-230; Neander, iii. passim; Felix N�ve:

Jean de D. et son influence en Orient sous les premiers khalifs, in

"Revue Belge et etrang�re," July and August, 1861.

I. Life. John of Damascus, Saint and Doctor of the Eastern Church, last

of the Greek Fathers, [872] was born in the city of Damascus in the

fourth quarter of the seventh century. [873] His common epithet of

Chrysorrhoas (streaming with gold) was given to him because of his

eloquence, but also probably in allusion to the river of that name, the

Abana of Scripture, the Barada of the present day, which flows through

his native city, and makes it a blooming garden in the desert. Our

knowledge of his life is mainly derived from the semi-legendary account

of John of Jerusalem, who used an earlier Arabic biography of unknown

authorship and date. [874]

The facts seem to be these. He sprang from a distinguished Christian

family with the Arabic name of Mansur (ransomed). His father, Sergius,

was treasurer to the Saracenic caliph, Abdulmeled (685-705), an office

frequently held by Christians under the caliphs. His education was

derived from Cosmas, a learned Italian monk, whom Sergius had ransomed

from slavery. He made rapid progress, and early gave promise of his

brilliant career. On the death of his father he was taken by the caliph

into his service and given an even higher office than his father had

held. [875] When the emperor Leo the Isaurian issued his first edict

against images (726) [876] , he prepared a circular letter upon the

subject which showed great controversial ability and at once raised him

to the position of leader of the image worshippers. This letter and the

two which followed made a profound impression. They are classical, and

no one has put the case better. [877] John was perfectly safe from the

emperor's rage, and could tranquilly learn that the letters everywhere

stirred up the monks and the clergy to fanatical opposition to Leo's

decrees. Yet he may well have found his position at court

uncomfortable, owing to the emperor's feelings towards him and his

attempts at punishment. However this may be, shortly after 730 John is

found as a monk in the Convent of St. Sabas, near the shore of the Dead

Sea, ten miles southeast from Jerusalem. A few years later he was

ordained priest. [878] His last days were spent in study and literary

labor. In the closing decade of his life he is said to have made a

journey through Palestine, Syria, and even as far as Constantinople,

for the purpose of exciting opposition to the iconoclastic efforts of

the Emperor Copronymus. He died at St. Sabas; the exact date is not

known, probably 754. [879] The Greek Church commemorates him upon Dec.

4th (or Nov. 29 in some Menologies); the Latin upon May 6.

Many legends are told of him. The most famous is that Leo the Isaurian,

enraged at his opposition to the iconoclastic edicts, sent to the

caliph a letter addressed to himself which purported to have come from

John, and was written in imitation of his hand and style, in which the

latter proposed to the emperor to capture Damascus--a feat easily

accomplished., the writer said, because of the insufficient guard of

the city. Moreover, in the business he could count upon his support.

The letter was of course a forgery, but so clever that when the caliph

showed John the letter he acknowledged the similarity of the writing,

while he denied the authorship. But the caliph in punishment of his

(supposed) treachery had his right hand cut off, and, as was the

custom, hung up in a public place. In answer to John's request it was,

however, given to him in the evening, ostensibly for burial. He then

put the hand to the stump of his arm, prostrated himself before an

image of the Virgin Mary in his private chapel, and prayed the Virgin

to cause the parts to adhere. He fell asleep: in a vision the Virgin

told him that his prayer had been granted, and he awoke to find it

true. Only a scar remained to tell the story of his mutilation. The

miracle of course convinced the caliph of the innocence of his servant,

and he would fain have retained him in office, but John requested his

absolute dismission. [880] This story was manifestly invented to make

out that the great defender of image-worship deserved a martyr's crown.

[881]

Other legends which have more of a basis of fact relate to his

residence in the convent of St. Sabas. Here, it is said., he was

enthusiastically received, but no one would at first undertake the

instruction of so famous a scholar. At length an old monk undertook it,

and subjected him to the most humiliating tests and vexatious

restrictions, which he bore in a very saintly way. Thus he sent him

once to Damascus to sell a load of convent-made baskets at double their

real value, in order that his pride might be broken by the jeers and

the violence of the rabble. He was at first insulted; but at last a man

who had been formerly his servant, bought out of compassion the baskets

at the exorbitant price, and the saint returned victorious over vanity

and pride. He was also put to the most menial services. And, what must

have been equally trying, he was forbidden to write prose or poetry.

But these trials ended on a hint from the Virgin Mary who appeared one

night to the old monk and told him that John was destined to play a

great part in the church. He was accordingly allowed to follow the bent

of his genius and put his immense learning at the service of religion.

II. Writings. The order of his numerous writings [882] is a mere matter

of conjecture. It seems natural to begin with those which first brought

their author into notice, and upon which his fame popularly rests.

These were his three Orations, [883] properly circular letters, upon

image worship, universally considered as the ablest presentation of the

subject from the side of the image-worshippers. The first [884]

appeared probably in 727, shortly after the Emperor Leo the Isaurian

had issued his edict forbidding the worship of "images," by which term

was meant not sculptures, but in the Greek Church pictures exclusively;

the second [885] after Leo's edict of 730 ordering the destruction of

the images; and the third [886] at some later time.

In the first of these three letters John advanced these arguments: the

Mosaic prohibitions of idolatry were directed against representations

of God, not of men, and against the service of images, not their honor.

Cherubim made by human hands were above the mercy-seat. Since the

Incarnation it is allowable to represent God himself. The picture is to

the ignorant what the book is to the learned. In the Old Testament

there are signs to quicken the memory and promote devotion (the ark,

the rod of Aaron, the brazen serpent). Why should the sufferings and

miracles of Christ not be portrayed for the same purposes? And if

Christ and the Virgin have their images, why should not the saints have

theirs? Since the Old Testament Temple contained cherubim and other

images, churches may be adorned with images of the saints. If one must

not worship an image, then one must not worship Christ, for he is the

image of the Father. If the shadows and handkerchiefs of apostles had

healing properties, why can one not honor the representations of the

saints? It is true there is nothing about such worship in the Holy

Scriptures, but Church ordinances depend for authority on tradition no

less than on Scripture. The passages against images refer to idols.

"The heathens dedicate their images to demons, whom they call gods; we

dedicate ours to the incarnate God and his friends, through whom we

exorcise demons." He ends his letter with a number of patristic

quotations of greater or less relevancy, to each of which he appends a

comment. The second letter, which is substantially a repetition of the

first, is characterized by, a violent attack upon the Emperor, because

of his deposition and banishment of Germanus, the patriarch of

Constantinople. It closes with the same patristic quotations, and a few

new ones. The third letter is almost necessarily a repetition of the

preceding, since it goes over the same ground. It likewise looks upon

the iconoclasts as the servants of the devil. But it bears marks of

more care in preparation, and its proofs are more systematically

arranged and its quotations more numerous. [887]

For his writings in favor of images he was enthusiastically lauded by

the second Nicene Council (787). [888]

But the fame of John of Damascus as one of the greatest theologians of

history rests chiefly on his work entitled the Fount of Knowledge.

[889] It is made up of three separate and complete books, which yet

were designed to go together and constitute in outline a cyclopaedia of

Christian theology and of all other kinds of knowledge. [890] It is

dedicated to Cosmas, bishop of Maiuma, his foster-brother and

fellow-student under the old monk. Its date is after 743, the year of

Cosmas's consecration. In it the author avows that he has introduced

nothing which had not been previously said, and herein is its value: it

epitomizes Greek theology.

The first part of the trilogy, "Heads of Philosophy," [891] commonly

called, by the Latin title, Dialectica, is a series of short chapters

upon the Categories of Aristotle and the Universals of Porphyry,

applied to Christian doctrines. The Dialectica is found in two forms,

one with sixty-eight, and the other with only fifteen chapters. The

explanation is probably the well-known fact that the author carefully

revised his works before his death. [892] The longer form is therefore

probably the later. Its principal value is the light it throws upon the

Church terminology of the period, and its proof that Christians

preceded the Arabs in their study of Aristotle, by one hundred years.

The second part of the trilogy, the "Compendium of Heresies," [893] is

a description of one hundred and three heresies, compiled mostly from

Epiphanius, but with two sections, on the Mohammedans and Iconoclasts,

which are probably original. A confession of faith closes the book. The

third, the longest, and by far the most important member of the trilogy

is "An accurate Summary of the Orthodox Faith." [894] The authors drawn

upon are almost exclusively Greek. Gregory Nazianzen is the chief

source. This part was apparently divided by John into one hundred

chapters, but when it reached Western Europe in the Latin translation

of John Burgundio of Pisa, made by order of Pope Eugenius III. (1150),

[895] it was divided into four books to make it correspond in outward

form to Peter Lombard's Sentences. Accepting the division into four

books, their contents may be thus stated: bk. I., Theology proper. In

this he maintains the Greek Church doctrine of the single procession of

the Holy Spirit. bk. II. Doctrines of Creation (severally of angels,

demons, external nature, paradise, man and all his attributes and

capacities); and of Providence, foreknowledge and predestination. In

this part he shows his wide acquaintance with natural science. bk. III.

Doctrine of the Incarnation. bk. IV. Miscellaneous subjects. Christ's

passion, death, burial, resurrection, ascension, session; the two-fold

nature of Christ; faith; baptism; praying towards the East; the

Eucharist; images; the Scriptures; Manichaeism; Judaism; virginity;

circumcision; Antichrist; resurrection.

The entire work is a noteworthy application of Aristotelian categories

to Christian theology. In regard to Christology he repudiates both

Nestorianism and Monophysitism, and teaches that each nature in Christ

possessed its peculiar attributes and was not mixed with the other. But

the divine in Christ strongly predominated over the human. The Logos

was bound to the flesh through the Spirit, which stands between the

purely divine and the materiality of the flesh. The human nature of

Jesus was incorporated in the one divine personality of the Logos

(Enhypostasia). John recognizes only two sacraments, properly so

called, i.e. mysteries instituted by Christ--Baptism and the Lord's

Supper. In the latter the elements are at the moment when the Holy

Ghost is called upon, changed into the Body and Blood of Christ, but

how is not known. He does not therefore teach transubstantiation

exactly, yet his doctrine is very near to it. About the remaining five

so-called sacraments he is either silent or vague. He holds to the

perpetual virginity of Mary, the Mother of our Lord, and that her

conception of Christ took place through the ear. He recognizes the

Hebrew canon of twenty-two books, corresponding to the twenty-two

Hebrew letters, or rather twenty-seven, since five of these letters

have double forms. Of the Apocrypha he mentions only Ecclesiasticus and

Wisdom, and these as uncanonical. To the New Testament canon he adds

the Apostolical Canons of Clement. The Sabbath was made for the fleshly

Jews--Christians dedicate their whole time to God. The true Sabbath is

the rest from sin. He extols virginity, for as high as angels are above

men so high is virginity above marriage. Yet marriage is a good as

preventive of unchastity and for the sake of propagation. At the end of

the world comes Antichrist, who is a man in whom the devil lives. He

persecutes the Church, kills Enoch and Elijah, who are supposed to

appear again upon the earth, but is destroyed by Christ at his second

coming. [896] The resurrection body is like Christ's, in that it is

immutable, passionless, spiritual, not held in by material limitation,

nor dependent upon food. Otherwise it is the same as the former. The

fire of hell is not material, but in what it consists God alone knows.

His remaining works are minor theological treatises, including a brief

catechism on the Holy Trinity; controversial writings against

Mohammedanism (particularly interesting because of the nearness of

their author to the beginnings of that religion), and against

Jacobites, Manichaeans, Nestorians and Iconoclasts; homilies, [897]

among them an eulogy upon Chrysostom; a commentary on Paul's Epistles,

taken almost entirely from Chrysostom's homilies; the sacred Parallels,

Bible sentences with patristic illustrations on doctrinal and moral

subjects, arranged in alphabetical order, for which a leading word in

the sentence serves as guide. He also wrote a number of hymns which

have been noticed in a previous section. [898]

Besides these there is a writing attributed to him, The Life of Barlaam

and Joasaph [899] the story of the conversion of the only son of an

Indian King by a monk (Barlaam). It is a monastic romance of much

interest and not a little beauty. It has been translated into many

languages, frequently reprinted, and widely circulated. [900] Whether

John of Damascus wrote it is a question. Many things about it seem to

demand an affirmative answer. [901] His materials were very old, indeed

pre-Christian, for the story is really a repetition of the Lalita

Vistara, the legendary life of Buddha. [902]

Another writing of dubious authorship is the Panegyric on St. Barbara,

[903] a marvellous tale of a suffering saint. Competent judges assign

it to him. [904] These two are characteristic specimens of monastic

legends in which so much pious superstition was handed down from

generation to generation.

III. Position. John of Damascus considered either as a Christian

office-holder under a Mohammedan Saracenic Caliph, as the great

defender of image-worship, as a learned though credulous monk, or as a

sweet and holy poet, is in every way an interesting and important

character. But it is as the summarizer of the theology of the Greek

fathers that he is most worthy of attentive study; for although he

seldom ventures upon an original remark, he is no blind, servile

copyist. His great work, the "Fount of Knowledge," was not only the

summary of the theological discussions of the ancient Eastern Church,

which was then and is to-day accepted as authoritative in that

communion, but by means of the Latin translation a powerful stimulus to

theological study in the West. Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas and other

schoolmen are greatly indebted to it. The epithets, "Father of

Scholasticism" and "Lombard of the Greeks" have been given to its

author. He was not a scholastic in the proper meaning of that term, but

merely applied Aristotelian dialects to the treatment of traditional

theology. Yet by so doing he became in truth the forerunner of

scholasticism.

An important but incidental service rendered by this great Father was

as conserver of Greek learning. "The numerous quotations, not only from

Gregory Nazianzen, but from a multitude of Greek authors besides would

provide a field of Hellenic literature sufficient for the wants of that

generation. In having so provided it, and having thus become the

initiator of a warlike but ill-taught race into the mysteries of an

earlier civilization, Damascenus is entitled to the praise that the

elder Lenormant awarded him of being in the front rank of the master

spirits from whom the genius of the Arabs drew its inspiration." [905]

One other interesting fact deserves mention. It was to John of Damascus

that the Old Catholics and Oriental and Anglo-Catholics turned for a

definition of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and Son

which should afford a solid basis of union. [906] "He restored unity to

the Triad, by following the ancient theory of the Greek church,

representing God the Father as the arche, and in this view, the being

of the Holy Spirit no less than the being of the Son as grounded in and

derived from the Father. The Holy Spirit is from the Father, and the

Spirit of the Father; not from the Son, but still the Spirit of the

Son. He proceeds from the Father the one ajrchv of all being, and he is

communicated through the Son; through the Son the whole creation shares

in the Spirit's work; by himself he creates, moulds, sanctifies all and

binds all together." [907]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[872] Grundlehner, p. 22; Langen, p. 20.

[873] The usual date is 676. Grundlehner says (p. 19), "probably about

the year 680."

[874] This Life is summarized by Lupton, pp. 22-36.

[875] The term is protosumboulos, " chief councillor." This is commonly

interpreted " vizier," but that office did not then exist. Langen (p.

19) thinks " chief tax-gatherer" a more likely translation. Cf. Lupton,

p. 27.

[876] See this vol. p. 456.

[877] See analysis, p. 630.

[878] Lequien (i. � 452) conjectures that he was ordained before the

iconoclastic controversy broke out, because in a sermon he alludes to

the peaceful condition of the empire, which was not applicable to the

time after that event. Cf. Lupton, p. 57.

[879] Grundlehner (p. 55, n.1) accepts the statement of the Menaea

Graecorum that John of Damascus died at the age of 104, and sets the

date at "about 780."

[880] This famous tale falls of its own weight. Even Roman Catholics,

like Alzog (Patrologie, 2d ed., p. 405) admit that it lacks support. It

is certainly noteworthy that the second Nicene council apparently knew

nothing of this miracle. Cf Grundlehner, p. 42 n.; Langen, p. 22.

[881] Langen, p. 22.

[882] Carefully analyzed by Lupton and Langen.

[883] De Imaginibus Orationes III., in Migne, XCIV.

[884] l.c. col. 1232-1284.

[885] l.c.. col. 1284-1317.

[886] l.c. col. 1317-1420.

[887] Langen, p. 141.

[888] Page 461.

[889] Pege gnoseos, in Migne, l.c. col. 521-1228.

[890] This is his own statement, l.c. col. 533.

[891] Kephalaia philosophika, l.c. col. 521-676. Lupton, pp. 67, 68;

Langen, pp. 46-52. There is a special essay by Renoux, entitled, De

Dialectica Sancti Joannis Damasceni (1863).

[892] Langen, p. 46.

[893] Periaireseonensuntomia l.c. col. 677-780.

[894] Ekdosis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos. l.c. col. 789-1228.

[895] The exact date rests upon the statement of John of Brompton that

the translation was made in the same year in which the Thames was

frozen over, i.e. in the Great Frost of 1150. Cf. Lupton, p. 70.

[896] Migne, l.c. col. 1217.

[897] Lequien gives thirteen and the fragment of a fourteenth; but

some, if not many, of them are not genuine.

[898] See p. 405.

[899] Migne, vol. XCVI., col. 860-1240.

[900] Brunet gives the titles of Latin, French, Italian, Spanish,

German, Danish, Norwegian and Bohemian translations. It was abridged in

English under the title Saint Josaphat. Lond., 1711. It appears in the

Golden Legend. The Greek text was first printed in 1832.

[901] So Langen, pp. 251-254.

[902] Lupton, p. 217.

[903] l.c. col. 781-813.

[904] Langen, p. 238.

[905] Lupton, p. 212.

[906] Schaff, Creeds, vol. ii., pp. 552-54.

[907] Neander, vol. iii., p. 554. Comp. above, p. 307 sqq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 145. Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

I. Photius: Opera omnia, in Migne, "Patrol. Gr." Tom. CI.-CIV. (1860).

Also Monumenta Graeca ad Photium ejusgue historiam pertinentia, ed.

Hergenr�ther. Regensburg, 1869.

II. David Nicetas: Vita Ignatii, in Migne, CV., 488-573. The part which

relates to Photius begins with col. 509; partly quoted in CI. iii. P.

De H. E. (anonymous): Histoire de Photius. Paris, 1772. Jager: Histoire

de Photius. Paris, 1845, 2d ed., 1854. L. Tosti: Storia dell' origine

dello scisma greco. Florence, 1856, 2 vols. A. Pichler: Geschichte der

kirchlichen Trennung zwischen Orient und Occident. Munich, 1864-65, 2

vols. J. Hergenr�ther: Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel. Sein

Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma. Regensburg,

1867-69, 3 vols. (The Monumenta mentioned above forms part of the third

vol.) Cf. Du Pin, VII., 105-110; Ceillier, XII., 719-734.

Photius was born in Constantinople in the first decade of the ninth

century. He belonged to a rich and distinguished family. He had an

insatiable thirst for learning, and included theology among his

studies, but he was not originally a theologian. Rather he was a

courtier and a diplomate. When Bardas chose him to succeed Ignatius as

Patriarch of Constantinople he was captain of the Emperor's body-guard.

Gregory of Syracuse, a bitter enemy of Ignatius, in five days hurried

him through the five orders of monk, lector, sub-deacon, deacon, and

presbyter, and on the sixth consecrated him patriarch. He died an exile

in an Armenian monastery, 891.

As the history of Photius after his elevation to the patriarchate has

been already treated, [908] this section will be confined to a brief

recital of his services to literature, sacred and secular. [909]

The greatest of these was his so-called Library, [910] which is a

unique work, being nothing less than notices, critiques and extracts of

two hundred and eighty works of the most diverse kinds, which he had

read. Of the authors quoted about eighty are known to us only through

this work. The Library was the response to the wish of his brother

Tarasius, and was composed while Photius was a layman. The majority of

the works mentioned are theological, the rest are grammatical, lexical,

rhetorical, imaginative, historical, philosophical, scientific and

medical. No poets are mentioned or quoted, except the authors of three

or four metrical paraphrases of portions of Scripture. The works are

all in Greek, either as originals or, as in the case of a few, in Greek

translations. Gregory the Great and Cassian are the only Latin

ecclesiastical writers with whom Photius betrays any intimate

acquaintance. As far as profane literature is concerned, the Library

makes the best exhibit in history, and the poorest in grammar. Romances

are mentioned, also miscellanies. In the religious part of his work

Chrysostom and Athanasius are most prominent. Of the now lost works

mentioned by Photius the most important is by an anonymous

Constantinopolitan author of the first half of the seventh century, who

in fifteen books presented testimonies in favor of Christianity by

different Greek, Persian, Thracian, Egyptian, Babylonian, Chaldean and

Jewish scholars.

Unique and invaluable as the Library is, it has been criticized because

more attention is given to some minor works than to other important

ones; the criticisms are not always fair or worthy; the works spoken of

are really few, while a much larger anthology might have been made; and

again there is no order or method in the selection. It is, however, to

be borne in mind that the object of the work was to mention only those

books which had been read in the circle to which he and his brother

belonged, during the absence of the latter; that it was hastily

prepared, and was to have been followed by a second. [911] Taking these

facts into consideration there is nothing but praise to be given to the

great scholar who in a wholly undesigned fashion has laid posterity

under heavy obligation by jotting down his criticisms upon or making

excerpts of the more important works which came under his observation

during a comparatively short space of time.

Among the Greek fathers, he esteems most highly Athanasius, Chrysostom,

Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Ephraem, Cyril of Alexandria, the

fictitious Dionysius the Areopagite, and Maximus; among the Latin

fathers, Leo. I. and Gregory I. He recognizes also Ambrose, Augustin,

and Jerome as fathers, but often disputes their views. Of the

ante-Nicene writers he has a rather low opinion, because they did not

come up to his standard of orthodoxy; he charges Origen with

blasphemous errors, and Eusebius with Arianism.

One of the earlier works of Photius, perhaps his earliest, was his

Greek Lexicon, [912] which he began in his youth and completed before

the Library, although he revised it from time to time. He made use of

the glossaries and lexica of former workers, whose names he has

preserved in his Library, and has been in turn used by later

lexicographers, e.g. Suidas (ninth century). Photius designed to remove

the difficulties in the reading of the earlier and classic Greek

profane and sacred literature. To this end he paid particular attention

to the explanation of the old Attic expressions and figures of speech.

The most important of the theological works of Photius is the

Amphilochian Questions [913] -- so called because these questions had

been asked by his friend, Amphilochius, metropolitan of Lyzikus. The

work consists of three hundred and twenty-four discussions, mostly in

biblical exegesis, but also dogmatical, philosophical, mythological,

grammatical, historical, medical, and scientific. Like the other works

of Photius it displays rare learning and ability. It was composed

during his first exile, and contains many complaints of lack of books

and excerpts. It has no plan, is very disjointed, unequal, and

evidently was written at different times. Many of the answers are taken

literally from the works of others. The same question is sometimes

repeatedly discussed in different ways. [914]

Although it is doubtful whether Photius composed a complete commentary

on any book of the Old Testament, it is very likely that he wrote on

the Gospels and on Romans, Corinthians and Hebrews, since in the

printed and unprinted catenae upon these books there are found many

citations of Photius. [915] No such commentary as a unit, however, now

exists.

Two canonical works are attributed to Photius, "A Collection of Canons"

and "A Collection of Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws." [916] To these

some add a third. The second of these works, the Nomocanon, is

authoritative on canonical law in the Greek Church. [917] The word

"Nomocanon" itself is the Greek name for a combination of

ecclesiastical laws (kanovne") and secular, especially imperial, law

(novmoi). Photius made such a collection in 883, on the basis of

earlier collections. It contains (1) the canons of the seven

universally accepted oecumenical councils (325-787), of the Trullan

council of 692 (Quinisexta), the synods of 861 and 879; and (2) the

laws of Justinian relative to the Greek Church. Photius was not only a

collector of canonical laws, but also a legislator and commentator. The

canons of the councils held by him in 861 and 879, and his canonical

letters or decretals had a great and permanent influence upon Greek

canonical law. The Nomocanon was enlarged and commented on by Balsamon

in the twelfth century, and is usually published in connection with

these commentaries. It is used in the orthodox church of Russia under

the name Kormczia Kniga, i.e., "The Book for the Pilot." As in his

other works, he builded upon the foundations of his predecessors.

The historical and dogmatico-polemical writings of Photius may be

divided into two classes, those against the Paulicians or Manichaeans,

and those against the Roman Church. In the first class are four books

which bear in the editions the general title "Against the new

Manichaeans." [918] The first is a history of the old and new

Manichaeans, written during Photius' first patriarchate, and apparently

largely borrowed from a contemporary author; the remaining three are

polemical treatises upon the new Manichaeans, in which biblical rather

than philosophical arguments are relied upon, and mostly those which

had already been used against the Manichaeans.

The works against the Latin Church embrace (1) The Mystagogia, or

doctrine of the Holy Spirit; his most important writing against the

Latins. [919] It is a discussion of the procession alone, not of the

personality and divinity, of the Holy Spirit, for upon these latter

points there was no difference between the Latin and Greek Churches. It

appears to be entirely original with Photius. [920] It is characterized

by acuteness and great dialectical skill. There exists an epitome of

this book, [921] but it is doubtful whether Photius himself made it.

(2) A collection [922] of ten questions and answers upon such matters

as, "In what respects have the Romans acted unjustly?" "How many and

what true patriarchs are not recognized by the Romans, except

compromisingly?" "Which emperor contends for the peace of the Church?"

The collection has great historical interest, since it embraces

materials which otherwise would be entirely lost. (3) Treatise against

the Roman primacy. (4) Tractate against the Franks, from which there

are extracts in the Kormczaia Kniga of the Oriental Slavs, which was

extensively circulated in the thirteenth century, and enjoys among the

Russians great authority as a book of canonical law. It has been

attributed to Photius, but in its present shape is not his. [923] (5)

His famous Encyclical Letter to the Eastern Patriarchs, written in 867.

[924]

The genuine works of Photius include besides those already mentioned

three books of letters [925] of different contents, private and public,

written generally in verbose style; homilies, [926] two printed entire

and two in fragments and twenty unprinted; several poems [927] and

moral sentences, probably a compilation. Several other works attributed

to Photius are only of doubtful genuineness.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[908] Cf. chapter V.� 70.

[909] Cf. the exhaustive analysis of his works by Hergenr�ther (vol.

iii. pp. 3260.

[910] Bibliotheca or Muriobiblion, Migne, CIII., CIV. col. 9-356;

Hergenr�ther, III. pp. 13-31.

[911] Hergenr�ther, p. 14, 28-31.

[912] Best edition, by Dobr�e, Photiou lexeon sunagoge. Photii Lexicon

e codice Galeano descripsit R. Porsonus. London, 1822, 2 vols.;

reprinted 1823 in Leipzig.

[913] Migne, CI. col. 45-1172.

[914] Hergenr�ther (vol. iii., pp. 31 sqq. ) tells at length the

curious story of the singular way in which the Amphilochia has

gradually come to the knowledge of modern scholars.

[915] Collected in Migne, l.c. col. 1189-1253.

[916] Commonly called Syntagma Canonum, Migne, CIV. col. 441-976, and

Nomocanon, ibid. col. 976-1217.

[917] The Nomocanon is minutely discussed by Hergenr�ther, l.c. iii.

92-128. See also F. A. Biener, Geschichte der Novellen Justinians,

Berlin, 1824; and De Collectionibus canonum ecclesiae Graecae.

Schediasma litterarium. Berlin, 1827. Card. J. B. Pitra, Juris eccles.

Graec. historia et monumenta. Rome, 1868. Hergenr�ther, Griech.

Kirchenrecht bis zum Ende, des 9ten Jahrhunderts. Mainz, 1870.

[918] Diegesis peri tes ton neophanton Manichaion anablasteseos, in

Migne, CII. col. 16-264. Cf. Hergenr�ther, l.c. iii. 143-153.

[919] Liber de S. Spiritus Mystagogia, first published by Hergenr�ther

at Regensburg, 1857; Comp. his Photius, III. l54-160, and Migne, CII.

280-400. The word mustagogiais used in the same sense as hierologiaor

theologia, sacra doctrina,

[920] Hergenr�ther, Photius, III. 157.

[921] Ibid. 160-165.

[922] Sunagogai kai `apodeixeis akribeis, in Migne, CIV. col.

1220-1232.

[923] Hergenr�ther, l.c. p. 174.

[924] See above, p. 314 sq.

[925] Migne, CII., col. 585-989. They are analyzed by Du Pin, l.c.

106-109.

[926] Migne, CII., col. 548-576.

[927] Ibid. col. 577-584.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 146. Simeon Metaphrastes.

I. Simeon Metaphrastes: Opera omnia, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom.

cxiv.-cxvi.

II. Panegyric by Psellus, in Migne, CXIV. col. 200-208; Leo Allatius:

De Symeonum scriptis, in Migne, CXIV. col. 19-148; and the Preface to

Migne's ed. Cf. Du Pin, VIII. 3; Ceillier, XII. 814-819.

This voluminous author probably lived in Constantinople during the

reigns of Leo the Philosopher (886-911) and Constantine Porphyrogenitus

(911-959). [928] He was the Imperial Secretary, High Chancellor and

Master of the Palace. When somewhat advanced in years he was sent by

the Emperor Leo on a mission to the Cretan Arabs for the purpose, which

was accomplished, of turning them from their proposed campaign against

the Thessalonians. It was on this journey that he met on the island of

Pharos, an anchorite, who suggested to him the writing of the lives of

the saints and martyrs.

To this collection Simeon owes his fame. [929] He apparently never

carried out his original plan, which was to cover the year, for the

genuine Lives of his now extant are nearly all of September (the first

month of the Greek Church year), October, November and December. The

remaining months have very few. But how many he wrote cannot be

determined. Allatius credits him with only one hundred and twenty-two.

MSS. attributed to him are found in the libraries of Munich, Venice,

Florence, Madrid, Paris, London and elsewhere. The character of his

work is sufficiently indicated by his epithet Simeon the Paraphraser,

given to him because he turned "the ancient lives of the saints into

another sort of a style than that wherein they were formerly written."

[930] He used old material in most cases, and sometimes he did no more

than edit it, at other times he re-wrote it, with a view to make it

more accurate or attractive. Some of the lives are, however, original

compositions. His work is of very unequal value, and as his credulity

led him to admit very doubtful matter, it must be used with caution.

However, he deserves thanks for his diligence in rescuing from

obscurity many now illustrious names.

Besides the Lives, nine Epistles, several sermons, orations, hymns, and

a canonical epitome bear his name. [931] The Simeonis Chronicon is

probably the work of a Simeon of the twelfth century.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[928] Cf. Gassin Herzog2IX. pp. 677-679.

[929] It is found in Migne, and utilized in the great hagiographies of

A. Lippomani (Paris, 1551-60, 8 vols. ), Surius (Cologne, 1570-79, 6

vols. ) and the Boltandists (1643-1875, 61 vols.).

[930] Du Pin, in loco.

[931] Migne, CXIV. col. 209-292.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 147. Oecumenius.

I. Oecumenius: Opera omnia, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom. CXVIII., CXIX.,

col. 726, reprint of ed. of Hentenius. Paris, 1630-31, 2 vols. fol.

Ceillier, XII. 913, 914.

Oecumenius was bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, toward the close of the

10th century, and wrote a commentary upon the Acts, the Epistles of

Paul and the Catholic Epistles, which is only a catena, drawn from

twenty-three Fathers and writers of the Greek Church, [932] with an

occasional original comment. The work displays taste and judgment.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[932] Their names are given in Migne, CXVIII. col. 9.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 148. Theophylact.

I. Theophylact: Opera omnia, in Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom. CXXIII.-CXXVI.,

reprint of ed. Of de Rubeis. Venice, 1754-63, 4 vols. fol. Du Pin, IX.

108, 109; Neander, III. 584-586; Ceillier, XIII. 554-558.

Theophylact, the most learned exegete of the Greek Church in his day,

was probably born at Euripus, [933] on the Island of Euboea, in the

Aegean Sea. Very little is known about him. He lived under the Greek

Emperors Romanus IV. Diogenes (1067-1071), Michael VII. Ducas

Parapinaces (1071-1078), Nicephorus III. Botoniates (1078-1081),

Alexius I. Comnenus (1081-1118). The early part of his life he spent in

Constantinople; and on account of his learning and virtues was chosen

tutor to Prince Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the son of Michael Ducas.

From 1078 until after 1107 he was archbishop of Achrida and

metropolitan of Bulgaria. He ruled his diocese in an independent

manner, but his letters show the difficulties he had to contend with.

It is not known when he died.

His fame rests upon his commentary [934] on the Gospels, Acts, Pauline,

and Catholic Epistles; and on Hosea, Jonah, Nahum and Habakkuk, which

has recently received the special commendation of such exegetes as De

Wette and Meyer. It is drawn from the older writers, especially from

Chrysostom, but Theophylact shows true exegetical insight, explaining

the text clearly and making many original remarks of great value.

Besides his commentary, his works embrace orations on the Adoration of

the Cross, [935] the Presentation of the Virgin [936] and on the

Emperor Alexius Comnenus; [937] a treatise on the Education Of Princes;

[938] a History of Fifteen Martyrdoms [939] and an Address on the

Errors of the Latin Church. [940] Two of these call for further

mention. The Education of Princes is addressed to Constantine

Porphyrogenitus. It is in two books, of which the first is historical

and discourses upon the parents of the prince, the second discusses his

duties and trials. It was formerly a very popular work. It is

instructive to compare it with the similar works by Paulinus, Alcuin,

and Smaragdus. [941] The Address is the most interesting work of

Theophylact. It is written in a singularly conservative and moderate

strain, although it discusses the two great matters in dispute between

the Greek and Latin Churches,--the procession of the Holy Spirit, and

the bread of the Eucharist. Of these matters Theophylact considered the

first only important, and upon it took unhesitatingly the full Greek

position of hostility to the Latins. Yet his fairness comes out in the

remark that the error of the Latins may be due to the poverty of their

language which compelled them to "employ the same term to denote the

causality of the communication of the Holy Spirit and the causality of

his being. The Latins, he observed, moreover, might retain the less

accurate forms of expression in their homiletic discourses, if they

only guarded against misconception, by carefully explaining their

meaning. It was only in the confession of faith in the symbol, that

perfect clearness was requisite." [942] In regard to the bread of the

Eucharist the Latins held that it should be unleavened, the Greeks that

it should be leavened. Each church claimed to follow the usage of

Christ. Theophylact admitted that Christ used unleavened bread, but

maintained that His example in this respect is not binding, for if it

were in this then it would be in everything connected with the Supper,

and it would be necessary to use barley bread and the wine of

Palestine, to recline at table and to hold the Supper in a ball or

upper room. But there is such a thing as Christian liberty, and the

kind of bread to be used is one of the things which this liberty

allows. Upon both these points of fierce and long controversy he

counseled continual remembrance of the common Christian faith and the

common Christian fellowship.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[933] This is the name likewise of the narrowest part of the Euboic

Sea.

[934] Migne, CXXIII.-CXXVI. col. 104.

[935] Migne, CXXVI. col. 105-129.

[936] Ibid. col. 129--144.

[937] Ibid. col 288-305.

[938] Ibid. col. 253-285.

[939] Ibid. col. 152-221.

[940] Ibid. col. 221-249.

[941] Viz. Exhortations, On Virtues and Vices, and Way of the King,

spoken of farther on.

[942] Neander, l.c. p. 586.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 149. Michael Psellus.

I. Michael Psellus: Opera, in Migne, Patrol. Gr., Tom. CXXII., col.

477-1358. His Hist. Byzant. et alia opuscula, ed. by Constantin Sathas.

Paris, 1874.

II. Leo Allatius: Diatriba de Psellis, in Migne, l.c., col. 477-536.

Ceillier, XIII. 335-337.

Michael Psellus, the third of the five of that name mentioned by

Allatius, was born of a consular and patrician family in Constantinople

about 1020. He took naturally to study, and denied himself the

amusements and recreations of youth in order that he might make all the

more rapid progress. Having completed his studies at Athens, he

returned to Constantinople, and was appointed chief professor of

philosophy. Constantine Monomachus invited him to his court, and

entrusted him with secular business. He then turned his attention from

philosophy and rhetoric to theology, physics, medicine, mathematics,

astronomy and military science. In short, he explored the entire domain

of knowledge, and as his memory was tenacious, he was able to retain

everything he studied. "It has been said that in him human nature

yielded up its inmost powers in order that he might ward off the

downfall of Greek learning." [943] He was made the tutor of Michael

Ducas, the future emperor, who when he came to the throne retained him

in his councils. Psellus, of course, took the Greek position upon the

Filioque question, and thwarted the movement of Peter, bishop of

Anagni, to establish peace between the Greek and Latin churches. When

Michael Ducas was deposed (1078), he was deprived of his professorship,

and so he retired to a monastery, where he died. The last mention of

him is made in 1105.

Psellus was a prolific author, but many of his writings are unprinted,

and many are lost. [944] Of the theological works which have been

printed the most important are:

(1) Exposition of the Song of Songs, [945] a paraphrase in verse with a

commentary and excerpts from Gregory of Nyssa, Nilus, and Maximus.

(2) A Learned Miscellany, [946] in 157 paragraphs, in which nearly

everything is treated of, from the relations of the persons of the

Trinity to the rise of the Nile and the changes of the weather. It is

one of those prodigies of learning which really indicate the

comparative ignorance of the past, and are now mere curiosities.

(3) The Operations of Demons, [947] an attack, in the form of a

dialogue, upon the Euchites, whom he charges with revolting and

disgusting crimes, under the prompting of demons. But he passes on to

discuss the subject more broadly and resting on the testimony of a

certain monk who had actually seen demons he teaches their perpetual

activity in human affairs; that they can propagate their species; and

go anywhere at will under either a male or female form. From them come

diseases and innumerable woes. The book is very curious, and has

permanent value as a contribution to the demonology of the Middle Ages.

Twelve letters of Psellus have been printed. [948] His panegyric upon

Simeon Metaphrastes has already been mentioned. [949] He wrote a

criticism of the eloquence of Gregory the Theologian, Basil, and

Chrysostom, [950] and celebrated these Fathers also in verse. [951]

Besides certain legal and philosophical treatises he wrote a poem on

Doctrine, [952] and a metrical Synopsis of Law. [953]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[943] Gass in Herzog,2s. v. xii. 340.

[944] See lists in Allatius, Diatriba, in Migne, CXXII. col. 498-532.

[945] Hermeneia kata paraphrasin tou asmatos ton asmaton. Ibid. col.

537-685.

[946] Didaskalia pantodape. Ibid. col. 688-784.

[947] Perienergaiasdaimonon. Ibid. col. 820-876.

[948] Epistolai. Ibid. col. 1161-1185.

[949] See p. 642.

[950] Charakteres. Migne, CXXII. col. 901-908.

[951] Ibid. col. 908-910.

[952] Peri `dogmatos. Ibid. col. 812-817.

[953] Sunopsis ton nomon. Ibid. col. 925-974.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 150. Euthymius Zigabenus.

I. Euthymius Zigabenus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Patrol. Gr., Tom,

CXXVIII.-CXXXI.

II. See the Prolegomena in Migne. Ceillier, XIV. 150-155.

Euthymius Zigabenus (or Zigadenus) was a learned and able Greek monk of

the order of St. Basil in the convent of the Virgin Mary near

Constantinople, and enjoyed the marked favor of the emperor Alexius

Comnenus (1081-1118) and his wife Anna. [954] Being requested by

Alexius to refute the Bogomiles, who had become alarmingly numerous, he

was led to prepare an extensive work upon heresy, entitled The Panoply.

[955] Among the heretics he included the Pantheists, Jews, the Pope and

the Latins. His materials were the decisions of councils and the Greek

Fathers and other writers, including some otherwise unknown. [956] In

this important work and in separate treatises [957] he imparts much

valuable historical information respecting the Bogomiles, Massalians,

Armenians, Paulicians, and even about the Jews and Mohammedans,

although it is evident that he was not well informed about the last,

and was much prejudiced against them. Like other Greeks, he finds the

latter heretical upon the procession of the Holy Spirit and upon the

bread of the Eucharist. Besides the Panoply, Euthymius wrote

commentaries upon the Psalms, [958] much dependent upon Chrysostom, and

on the Gospels, [959] more independent and exhibiting exegetical tact

which in the judgment of some puts him next to Theophylact.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[954] In her Alexiad (XV. 490, Migne, CXXXI. col. 1176) she extols his

learning and piety.

[955] Migne, CXXX.

[956] Migne gives the sources.

[957] Contra Massalianos; Contra Bogomilos; Disputatio de fide cum

philosopho Saraceno; Dialogus Christiani cum Ismaelica (all in Migne,

CXXXI. col. 4048; 48-57; 20-37; 37-40).

[958] Migne, CXXVIII. col. 41-end.

[959] Migne, CXXIX. col. 107-end.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 151. Eustathius of Thessalonica.

I. Eustathius: Opera omnia in Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom. CXXXV. col. 517;

CXXXVI. col. 764 (reprint of L. F. Tafel's ed. of the Opuscula.

Frankfort, 1832, and appendix to De Thessalonica. Berlin, 1839. Tafel

published a translation of Eustathius' ' jEpivskeyi" bivou monacikou'.

Betrachtungen �ber den M�nchstand. Berlin, 1847. The valuable De capta

Thessalonica narratio was reprinted from Tafel in a vol. of the "Corpus

scriptorum historiae Byzantinae" (Bonn, 1842, pp. 365-512), accompanied

with a Latin translation.

II. The funeral orations by Euthymius of Neopatria and Michael

Choniates in Migne, Patrol. Gr. CXXXVI. col. 756-764, and CXL. col.

337-361. Fabricius: Bibliotheca Graeca, ed. Harless, XI. 282-84.

Neander, IV. 530-533, and his essay, Characteristik des Bustathius von

Thessalonich in seiner reformatorischen Richtung, 1841, reprinted in

his "Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen," Berlin, 1851, pp. 6-21, trans. in

Kitto's "Journal of Sacred Literature," vol. IV., pp. 101 sqq.

Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica and metropolitan, the most

learned man of his day, was born in Constantinople, and lived under the

Greek emperors from John Comnenus to Isaac II. Angelus, i.e., between

1118 and 1195. His proper name is unknown, that of Eustathius having

been assumed on taking monastic vows. His education was carried on in

the convent of St. Euphemia, but he became a monk in the convent of St.

Florus. He early distinguished himself for learning, piety and

eloquence, and thus attracted the notice of the Emperor Manuel, who

made him successively tutor to his son John, deacon of St. Sophia and

master of petitions, a court position. In the last capacity he

presented at least one petition to the Emperor, that from the

Constantinopolitans during a severe drought. [960]

To this period of his life probably belong those famous commentaries

upon the classic authors, [961] by which alone he was known until Tafel

published his theological and historical works. But Providence designed

Eustathius to play a prominent part in practical affairs, and so the

Emperor Manuel appointed him bishop of Myra, [962] the capital of Lycia

in Asia Minor, and ere he had entered on this office transferred him to

the archbishopric of Thessalonica (1175). He was a model bishop, pious,

faithful, unselfish, unsparing in rebuke and wise in counsel, "one of

those pure characters so rarely met among the Greeks--a man who well

knew the failings [superstition, mock-holiness and indecorous

frivolity] of his nation and his times, which he was more exempt from

than any of his contemporaries. [963] His courage was conspicuous on

several occasions. The Emperor Manuel in a Synod at Constantinople in

1180 attempted to have abrogated the formula of adjuration, "Anathema

to Mohammed's God, of whom he says that he neither begat nor was

begotten," which all who came over from Mohammedanism to Christianity

had to repeat. Manuel argued that this formula was both blasphemous and

prejudicial to the spread of Christianity in Islam. But Eustathius

dared to brave the emperor's rage and deny the truth of this argument.

The result was a modification of the formula. [964] Although Manuel

threatened to impeach Eustathius, he really did not withdraw his favor,

and the archbishop was summoned to preach the sermon at the emperor's

funeral. [965] When in 1185 Thessalonica was sacked by Count Alduin

acting under William II. of Sicily, Eustathius remained in the city and

by direct personal effort procured some alleviation of the people's

sufferings, and defended their worship against the fanatical Latins.

[966] Again, he interposed his influence to keep the Thessalonians from

the rapacity of the imperial tax-gatherers. But notwithstanding his

high character and unsparing exertions on behalf of Thessalonica there

were enough persons there who were incensed against him by his plain

speaking to effect his banishment. This probably happened during the

reign of the infamous Andronicus (1180-1183), who was unfriendly to

Eustathius. A brief experience of the result of his absence led to his

recall, and he ended his days in increased esteem. It is strange indeed

to find Eustathius and Calvin alike in their expulsion and recall to

the city they had done so much to save.

His writings upon practical religious topics have great interest and

value. Besides sermons upon Psalm xlviii., [967] on an auspicious year,

[968] four during Lent, [969] in which he specially inveighs against

the lax marital customs, and five on different martyrs, [970] he wrote

an enthusiastic treatise in praise of monasticism [971] if properly

used, while at the same time he faithfully rebuked the common faults of

the monks, their sloth, their hypocrisy and their ignorance, which had

made the very name of monk a reproach. To the Stylites, [972] he was

particularly plain in setting forth their duty. By reason of their

supposed sanctity they were sought by all classes as oracles. He seeks

therefore to impress them with their responsibility, and tells them

always to speak fearlessly, irrespective of person; not flattering the

strong nor domineering the weak. He addressed also the laity, not only

in the sermons already mentioned, but in separate treatises, [973] and

with great earnestness and tenderness exhorted them to obedience to

their lawful rulers, and rebuked them for their hypocrisy, which was

the crying sin of the day, and for their vindictiveness. He laid down

the true gospel principle: love is the central point of the Christian

life. His letters [974] of which 75 have been published, give us a

vivid picture of the time, and bear unconscious testimony to his

virtue. To his Interpretation of the Pentecostal hymn of John of

Damascus Cardinal Mai accords the highest praise. [975]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[960] Manuel was warlike and dissolute and ground the people down under

heavy taxes. The petition alluded to is given in Migne, CXXXV. col.

925-932. Cf Gibbon, Harpers' ed. V. 81, 82.

[961] Homer, Dionysius Periegetes the geographer, Pindar and probably

Aristophanes. His "vast commentary" on Homer is a perfect storehouse of

classical learning and Homeric criticism, and has unique value from its

numerous extracts of lost scholia. It was first published and

beautifully printed, at Rome, 1542-50. 4 vols. Perhaps tidings of its

prospective issue had reached Zwingli; for his friend James Amman

writes to him from Milan on April 19, 1520, evidently in answer to his

queries: Commentaria Eustothii in Homerum Mediolani non extant, nec

satis compertum habes, num Romae an vel alibi excusa sint; nemo id me

edocere potest. Zwingli, Opera, VII. 131. The Proaemium to Pindar, all

that is now extant, is given in Migne, CXXXVI. col. 369-372 Greek

only). The commentary on Dionysius Periegetes was first printed by

Robert Stephens, Paris, 1547.

[962] See hisAllocatio ad Imperatorem cum esset Myrorum metropolita

electus in Migne, CXXXV. col. 933-973.

[963] Neander, IV. 530-531.

[964] Ibid 535.

[965] Migne, CXXXV. col. 973-1032.

[966] He wrote a valuable history of this siege, Narratio de

Thessalonica urbe a Latinis capta, Migne, CXXXVI. col. 9-140.

[967] Migne, CXXXV. col. 520-540.

[968] Ibid. col. 540-560.

[969] Four orations, ibid. col. 561-728.

[970] CXXXVI. col. 141-216; 264-301.

[971] De emendanda vita monachica, CXXXV. col. 729-909.

[972] Ad Stylitam quendam Thessalonicensem, CXXXVI. col. 217-264.

[973] Epistola ad Thessalonicenses, CXXXV. col. 1032-1060; De

obedientia magistratui Christiano debita, CXXXVI. col. 301-357; De

simulatione, ibid. col. 373-408; Adversus implacabilitatis accusationem

(or Contra injuriarum memoriam), ibid. col. 408-500.

[974] CXXXVI. col. 1245-1334 (Greek only).

[975] Interpretatio hymni Pentecostalis Damasceni in Mai, Spicilegium

Romanum, V. (Rome, 1841) pp. xxiv. 161-383, and in Migne, CXXXVI. col.

504-753.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 152. Nicetas Acominatos.

I. Nicetas Choniates: Opera, in Migne, Tom. CXXXIX., col. 287--CXL.,

col. 292. His History was edited by Immanuel Bekker in Scriptores

Byzantinae. Bonn, 1835.

II. See Allatius in Migne, CXXXIX., col. 287-302. Ceillier, XIV. 1176,

1177. Karl Ullmann: Die Dogmatik der griechischen Kirche im 12.

Jahrhundert, reprinted from the "Studien und Kritiken," 1833.

Nicetas Acominatos, also called Choniates, to denote his birth at

Chonae the old Colossae in Phrygia, was one of the great scholars and

authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He was educated at

Constantinople, studied law and early rose to prominence at the

imperial court. He married a descendant of Belisarius; and at the time

when Constantinople was taken by the crusaders (1204) he was governor

of Philippopolis. He fled to Nicaea, and there died about 1216. It was

during this last period of his life that he composed his Treasury of

Orthodoxy, [976] for the consolation and instruction of his suffering

fellow-religionists. This work was in twenty-seven books, but only five

have been published complete, and that only in the Latin translation of

Peter Morel, made from the original MS. brought to Paris from Mt.

Athos. [977] Cardinal Mai has, however, given fragments of Books vi.

viii. ix. x. xii. xv. xvii. xx. xxiii. xxiv. xxv., and these Migne has

reprinted with a Latin translation. The work is, like the Panoply of

Euthymius, a learned text-book of theology and a refutation of heresy,

but it has more original matter in it, and being written by a layman

and a statesman is more popular.

Book 1st is a statement of Gentile philosophy and of the errors of the

Jews. Book 2d treats of the Holy Trinity, and of angels and men. Book

3d of the Incarnate Word. From Book 4th to the end the several heresies

are described and combated. Nicetas begins with Simon Magus and goes

down to his own day.

But his fame really rests upon his History, [978] which tells the story

of Byzantine affairs from 1117 to 1205; and is an able and reliable

book. The closing portions interestingly describe the destruction or

mutilation of the monuments in Constantinople by the Latins.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[976] Thesauros orthodoxias. Migne, CXXXIX. col. 1093-CXL. col. 292.

[977] So Morel believed. See the interesting story in Migne, CXXXIX.

col. 295.

[978] Historia. Ibid. col. 309-1057.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 153. Cassiodorus.

I. Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator: Opera omnia, in Migne, "Patrol.

Lat." Tom. LXIX. col. 421-LXX. Reprint of ed. of the Benedictine Jean

Garet, Rouen, 1679, 2 vols. 2d ed., Venice, 1729. The Chronicon was

edited from MSS. by Theodor Mommsen, Leipzig, 1861, separately

published from Abhandlungen der k�niglichs�chsischen Gesellschaft der

Wissenschaften. Historische Klasse. Bd. III. The Liber de rhetorica, a

part of his Institutiones, was edited by C. Halm, Leipzig, 1863.

II. Vita, by Jean Garet, in Migne, LXIX., col. 437-484, and De vita

monastica dissertatio by the same, col. 483-498. Denis de

Sainte-Marthe: Vie de Cassiodore. Paris, 1694. Olleris: Cassiodore

conservateur des livres de l'antiquit� latine. Paris, 1841. A.

Thorbecke: Cassiodorus Senator. Heidelberg, 1867. A. Franz: Magnus

Aurelius Cassiodorius Senator. Breslau, 1872. Ignazio Ciampi: I.

Cassiodori nel V. e nel VI. secolo. Imola, 1876. Cf. Du Pin, V. 43-44.

Ceillier, XI. 207-254. Teuffel, 1098-1104. A. Ebert, I. 473-490.

Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator [979] , whose services to classical

literature can not be over-estimated, was descended from an old Roman

family, famous for its efficiency in state affairs. He was born about

477, at Scyllacium in Bruttium, the present Squillace in Calabria, the

extreme southwest division of Italy. His father, whose name was

Cassiodorus also, was pretorian prefect to Theodoric, and senator. The

son, in recognition of his extraordinary abilities, was made quaestor

when about twenty years of age, and continued in the service of

Theodoric, as private secretary and indeed prime minister, being also

with him on terms of friendship, until the latter's death, Aug. 30,

526. He directed the administration of Amalasontha, the daughter of

Theodoric, during the minority of her son Athalaric, and witnessed her

downfall (535), but retained his position near the throne under

Theodatus and Vitiges. He was also consul and three times pretorian

prefect. He labored earnestly to reconcile the Romans to their

conquerors.

But about 540 he withdrew from the cares and dangers of office, and

found in the seclusion of his charming paternal domains in Bruttium

abundant scope for his activities in the pursuit of knowledge and the

preservation of learning. He voluntarily closed one chapter of his

life, one, too, full of honor and fame, and opened another which,

little as he expected it, was destined to be of world-wide importance.

Cassiodorus the statesman became Cassiodorus the monk, and unwittingly

exchanged the service of the Goths for the service of humanity. The

place of his retirement was the monastery of Viviers (Monasterium

Vivariense), at the foot of Mt. Moseius, [980] in southwestern Italy,

which he had himself founded and richly endowed. Upon the mountain he

built another monastery (Castellense) in which the less accomplished

monks seem to have lived, while the society of Viviers was highly

cultivated and devoted to literature. Those monks who could do it were

employed in copying and correcting classical and Christian MSS., while

the others bound books, prepared medicine and cultivated the garden.

[981] He moved his own large library to the monastery and increased it

at great expense. Thus Viviers in that sadly confused and degenerate

time became an asylum of culture and a fountain of learning. The

example he set was happily followed by other monasteries, particularly

by the Benedictine, and copying of MSS. was added to the list of

monastic duties. By this means the literature of the old classical

world has come down to us. And since the initiation of the movement was

given by Cassiodorus he deserves to be honored as the link between the

old thought and the new. His life thus usefully spent was unusually

prolonged. The year of his death is uncertain, but it was between 570

and 580.

The Works of Cassiodorus are quite numerous. They are characterized by

great erudition, ingenuity and labor, but disfigured by an incorrect

and artificial style. Some were written while a statesman, more while a

monk. [982]

1. The most important is the Miscellany, [983] in twelve books, a

collection of about four hundred rescripts and edicts issued by

Cassiodorus in the King's name while Quaestor and Magister officiorum,

and in his own name while Pretorian prefect. He gives also in the sixth

and seventh books a collection of formulas for the different offices,

an idea which found imitation in the Middle Age. From the Miscellany a

true insight into the state of Italy in the period can be obtained. One

noticeable feature of these rescripts is the amount of animation and

variety which Cassiodorus manages to give their naturally stiff and

formal contents. This he does by ingeniously changing the style to suit

the occasion and often by interweaving a disquisition upon some

relevant theme. The work was prepared at the request of friends and as

a guide to his successors, and published between 534 and 538.

2. His Ecclesiastical History, called Tripartita, [984] is a

compilation. His own part in it is confined to a revision of the Latin

condensation of Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret, made by Epiphanius

Scholasticus. It was designed by Cassiodorus to supply the omissions of

Rufinus' translation of Eusebius, and was indeed with Rufinus the

monastic text-book on church history in the Middle Age. But it is by no

means a model work, being obscure, inaccurate and confused.

3. The Chronicle, [985] the earliest of his productions, dating from

519, is a consular list drawn from different sources, with occasional

notes of historical events. Prefaced to the list proper, which goes

from Junius Brutus to Theodoric, is a very defective list of Assyrian

(!), Latin and Roman Kings.

4. The Computation of Easter, written in 562. [986]

5. Origin and History of the Goths, originally in twelve books, but now

extant only in the excerpt of Jordanis. [987] In it Cassiodorus reveals

his great desire to cultivate friendship between the Goths and the

Romans. It dates from about 534.

6. Exposition of the Psalter. [988] This is by far the longest, as it

was in the Middle Age the most influential, of his works. It was

prepared in Viviers, and was begun before but finished after the

Institutes [989] (see below). Its chief source is Augustin. The

exposition is thorough in its way. Its peculiarities are in its mystic

use of numbers, and its drafts upon profane science, particularly

rhetoric. [990]

7. Institutions of Sacred and Secular Letters, [991] from 644, in two

books, [992] which are commonly regarded as independent works. The

first book is a sort of theological encyclopaedia, intended by

Cassiodorus primarily for his own monks. It therefore refers to

different authors which were to be found in their library. It is in

thirty-three chapters--a division pointing to the thirty-three years of

our Lord's life--which treat successively of the books of the Bible,

what authors to read upon them, the arrangement of the books, church

history and its chief writers, and the scheme he had devised for

usefully employing the monks in copying MSS., or, if not sufficiently

educated, in manual labor of various kinds. In the second book he

treats in an elementary way of the seven liberal arts (grammar,

rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy).

8. On Orthography, [993] a work of his ninety-third year, [994] and a

mere collection of extracts from the pertinent literature in his

library.

9. The Soul, [995] written at the request of friends shortly after the

publication of his Miscellany. It is rather the product of learning

than of thought. It treats of the soul, its nature, capacities and

final destiny.

10. Notes upon some verses in the Epistles, Acts of the Apostles, and

Apocalypse [996] This was a product of his monastic period, strangely

forgotten in the Middle Age. It was unknown to Garet, but found at

Verona and published by Maffei in 1702. Besides these a Commentarium de

oratione et de octo partibus orationis is attributed to him and so

published. [997] But its authorship is doubtful.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[979] Senator was a part of his proper name. Cassiodorius is a variant

of Cassiodorus.

[980] Var. xii. 15 (Migne, LXIX. col. 867).

[981] De Instit. div. litt. c. 28, 30, 31 (Migne, LXX. cols.

1141-1147).

[982] The order here followed is that of Migne.

[983] Variarum libri duodecim, in Migne, LXIX. col. 501-880.

[984] Historica ecclessiastica vocata Tripartita, ibid. col. 879-1214.

[985] Chronicon, ibid. col. 1213-1248.

[986] Computus Paschalis, ibid. col. 1249, 1250.

[987] De Getarum sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis, ibid.

1251-1296.

[988] Expositio in Psalterium. Migne, LXX. col. 9-1056.

[989] Inst. I. 4. 1. 1. (Migne, LXX. col. 1115) "Sequitur qui nobis

primus est in commentatorum labore."

[990] The Expositio in Canticum, which comes next in the editions, is

now thought to be by another author. So Garet (Migne, LXX. col. 1055).

[991] Institutiones divinarum et secularium lectionum. Ibid. col.

1105-1220.

[992] So Ebert l. 477. Their common titles are (a) De institutione

divinarum litterarum. (b) De artibus et disciplinis liberalium

litterarum.

[993] De orthographia. Migne, LXX., col. 1239-1270.

[994] Prefatio. Ibid. col. 1241, 1. 9.

[995] De anima. Ibid. col. 1279-1308.

[996] Complexiones in Epistolas et Actus apostolorum necnon in

Apocalypsim. Ibid. col. 1321-1418.

[997] Ibid. col. 1219-1240.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 154. St. Gregory of Tours.

I. St. Georgius Florentius Gregorius: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. LXXI.

(reprint of Ruinart's ed. Paris, 1699). The best critical edition of

Gregory's great work, Historiae Francorum libri decem, is by W. Arndt

and Br. Krusch. Hannover, 1884 (Gregorii Turonensis opera pars I. in

"Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum," T. I., pars I. in the great

"Monumenta Germaniae historica" series), and of his other works that by

H. L. Bordier, Libri miraculorum aliaque opera minora, or with the

French title, Les livres des miracles et autres opuscules de Georges

Florent Gr�goire, ev�que de Tours. Paris, 1857- 64, 4 vols., of which

the first three have the Latin text and a French translation on

opposite pages, and the last, containing the De cursu stellarum and the

doubtful works, the Latin only. There are several translations of the

Historia Francorum into French (e.g., by Guizot. Paris, 1823, new ed.

1861, 2 vols.; by H. L. Bordier, 1859-61, 2 vols. ), and into German

(e.g., by Giesebrecht, Berlin, 1851, 2 vols., 2d ed., 1878, as part of

Pertz, "Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit"). The De cursu

stellarum was discovered and first edited by F. Hasse, Breslau, 1853.

II. The Lives of Gregory, by Odo of Cluny (d. 943, valuable, ) Migne,

l.c., and by Joannes Egidius (Jean Gilles of Tours, 16th cent., of

small account) are given by Bordier, l.c. IV. 212-237. Modern

biographies and sketches of Gregory are: C. J. Kries: De Gregorii

Turonensis Episcopi vita et scriptis. Breslau, 1839. J. W. L�bell:

Gregor von Tours. Leipzig, 1839, 2d ed. 1869. Gabriel Monod: Gr�gorie

de Tours, in Tome III." Biblioth�que de l'�cole des hautes �tudes."

Paris, 1872 (pp. 21-146). Cf. Du Pin, V. 63. Ceillier, XI, 365-399.

Hist. Lit. de la France, III. 372-397. Teuffel, pp. 1109-10.

Wattenbach, I. 70 sqq. Ebert, I. 539-51. L. von Ranke: Weltgeschichte,

4ter Theil, 2te Abtheilung (Leipzig, 1883), pp. 328-368, mainly a

discussion of the relation of Gregory's Historia to Fredegar's Historia

Epitomata and to the Gesta regum Francorum. He maintains that they are

independent. Cf. W. Arndt's preface (30pp.) to edition mentioned above.

Georgius Florentius, or as he called himself on his consecration

Gregorius, after his mother's grand-father, the sainted bishop of

Langres, was born in Arverna (now Clermont), [998] the principal city

of Auvergne, Nov. 30., 538. His family was of senatorial rank on both

sides, and its position and influence are attested by the number of

bishops that belonged to it. His father (Florentius) apparently died

early, and his mother (Armentaria) removed to Burgundy, her native

country, but his uncle Gallus, bishop of Auvergne, who died in 554, and

Avitus the successor of Gallus, cared for his education. He entered the

church in discharge of a vow made at the shrine of St. Illidius, the

patron saint of Arverna, during a severe and supposed fatal illness. In

563 he was ordained deacon by Avitus, and served in some ecclesiastical

capacity at the court of Sigebert king of Austrasia, until in 573, at

the unanimous request of the clergy and people of that city, the king

appointed him bishop of Tours. Although loath to take so prominent and

responsible a position, he at last consented, was consecrated by

Egidius, archbishop of Rheims, and welcomed by Fortunatus in an

official, which yet had more real feeling in it than such productions

usually have, and was a true prophecy of Gregory's career.

Tours was the religious centre of Gaul. The shrine of St. Martin was

the most famous in the land and so frequented by pilgrims that it was

the source of an immense revenue. In Alcuin's day (eighth century) the

monastery of Tours owned 20,000 serfs, and was the richest in the

kingdom. Tours was also important as the frontier city of Austrasia,

particularly liable to attack. The influences which secured the

position to Gregory were probably personal. Several facts operated to

bring it about. First, that all but five of the bishops of Tours had

been members of his family (Euphronius whom he succeeded was his

mother's cousin), and further, that he was in Tours on a pilgrimage to

the shrine of St. Martin to recover his health about the time of

Euphronius' death, and by his life there secured the love of the

people. Add to this his travels, his austerities, his predominant love

for religion, and his election is explained. [999] Gregory found the

position no sinecure. War broke out between Sigebert and the savage

Chilperic, and Tours was taken by the latter in 575. Confusion and

anarchy prevailed. Churches were destroyed, ecclesiastics killed. Might

made right, and the weak went to the wall. But in that dark and

tempestuous time Gregory of Tours shines like a beacon light. The

persecuted found in him a refuge; the perplexed a guide; the wicked

king a determined opponent. Vigilant, sleepless, untiring in his care

for Tours he averted an attempt to tax it unjustly; he maintained the

sanctuary rights of St. Martin against all avengers; and he put an end

to partisan strifes. His influence was exerted in the neighboring

country. Such was his well earned repute for holiness founded upon

innumerable services that the lying accusation of Leudastes at the

council of Braine (580) excited popular indignation and was refuted by

his solemn declaration of innocence. [1000]

In 584 Chilperic died. Tours then fell to Guntram, king of Orleans,

until in 587 it was restored to Childebert, the son of Sigebert. The

last nine years of Gregory's life were comparatively quiet. He enjoyed

the favor of Guntram and Childebert, did much to beautify the city of

Tours, built many churches, and particularly the church of St. Martin

(590). But at length the time of his release came, and on Nov. 17, 594,

he went to his reward. His saintship was immediately recognized by the

people he had served, and the Latin Church formally beatified and

canonized him. His day in the calendar is November l7.

The Works of Gregory were all produced while bishop. Their number

attests his diligence, but their style proves the correctness of his

own judgment that he was not able to write good Latin. Only one is of

real importance, but that is simply inestimable, as it is the only

abundant source for French history of the fifth and sixth centuries. It

is the Ecclesiastical History of the Franks, in ten books, [1001] begun

in 576, and not finished until 592. By reason of it Gregory has been

styled the Herodotus of France. It was his object to tell the history

of his own times for the benefit of posterity, although he was aware of

his own unfitness for the task. But like the chroniclers of the period

he must needs begin with Adam, and it is not till the close of the

first book that the history of Gaul properly begins. The last five

books tell the story of the events in Gregory's own life-time, and have

therefore most value. Gregory is not a model historian, but when

speaking of facts within his experience he is reliable in his

statements, and impartial in his narrative, although partial in his

judgments.

Gregory gives at the close of his Ecclesiastical History a catalogue of

his writings, all of which have been preserved, with the exception of

the commentary on the Psalms, of which only the preface and the titles

of the chapters are now extant. [1002] The complete list is as follows:

[1003] The Miracles of St. Martin, in four books, begun in 574,

finished 594; the miracles were recorded by direction of Gregory's

mother, who appeared to him in a vision; The Passion of St. Julian the

Martyr, written between 582 and 586; The Martyr's Glory, written about

586; The Confessor's Glory, about 588; The Lives of the Fathers,

written at different times and finished in 594. The last is the most

interesting and important of these hagiographical works, which do not

call for further mention. [1004] The Course of the Stars, or as Gregory

calls it, The Ecclsiastical Circuit, is a liturgical work, giving the

proper offices at the appearance of the most important stars.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[998] 001 The birth-place of Pascal, in the department of Puy de Dome,

220 miles S. by E. from Paris.

[999] Monod, p. 29.

[1000] He was charged with having accused Fredegund wife of Chilperic,

of adultery with Bertrand, bishop of Bordeaux. Hist. Franc. V. 49,

(Migne, l.c., col. 364).

[1001] Historiae ecclesiasticae Francorum libri decem. Migne, LXXI.

col. 159-572.

[1002] X. xxxi. 19. Migne, col. 571-572.

[1003] Ibid. col. 705 sqq.

[1004] The dates given above are Monod's, l.c. pp. 41-49.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 155. St. Isidore of Seville.

I. St. Isidorus Hispalensis Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. LXXXI.-LXXXIV.

(reprint of F. Arevalo's ed. Rome, 1797-1803, 7 vols., with the

addition of the Collectio canonum ascribed to Isidore). Migne's Tom.

LXXXV. and LXXXVI. contain the Liturgia Mozarabica secundum regulam

beati Isidori. Editions of separate works: De libris iii. sententiarum.

K�nigsburg, 1826, 1827, 2 parts. De nativitate Domini, passione et

resurrectione, regno atque judicio, ed. A. Holtzmann, Carlsruhe, 1836.

De natura rerum liber, ed. G. Becker, Berlin, 1857.

II. Besides the Prolegomena of Arevalo, which fill all Tom. LXXXI., see

Vita S. Isidori, LXXXII., col. 19-56. P. B. Gams: Kirchengeschichte von

spanien. Regensburg, 1862-1879, 5 parts. (II. 2, 102 sqq). J.C.E.

Bourret: L'�cole chr�tienne de Seville sous la monarchie des Visigoths.

Paris, 1855. C. F. Montalembert: Les moines d' occident. Paris,

1860-67, 5 vols. (II. 200-218), Eng. trans. Monks of the West. Boston,

1872, 2 vols. (I. 421-424). Hugo Hertzberg: Die Historien und die

Chroniken des Isidorus von Sevilla, 1ste, Th. Die Historien. G�ttingen,

1874. "Die Chroniken" appeared in Forschungen zur deutchen Geschichte,

1875, XIV. 289-362. Chevalier: R�pertoire des sources historiques du

moyen �ge. Paris, 1877, sqq. II. 112, sqq. Du Pin, VI. 1-5; Ceillier,

XI. 710-728; CLARKE, II. 364-372; B�hr, IV. I. pp. 270-286; Teuffel,

pp. 1131-1134; Ebert, I. 555-568.

Isidore of Seville, saint and doctor of the Latin Church, was born

about 560 either at Carthagena or Seville. He was the youngest child of

an honored Roman family of the orthodox Christian faith. His father's

name was Severianus. His eldest brother, Leander, the well-known friend

of Gregory the Great, and the successful upholder of the Catholic faith

against Arianism, was archbishop of Seville, the most prominent see in

Spain, from about 579 to 600; another brother, Fulgentius, was bishop

of Astigi (Ecija) in that diocese, where his sister, Florentina, was a

nun. [1005] Isidore is called Senior to distinguish him from Isidore of

Pax Julia, now Beja (Isidorus Pacensis), and Junior to distinguish him

from Isidore of Cordova. His parents died apparently while he was quite

young. At all events he was educated by his brother Leander. In the

year 600 he succeeded his brother in the archiepiscopate of Seville. In

this position he became the great leader of the Spanish Church, and is

known to have presided at two, councils, the second council of Seville,

opened November 13, 619, and the fourth council of Toledo, opened

December 5, 633. [1006] The first of these was of local interest, but

the other was much more important. It was the largest ever held in

Spain, being attended by all the six metropolitans, fifty-six bishops

and seven bishops' deputies. It has political significance because it

was called by King Sisenand, who had just deposed Suintila, the former

king. Sisenand was received by the council with great respect. He threw

himself before the bishops and with tears asked their prayers. He then

exhorted them to do their duty in correcting abuses. Of the

seventy-five canons passed by the council several are of curious

interest. Thus it was forbidden to plunge the recipient of baptism more

than once under the water, because the Arians did it three times to

indicate that the Trinity was divided (c. 6). It was not right to

reject all the hymns written by Hilary and Ambrose and employ only

Scriptural language in public worship (c. 13). If a clergyman is ever

made a judge by the king he must exact an oath from the king that no

blood is to be shed in his court (c. 31). By order of King Sisenand the

clergy were freed from all state taxes and services (c. 47). Once a

monk always a monk, although one was made so by his parents (c. 49)

[1007] While compulsory conversion of the Jews was forbidden, yet no

Jew converted by force was allowed to return to Judaism (c. 57). Very

strenuous laws were passed relative to both the baptized and the

unbaptized Jews (c. 58-66). The king was upheld in his government and

the deposed king and his family perpetually excluded from power. When

Isidore's position is considered it is a probable conjecture that these

canons express his opinions and convictions upon the different matters.

Warned by disease of death's approach, Isidore began the distribution

of his property. For the last six months of his life he dispensed alms

from morn till night. His end was highly edifying. Accompanied by his

assembled bishops he had himself carried to the church of St. Vincent

the Martyr, and there, having publicly confessed his sins, prayed God

for forgiveness. He then asked the pardon and prayers of those present,

gave away the last thing he owned, received the Holy Communion, and was

carried to his cell, in which he died four days later, Thursday, April

4, 636. [1008] He was immediately enrolled among the popular saints and

in the 15th council of Toledo (688) is styled "excellent doctor," and

by Benedict XIV. (April 25, 1722) made a Doctor of the Church.

Isidore of Seville was the greatest scholar of his day. He was well

read in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in profane as well as in sacred and

patristic literature. He was also a vigorous and dignified prelate,

admired for his wondrous eloquence and beloved for his private virtues.

He did much for education, especially of the clergy, and established at

Seville a highly successful school, in which he himself taught. But his

universal fame rests upon his literary works, which embrace every

branch of knowledge then cultivated, and which though almost entirely

compilations can not be too highly praised for their ability and

usefulness. He performed the inestimable service of perpetuating

learning, both sacred and secular. It is a striking testimony to his

greatness that works have been attributed to him with which he had

nothing to do, as the revision of the Mozarabic Liturgy and of Spanish

ecclesiastical, and secular laws, and especially the famous

Pseudo-Isidorian decretals.

His Works may be divided loosely into six classes. We have two lists of

them, one by his friend and colleague Braulio, bishop of Saragossa, and

the other by his pupil, Ildefonsus of Toledo. No strict division of

these works is possible, because as will be seen several of them belong

in parts to different classes.

I. Biblical. This class embraces, 1. Scripture Allegorics, [1009]

allegorical explanations, each in a single sentence, of 129 names and

passages in the Old Testament, and of 211 in the New Testament; a

curious and, in its way, valuable treatise, compiled from the older

commentaries. 2. Lives and Deaths of Biblical Saints. [1010] Very brief

biographies of sixty-four Old Testament and twenty-one New Testament

worthies. 3. Introductions in the Old and New Testaments, [1011] a very

general introduction to the entire Bible, followed by brief accounts of

the several books, including Esdras and Maccabees. The four Gospels,

the epistles, of Paul, Peter and John are treated together in

respective sections. Acts comes between Jude and Revelation. It was

compiled from different authors. 4. Scripture Numbers [1012] (1-16,

18-20, 24, 30, 40, 46, 50, 60), mystically interpreted. Thus under one,

the church is one, the Mediator is one. Under two, there are two

Testaments, two Seraphim, two Cherubim. 5. Questions on the Old and New

Testaments, [1013] a Biblical catechism of forty-one questions and

answers. Some are very trivial. 6. Expositions of Holy Mysteries, or

Questions on the Old Testament, [1014] a paraphrase of Genesis, and

notes upon Joshua, Judges, the four books of Kings, Ezra and Maccabees.

The work is compiled from Origen, Victorinus, Ambrose, Jerome,

Augustin, Fulgentius, Cassianus and Gregory the Great. A summary of

each chapter of the books mentioned is given. The exposition is

allegorical.

II. Dogmatic. 1. The Catholic Faith defended against the Jews. [1015] A

treatise in two books, dedicated to his sister Florentina, the nun. In

the first book he marshals the Scripture prophecies and statements

relative to Christ, and shows how they have been verified. In the

second book in like manner he treats of the call of the Gentiles, the

unbelief of the Jews and their consequent rejection, the destruction of

Jerusalem, the abolition of the ceremonial law, and closes with a brief

statement of Christian doctrine. The work was doubtless an honest

attempt to win the Jews over to Christianity, and Spain in the 7th

century was full of Jews. Whatever may have been its success as an

apology, it was very popular in the Middle Age among Christians, and

was translated into several languages. [1016] 2. Three books of

Sentences, [1017] compiled from Augustin and Gregory the Great's

Moralia. This work is a compend of theology, and is Isidore's most

important production in this class. Its influence has been

incalculable. Innumerable copies were made of it during the Middle Age,

and it led to the preparation of similar works, e.g., Peter Lombard's

Sentences. [1018] 3. Synonyms, in two books; [1019] the first is a

dialogue between sinful and despairing Man and Reason (or the Logos),

who consoles him, rescues him from despair, shows him that sin is the

cause of his misery, and sets him on the heavenly way. The second is a

discourse by Reason upon vices and their opposite virtues. [1020]

4. The Order of Creation. [1021] It treats of the Trinity, the

creation, the devil and demons, paradise, fallen man, purgatory, and

the future life.

III. Ecclesiastic and monastic. 1. The Ecclesiastical Offices, i.e.,

the old Spanish liturgy. [1022] It is dedicated to his brother

Fulgentius, and is in two books, for the most part original. The first

is called "the origin of the offices," and treats of choirs, psalms,

hymns and other topics in ecclesiastical archaeology. Under the head

"sacrifice" [1023] Isidore expresses his view of the Lord's Supper,

which is substantially that "Body and Blood" denote the consecrated

elements, but not that these are identical with the Body and Blood of

our Lord. The second book, "the origin of the ministry," treats of the

different clerical grades; also of monks, penitents, virgins, widows,

the married, catechumens, the rule of faith, baptism, chrism, laying on

of hands and confirmation. 2. A Monastic Rule. [1024] It was designed

for Spanish monasteries, drawn from old sources, and resembles the

Benedictine, with which, however, it is not identical. It throws much

light upon the contemporary Spanish monasticism, as it discusses the

situation of the monastery, the choice of the abbot, the monks, their

duties, meals, festivals, fasts, dress, punishment, sickness and death.

It recalls the somewhat similar Institutes of Cassiodorus already

mentioned. [1025]

IV. Educational and philosophical. 1. Twenty books of Etymologies.

[1026] This is his greatest work, and considering its date truly an

astonishing work. Caspar Barth's list of the one hundred and fifty-four

authors quoted in it shows Isidore's wide reading. Along with many

Christian writers are the following classic authors: Aesop, Anacreon,

Apuleius, Aristotle, Bo�thius, Caesar, Cato, Catullus, Celsus, Cicero,

Demosthenes, Ennius, Herodotus, Hesiod, Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Livy,

Lucan, Lucretius, Martial, Ovid, Persius, Pindar, Plato, Plautus,

Pliny, Quintilian, Sallust, Suetonius, Terence, Varro, Virgil. [1027]

It is a concise encyclopedia of universal learning, embracing the seven

liberal arts (grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, geometry,

music, and astronomy), and medicine, law, chronology, angelology,

mineralogy, architecture, agriculture and many other topics. Although

much of his information is erroneous, and the tenth book, that of

Etymology proper, is full of absurdities, the work as a whole is worthy

of high praise. It was authoritative throughout Europe for centuries

and repeatedly copied and printed. Rabanus Maurus drew largely upon it

for his De Universo. 2. The Differences, or the proper signification of

terms, [1028] in two books. The first treats of the differences of

words. It is a dictionary of synonyms and of words which sound somewhat

alike, arranged alphabetically. The second book treats of the

differences of things, and is a dictionary of theology, brief yet

comprehensive. 3. On the Nature of Things, [1029] in forty-eight

chapters, dedicated to King Sisebut (612-620), who had given him the

subject. It is a sort of natural philosophy, treating of the divisions

of time, the heavens and the earth and the waters under the earth. It

also has illustrative diagrams. Like Isidore's other works it is a

skilful compilation from patristic and profane authors, [1030] and was

extremely popular in the Middle Age.

V. Historical. 1. A Chronicle, [1031] containing the principal events

in the world from the creation to 616. It is divided into six periods

or ages, corresponding to the six days of creation, a division plainly

borrowed from Augustin. [1032] Its sources are Julius Africanus,

Eusebius, Jerome, and Victor of Tunnena. [1033] 2. History of the

Goths, Vandals and Suevi, [1034] brought down to 61. A work which, like

Gregory of Tours' History of the Franks, is the only source for certain

periods. It has been remarked [1035] that Isidore, like Cassiodorus, in

spite of his Roman origin, had a high regard for the Goths. 3. Famous

Men [1036] a continuation of Gennadius' appendix to Jerome's work with

the same title. It sketches forty-six authors, beginning with Bishop

Hosius of Cordova, and extending to the beginning of the seventh

century.

VI. Miscellaneous. Under this head come thirteen brief Letters [1037]

and minor works of doubtful genuineness. There are also numerous

spurious works which bear his name, among which are hymns.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1005] Montalembert says she was the superior of forty convents and a

thousand nuns (Eng. trans. I. 419). But this is mere tradition.

[1006] The canons of these councils are given by Hefele, III. 72, 73;

79-88.

[1007] This has its bearings on the case of Gottschalk.

[1008] Vita S. Isidori, 33-36, in Migne, LXXXII. col. 45-49.

[1009] Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae, Migne, LXXXIII. col.

97-130.

[1010] De ortu et obitu patrum qui in Scriptura laudibus efferuntur,

ibid. col. 129-156.

[1011] In libros V. ac N. T. prooemia, ibid. col. 155-180.

[1012] Liber numerorum qui in S. S. occurunt, ibid. col. 179-200.

[1013] De, V. et N. T. quaestiones, ibid. col. 201-208.

[1014] Mysticorum expositiones sacramentorum seu quaestiones in V. T.

ibid. col. 207. 434.

[1015] De fide catholica ex V. et N. T. contra Judaeos, ibid. col.

449-538.

[1016] Fragments of an old High German translation have been published

by A, Holtzmann, Karlsruhe, 1836, and by Weinhold, Paderborn, 1874.

[1017] Sententiarum libri tres, Migne, LXXXIII. col. 537-738.

[1018] It was probably itself suggested by Prosper's Sentences from

Augustin.

[1019] Synonyma de lamentatione animae peccatricis, Migne, ibid. col.

825-868.

[1020] The term "synonyms" was apparently given to it because there are

so many ideas repeated in slightly different words.

[1021] De ordine creaturarum liber, ibid. 913-954.

[1022] De ecclesiasticis officiis, ibid. col. 737-826.

[1023] I. 18, ibid. col. 754-757.

[1024] Regula monachorum, ibid. col. 867-894.

[1025] See p. 657.

[1026] Etymologiarum libri XX. Migne, LXXXII. col. 73-728.

[1027] Arevalo, Prolegomena, c. 53, in Migne, LXXXI. col. 337-340.

[1028] Differentiarum, sive de proprietate sermonum, libri duo,

LXXXIII. col. 9-98.

[1029] De natura rerum, ibid. col. 963-1018.

[1030] See Becker's ed. for a careful statement of his sources.

[1031] Chronicon, LXXXIII. col. 1017-1058. In abbreviated form in the

Etymologies, cf. V. 39. Migne, LXXXII. col. 224-228.

[1032] De Civitate Dei, XXII. 30 (ed. Dombart, II. 635, Clark's Aug.

Lib. II. 544).

[1033] See the essays of Hertzberg, already mentioned in Lit.in �155

II.

[1034] Historia de regibus Gothorum, Wandalorum et Suevorum, Migne,

LXXXIII. col. 1057-1082.

[1035] Ebert, I. 566.

[1036] De viris illustribus, Migne, LXXXIII. col. 1081-1106.

[1037] Epistolae, ibid. col. 893-914.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 156. The Venerable Bede (Baeda).

I. Venerabilis Baeda: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. XC.-XCV.,

substantially a reprint of Dr. J. A. Giles' edition. London, 1843-1844,

12 vols. His Ecclesiastical History (Historica ecclesiastica) has been

often edited, e.g. by John Smith, Cambridge, 1722; Joseph Stevenson,

London, 1838, and in the Monumenta historica Britannica I. 1848; George

H. Moberley, Oxford, 1869; Alfred Holder, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1882.

Books III.-V. 24 were separately ed. by John E. B. Mayor and John R.

Lumby, Cambridge, 1878. The best known English translation of the

History is Dr. Giles' in his edition, and since 1844 in Bohn's

Antiquarian Library. His scientific writings are contained in Thomas

Wright: Popular Treatises on Science written during the Middle Ages.

London, 1841. Marshall translated his Explanation of the Apocalypse,

London, 1878. For further bibliographical information regarding the

editions of Bede's History, see Giles' ed. ii. 5-8.

II. Biographies are contained in the above-mentioned editions. Hist. V.

24, and the letter on his death by Cuthbert (Giles' trans. in Bohn, pp.

xviii.-xxi.) are the best original sources. The old Vitae given in the

complete editions are almost worthless. Modern works are Henrik Gehle:

Disputatio historico-theologica de Bedae venerabilis presbyteri

Anglo-Saxonis vita et scriptis. Leyden, 1838. Carl Schoell: De

ecclesiasticae Britonum Scotorumque historiae fontibus. Berlin, 1851.

Karl Werner: Beda der Ehrw�rdige und seine Zeit. Wien, 1875. 2d ed.

(unchanged), 1881. Geo. F. Browne: The Venerable Bede. London, 1879.

Cf. Du Pin, VI. 89-91. Cave, II. 241-245. Ceillier, XII. 1-19. Clarke,

II. 426-429. B�hr, IV. 175-178, 292-298. Ebert, I. 595-611.

The Venerable Bede (properly Baeda) is never spoken of without

affectionate interest, and yet so uneventful was his useful life that

very little can be said about him personally. He was born in 673,

probably in the village of Jarrow, on the south bank of the Tyne,

Northumbria, near the Scottish border. At the age of seven, being

probably an orphan, he was placed in the monastery of St. Peter, at

Wearmouth, on the north bank of the Wear, which had been founded by

Benedict Biscop in 674. In 682 he was transferred to the newly-founded

sister monastery of St. Paul, five miles off, at Jarrow. [1038] He is

not known ever to have gone away from it farther than to the sister

monastery and to visit friends in contiguous places, such as York. The

stories of his visit to Rome and professorship at Cambridge scarcely

deserve mention. His first teacher was Benedict Biscop, a nobleman who

at twenty-five became a monk and freely put his property and his

learning at the public service. Biscop traveled five times to Rome and

each time returned, like Ethelbert and Alcuin subsequently, laden with

rich literary spoils and also with pictures and relics. Thus the

library at Wearmouth became the largest and best appointed in England

at the time. [1039] It was Biscop's enterprise and liberality which

rendered it possible that Bede's natural taste for learning should

receive such careful culture. So amid the wealth of books he acquired

Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and laid up a rich store of multifarious

knowledge. Such was his character and attainments that at nineteen, six

years before the then canonical age, he was ordained deacon, and at

thirty a priest. He thus describes his mode of life: "All the remaining

time of my life [i.e., after leaving Wearmouth] I spent in that,

monastery [of Jarrow], wholly applying myself to the study of

Scripture, and amidst observance of regular discipline and the daily

care of singing in the church. I always took delight in learning,

teaching and writing. [1040] He declined to be abbot because the

office, as he said, demands close attention, and therefore cares come

which impede the pursuit of learning. As it was, the "pursuit of

learning" took up only a portion of his time, for the necessary duties

of a monk were many, [1041] and such a man as Bede would be frequently

required to preach. It appears that he published nothing before he was

thirty years old, for he says himself: "From which time [i.e., of his

taking priest's orders] till the fifty-ninth year of my age, I have

made it my business, for the use of me and mine, to compile out of the

works of the venerable Fathers, and to interpret and explain according

to their meaning these following pieces." [1042] Then follows his list

of his works. The result of such study and writing was that Bede became

the most learned man of his time, and also the greatest of its authors.

Yet he was also one of the humblest and simplest of men.

He died on Wednesday, May 26, 735, of a complaint accompanied with

asthma, from which he had long suffered. The circumstances of his death

are related by his pupil Cuthbert. [1043] During Lent of the year 735

Bede carried on the translation of the Gospel of John and "some

collections out of the Book of Notes" of Archbishop Isidore of Seville.

The day before he died he spent in dictating his translations, saying

now and then, "Go on quickly, I know not how long I shall hold out, and

whether my Maker will not soon take me away." He progressed so far with

his rendering of John's Gospel that at the third hour on Wednesday

morning only one chapter remained to be done. On being told this he

said, "Take your pen, and make ready, and write fast." The scribe did

so, but at the ninth hour Bede said to Cuthbert, ' "I have some little

articles of value in my chest, such as pepper, napkins and incense: run

quickly, and bring the priests of our monastery to me, that I may

distribute among them the gifts which God has bestowed on me. The rich

in this world are bent on giving gold and silver and other precious

things. But I, in charity, will joyfully give my brothers what God has

given unto me." He spoke to every one of them, admonishing and

entreating them that they would carefully say masses and prayers for

him, which they readily promised; but they all mourned and wept,

especially because he said, "they should no more see his face in this

world." They rejoiced for that he said, "It is time that I return to

Him who formed me out of nothing: I have lived long; my merciful Judge

well foresaw my life for me; the time of my dissolution draws nigh; for

I desire to die and to be with Christ." Having said much more, he

passed the day joyfully till the evening, and the boy [i.e., his

scribe] said, "Dear master, there is yet one sentence not written." He

answered, "Write quickly." Soon after the boy said, "It is ended." He

replied, "It is well, you have said the truth. It is ended. Receive my

head into your hands, for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit

facing my holy place, where I was wont to pray, that I may also sitting

call upon my Father." And thus on the pavement of his little cell,

singing, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy

Ghost," when he had named the Holy Ghost, he breathed his last, and so

departed to the heavenly kingdom."

Bede's body was buried in the church at Jarrow, but between 1021 and

1042 it was stolen and removed to Durham by Elfred, a priest of its

cathedral, who put it in the same chest with the body of St. Cuthbert.

In 1104 the bodies were separated, and in 1154 the relics of Bede were

placed in a shrine of gold and silver, adorned with jewels. This shrine

was destroyed by an ignorant mob in Henry VIII's time (1541), and only

a monkish inscription remains to chronicle the fact that Bede was ever

buried there.

The epithet, "Venerable," now so commonly applied to Bede, is used by

him to denote a holy man who had not been canonized, and had no more

reference to age than the same name applied to-day to an archdeacon in

the Church of England. By his contemporaries he was called either

Presbyter or Dominus. He is first called the Venerable in the middle of

the tenth century.

Bede's Writings are very numerous, and attest the width and profundity

of his learning, and also the independence and soundness of his

judgment. "Having centred in himself and his writings nearly all the

knowledge of his day, he was enabled before his death, by promoting the

foundation of the school of York, to kindle the flame of learning in

the West at the moment that it seemed both in Ireland and in France to

be expiring. The school of York transmitted to Alcuin the learning of

Bede, and opened the way for culture on the continent, when England

under the terrors of the Danes was relapsing into barbarism." His fame,

if we may judge from the demand for his works immediately after his

death, extended wherever the English missionaries or negotiators found

their way." [1044]

Bede himself, perhaps in imitation of Gregory of Tours, [1045] gives a

list of his works at the conclusion of his History. [1046] There are

few data to tell when any one of them was composed. The probable dates

are given in the following general account and enumeration of his

genuine writings. Very many other, writings have been attributed to

him. [1047]

I. Educational treatises. (a) On orthography [1048] (about 700). The

words are divided alphabetically. (b) On prosody [1049] (702). (c) On

the Biblical figures and tropes. [1050] (d) On the nature of things

[1051] (702), a treatise upon natural philosophy. (e) On the times

[1052] (702). (f) On the order of times [1053] (702). (g) On the

computation of time [1054] (726). (h) On the celebration of Easter.

[1055] (i) On thunder. [1056]

II. Expository works. These are compilations from the Fathers, which

originally were carefully assigned by marginal notes to their proper

source, but the notes have been obliterated in the course of frequent

copying. He wrote either on the whole or a part of the Pentateuch,

Samuel, Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles,

Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the Twelve Minor Prophets, Tobit, Matthew,

Mark, Luke, John, Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse. [1057] His

comments are of course made upon the Latin Bible, but his scholarship

comes out in the frequent correction and emendation of the Latin text

by reference to the original. The most frequent subject of remark is

the want of an article in the Latin, which gave rise to frequent

ambiguity. [1058] Throughout he shows himself a careful textual

student. [1059]

III. Homilies. [1060] These are mostly doctrinal and objective. The

fact that they were delivered to a monastic audience explains their

infrequent allusion to current events or to daily life. They are calm

and careful expositions of passages of Scripture rather than compact or

stirring sermons.

IV. Poetry. [1061] Most of the poetry attributed to him is spurious.

But a few pieces are genuine, such as the hymn in his History upon

Virginity, in honor of Etheldrida, the virgin wife of King Egfrid;

[1062] the metrical version of the life of Saint Cuthbert and of the

Passion of Justin Martyr, and some other pieces. The Book of Hymns, of

which he speaks in his own list of his writings, is apparently lost.

V. Epistles. [1063] These are sixteen in number. The second, addressed

to the Archbishop Egbert of York, is the most interesting. It dates

from 734, and gives a word-picture of the time which shows how bad it

was. [1064] Even the archbishop himself comes in for faithful rebuke.

Bede had already made him one visit and expected to make him another,

but being prevented wrote to him what he desired to tell him by word of

mouth. The chief topics of the letter are the avarice of the bishops

and the disorders of the religious houses. After dwelling upon these

and kindred topics at considerable length, Bede concludes by saying

that if he had treated drunkenness, gluttony, luxury and other

contagious diseases of the body politic his letter would have been

immoderately long. The third letter, addressed to the abbot of Plegwin,

is upon the Six Ages of the World. Most of the remainder are

dedicatory.

VI. Hagiographies. [1065] (a) Lives of the five holy abbots of

Wearmouth and Jarrow, Benedict, Ceolfrid, Easterwine, Sigfrid and

Huetberct. The work is divided into two books, of which the first

relates to Benedict. (b) The prose version of the Life of St. Cuthbert

of Lindisfarne. The poetical version already spoken of, is earlier in

time and different in character in as much as it dwells more upon

Cuthbert's miracles. The prose version has for its principal source an

older life of Cuthbert still extant, and relates many facts along with

evident fictions. Great pains were bestowed upon it and it was even

submitted for criticism, prior to publication, to the monks of

Lindisfarne. (c) The life of Felix of Nola, Confessor, a prose version

of the life already written by Paulinus of Nola. (d) Martyrology. It is

drawn from old Roman sources, and shows at once the learning and the

simplicity of its author.

VII. Ecclesiastical History of England. [1066] This is Bede's great

work. Begun at the request of King Ceolwulf, it was his occupation for

many years, and was only finished a short time before his death. It

consists of five books and tells in a simple, clear style the history

of England from the earliest times down to 731. The first twenty-two

chapters of the first book are compiled from Orosius and Gildas, but

from the mission of Augustin in the 23d chapter (a.d. 596) it rests

upon original investigation. Bede took great pains to ensure accuracy,

and he gives the names of all persons who were helpful to him. The

History is thus the chief and in many respects the only source for the

church history of England down to the eighth century. In it as in his

other books Bede relates a great many strange things; but he is careful

to give his authorities for each statement. It is quite evident,

however, that he believed in these "miracles," many of which are

susceptible of rational explanation. It is from this modest, simple,

conscientious History that multitudes have learned to love the

Venerable Bede.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1038] King Egfrid gave the land for these monasteries.

[1039] Biscop was the first to import masons and glaziers into England,

and to introduce the Roman liturgy and the art of chanting.

[1040] 043 Hist. V. 24 (Giles' trans. in Bohn's Library, p. 297,

altered slightly).

[1041] Giles, ibid., p. x.

[1042] Hist. V. 24 (Giles, ibid., p. 297).

[1043] Giles gives Cuthbert's letter in full, ibid., pp. xviii.-xxi.

[1044] Beda in Smith and Wace, Dict. Chr. Biog. I. 301, 302.

[1045] See last paragraph of �154, this vol.

[1046] Hist. V. 24 (Bohn's ed., pp. 297-299).

[1047] Stubb's art., p. 301.

[1048] De orthographia in Migne, XC. col. 123-150.

[1049] De arte metrica. Ibid., col. 149-176.

[1050] De schematis et tropis sacrae scripturae. Ibid., col. 175-186.

[1051] De natura rerum. Ibid., col. 187-278.

[1052] De temporibus. Ibid., col. 277-292.

[1053] De temporum ratione. Ibid., col. 293-578.

[1054] De ratione computi. Ibid., col, 579-600.

[1055] De Paschae celebratione. Ibid., col. 599-606.

[1056] De tonitruis. Ibid., col. 609-614.

[1057] Bede's expository works fill Tom. XCI., XCII., XCIII. in Migne's

series.

[1058] G. F. Browne, The Venerable Bede, pp. 129-132. A translation of

one of Bede's homilies is given on pp. 148-159.

[1059] The Uncial E (2), the Codex Laudianus, which dates from the end

of the sixth century, and contains an almost complete Greek-Latin text

of the Acts, is known to have been used by Bede in writing his

Retractions on the Acts. The Codex was brought to England in 668.

[1060] Tom. XCIV., col. 9-268.

[1061] Ibid., col. 515-529, 575-638.

[1062] Hist. IV. 20. Bohn's ed., pp. 207, 208.

[1063] Migne, XCIV. col. 655-710.

[1064] Browne (I. c., pp. 172-179) reproduces it.

[1065] Migne, XCIV., col. 713-1148. Browne (pp. 80-126) gives a full

account of the first two of these works.

[1066] Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum. Tom. XCV., col. 21-290.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 157. Paul the Deacon.

I. Paulus Winfridus Diaconus: Opera omnia in Migne, Tom. XCV., col.

413-1710. Editions of Paul's separate works: Historia Langobardorum in:

Monumenta Germanicae historica. Scriptores rerum langobardorum et

italicarum. Saec. VI.-IX. edd. L. Bethmann et G. Waitz, Hannover, 1878,

pp. 45-187. Historia romano in: Monum. Germ. Hist. auctor.

antiquissimor. Tom. II. ed. H. Droysen, Berlin, 1879. Gesta episcoporum

Mettensium in: Mon. Germ. Hist. Script. Tom. II. ed. Pertz, pp.

260-270. Homiliae in: Mart�ne et Durand, Veterum scriptorum collectio,

Paris, 1733, Tom. IX. Carmina (both his and Peter's) in: Poetae latini

aevi Carolini, ed. E. D�mmler, Berlin, 1880, I. 1. pp 27-86.

Translations: Die Langobardengeschichte, �bertsetzt Von Karl von

Spruner, Hamburg, 1838; Paulus Diaconus und die �brigen

Geschichtschreiber der Langobarden, �bersetzt von Otto Abel, Berlin,

1849.

II. Felix Dahn: Paulus Diaconus. I. Abtheilung, Leipzig, 1876. Each of

the above mentioned editions contains an elaborate introduction in

which the life and works of Paul are discussed, e.g. Waitz ed. Hist.

pp. 12-45. For further investigations see Bethmann: Paulus Diaconus'

Leben und Schriften, and Die Geschichtschreibung der Langobarden, both

in Pertz's "Archiv der Gesellsch. f�r �ltere deutsche Geschichtskunde."

Bd. X. Hannover, 1851; Bauch: Ueber die historia romana des Paulus

Diaconus, eine Quellenuntersuchung, G�ttingen, 1873; R. Jacobi: Die

Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus, Halle, 1877; and

Mommsen: Die Quellen der Langobardengeschichte des Paulus Diaconus in:

Neues Archiv der Gesellsch. f�r �ltere Geschichtskunde, Bd. V. pp. 51

sqq. Du Pin, VI. 115-116. Ceillier, XII. l141-148. Ebert, II. 36-56.

Paul the Deacon (Paulus Diaconus), the historian of the Lombards, was

the son of Warnefrid and Theudelinda. Hence he is frequently called

Paul Warnefrid. He was descended from a noble Lombard family and was

born in Forum Julii (Friuli, Northern Italy), probably between 720 and

725. His education was completed at the court of King Liutprand in

Pavia. His attainments included a knowledge of Greek, rare in that age.

Under the influence of Ratchis, Liutprand's successor (744-749), he

entered the church and became a deacon. King Desiderius (756-774) made

him his chancellor, [1067] and entrusted to his instruction his

daughter Adelperga, the wife of Arichis, duke of Benevento. In 774 the

Lombard kingdom fell, and Paul after residing for a time at the duke's

court entered the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. There he

contentedly lived until fraternal love led him to leave his beloved

abode. In 776 his brother, Arichis, having probably participated in

Hruodgaud's rebellion, was taken prisoner by Charlemagne, carried into

France, and the family estates were confiscated. This brought the

entire family to beggary. [1068]

Paul sought Charlemagne; in a touching little poem of twenty-eight

lines, probably written in Gaul in 782, he set the pitiful case before

him [1069] and implored the great king's clemency.

He did not plead in vain. He would then at once have returned to Monte

Cassino, but Charlemagne, always anxious to retain in his immediate

service learned and brilliant men., did not allow him to go. He was

employed as court poet, teacher of Greek, and scribe, and thus exerted

great influence. His heart was, however, in his monastery, and in 787

he is found there. The remainder of his life was busily employed in

literary labors. He died, April 13, probably in the year 800, with an

unfinished work, the history of the Lombards, upon his hands.

Paul was a Christian scholar, gentle, loving, and beloved; ever

learning and disseminating learning. Although not a great man, he was a

most useful one, and his homilies and histories of the Lombards are

deservedly held in high esteem.

His Works embrace histories, homilies, letters, and poems.

I. Histories. (1) Chief in importance is the History of the Lombards.

[1070] It is divided into six books, and carries the history of the

Lombards from their rise in Scandinavia down to the death of Liutprand

in 744. It was evidently Paul's intention to continue and revise the

work, for it has no preface or proper conclusion; moreover, it has

manifest slips in writing, which would have been corrected by a final

reading. It is therefore likely that he died before its completion. It

is not a model of historical composition, being discursive, indefinite

as to chronology, largely a compilation from known and unknown sources,

full of legendary and irrelevant matter. Nevertheless it is on the

whole well arranged and exhibits a love of truth, independence and

impartiality. Though a patriot, Paul was not a partisan. He can see

some good even in his hereditary foes. The popularity of the History in

the Middle Age is attested by the appearance of more than fifteen

editions of it and of ten continuations.

(2) Some scholars [1071] consider the History of the Lombards the

continuation of Paul's Roman History, [1072] which he compiled (c. 770)

for Adelperga from Eutropius (Breviarum historiae Romanae); [1073]

Jerome, Orosius (Historia adversus Paganos), [1074] Aurelius Victor (De

Caesaribus historia), Jordanis (De breviatione chronicorum), [1075]

Prosper (Chronicon), [1076] Bede and others. The Historia is in sixteen

books, of which the first ten are mere excerpts of Eutropius, with

insertions from other sources. The last six carry the history from

Valens, where Eutropius ends, down to Justinian. The plan of these

latter books is the same as that of the former: some author is

excerpted, and in the excerpts are inserted extracts from other

writers. The History is worthless to us, but in the Middle Age it was

extremely popular. To the sixteen books of Paul's were added eight from

the Church History of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, and the whole called

Historia Miscella, and to it Landulph Sagax wrote an appendix, which

brings the work down to 813.

Besides these histories several other briefer works in the same line

have come down to us.

(3) Life of St. Gregory the Great, [1077] a compilation from Bede's

Church History of England, and Gregory's own works.

(4) A short History of the bishopric of Metz. [1078] It was written

about 784, at the request of Angilram, bishop of Metz. It is in good

part only a list of names. In order to please Charlemagne, Paul

inserted irrelevantly a section upon that monarch's ancestry.

II. Homilies. [1079] A collection made by request of Charlemagne, and

which for ten centuries was in use in the Roman Church. It is in three

series. 1. Homilies upon festivals, two hundred and two in number, all

from the Fathers. 2. Homilies upon saints' days, ninety-six in number.

3. Homilies, five in number. Many of the second series and all of the

last appear to be original.

III. Letters, [1080] four in number, two to Charlemagne, one each to

Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, in France, and to the abbot Theudemar.

IV. Poems, including epitaphs. [1081] From the first stanza of De

Sancto Joanne Baptista, Guido of Arezzo took the names of the musical

notes.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1067] Fabricius in Migne, XCV. col. 413

[1068] . Ebert, l. c. p. 37.

[1069] Migne, l c. col. 1599, Carmen VIII. cf. lines 9, 10: "Illius in

patria conjux miseranda per omnes Mendicat plateas, ore tremente,

cibos."

[1070] De gestis Langobardorum, Migne, XCV. col. 433-672.

[1071] Mommsen quoted by Ebert, l.c. p. 45; Weizs�cker in Herzog,2xi.

390.

[1072] Historia romana, with its additions, Migne, XCV. col. 743-1158.

[1073] Best edition by Hartel, Berlin, 1872. Eng. trans. in Bohn's

Class. Lib.

[1074] Migne, XXXI. col. 663-1174.

[1075] Muratori, Rer. Ital. script. I. 222-242.

[1076] In Migne, LI. col. 535-608.

[1077] Vita S. Gregorii Maqni, Migne, LXXV. col. 41-60.

[1078] Gesta episcoporum Mettensium, Migne, XCV. col. 699-724.

[1079] Homilarius, ibid. col. 1159-1584.

[1080] Epistolae, ibid. 1583-1592.

[1081] Carmina, ibid. col. 1591-1604. Ebert discusses these at length,

l.c. pp. 48-56.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 158. St. Paulinus of Aquileia.

I. Sanctus Paulinus, patriarcha Aquileiensis: Opera omnia, in Migne,

Tom. XCIX. col. 9-684, reprint of Madrisius' ed., Venice, 1737, folio,

2d ed. 1782. His poems are given by D�mmler: Poet. Lat. aevi Carolini

I. (Berlin, 1880), pp. 123-148.

II. Vita Paulini, by Madrisius in Migne's ed. col. 17-130. Cf. Du Pin,

VI. 124. Ceillier, XII. 157-164. Hist. litt. de la France, IV. 284-295;

B�hr: Geschichte der r�mischen Literatur im Karolingischen Zeitalter,

Carlsruhe, 1840 (pp. 88, 356-359); Ebert, II., 89-91.

Paulinus, patriarch of Aquileia, was born about 726 [1082] in Forum

Julii, now Friuli, near Venice. He entered the priesthood, was employed

in teaching and arrived at eminence as a scholar. He played a prominent

part in the affairs of his country, and his services in suppressing a

Lombard insurrection met, in the year 776, with recognition and reward

by Charlemagne, who gave him an estate and in 787 elevated him to the

patriarchal see of Aquileia. [1083] He carried on a successful mission

among the Carinthians, a tribe which lived near Aquileia, and also

another among their neighbors, the Avari (the Huns). [1084] He opposed

with vigor the Adoptionists, and his writings contributed much to the

extinction of the sect. He lived entirely for God and his church, and

won the hearts of his spiritual children. Perhaps the most striking

proof of his virtue is the warm friendship which existed between

himself and Alcuin. The latter is very, enthusiastic in his praise of

the learning and accomplishments of Paulinus. Charlemagne seems to have

valued him no less. [1085] With such encouragement Paulinus led a busy

and fruitful life, participating in synods and managing wisely his see

until his death on January 11, 804. [1086] Very, soon thereafter he was

popularly numbered among the saints, [1087] and stories began to be

told of his miraculous powers. [1088] His bones were deposited in the

high altar of the collegiate church of Friuli, or as the place was

called Civitas Austriae. The church underwent repairs, and his bones

were for a time laid by those of the martyr Donatus, but at length on

January 26, 1734, they were separated and with much pomp placed in the

chapel under the choir of the great basilica of Friuli. [1089]

The writings of Paulinus comprise (1) Brief treatise against Elipandus,

[1090] archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, who is generally

regarded as the father of Adoptionism. It was issued in the name of the

council of Frankfort-on-the-Main (794), and sent into Spain. It was

first published by Jean de Tillet, in 1549. (2) Three books against

Felix of Urgel, [1091] also against the Adoptionists. It was prepared

in 796 by order of Charlemagne, and probably submitted to Alcuin,

agreeably to the author's request. [1092] It is the most important work

of Paulinus, though by no means the best in point of style. The Felix

addressed was bishop of Urgel and the leader of the Adoptionists.

Paulinus refutes the heretics by quotations of Scripture and the

Fathers. The work is elaborately annotated by Madrisius, and thus

rendered much more intelligible. [1093] (3) A deliverance by the

council of Friuli, held in 796, upon the Trinity and the Incarnation.

[1094] (4) An exhortation to virtue, [1095] addressed to Henry, count

or duke of Friuli. It was written about 795, and consists of sixty-six

chapters upon the virtues to be practiced and the vices to be shunned

by the duke. The style is excellent. The work was once claimed for

Augustin, but this is now conceded to be an error. Nine of the chapters

(x.-xv. xvii.-xix. ) are copied from The contemplative life, a work by

Pomerius, a Gallican churchman of the fifth century. On the other hand,

chapters xx.-xlv. have been plagiarized in an Admonitio ad filium

spiritualem which was long supposed to be by Basil the Great. [1096]

(5) Epistles. (a) To Heistulfus, [1097] who had murdered his wife on a

charge of adultery preferred against her by a man of bad character. It

was written from Frankfort, in 794, during the council mentioned above.

Paulinus sternly rebukes Heistulfus for his crime, and tells him that

if he would be saved he must either enter a monastery or lead a life of

perpetual penitence, of which he gives an interesting description. The

letter passed into the Canon Law about 866. [1098] It has been falsely

attributed to Stephen V. [1099] (b) To Charlemagne, [1100] an account

of the council of Altinum [1101] in 803. (c) Fragments of three other

letters to Charlemagne, and of one (probably) to Leo III. [1102]

(6) Verses. (a) The rule of faith, [1103] a poem of one hundred and

fifty-one hexameters, devoid of poetical merit, in which along with a

statement of his belief in the Trinity and the Incarnation Paulinus

gives a curious description of Paradise and of Gehenna, and to the

latter sends the heretics, several of whom he names. (b) Hymns and

verses, [1104] upon different subjects. (c) A poem on duke Eric. [1105]

(7) A Mass. [1106]

(8) The preface to a tract upon repentance [1107] which enjoins

confession to God in tender words.

(9) A treatise upon baptism. [1108]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1082] Migne, l.c. Vita II. v. (col. 30, 1. 4).

[1083] Jaff�, Mon. Alc., p. 162.

[1084] At the request of Alcuin he wrote explicit directions for their

conversion and baptism. Ebert ii. p. 89. Mon. Alc., ed. Jaff�, p.

311-318. Alc. Epist. 56. Ed. Migne, Epist. 39 (C. col. 198).

[1085] Madrisius devotes a chapter of his biography to Paulinus'

friendships with the illustrious men of his time. Migne, l.c. Vita,

XVI. (col. 109-117).

[1086] Migne, l.c. col. 149, 1. 2

[1087] Vita XVII. iii. (col. 118).

[1088] Ibid. XIV. xvi. (col 100).

[1089] Ibid. XVII. vii viii. (col. 123-126). Madrisius prints the

oration delivered on the latter occasion (col. 133-142).

[1090] Libellus sacrosyllabus contra Elipandum, Migne, XCIX. col.

151-166.

[1091] Contra Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum libri tres., ibid. col.

343-468.

[1092] Ibid. col. 468, 1. 12.

[1093] The writings of Felix and Elipandus are found in Migne, Patr.

Lat. XCVI.

[1094] Concilium Forojuliense, Migne, XCIX. col. 283-302.

[1095] Liber exhortationis, ibid. col. 197-282.

[1096] Col. 206, 212 n. a.

[1097] Ibid. col. 181-186.

[1098] Smith and Wace, Dict. Christ. Biog. s. v. Heistulfus.

[1099] Madrisius in Migne, l.c. col. 185.

[1100] Ibid. col. 511-516.

[1101] The present Altino, a town on the Adriatic, near Venice.

[1102] Migne, l.c. col. 503-510.

[1103] De regula fidei, ibid. col. 467-471

[1104] Hymni et rhythmi, ibid. col. 479-504.

[1105] De Herico duce, ibid. col. 685-686.

[1106] Ibid. col. 625-627.

[1107] Ibid. col. 627-628.

[1108] Not in Migne, but in Mansi, Tom. XIII.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 159. Alcuin.

I. Beatus Flaccus Albinus seu Alcuinus: Opera omnia, Migne, Tom. C.

CI., reprint of the ed. of Frobenius. Ratisbon, 1772, 2 vols. fol.

Monumenta Alcuiniana, a P. Jaff� preparata, ed. Wattenbach et D�mmler

(vol. vi. Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum). Berlin, 1773. It contains

his letters, poems and life of Willibrord. His poems (Carmina) have

been separately edited by E. D�mmler in Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, I.

1. 169-351, and some additional poetry is given in Addenda, Tom. II.

692.

II. Vita (Migne, C. col. 89-106), anonymous, but probably by a monk of

Ferri�res, based upon information given by Sigulf, Alcuin's pupil and

successor as abbot of Ferri�res. De vita B. F. Albini seu Alcuini

commentatio (col. 17-90), by Froben, for the most part an expansion of

the former by the introduction of discussions upon many points.

Eulogium historicum Beati Alcuini (CI. col. 1416-1442), by Mabillon. Of

interest and value also are the Testimonia veterum et quorumdam

recentiorum scriptorum (col. 121-134), brief notices of Alcuin by

contemporaries and others.

III. Modern biographies and more general works in which Alcuin is

discussed. Friedrich Lorentz: Alcuin's Leben, Halle, 1829, Eng, trans.

by Jane Mary Slee, London, 1837. Francis Monnier: Alcuin et son

influence litt�raire, religieuse et politique chez les France, Paris,

1853, 2d ed. entitled Alcuin et Charlemagne, Paris, 1864. Karl Werner:

Alcuin and sein Jahrhundert, Paderborn, 1876, 2d ed. (unchanged), 1881.

J. Bass Mullinger: The schools of Charles the Great, London, 1877. Cf.

Du Pin, VI. 121-124. Ceiller, XII. 165-214. Hist. Lit. de la France,

IV. 295-347. Clarke, II. 453-459. B�hr, 78-84; 192-195; 302-341.

Wattenbach, 3d ed. I. 123 sqq; Ebert, II. 12-36. Guizot: History of

Civilization, Eng. trans, , Bohn's ed. ii. 231-253. The art. Alcuin by

Bishop Stubbs in Smith and Wace, Dict. Chr. Biog. (i. 73-76), deserves

particular mention.

Flaccus Albinus, or, as he is commonly called in the Old English form,

Alcuin [1109] ("friend of the temple"), the ecclesiastical prime

minister of Charlemagne, was born in Yorkshire about 735. He sprang

from a noble Northumbrian family, the one to which Willibrord, apostle

of the Frisians, belonged, and inherited considerable property,

including the income of a monastic society on the Yorkshire coast.

[1110] At tender age he was taken to the famous cathedral school at

York, and there was educated by his loving and admiring friends,

Egbert, archbishop of York (732-766) and founder of the school, and

Ethelbert, its master. With the latter he made several literary

journeys on the continent, once as far as Rome, and each time returned

laden with MS. treasures, secured, by a liberal expenditure of money,

from different monasteries. Thus they greatly enlarged the library

which Egbert had founded. [1111] In 766 Ethelbert succeeded Egbert in

the archbishopric of York, and appointed Alcuin, who had previously

been a teacher, master of the cathedral school, ordained him a deacon,

Feb. 2, 767, and made him one of the secular canons of York minster. In

767 he had Liudger for a pupil. Some time between the latter year and

780, [1112] Ethelbert sent him to Italy on a commission to Charlemagne,

whom he met, probably at Pavia. In 780 Ethelbert retired from his see

and gave over to Alcuin the care of the library, which now was without

a rival in England. Alcuin gives a catalogue of it, [1113] thus

throwing welcome light upon the state of learning at the time. In 780

Alcuin again visited Rome to fetch the pallium for Eanbald, Ethelbert's

successor.

On his return he met Charlemagne at Parma (Easter, 781), and was

invited by him to become master of the School of the Palace. This

school was designed for noble youth, was attached to the court, and

held whenever the court was. Charlemagne and his family and courtiers

frequently attended its sessions, although they could not be said to be

regular scholars. The invitation to teach this school was a striking

recognition of the learning and ability of Alcuin, and as he perceived

the possibilities of the future thus unexpectedly opened to him he

accepted it, although the step involved a virtual abnegation of his

just claim upon the archiepiscopate of York. In the next year (782),

having received the necessary permission to go from his king and

archbishop, he began his work. The providential design in this event is

unmistakable. Just at the time when the dissensions of the English

kings practically put a stop to educational advance in England, Alcuin,

the greatest teacher of the day, was transferred to the continent in

order that under the fostering and stimulating care of Charlemagne he

might rescue it from the bondage of ignorance. But the effort taxed his

strength. Charlemagne, although he attended his instruction and styles

him "his dear teacher," at the same time abused his industry and

patience, and laid many very heavy burdens upon him. [1114] Alcuin had

not only to teach the Palatine school, which necessitated his moving

about with the migratory court to the serious interruption of his

studies, but to prepare and revise books for educational and

ecclesiastical uses, and in general to superintend the grand

reformatory schemes of Charlemagne. How admirably he fulfilled his

multifarious duties, history attests. The famous capitulary of 787

[1115] which Charlemagne issued and which did so much to advance

learning, was of his composition. The Caroline books, [1116] which were

quite as remarkable in the sphere of church life, were his work, at

least in large measure. For his pecuniary support and as a mark of

esteem Charlemagne gave him the monasteries of St. Lupus at Troyes and

Bethlehem at Ferri�res, and the cell of St. Judecus on the coast of

Picardy (St. Josse sur mer). But the care of these only added to his

burdens. In 789 he went to England on commission from Charlemagne to

King Offa of Mercia, and apparently desired to remain there. Thence in

792 he sent in the name of the English bishops a refutation of

image-worship. But in 793 Charlemagne summoned him to his side to

defend the church against the heresy of Adoptionism and image-worship,

and he came. In 794 he took a prominent part, although simply a deacon,

in the council of Frankfort, which spoke out so strongly against both,

and in 799, at the council of Aachen, he had a six days' debate with

Felix, the leader of the Adoptionists, which resulted in the latter's

recantation. In his negotiations with the Adoptionists he had the

invaluable aid of the indefatigable monk, Benedict, of Nursia. In 796,

Charlemagne gave him in addition to the monasteries already mentioned

that of St. Martin at Tours and in 800 those of Cormery and Flavigny.

The monastery of Tours [1117] owned twenty thousand serfs and its

revenue was regal. To it Alcuin retired, although he would have

preferred to go to Fulda. [1118] There he did good work in reforming

the monks, regulating the school and enlarging the library. His most

famous pupil during this period of his life was Rabanus Maurus. In the

year of his death he established a hospice at Duodecim Pontes near

Troyes; and just prior to this event he gave over the monastery of

Tours to his pupil Fredegis, and that of Ferri�res to another pupil,

Sigulf It is remarkable that he died upon the anniversary on which he

had desired to die, the Festival of Pentecost, May 19, 804. He was

buried in the church of St. Martin, although in his humility he had

requested to be buried outside of it.

One of his important services to religion was his revision of the

Vulgate (about 802) by order of Charlemagne, on the basis of old and

correct MSS., for he probably knew little Greek and no Hebrew. This

preserved a good Vulgate text for some time.

Alcuin was of a gentle disposition, willing, patient and humble, and an

unwearied student. He had amassed all the treasures of learning then

accessible. He led his age, yet did not transcend it, as Scotus Erigena

did his. He was not a deep thinker, rather he brought out from his

memory the thoughts of others. He was also mechanical in his methods.

Yet he was more than a great scholar and teacher, he was a leader in

church affairs, not only on the continent, but, as his letters show,

also in England. Charlemagne consulted him continually, and would have

done better had he more frequently followed his advice. Particularly is

this true respecting missions. Alcuin saw with regret that force had

been applied to induce the Saxons to submit to baptism. He warned

Charlemagne that the result would be disastrous. True Christians can

not be made by violence, but by plain preaching of the gospel in the

spirit of love. He would have the gospel precepts gradually unfolded to

the pagan Saxons, and then as they grew in knowledge would require from

them stricter compliance. Alcuin gave similar council in regard to the

Huns. [1119] His opinions upon other practical points [1120] are worthy

of mention. Thus, he objected to the employment of bishops in military

affairs, to capital punishment, to the giving up of persons who had

taken refuge in a church, and to priests following a secular calling.

He was zealous for the revival of preaching and for the study of the

Bible. On the other hand he placed a low estimate upon pilgrimages, and

preferred that the money so spent should be given to the poor. [1121]

Writings.--The works of Alcuin are divided into nine classes.

I. Letters. [1122] A striking peculiarity of these letters is their

address. Alcuin and his familiar correspondents, following an

affectation of scholars in the middle age, write under assumed names.

[1123] Among his correspondents are kings, patriarchs, bishops and

abbots. The value of these letters is very great. They throw light upon

contemporary history, and such as are private, and these are numerous,

allow us to look into Alcuin's heart. Many of them, unfortunately, are

lost, and some are known to exist unprinted, as in the Cotton

collection. Those now printed mostly date from Tours, and so belong to

his closing years. They may be roughly divided into three groups:

[1124] (1) those to English correspondents. These show how dear his

native land was to Alcuin, and how deeply interested he was in her

affairs. (2) Those to Charlemagne, a large and the most important

group. [1125] Alcuin speaks with freedom, yet always with profound

respect. (3) Those to his bosom friend, Arno of Salzburg.

II. Exegetical Miscellany. [1126] (a) Questions and answers respecting

the interpretation of Genesis. (b) Edifying and brief exposition of the

Penitential Psalms, Psalm CXVIII and the Psalm of Degrees. (c) Short

commentary on Canticles. (d) Commentary on Ecclesiastes. (e) A literal,

allegorical and moral Interpretation of the Hebrew names of our Lord's

ancestors (in which he makes much out of the symbolism of the numbers).

(f) Commentary on portions of John's Gospel. (g) On Titus, Philemon,

Hebrews. [1127] These comments, are chiefly derived from the Fathers,

and develop the allegorical and moral sense of Scripture. That on

John's Gospel is the most important. The plan of making a commentary

out of extracts was quickly followed and was indeed the only plan in

general use in the Middle Age.

III. Dogmatic Miscellany. [1128] (a) The Trinity, written in 802,

dedicated to Charlemagne, a condensed statement of Augustin's teaching

on the subject. It was the model for the "Sentences" of the twelfth

century. It is followed by twenty-eight questions and answers on the

Trinity. (b) The Procession of the Holy Spirit, similarly dedicated and

made up of patristic quotations. (c) Brief treatise against the heresy

of Felix (Adoptionism). (d) Another against it in seven books. (e) A

treatise against Elipandus in four books. (f) Letter against

Adoptionism, addressed to some woman. These writings on Adoptionism are

very able and reveal learning and some independence.

IV. Liturgical and Ethical Works. [1129] (a) The Sacraments, a

collection of mass-formulae, from the use of Tours. (b) The use of the

Psalms, a distribution of the Psalms under appropriate headings so that

they can be used as prayers, together with explanations and original

prayers: a useful piece of work. (c) Offices for festivals, the Psalms

sang upon the feast days, with prayers, hymns, confessions and

litanies: a sort of lay-breviary, made for Charlemagne. (d) A letter to

Oduin, a presbyter, upon the ceremony of baptism. (e) Virtues and

vices, dedicated to Count Wido, compiled from Augustin. (f) The human

soul, addressed in epistolary form to Eulalia (Gundrada), the sister of

Adalhard, abbot of Corbie, in France. (g) Confession of sins, addressed

to his pupils at St. Martin's of Tours.

V. Hagiographical Works. [1130] (a) Life of St. Martin of Tours,

rewritten from Sulpicius Severus. (b) Life of St. Vedast, bishop of

Atrebates (Arras), and (c) Life of the most blessed presbyter Requier,

both rewritten from old accounts. (d) Life of St. Willibrord, bishop of

Utrecht, his own ancestor, in two books, one prose, the other verse.

This is an original work, and valuable as history.

VI. Poems. [1131] The poetical works of Alcuin are very numerous, and

of very varied character, including prayers, inscriptions for books,

churches, altars, monasteries, etc., epigrams, moral exhortations,

epistles, epitaphs, enigmas, a fable, [1132] and a long historical poem

in sixteen hundred and fifty-seven lines upon the bishops and saints of

the church of York from its foundation to the accession of Eanbald.

[1133] It is very valuable. In its earlier part it rests upon Bede, but

from the ten hundred and seventh line to the close upon original

information. It seems to have been written by Alcuin in his youth at

York. Its style is evidently influenced by Virgil and Prudentius.

VII. Pedagogical Works. [1134] (a) Grammar. (b) Orthography. (c)

Rhetoric. (d) Dialectics. (e) Dialogue between Pippin and Alcuin [1135]

(f) On the courses and changes of the moon and the intercalary day

(Feb. 24th). These works admit us into Alcuin's school-room, and are

therefore of great importance for the study of the learning of his day.

VIII. Dubious Works. [1136] (a) A confession of faith, in four parts,

probably his. (b) Dialogue between teacher and pupils upon religion.

(c) Propositions. (d) Poems.

IX. Pretended Works [1137] (a) The holy days. (b) Four homilies. (c)

Poems.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1109] Other forms are Ealdwine, Alchwin, Alquinus.

[1110] Vita S. Willibrordi, I. i. (Migne, CI. col. 695).

[1111] De pontificibus et sanctis eccles. Ebor., vv. 1453-56 (CI. Col.

841).

[1112] Mullinger (p. 47) says in 768.

[1113] De pont. et Sanct. eccles. Eb. vers. 1535-1561 (D�mmler, l.c.

203, 204; Migne, CI. col. 843 sq. ).

[1114] On this ground Guizot (l.c. 246-7) explains in part Alcuin's

frequent expressions of weariness.

[1115] There is an English translation in Guizot, l.c. 237, and in

Mullinger, 97-99.

[1116] See pp. 465 sqq.

[1117] Already spoken of in connection with Gregory of Tours.

[1118] See the old life of Alcuin, cap. VIII. in Migne, C. col. 98.

[1119] He requested advice on this point from Paulinus of Aquileia. See

p. 681.

[1120] Froben in his life of Alcuin, cap. XIV., gives his doctrinal

position at length. Migne, col. l.c. 82-90.

[1121] For the proof of the statements in this paragraph see Neander,

III. passim.

[1122] Epistolae, Migne, C. col. 139-512.

[1123] See above, p. 615 sq.

[1124] Ebert, II. 32-35.

[1125] Guizot analyzes them (l.c. 243-246).

[1126] Opuscula exegetica, Migne, C. 515-1086.

[1127] That on Revelation in Migne is not his, but probably by a pupil

of Alcuin. It is, however, a mere compilation from Ambrosius Autpertus

(d. 779.)

[1128] Opuscula dogmatica, Migne, CI. col. 11-304.

[1129] Opuscula liturgica et moralia, ibid. col. 445-656.

[1130] Opuscula hagiographica, ibid. col. 657-724.

[1131] Carmina, Ibid. col. 723-848.

[1132] De gallo fabula, Ibid. col. 805. D�mmler, l.c. 262.

[1133] Ibid. col. 814-846. D�mmler, l.c. 169-206.

[1134] Opuscula didascalica, Migne, CI. col. 849-1002

[1135] Guizot gives a translation of this in his Hist. Civilization

(Eng. trans. ii. 239-242.

[1136] Opuscula dubia , Migne, CI. col. 1027-1170.

[1137] Opuscula supposita ibid. col. 1173-1314.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 160. St. Liudger.

I. S. Liudgerus, Minigardefordensis Episcopus: Opera, in Migne, Tom.

XCIX. col. 745-820.

II. The old Lives of S. Liudger are four in number. They are found in

Migne, but best in Die Vitae Sancti Liudgeri ed. Dr. Wilhelm Diekamp.

M�nster, 1881 (Bd. IV. of the series: Die Geschichtsquellen des

Bisthums M�nster). Dr. Diekamp presents revised texts and ample

prolegomena and notes. (1) The oldest Vita (pp. 3-53) is by Altfrid, a

near relative of Liudger and his second successor in the see of

M�nster. It was written by request of the monks of Werden about thirty

years after Liudger's death, rests directly upon family and other

contemporary testimony, and is the source of all later Lives. He

probably divided his work into two books, but as the first book is in

two parts, Leibnitz, Pertz and Migne divide the work into three books,

of which the first contains the life proper, the second the miracles

wrought by the saint himself, and the third those wrought by his

relics. (2) Vita Secunda (pp. 54-83) was written by a monk of Werden

about 850. The so-called second book of this Life really belongs to (3)

Vita tertia (pp. 85-134.) (2) Follows Altfrid, but adds legendary and

erroneous matter. (3) Written also by a Werden monk about 890, builds

upon (1) and (2) and adds new matter of a legendary kind. (4) Vita

rythmica (pp. 135-220), written by a Werden monk about 1140.

Biographies of Liudger have been recently written in German by Luise

von Bornstedt (M�nster, 1842); P. W. Behrends (Neuhaldensleben u.

Gardelegen, 1843); A. Istvann (Coesfeld, 1860); A. H�sing (M�nster,

1878); L. Th. W. Pingsmann (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1879). Cf. Diekamp's

full bibliography, pp. CXVIII.-CXMI. For literary criticism see

Ceillier, XII. 218. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 57-59. Ebert, II. 107,

338, 339.

Liudger, or Ludger, first bishop of M�nster, was born about 744 at

Suecsnon (now Zuilen) on the Vecht, in Frisia. His parents, Thiadgrim

and Liafburg, were earnest Christians. His paternal grandfather,

Wursing, had been one of Willibrord's most zealous supporters (c. 5).

[1138] He early showed a pious and studious disposition (c. 7). He

entered the cloister school of Utrecht, taught by the abbot Gregory,

whose biographer he became, laid aside his secular habit and devoted

himself to the cause of religion. His proficiency in study was such

that Gregory made him a teacher (c. 8). During the year 767 he received

further instruction from Alcuin at York, and was ordained a deacon (c.

9). In 768 he was in Utrecht; but for the next three years and a half

with Alcuin, although Gregory had been very loath to allow him to go

the second time. He would have staid longer if a Frisian trader had not

murdered in a quarrel a son of a count of York. The ill feeling which

this event caused, made it unsafe for any Frisian to remain in York,

and so taking with him "many books" (copiam librorum), he returned to

Utrecht (c. 10). Gregory had died during his absence (probably in 771),

and his successor was his nephew, Albric, a man of zeal and piety.

Liudger was immediately on his return to York pressed into active

service. He was sent to Deventer on the Yssel in Holland, where the,

saintly English missionary Liafwin had just died. A horde of pagan

Saxons had devastated the place, burnt the church and apparently undone

Liafwin's work (c. 13). Liudger was commissioned to rebuild the church

and to bury the body of Liafwin, which was lost. Arrived at the spot he

was at first unsuccessful in finding the body, and was about to rebuild

the church without further search when Liafwin appeared to him in a

vision and told him that his body was in the south wall of the church,

and there it was found (c. 14). Albric next sent him to Frisia to

destroy the idols and temples there. Of the enormous treasure taken

from the temples Charlemagne gave one-third to Albric. In 777 Albric

was consecrated bishop at Cologne, and Liudger at the same time

ordained a presbyter.

For the next seven years Liudger was priest at Doccum in the Ostergau,

where Boniface had died, but during the three autumn months of each

year he taught in the cloister school at Utrecht (c. 15). At the end of

this period Liudger was fleeing for his life, for the pagan Wutukint,

duke of the Saxons, invaded Frisia, drove out the clergy, and set up

the pagan altars. Albric died of a broken heart, unable to stand the

cruel blow. Liudger with two companions, Hildigrim and Gerbert, retired

to Rome, where for two and a half years he lived in the great

Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino (c. 18). There he not only had a

pleasant retreat but also opportunity to study the working of the

Benedictine rule. He did not, however, take monastic vows.

His fame for piety and learning had meanwhile reached the ears of

Charlemagne,--probably through Alcuin,--and so on his return the

emperor assigned to his care five Frisian districts (Hugmerchi,

Hunusga, Fuulga, Emisga, Fedirga) upon the eastern side of the river

Labekus (Lauwers), and also the island of Bant. His success as

missionary induced him to undertake an enterprise in which even

Willibrord had failed. He sailed over the German Ocean to Heligoland,

then called Fosetelant (the land of the god Fosete). His confidence was

justified by events. He made many converts, among them the son of the

chief of the island who became a priest and a missionary. Shortly after

on the mainland there was another irruption of pagans from East Frisia,

and the usual disheartening scenes of burnt churches, scattered

congregations, and martyred brethren were enacted. But once more the

Christian faith conquered (c. 19). Charlemagne's continued regard for

Liudger was proved by his gift to him of the abbey Lothusa (probably

Zele, near Ghent in Belgium), in order that its revenues might

contribute to his support, or that being far from Frisia he might

retreat thither in times of danger; and further by his appointment of

him to the bishopric of Mimigernaford (later form Mimigardevord, now

M�nster, so called from the monasterium which he built there), in

Westphalia, which was now sufficiently christianized to be ruled

ecclesiastically. He still had under his care the five districts

already named, although so far off. At first these charges were held by

him as a simple presbyter, and in that capacity he carried out one of

his darling purposes and built the famous monastery of Werden [1139] on

the Ruhr, formerly called Diapanbeci. But persuaded by Hildebald he

became the first bishop of M�nster (c. 20). The year of this event is

unknown, but it was between 802 and 805. [1140] Tireless in his

activity he died in the harness. On Sunday, March 26, 809, he preached

and performed mass at Coesfeld and at Billerbeck. In the evening he

died (Acta II. c. 7). He was buried at Werden, which thus became a

shrine of pilgrims.

The only extant writing of Liudger is his Life of St. Gregory, [1141]

which gives a pleasing picture of the saint, in whose school at Utrecht

many famous men, including bishops, were trained. Twelve of its

twenty-two chapters are taken up with Boniface. Much of the matter is

legendary. He also wrote a life of Albric, [1142] which is lost. His

connection with Helmstedt is purely imaginary. The Liudger Monastery

there was not founded by him, for it dates from the tenth century. The

colony of monks may, however, have well come from Werden, and have

therefore given the name Liudger to the monastery.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1138] This sketch has been derived for the most part directly from

Altfrid's Acta seu Vita (ed. Diekamp, pp. 3-53, Migne, col. 769-796).

The letter "c" throughout refers to the chapter of the Acta in Migne in

which the statement immediately preceding is found. The dates are

mainly conjectural. The Acta gives none except that of the saint's

death, but merely occasionally notes the lapse of time.

[1139] C. 18. Migne, l.c. col. 778. Erat enim cu piens haereditate sua

coenobium construere monachorum, quod ita postea Domino opitulante

concessum est in loco qui vocatur Vuerthina

[1140] A document of Jan., 802, calls him "abbott," and one of April

23, 805, calls him "bishop."

[1141] Vita S. Gregorii Migne, l.c. col. 749-770.

[1142] Vita Altfridi, II. c. 6, Migne, l.c. col. 783, l. 4.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 161. Theodulph of Orleans.

I. Theodulph, Aurelianensis episcopus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CV.

col. 187-380. His Carmina are in D�mmler's Po�tae Lat. aev. Car. I. 2.

pp. 437-58l, 629, 630.

II. L. Baunard: Th�odulfe, Orleans, 1860. Rzehulka: Theodulf, Breslau,

1875 (Dissertation). Cf. the general works, Mabillon: Analecta, Paris,

1675. Tom. I. pp. 386 sqq.; Tiraboschi: Historia della letteratura

italiana new ed. Florence. 1805-18, 20 parts, III. l. pp. 196-205

(particularly valuable for its investigation of the obscure points of

Theodulph's life). Du Pin, VI. 124; Hist. Lit. de la France, IV.

459-474; Ceillier, XII. 262-271, B�hr, 91-95, 359, 860; Ebert, II.

70-84.

Theodulph, bishop of Orleans, one of the most useful churchmen of the

Carolingian period, was probably born in Spain, [1143] past the middle

of the eighth century. In 788 he attracted the notice of Charlemagne,

who called him into France and made him abbot of Fleury and of Aignan,

both Benedictine monasteries in the diocese of Orleans, and later

bishop of Orleans. He stood in high favor with his king and was

entrusted with important commissions. He participated in the council of

Frankfort (794); was made missus dominicus [1144] in 798; accompanied

Charlemagne to Rome, sat as one of the judges in the investigation of

the charges against Leo III. (800) and received from the supreme

pontiff the pallium (801). [1145] He succeeded Alcuin (804) as first

theological imperial counsellor. In 809 he sat in the council of Aix la

Chapelle and by request of the emperor collected the patristic

quotations in defence of the Filioque clause. In 811 he was witness to

the emperor's will. Louis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and successor,

for a time showed him equal honor and confidence, for instance in

appointing him to meet Pope Stephen V. when he came to the coronation

at Rheims (816). But two years afterwards he was suspected, it would

seem without good reason, of complicity in king Bernard's rebellion,

and on Easter 818 was deposed and imprisoned at Angers, in the convent

either of St. Aubin or of St. Serge. He stoutly persisted in his

declaration of innocence, and in 821 he was released and reinstated,

but died [1146] on his way back or shortly after his arrival in

Orleans, and was buried in Orleans Sept. 19, 821.

Theodulph was an excellent prelate; faithful, discreet and wise. He

greatly deplored the ignorance of his clergy and earnestly labored to

elevate them. To this end he established many schools, and also wrote

the Capitula ad presbyteros parochicae suae mentioned below. In this

work he was particularly successful. The episcopal school of Orleans

was famous for the number, beauty and accuracy of the MSS. it produced.

In his educational work he enjoyed the assistance of the accomplished

poet Wulfin. Theodulph was himself a scholar, well read both in secular

and religious literature. [1147] He had also a taste for architecture,

and restored many convents and churches and built the splendid basilica

at Germigny, which was modelled after that at Aix la Chapelle. His love

for the Bible comes out not only in the revision of the Vulgate he had

made, and practically in his exhortation to his clergy to expound it,

but also in those costly copies of the Bible which are such

masterpieces of calligraphy. [1148] He was moreover the first poet of

his day, which however is not equivalent to saying that he had much

genius. His productions, especially his didactic poems, are highly

praised and prized for their pictures of the times, rather than for

their poetical power. From one of his minor poems the interesting fact

comes out that he had been married and had a daughter called Gisla, who

was the wife of a certain Suavaric. [1149]

The extant prose works of Theodulph are: 1. Directions to the priests

of his diocese, [1150] written in 797. They are forty-six in number and

relate to the general and special duties of priests. The following are

some of the more instructive directions: Women must not approach the

altar during the celebration of mass (c. 6). Nothing may be kept in the

churches except holy things (c. 8). No one save priests and unusually

holy laity may be buried in churches (c. 9). No woman is allowed to

live in the house with a priest (c. 12). Priests must not get drunk or

frequent taverns (c. 13). Priests may send their relatives to monastic

schools (c. 19). They may keep schools themselves in which free

instruction is given (c. 20). They must teach everybody the Lord's

Prayer and the Apostles' Creed (c. 22). No work must be done on the

Lord's Day (c. 24). Priests are exhorted to prepare themselves to

preach (c. 28). Daily, honest confession of sins to God ensures pardon;

but confession to a priest is also enjoined in order that through his

counsels and prayers the stain of sin may be removed (c. 30). True

charity consists in the union of good deeds and a virtuous life (c.

34). Merchants should not sell their souls for filthy lucre (c. 35).

Regulations respecting fasting (c. 36-43). All should come to church to

celebrate mass and hear the preaching, and no one should eat before

communicating (c. 46). 2. To the same, a treatise upon sins and their

ecclesiastical punishment; and upon the administration of extreme

unction. [1151] 3. The Holy Spirit. [1152] The collection of patristic

passages in defense of the Filioque, made by order of Charlemagne

(809), as mentioned above. It has a metrical dedication to the emperor.

4. The ceremony of baptism, [1153] written in 812 in response to

Charlemagne's circular letter on baptism which Magnus, archbishop of

Sens (801-818), had forwarded to him. It consists of eighteen chapters,

which minutely describe all the steps in the ceremony of baptism. 5.

Fragments of two sermons. [1154]

The Poetical works of Theodulph are divided into six books. [1155] The

first is entirely devoted to one poem; The exhortation to judges,

[1156] in which besides describing a model judge and exhorting all

judges to the discharge of their duties he relates his own experiences

while missus and thus gives a most interesting picture of the time.

[1157] The second book contains sixteen pieces, including epitaphs, and

the verses which he wrote in the front of one of his illuminated Bibles

giving a summary in a line of each book, and thus revealing his

Biblical scholarship. The verses are prefaced in prose with a list of

the books. The third book contains twelve pieces, including the verses

to Gisla already mentioned. The fourth book contains nine pieces, the

most interesting of which are c.1 on his favorite authors, and c.2 on

the seven liberal arts,--grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic,

music, geometry and astrology. The fifth book contains four pieces:

Consolation for the death of a certain brother, a fragment On the seven

deadly sins, An exhortation to bishops, and four lines which express

the evangelical sentiment that only by a holy life is heaven gained;

without it pilgrimages avail nothing. The sixth book contains thirty

pieces. Ten other poems appear in an appendix in Migne. [1158]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1143] Curiously enough the word used in his epitaph to express his

native land is ambiguous. The line reads: "Protulit hunc Speria, Gallia

sed nutriit" (Migne, l.c. col. 192); but Speria (Hesperia) is a

poetical term for either Italy or Spain. Cf. Ebert l.c. p. 70.

[1144] I.e. the official dispenser of justice who accompanied the

bishop on his visitation, and was particularly charged with the

examination of the church buildings. It was a post of great

responsibility.

[1145] On which Alcuin congratulated him (Migne, Patrol. Lat. C. col.

391, Mon. Alc., Epist. 166, p. 606).

[1146] It is said he was poisoned by order of the person who had

received his see.

[1147] Cf. Carmina, IV. i. (Migne, l.c. col. 331), in which he names

his favorite authors. Alcuin proposed him to Charlemagne as competent

to refute Felix the Adoptionist. Cf. Alcuin, Epistolae, LXXXIV. (Migne,

Patrol. Lat. C. col. 276).

[1148] L�opold Delisle, Les bibles de Th�odulfe, Paris, 1879. Cf.

Herzog2VIII. 449.

[1149] Carmina, III.4 (Migne, CV. col. 326). Her husband's name is

given thus: "Suaveque, Gisla, tuo feliciter utere rico," 1. 29. The

occasion of the poem was Theodulph's presentation to her of a

beautifully illuminated psalter.

[1150] Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae, Migne, CV. col. 191-208.

[1151] Capitulare ad eosdem, ibid. col. 207-224.

[1152] De Spiritu Sancto, ibid. col. 239-276.

[1153] De ordine baptismi ad Magnum Senonensem libri, ibid. col.

223-240.

[1154] Fragmenta sermonum duorum, ibid. col. 275-282.

[1155] Carmina, ibid. col. 283-380. Ebert (l.c. pp. 73-84) analyzes

these poems at length .

[1156] Peraenesis ad Judices, ibid. col. 283-300.

[1157] Cf. H. Hagen: Theodulfi episcopi Aurelianensis de iudicibus

versus recogniti, Bern, 1882 (pp 31).

[1158] Ibid. col. 377-380.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 162. St. Eigil.

I. Sanctus Eigil, Fuldensis abbas: Opera, in Migne, Tom. CV. col.

381-444. His Carmina are in Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, ed. D�mmler I.

2 (Berlin, 1881).

II. S. Eigilis vita auctore Candido monacho Fuldensi, in Migne CV. col.

383-418. Hist. Lit. de la France, IV. 475-478. Ceillier, XII. 272, 273.

Ebert, II. Cf. Carl Schwartz: Uebersetzung und Bemerkungen zu Eigil's

Nachrichten �ber die Gr�ndung und Urgeschichte des Klosters Fulda.

Fulda, 1858.

Eigil was a native of Noricum, the name then given to the country south

of the Danube, around the rivers Inn and Drave, and extending on the

south to the banks of the Save. In early childhood, probably about 760,

he was placed in the famous Benedictine monastery of Fulda in Hesse,

whose abbot, its founder Sturm (Sturmi, Sturmin), was his relative.

There Eigil lived for many years as a simple monk, beloved and

respected for piety and learning. Sturm was succeeded on his death

(779) by Baugolf, and on Baugolf's resignation Ratgar became abbot

(802). Ratgar proved to be a tyrant, [1159] and expelled Eigil because

he was too feeble to work. In 817, Ratgar was deposed, and the next

year (818) Eigil was elected abbot. A few months afterwards, Ratgar

appeared as a suppliant for readmission to the monastery. "It was not

in Eigil's power to grant this request, but his influence was used to

gain for it a favorable response at court [i.e. with Louis the Pious],

and Ratgar for thirteen years longer lived a submissive and penitent

member of the community which had suffered so much at his hands. [1160]

This single incident in the life of Eigil goes far to prove his right

to the title of saint.

Loath as he had been to accept the responsible position of abbot in a

monastery which was in trouble, he discharged its duties with great

assuiduity. He continued Ratgar's building operations, but without

exciting the hatred and rebellion of his monks. On the contrary, Fulda

once more prospered, and when he died, June 15, 822, he was able to

give over to his successor and intimate friend, Rabanus Maurus, a well

ordered community.

The only prose writing of Eigil extant is his valuable life of Sturm.

[1161] It was written by request of Angildruth, abbess of Bischofheim,

and gives an authentic account of the founding of Fulda. Every year on

Sturm's day (Dec. 17) it was read aloud to the monks while at dinner.

Eigil's own biography was written by Candidus, properly Brunn, whom

Ratgar had sent for instruction to Einhard at Seligenstadt, and who was

principal of the convent school under Rabanus Maurus. The biography is

in two parts, the second being substantially only a repetition in verse

of the first. [1162]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1159] See section on Rabanus Maurus.

[1160] Mullinger, Schools of Charles the Great, London, 1877, pp. 141,

142.

[1161] Migne, CV. col. 423-444.

[1162] The second part is in D�mmler, Poetae, II. pp. 94-117.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 163. Amalarius.

I. Symphosius Amalarius: Opera omnia in Migne, Tom. CV. col. 815-1340.

His Carmina are in D�mmler, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, I.

II Du Pin, VII. 79, l58-160. Ceillier, XII. 221-223. Hist. Lit. de la

France, IV. 531-546. Clarke, II. 471-473. B�hr, 380-383. Hefele, IV.

10, 45, 87, 88. Ebert, II. 221, 222.

Amalarius was a deacon and priest in Metz, and died in 837, as abbot of

Hornbach in the same diocese. It is not known when or where he was

born. During the deposition of Agobard (833-837), Amalarius was head of

the church at Lyons. He was one of the ecclesiastics who enjoyed the

friendship of Louis the Pious, and took part in the predestination

controversy, but his work against Gottschalk, undertaken at Hincmar's

request, is lost. He was prominent in councils. Thus he made the

patristic compilation from the Fathers (particularly from Isidore of

Seville) and councils upon the canonical life, which was presented at

the Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle in 817, [1163] and partly that upon

image-worship in the theological congress of Paris, presented Dec. 6,

825. In 834, as representative of Agobard, he held a council at Lyons

and discoursed to the members for three days upon the ecclesiastical

offices, as explained in his work mentioned below. The majority

approved, but Florus of Lyons did not, and sent two letters to the

council at Diedenhofen, calling attention to Amalarius insistence upon

the use of the Roman order and his dangerous teaching: that there was a

threefold body of Christ, (1) the body which he had assumed, (2) the

body which he has in us so long as we live, (3) the body which is in

the dead. Hence the host must be divided into three parts, one of which

is put in the cup, one on the paten and one on the altar, corresponding

to these three forms respectively. Farther he was charged with teaching

that the bread of the Eucharist stood for the body, the wine for the

soul of Christ, the chalice for his sepulchre, the celebrant for Joseph

of Arimathea, the archdeacon for Nicodemus, the deacons for the

apostles, the sub-deacons for the women at the sepulchre. But the

council had business in hand of too pressing a character to admit of

their investigating these charges. Not discouraged, Florus sent a

similar letter to the council of Quiercy (838), and by this council the

work of Amalarius was censured. [1164]

His writings embrace (1) Rules for the canonical life, [1165] already

referred to. It treats of the duties of ecclesiastics of all grades.

(2) Four books upon The ecclesiastical offices. [1166] It was written

by request of Louis the Pious, to whom it is dedicated, and was

completed about 820. In order to make it better, Amalarius pursued

special investigations in Tours, at the monastery of Corbie, and even

went to Rome. In 827 he brought out a second and greatly improved

edition. In its present shape the work is important for the study of

liturgics, since it describes minutely the exact order of service as it

was observed in the Roman church in the ninth century. If Amalarius had

been content to have given merely information it would have been better

for his reputation. As it was he attempted to give the reasons and the

meanings of each part of the service, and of each article in any way

connected with the service, and hence was led into wild and often

ridiculous theorizing and allegorizing. Thus the priest's alb signifies

the subduing of the passions, his shoes, upright walking; his cope,

good works; his surplice, readiness to serve his neighbors; his

handkerchief, good thoughts, etc.

(3) On the order of the anthems, [1167] i.e. in the Roman service. It

is a compilation of the antiphones of the Roman and French. churches.

(4) Eclogues on the office of the Mass, [1168] meaning again the Roman

mass. This insistence upon the Roman order was directed against

Archbishop Agobard of Lyons, who had not only not adopted the Roman

order, but had expurgated the liturgy of his church of everything which

in his judgment savored of false doctrine or which was undignified in

liturgical expression.

(5) Epistles. [1169] The first letter, addressed to Jeremiah,

archbishop of Sens, on the question whether one should write Jhesus or

Jesus. The second is Jeremiah's reply, deciding in favor of Jhesus. In

the third, Amalarius asks Jonas of Orleans whether one should use I H C

or I H S as a contraction of Jesus. Jonas favored I H S. The fourth is

on the Eucharist. Rantgarius is his correspondent. Amalarius maintains

the Real Presence. He says the first cup at supper signified the Old

Testament sacrifices, the figure of the true blood, which was in the

second cup. The fifth letter is to Hetto, a monk, who had asked whether

"seraphin" or "seraphim" is the correct form. Amalarius replies with

learned ignorance that both are correct, for "seraphin" is neuter and

"seraphim," masculine! The sixth is the most important of the series.

It is addressed to a certain Guntrad, who had been greatly troubled

because Amalarius had spit shortly after having partaken of the

Eucharist, and therefore had voided a particle of the body of Christ.

Amalarius, in his reply, says that he had so much phlegm in his throat

that he was obliged to spit very frequently. He did not believe,

however, that God would make that which helped his bodily injure his

spiritual health. He then goes on to say that the true honor of the

body of Christ is by the inner man, into which it enters as life. Hence

if one who inwardly revered the host should accidentally or unavoidably

spit out a fragment of the host he must not be judged as thereby

dishonoring the body of Christ. He thus touches, without passing

judgment upon, the position of the Stercoranists. The last letter is

only a fragment and is so different in style from the former that it

probably is not by Amalaritius of Metz.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1163] The Forma institutionis canonicorum et sanctimonialium in Migne,

Tom. CV. 815-976, is the full collection in two books, but Amalarius'

share was confined to the first book and probably only to a part of

that. Cf. Hefele, IV. 10.

[1164] See Florus' letters in Migne, Tom. CXIX. col. 71-96.

[1165] Regula canonicorum, in Migne, CV. col. 815-934.

[1166] De ecclesiasticis officiis libri quatuor, ibid. col. 985-1242.

[1167] Liber de ordine antiphonarii, ibid. col. 1243-1316.

[1168] Eclogae de officio missae ibid. col. 1315-1832.

[1169] Epistolae, ibid. l333-1340.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 164. Einhard.

I. Einhardus: Opera in Migne, Tom. CIV. col. 351-610; and Vita Caroli

in Tom. XCVII. col. 25-62; also complete Latin and French ed. by A.

Teulet: OEuvres compl�tes d'�ginhard, r�unies pour la premi�re fois et

traduites en fran�ais. Paris, 1840-43, 2 vols. The Annales and Vita of

Migne's ed. are reprinted from Pertz's Monumenta Germaniae historica

(I. 135-189 and II. 433-463, respectively); separate ed. of the Vita,

Hannover, 1839. The best edition of the Epistolae and Vita, is in

Philipp Jaff�: Monumenta Carolina, Berlin, 1867, pp. 437-541; and of

the Passio Marcellini et Petri is in Ernest D�mmler; Po�tae Latini aevi

Carolini, Tom. II. (Berlin, 1884), pp. 125-135. Teulet's translation of

Einhard's complete works has been separately issued, Paris, 1856.

Einhard's Vita Caroli has been translated into German by J. L. Ideler,

Hamburg, 1839, 2 vols. (with very elaborate notes), and by Otto Abel,

Berlin, 1850; and into English by W. Glaister, London, 1877, and by

Samuel Epes Turner, New York, 1880. Einhard's Annales have been

translated by Otto Abel (Einhard's Jahrb�cher), Berlin, 1850.

II. Cf. the prefaces and notes in the works mentioned above. Also

Ceillier, XII. 352-357. Hist. Lit. de la France, IV. 550-567. B�hr,

200-214. Ebert, II. 92-104. Also J. W. Ch. Steiner: Geschichte und

Beschreibung der Stadt und ehemal Abtei Seligenstadt. Aschaffenburg,

1820.

Einhard (or Eginhard), [1170] the biographer of Charlemagne and the

best of the historians of the Carolingian age, was the son of Einhard

and Engilfrita, and was born about 770, in that part of the Valley of

the Main which belongs to Hesse-Darmstadt. His family was noble and his

education was conducted in the famous Benedictine monastic school of

St. Boniface at Fulda, to which his parents sent gifts. [1171] About

792 the abbot Baugolf sent him to the court of Charlemagne, in order

that his already remarkable attainments might be increased and his

ability find ample scope. The favorable judgment and prophecy of

Baugolf were justified by events. He soon won all hearts by his amiable

disposition and applause by his versatile learning. He married Imma, a

maiden of noble family, sister of Bernharius, bishop of Worms, and with

her lived very happily for many years. [1172] She bore him a son named

Wussin who became a monk at Fulda. He enjoyed the Emperor's favor to a

marked degree, [1173] and figured in important and delicate matters.

Thus he was sent in 806 to Rome to obtain the papal signature to

Charlemagne's will dividing the empire among his sons. [1174] Again in

813 it was he who first suggested the admission of Louis to the

co-regency. He superintended the building operations of Charlemagne,

e.g. at Aix la Chapelle (Aachen), according to the ideas of Vitruvius,

whom he studied diligently. [1175] His skill as a craftsman won him the

academic title of Bezaleel. [1176] He pursued his studies and gathered

a fine library of classic authors. He edited the court annals. [1177]

Charlemagne's death (814) did not alter his position. Louis the Pious

retained him as councillor and appointed him in 817 instructor to his

son Lothair. When trouble broke out (830) between father and son he did

his best to reconcile them.

Although a layman he had received at different times since 815 a number

of church preferments. Louis made him abbot of Fontenelle in the

diocese of Rouen, of St. Peter's of Blandigny and St. Bavon's at Ghent,

of St. Servais' at Maestricht, and head of the church of St. John the

Baptist at Pavia. On Jan. 11, 815, Louis gave Einhard and Imma the

domains of Michelstadt and Mulinheim in the Odenwald on the Main; and

on June 2 of that year he is first addressed as abbot. [1178] As the

political affairs of the empire became more complicated he withdrew

more and more from public life, and turned his attention to literature.

He resigned the care of the abbey of Fontenelle in 823, and after

administrating other abbeys sought rest at Michelstadt. There he built

a church in which he put (827) the relics of the saints Marcellinus and

Petrus which had been stolen from the church of St. Tiburtius near

Rome. [1179] A year later, however, he removed to Mulinheim, which name

he changed to Seligenstadt; there he built a splendid church and

founded a monastery. After his unsuccessful attempt to end the strife

between Louis and Lothair he retired altogether to Seligenstadt. About

836 he wrote his now lost work upon the Worship of the Cross, which he

dedicated to Servatus Lupus. [1180] In 836 his wife died. His grief was

inconsolable, and aroused the commiseration of his friends; [1181] and

even the emperor Louis made him a visit of condolence. [1182] But he

carried his burden till his death on March 14, 840. He is honored as a

saint in the abbey of Fontenelle on February 20. His epitaph was

written by Rabanus Maurus.

He and his wife were originally buried in one sarcophagus in the choir

of the church in Seligenstadt, but in 1810 the sarcophagus was

presented by the Grand Duke of Hesse to the count of Erbach, who claims

descent from Einhard as the husband of Imma, the reputed daughter of

Charlemagne. The count put it in the famous chapel of his castle at

Erbach in the Odenwald.

Einhard was in stature almost a dwarf, but in mind he was in the esteem

of his contemporaries a giant. His classical training fitted him to

write an immortal work, the Life of Charlemagne. His position at court

brought him into contact on terms of equality with all the famous men

of the day. In youth he sat under Alcuin, in old age he was himself the

friend and inspirer of such a man as Servatus Lupus. His life seems to

have been on the whole favored, and although a courtier, he preserved

his simplicity and purity of character.

His Writings embrace:

1. The Life of the Emperor Charlemagne. [1183] This is one of the

imperishable works in literature. It is a tribute of sincere admiration

to one who was in many respects the greatest statesman that ever lived.

It was Einhard's ambition to do for Charlemagne what Suetonius had done

for Augustus. Accordingly he attempted an imitation of Suetonius in

style and as far as possible in contents, [1184] and it is high praise

to say that Einhard has not failed. The Life is the chief source of

knowledge about Charlemagne personally, and it is so written as to

carry the stamp of candor and truth, so that his private life stands

revealed and his public life sufficiently outlined. Einhard began it

soon after Charlemagne's death (814) and finished it about 820. It

quickly attained a wide-spread and enthusiastic reception. [1185] It

was looked upon as a model production. Later writers drew freely upon

it and portions were rendered into verse. [1186] It is not, however,

entirely free from inaccuracies, as the critical editions show.

2. The Annals of Lorsch. [1187] Einhard edited and partly rewrote them

from 741 to 801, [1188] and wrote entirely those from 802 to 829. These

annals give a brief record of the events of each year from the

beginning of Pepin's reign till the withdrawal of Einhard from court.

3. Account of the removal of the relics of the blessed martyrs

Marcellinus and Petrus. [1189] This is a very extraordinary narrative

of fraud and cunning and "miracles." In brief it very candidly states

that the relics were stolen by Deusdona, a Roman deacon, Ratleik,

Einhard's representative and Hun, a servant of the abbey of Soissons.

But after they had been safely conveyed from Rome they were openly

exhibited, and very many "miracles" were wrought by them, and it was to

relate these that the book was written.

4. The Passion of Marcellinus and Petrus [1190] is a poem of three

hundred and fifty-four trochaic tetrameters. It has been attributed to

Einhard, but the absence of all allusion to the removal of the relics

of these saints renders the authorship very doubtful. [1191]

5. Letters. [1192] There are seventy-one in all; many of them

defective. They are mostly very brief and on matters of business.

Several are addressed to Louis and Lothair, and one to Servatus Lupus

on the death of his (Einhard's) wife, which deserves particular

attention.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1170] The name is variously spelled, but the now common form Eginhard

is first found in the twelfth century.

[1171] Jaff� l.c. p. 488.

[1172] The legend that Imma was the daughter of Charlemagne dates from

the twelfth century, and probably arose from the false reading

neptitatem ("nephew") for ne pietatem in Eginhard's letter to Lothair.

See Jaff�, p. 446

[1173] Walahfrid's Prologue to the Vita, see Jaff�, p. 508.

[1174] Annales 806, in Migne, CIV. col. 466, l. 2, fr. bel.

[1175] Epistolae, ed. Jaff�, no. 56, p. 478, ed. Migne, no. 30 (col.

520).

[1176] Alcuin, Epist. ed. Jaff�, no. 112, p. 459.

[1177] See below.

[1178] For his preferments see Jaff� p. 493-495. On p. 493, Jaff�

proves that Einhard did not separate himself from his wife after

becoming an abbot.

[1179] See Account of the removal, etc., below.

[1180] See Lupus' reply to his letter (Lupus, Epist. ed. Migne, CXIX.

col. 445).

[1181] See his letter to Lupus and Lupus' reply, ibid. col. 437-446.

[1182] Jaff� ed. p. 499.

[1183] Vita Caroli Imperatoris, in Migne, XCVII. col. 27-62. Cf.

Jaff�'s ed., pp. 507-541.

[1184] The critical editions of the Vita bring this fact out very

plainly. Cf Ebert, l.c. 95.

[1185] .Pertz collated sixty MSS. of it.

[1186] Cf. B�hr, l.c. 210.

[1187] Annales Laurissenses et Eginhard, in Migne, CIV. col. 367-508.

Mon. Germ. Script. I. 134-218.

[1188] These are known as The Annales Laurissenses because the oldest

and comletest MS. was found in the monastery of Lorsch. Their original

text is printed alongside of Einhard's revision.

[1189] Historia translationis BB. Christi martyrum Marcellini et Petri

in Migne, Ibid. col. 537-594.

[1190] De passione M. et P. Ibid. col. 593-600.

[1191] So Ebert, l.c. 103.

[1192] Epistolae in Migne, ibid. col. 509-538.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 165. Smaragdus.

I. Smaragdus, abbas monasterii Sancti Michaelis Virdunensis: Opera

omnia in Migne, Tom. CII. cols. 9-980: with Pitra's notes, cols.

1111-1132. His Carmina are in D�mmler, Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, I.

605-619.

II. Haur�au: Singularit�s historiques et litt�raires. Paris, 1861 (pp.

100 sqq.) H. Keil: De grammaticis quibusdam latinis infimae aetatis

(Program) . Erlangen, 1868. Hist. Lit. de la France, IV. 439-447.

Ceillier, XII. 254-257. B�hr, 362-364. Ebert, II. 108-12.

Of the early life of Smaragdus nothing is known. He joined the

Benedictine order of monks, and after serving as principal of the

convent school was elected about 805 abbot of the monastery on Mt.

Castellion. Sometime later he moved his monks a few miles away and

founded the monastery of St. Mihiel on the banks of the Meuse, in the

diocese of Verdun. He was a man of learning and of practical activity.

In consequence he was highly esteemed by the two monarchs under whom he

lived, Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. The former employed him to

write the letter to Pope Leo III. in which was communicated the

decision of the council of Aix la Chapelle (809) respecting the

adoption of the Filioque, and sent him to Rome with the commissioners

to lay the matter before the pope. He acted as secretary, and drew up

the protocol. Louis the Pious showed him equal consideration, richly

endowed his monastery, and in 824 appointed him to act with Frotharius,

bishop of Toul (813837) as arbitrator between Ismund, abbot of Milan,

and his monks. Smaragdus died about 840.

His writings show diligence and piety, but no originality. His

published works in prose are: (1) Collections of Comments on the

Epistle and Gospel for each holy day in the year, [1193] an uncritical

but comprehensive compilation from numerous ecclesiastical writers,

prepared for the use of preachers, and described by the author as a

liber comitis. (2) The monk's diadem, [1194] a collection in one

hundred chapters of ascetic rules and reflections concerning the

principal duties and virtues of the monastic life. It is for the most

part a compilation. The sources are the Collectiones patrum of Cassian

and the writings of Gregory the Great. Smaragdus made it after his

elevation to the abbotship and enjoined its daily evening reading upon

his monks. [1195] It proved to be a very popular work, was widely

circulated during the Middle Age, and has been repeatedly published .

[1196] (3) Commentary upon the rule of St. Benedict [1197] undertaken

in aid of the monastic reforms instituted by the council of Aix la

Chapelle (817). It is characterized by great strictness. (4) The Royal

way [1198] dedicated to Louis the Pious while king of Aquitania. [1199]

it consists of thirty-two chapters of moral and spiritual counsels,

which if faithfully followed will conduct an earthly king into the

heavenly kingdom. The work is really only an adaptation of the Diadem

to the wants of the secular life. (5) Acts of the Roman conference,

[1200] the protocol already alluded to. (6) Epistle of Charles the

Great to Leo the Pope upon the procession of the Holy Spirit, [1201]

the letter mentioned above. (7) Epistle of Frotharius and Smaragdus to

the Emperor Louis, [1202] the report of the arbitrators. (8) A larger

grammar or a commentary upon Donatus. [1203] His earliest work, written

at the request of his scholars, probably between 800 and 805. It is

still unprinted, except a small portion. [1204] There yet remain in MS.

a Commentary on the Prophets, and a History of the Monastery of St.

Michael [1205] Smaragdus also wrote poetry. Besides a hymn to Christ,

[1206] there have been preserved his metrical introductions to his

Collections and Commentary on the rule of St. Benedict, of which the

first has twenty-nine lines in hexameter, and the second thirty-seven

distichs.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1193] Collectiones in epistolas et evangelia de tempore. et de

sanctis. Migne, CII. col 13-552.

[1194] Diadema monachorum, ibid. col. 593--690.

[1195] 98 "Et quia mos est monachorum. ut regulam beati Benedicii ad

capitulum legant quotidie matutinum: volumus ut iste libellus ad eorum

capitulum quotidie legatur vespertinum (col. 693). "

[1196] Paris, 1532, 16 40; Antwerp, 1540; Bibliotheca Maxima, Lyons,

1677, Tom. XVI. pp. 1305-1342, and Migne, Patrol Lat., CI I., Paris,

1851.

[1197] Commentaria in regulum Sancti Benedicti, Migne, CII. col. 689-

932.

[1198] Via regia, ibid. col 933-970.

[1199] So Ebert, l.c. p. III.

[1200] Acta collationis Romanae Migne, CII. col. 971-976

[1201] Epistola Caroli Magni ad Leonem Papam de processione Spiritus

Sancti, Migne, XCVIII. col. 923-929.

[1202] Epistola Frotharii et Smaragdi ad Ludovicum Imperatorem, Migne,

CVI. col, 865-866.

[1203] Grammatica major seu commentarius in Donatum.

[1204] Mabillon, Vetera analectam, Nov. ed. (Paris, 1723) pp. 357, 358.

[1205] Cf. Mabillon, l.c.

[1206] Ebert, l.c. p. 112.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 166. Jonas of Orleans.

I. Jonas, Aurelianensis episcopus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CVI.

col. 117-394.

II. Du Pin, VII. 3, 4. Ceillier, XII. 389-394. Hist. Lit. de la France,

V. 20-31. B�hr, 394-398. Ebert, II. 225-230.

Jonas was a native of Aquitania, and in 821 succeeded Theodulph as

archbishop of Orleans. In the first year of his episcopate he reformed

the convent at Mici, near Orleans, and thereby greatly extended its

usefulness. His learning in classical and theological literature joined

to his administrative ability made him a leader in important councils,

and also led to his frequent employment by Louis the Pious on delicate

and difficult commissions. Thus the emperor sent him to examine the

administration of the law in certain districts of his empire, and in

835 to the monasteries of Fleury and St. Calez in Le Mains. His most

conspicuous service was, however, in connection with the gathering of

bishops and theologians held at Paris in Nov. 825 to consider the

question of image-worship. The emperor sent him and Jeremiah,

archbishop of Sens, to Rome to lay before the pope that part of the

collection of patristic quotations on the subject made by Halitgar and

Amalarius, which was most appropriate. [1207] The issue of this

transaction is unknown. He was the leading spirit in the reform council

of Paris (829), and probably drew up its acts; [1208] and again at

Diedenhofen, where, on March 4, 835, he dictated the protocol of Ebo's

deposition. [1209] He died at Orleans in 843 or 844.

His Writings are interesting and important, although few.

1. The layman's rule of life, [1210] in three books, composed in 828

for Mathfred, count of Orleans, who had requested instruction how to

lead a godly life while in the bonds of matrimony. The first and last

books are general in their contents, but the second is for the most

part specially addressed to married people. As might be expected Jonas

takes strong ground against vice in all its forms and so his work has

great value in the history of ethics. It is very likely that the second

book was composed first. [1211]

2. The Kings rule of life, [1212] written about 829 and dedicated to

Pepin. Both the above-mentioned works are little more than compilations

from the Bible and the fathers, especially from Augustin, but the

author's own remarks throw a flood of light upon the sins and follies

of his time. [1213]

3. The Worship of Images. [1214] This is his chief work, and a very

important one. It is in three books, and was written against Claudius

of Turin. It was nearly finished at the time of the latter's death

(839), and then laid aside since Jonas fancied that the bold position

of Claudius would scarcely be assumed by any one else. But when he

found that the pupils and followers of Claudius were propagating the

same opinions he took up his book again and finished it about 842. It

had been begun at the request of Louis the Pious; but he having died in

840, Jonas dedicated the work to his son, Charles the Bald, in a letter

in which the above-mentioned facts about its origin are stated. Jonas

opposes Claudius with his own weapons of irony and satire, gives his

portrait in no flattering colors and even ridicules his latinity. The

first book defends the use of images (pictures), the invocation and

worship of the saints, the doctrine of their intercession, and the

veneration due to their relics, but asserts that the French do not

worship images. The second book defends the veneration of the cross,

and the third pilgrimages to Rome.

4. History of the translation of the relics of Saint Hubert. [1215]

Hubert, patron saint of hunters, died in 727 as first bishop of Li�ge,

and was buried there in St. Peter's church. In 744 he was moved to

another portion of the church, but in 825 bishop Walcand of Li�ge

removed his relics to the monastery of Andvin which he had

reestablished, and it is this second translation which Jonas describes.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1207] Hefele, IV. 46.

[1208] Ebert, l.c. p. 226. Hefele does not mention him in this

connection.

[1209] Hefele, IV. 87.

[1210] . De institutione laicali. Migne, CVI. col. 121-278.

[1211] Ebert, l.c. p. 229

[1212] De institutione regia. Migne, CVI. col. 279-306.

[1213] The fact that portions of these two books not only agree word

for word but also with the Acts of the Paris reform-council of 829 is

proof, as Ebert maintains (pp. 227-29), of the prior existence of the

Acts.

[1214] De cultu imaginum, Migne, CVI. col. 305-388.

[1215] Historia translationis S. Hucberti, ibid. col. 389-394.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 167. Rabanus Maurus.

I. Rabanus Maurus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CVII.-CXII. His Carmina

are in D�mmler's Poetae Latini aevi Carolini, II. 159-258. Migne's

edition is a reprint, with additions, of that of Colvenerius, Cologne,

1617, but is not quite complete, for D�mmler gives new pieces, and

others are known to exist in MS.

II. The Prolegomena in Migne, CVII. col. 9-106, which contains the

Vitae by Mabillon, Rudolf, Raban's pupil, and by Trithemius. Johann

Franz Buddeus: Dissertatio de vita ac doctrina Rabani Mauri Magnentii,

Jena, 1724. Friedrich Heinrich Christian Schwarz: Commentatio de Rabano

Mauro, primo Germaniae praeceptore (Program). Heidelberg, 1811. Johann

Konrad Dahl: Leben und Schriften des Erzbischofs Rabanus Maurus. Fulda,

1828. Nicolas Bach: Hrabanus Maurus; der Sch�pfer des deutschen

Schulwesens (Program). Fulda, 1835. Friedrich Kunstmann: Hrabanus

Magnentius Maurus. Mainz, 1841. Theodor Spengler: Leben des heiligen

Rhabanus Maurus. Regensburg, 1856. K�hler: Hrabanus Maurus und die

Schule zu Fulda (Dissertation). Leipzig, 1870. Richter: Babanus Maurus.

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Paedagogik im Mittelalter (Program).

Malchin, 1883. Cf. E. F. J. Dronke: Codex dip Fuld. Cassel, 1850. J.

Bass Mullinger: The Schools of Charles the Great. London, 1877, pp.

188-157. J. F. B�hmer: Regesten zur Gesch. d. Mainzer Erzbisch�fe, ed.

C. Will. 1. Bd. a.d. 742-1160. Innsbruck, 1877.

III. Du Pin, VII. 160-166. Ceillier, XII. 446-476. Hist. Lit. de la

France, V. 151-203. B�hr, 415-447. Ebert, II. 120-145.

His Life.

Magnentius Hrabanus Maurus is the full name, as written by himself,

[1216] of one of the greatest scholars and teachers of the Carolingian

age. He was born in Mainz [1217] about 776. At the age of nine he was

placed by his parents in the famous Benedictine monastery of Fulda, in

the Grand-duchy of Hesse, which was then in a very flourishing

condition under Baugolf (780-802). There he received a careful

education both in sacred and secular learning, for Baugolf was himself

a classical scholar. Raban took the monastic vows, and in 801 was

ordained deacon. In 802 Baugolf died and was succeeded by Ratgar. The

new abbot at first followed the example of his predecessor, and in

order to keep up the reputation of the monastery for learning he sent

the brightest of the inmates to Tours to receive the instruction of

Alcuin, not only in theology but particularly in the liberal arts.

Among them was Raban, who indeed had a great desire to go. The meeting

of the able and experienced, though old, wearied and somewhat

mechanical teacher, and the fresh, vigorous, insatiable student, was

fraught with momentous consequences for Europe. Alcuin taught Raban far

more than book knowledge; he fitted him to teach others, and so put him

in the line of the great teachers--Isidore, Bede, Alcuin. Between

Alcuin and Raban there sprang up a very warm friendship, but death

removed the former in the same year in which Raban returned to Fulda

(804), and so what would doubtless have been a most interesting

correspondence was limited to a single interchange of letters. [1218]

Raban was appointed principal of the monastery's school. In his work he

was at first assisted by Samuel, his fellow-pupil at Tours, but when

the latter was elected bishop of Worms Raban carried on the school

alone. The new abbot, Ratgar, quickly degenerated into a tyrant with an

architectural mania. He begrudged the time spent in study and

instruction. Accordingly he chose very effective measures to break up

the school. He took the books away from the scholars and even from

their principal, Raban Maur. [1219] In 807 the monastery was visited

with a malignant fever, and a large proportion of the monks, especially

of the younger ones, died, and many left. Thus by death and defection

the number was reduced from 400 to 150, but those who remained had to

work all the harder. It was probably during this period of misrule and

misery that Raban made his journey to Palestine, to which, however, he

only once alludes. [1220] On December 23, 814, he was ordained priest.

[1221]

In 817 Ratgar was deposed and Raban's friend Eigil elected in his

place. [1222] With Eigil a better day dawned for the monastery. Raban

was now unhampered in teaching and able once more to write. The school

grew so large that it had to be divided. Those scholars who were

designed for the secular life were taught in a separate place outside

the monastery. The library was also much increased.

In 822 Eigil died and Raban was elected his successor. He proved a good

leader in spiritual affairs. He took personal interest in the monks,

and frequently preached to them. He paid particular attention to the

education of the priests. He compiled books for their especial benefit,

and as far as possible taught in the school, particularly on Biblical

topics. The principal of the school under him was Canadidus, already

mentioned as the biographer of Eigil. [1223] His most famous pupils

belong to this period: Servatus Lupus, Walahfrid Strabo (826-829) and

Otfrid. He showed his passion for collecting relics, which he enshrined

in a very costly way. He also built churches and extended the influence

of Fulda by colonizing his monks in different places, adding six

affiliated monasteries to the sixteen already existing.

In the spring of 842 Raban laid down his office and retired to the

"cell" on the Petersberg, in the neighborhood of Fulda. There he

thought he should be able to end his days in literary activity

undisturbed by the cares of office. To this end he called in the aid of

several assistants and so worked rapidly. But he was too valuable a man

to be allowed to retire from active life. Accordingly on the death of

Otgar, archbishop of Mainz (April 21, 847), he was unanimously elected

by the chapter, the nobility and the people of Mainz his successor. He

reluctantly consented, and was consecrated June 26, 847. In October of

that year he held his first synod in the monastery of St. Alban's,

Mainz. It was a provincial council by command of Louis the German.

Among the notables present were his suffragans, Samuel of Worms, his

former fellow-teacher, Ebo of Hildesheim, Haymo of Halberstadt, his

fellow-student under Alcuin, and also Ansgar of Hamburg, who had come

to plead for the Northern mission. This synod renewed the command to

the priests to preach. In this act Raban is recognized. On October 1,

848, a second synod was held at Mainz, which is memorable as the first

in which the Gottschalk matter was discussed. Gottschalk had been a

pupil at Fulda and his course had incurred the anger of Raban, who

accordingly opposed him in the council. The result was that the synod

decided adversely to Gottschalk and sent him for judgment to Hincmar.

In the Annals of Fulda begun by Enhard (not to be confounded with

Einhard), and continued by Rudolf, it is gratefully recorded that

during the great famine in Germany in 850 Raban fed more than 300

persons daily in the village of Winzel. [1224] In October, 851 or 852,

Raban presided over a third synod at Mainz, which passed a number of

reform canons; such as one forbidding the clergy to hunt, and another

anathematizing a layman who withdrew from a priest who had been

married, thinking it wrong to receive the eucharist from such a one.

[1225]

Raban died at Mainz Feb. 4, 456, and was buried in the monastery of St.

Alban's. He wrote his own epitaph which is modest yet just. In 1515

Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg removed his bones to Halle.

His Position And Influence.

Raban was one of the most eminent men in the ninth century for virtue,

piety and scholarship. As pupil he was unremitting in his pursuit of

learning; as teacher he was painstaking, inspiring and instructive; as

abbot he strove to do his whole duty; as archbishop he zealously

contended for the faith regardless of adversaries; according to his own

motto, "When the cause is Christ's, the opposition of the bad counts

for naught." He bore his honors modestly, and was free from pride or

envy. While willing to yield to proper demands and patient of

criticism, he was inflexible and rigorous in maintaining a principle.

He had the courage to oppose alone the decision of the council of 829

that a monk might leave his order. He denied the virtues of astrology

and opposed trial by ordeal. He early declared himself a friend of

Louis the Pious and plainly and earnestly rebuked the unfilial conduct

of his sons. After the death of Louis he threw in his fortune with

Lothair and the defeat of the latter at Fontenai, June 25, 841, was a

personal affliction and may have hastened his resignation of the

abbotship, which took place in the spring of the following year. The

relations, however, between him and his new king, Louis the German,

were friendly. Louis called him to his court and appointed him

archbishop of Mainz.

Raban's permanent fame rests upon his labors as teacher and educational

writer. From these he has won the proud epithet, Primus Germaniae

Praeceptor. The school at Fulda became famous for piety and erudition

throughout the length and breadth of the Frankish kingdom. Many noble

youth, as well as those of the lower classes, were educated there and

afterwards became the bishops and pastors of the Church of Germany. No

one was refused on the score of poverty. Fulda started the example,

quickly followed in other monasteries, of diligent Bible study. And

what is much more remarkable, Raban was the first one in Germany to

conduct a monastic school in which many boys were trained for the

secular life. [1226] It is this latter action which entitles him to be

called the founder of the German school system. The pupils of Raban

were in demand elsewhere as teachers; and princes could not find a

better school than his for their sons. One of the strongest proofs of

its excellence is the fact that Einhard, himself a former pupil at

Fulda, and now a great scholar and teacher, sent his son Wussin there,

and in a letter still extant exhorts his son to make diligent use of

his rare advantages, and above all to attend to what is said by that

"great orator," Raban Maur. [1227] Raban's encyclopaedia, The Universe,

attests his possession of universal learning and of the power to impart

it to others. So, while Alcuin was his model, he enlarged upon his

master's conception of education, and in himself and his works set an

example whose influence has never been lost.

His Writings.

Raban was a voluminous author. But like the other writers of his time,

he made mostly compilations from the Fathers and the later

ecclesiastics. He was quick to respond to the needs of his day, and to

answer questions of enquiring students. He betrays a profound

acquaintance with the Holy Scripture. His works may be divided into

seven classes.

I. Biblical. (1) Commentaries upon the whole Bible, except Ezra,

Nehemiah, Job, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the Minor Prophets,

Catholic Epistles and Revelation. He commented also on the Apocryphal

books, Judith, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus and Maccabees. [1228] These

commentaries were probably in part compiled by his pupils, under his

direction. They preserved a knowledge both of the Bible and of the

Fathers in an age when books were very scarce and libraries still

rarer. A single fact very strikingly brings out this state of things.

Frechulf, bishop of Lisieux, in urging Raban to comment on the

Pentateuch, states that in his diocese there were very few books of any

kind, not even a whole Bible, much less any complete exposition of it.

[1229] Raban thus gives his views of biblical interpretation: [1230]

"If any one would master the Scriptures he must first of all diligently

find out the amount of history, allegory, anagoge and trope there may

be in the part under consideration. For there are four senses to the

Scriptures, the historical, the allegorical, the tropological and the

anagogical, which we call the daughters of wisdom. Through these Wisdom

feeds her children. To those who are young and beginning to learn she

gives the milk of history; to those advancing in the faith the bread of

allegory; those who are truly and constantly doing good so that they

abound therein she satisfies with the savory repast of tropology;

while, finally, those who despise earthly things and ardently desire

the heavenly she fills to the full with the wine of anagoge."

In accordance with these principles his commentaries' except that of

Matthew, the earliest issued (819), contain very little proper

exegesis, but a great deal of mystical and spiritual interpretation.

The labor in their composition must have been considerable, but he

carried it on for twenty years. He did not always copy the exact

language of his sources, but reproduced it in his own words. He was

particular to state the place of his excerpts. Each successive

commentary had a separate dedication. Thus, those on Judith and Esther

were dedicated to the empress Judith, because, he says, she resembled

the Hebrew heroines; that on Chronicles to Louis the Pious, her

husband, as a guide in government; that on Maccabees to Louis the

German; that on Jeremiah to Lothair.

(2) He also prepared a commentary in the same style upon the Biblical

hymns sung in morning worship. [1231]

(3) Scripture Allegories [1232] a conveniently arranged dictionary, in

alphabetical order of terms which were defined allegorically. Thus,

"Annus is the time of grace, as in Isaiah [lxi. 2], 'the acceptable

year of the Lord.' Also, the multitude of the redeemed, as in Job iii.

6, 'let it not be joined unto the days of the year' among the elect who

are saved. Also the eternity of Christ, as in Psalm cii. 24, 'thy years

are throughout all generations,' because the eternity of God lasts

forever. It also signifies our life, as in Psalm xc. 9, 'our years are

thought upon as if a cobweb' (Vulg.) i.e., our life rushes along in

emptiness and corruption." [1233]

(4) The life of Mary Magdalene and her sister Martha. [1234] It

includes the related sections of our Lord's life and the legendary

history of the sisters, and is in its way an interesting work. But he

confounds Mary the sister of Lazarus with Mary of Magdala, and the

latter again with the woman that was a sinner. Hence after declaring

that Mary was a miracle of beauty he is obliged to touch upon her

unchastity prior to her meeting with Christ.

II. Educational. (1) The Institutes of the clergy. [1235] This

important work was written in 819 in answer to numerous requests. It is

in three books, prefaced by a poetical epigram. The prose preface gives

an outline of the work, and states its sources. The work is very

largely directly compiled from Augustin's De doctrina Christiana,

Cassiodorus' Institutiones, and Gregory's Cura pastoralis. The first

book of Raban's Institutes relates to ecclesiastical orders, clerical

vestments, the sacraments, [1236] and the office of the mass. The

second book relates to the canonical hours, the litany, fasting, alms,

penance, the feasts, prayers for the dead, singing of psalms and hymns,

reading of the Scriptures, the creed and gives a list of the heresies.

The third book treats of the education requisite to make an efficient

servant of the church. It is noteworthy that he lays primary stress

upon a knowledge of the Scriptures, [1237] and gives directions for

their study and explanation. He then passes on to discuss the

components of education as then conducted, i.e. the seven liberal arts,

and closes with directions how to speak and teach with the best

results. He properly remarks that the preacher should have regard to

the age, sex, and failings of his audience. He is to come forth as

God's spokesman, and if he is truly a man of God he will be upheld by

divine power. This is the proper spirit. Man is nothing. God is

everything. "Let him who glorieth glory in Him in whose hand both we

and our sermons are." [1238]

(2) On Computation. [1239] It was written in 820, and is in the form of

a dialogue between a master and his disciple. Much of it was copied

verbatim from Bede's De temporum ratione, Isidore's Etymologies, and

Bo�thius' Arithmetic. But the resulting work marked an advance in

instruction in the important matter of computing numbers, times and

seasons.

(3) The Universe. [1240] Isidore of Seville had already set the example

of preparing an encyclopedia of universal knowledge, and Raban in his

Universe merely reproduces Isidore's Etymologies, with some difference

in the arrangement of the material, and with the addition of

allegorical and spiritual matter, interpretations of the names and

words, together with many quotations of Scripture. The work was one of

the early fruits of his learned leisure, being written about 844. It is

in twenty-two books, the number in the Hieronymian canon of the Old

Testament, and is dedicated to Haymo of Halberstadt, and to King Louis.

It begins with the doctrine of God, and the first five books relate to

religion and worship. The remaining books relate to secular things,

ranging from man himself, considered as an animal, through the beasts

to the starry heavens, time and the divisions of time, the waters on

and under the earth, the clouds above it, and the earth itself. He then

speaks of mountains and valleys and divers places; of public buildings

and their parts; of philosophy and linguistics, stones and metals,

weights and measures, diseases and remedies, trees and plants, wars and

triumphs, shows and games, pictures and colors, dress and ornaments,

food and drink, vehicles and harness.

(4) Excerpt from Priscian's Grammar, [1241] an abridged edition of a

standard grammar. It is almost entirely confined to prosody, but it

served to introduce Priscian into schools. [1242]

(5) The holy orders, divine sacraments and priestly garments. [1243]

(6) Ecclesiastical discipline. [1244] The last two treatises, made

during the author's archiepiscopate, are merely extracts from the

Institutes, with slight alterations.

(7) The parts of the human body, in Latin and German. [1245] This

glossary, was drawn up by Walahfrid Strabo from Raban's lectures. At

the end are the months and the winds in Latin and German. [1246]

(8) The invention of languages [1247] [letters], a curious collection

of alphabets--Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Scythian and Runic, with the names

of the supposed inventors. The little tract also includes the commonest

abbreviations and monograms.

III. Occasional writings, i.e., upon current questions and in answer to

questions. (1) The oblation of boys, [1248] the famous treatise in

which Raban argued against the position the Mainz Council of 829 had

taken in allowing Gottschalk to leave his order. Gottschalk produced

two arguments, the first that it was not right to compel a person to

remain a monk just because his parents had in his infancy, or immature

youth put him in a monastery. The second was that the oblation of a

minor must be established by a properly qualified witness, and that in

his case only Saxons could give such testimony, since, according to

Saxon law, it was illegal to deprive a Saxon of his liberty on the

testimony of a non-Saxon. Raban tries to refute him upon both points.

He shows that both the Scriptures and the Fathers by precept and

example allow of the consecration of children, and in relation to the

second point he rejoins: As if the service of Christ deprived a man of

his liberty and nobility!" [1249] But the real objection to

Gottschalk's second argument was the latter's assertion that Frankish

testimony could not be received. This roused Raban's patriotism and

incited his eloquence. "Who does not know," he says, "that the Franks

were Christians long before the Saxons? Yet the latter, contrary to all

human and divine law, arrogate to themselves the right to reject

Frankish testimony." [1250] Having thus answered Gottschalk, he proves

by the Bible his third argument, that a vow to God must not be broken.

His final point is that monasticism is a divine institution. In this

treatise he does not name Gottschalk, but the reference is

unmistakeable. His whole conduct towards the unfortunate Gottschalk was

intolerant.

(2) The reverence of children to their parents, and of subjects to

their king. [1251] This was addressed to Louis the Pious after his

deposition and imprisonment in the year 833. By Biblical quotations he

shows that God has commanded children to honor their parents and

subjects their kings, and has put his curse upon those who do not. Then

coming directly to the point he makes the application to the existing

circumstances, and calls the sons of Louis to obedience. He defends

Louis against the charge of homicide in executing Bernard; and finally

addressing the emperor he comforts him in his sorrow and counsels him

to exercise clemency when he is restored to power. The whole treatise

does great credit to Raban's head and heart.

(3) On the degrees of relationship within which marriage is

permissible. [1252]

(4) Magic arts. [1253] Raban was singularly free from the superstitions

of his time, for in the second part of this tract, written in 842, he

takes strong ground against necromancy in all its forms, of which he

gives an interesting catalogue, and while explaining the appearance of

ghosts, evil spirits and similar supposed existences on the ground of

demoniac influence, he yet admits the possibility that the senses may

be deceived. Curiously enough, he cites in point the appearance of

Samuel to Saul. He denies the reality of Samuel's appearance and holds

that Saul was deceived by the devil; for two reasons, (1) the real

Samuel, the man of God, would not have permitted the worship which Saul

paid to the supposed Samuel; (2) the real Samuel was in Abraham's

bosom; he would, therefore, not say to the impious king, "To-morrow

thou shalt be with me." [1254]

(4) A Response to certain Canonical Questions of the Suffragan Bishop

Reginald. [1255]

(5) Whether it is permissible for a suffragan bishop to ordain priests

and deacons with the consent of his bishop. [1256] He replies in the

affirmative.

IV. Writings upon Penance. (1) Two Penitentials. [1257] They give the

decisions of councils respecting penance. (2) Canonical questions

relating to penance. [1258] (3) The virtues and vices and the

satisfaction for sin. [1259]

V. Miscellaneous. (1) Homilies. [1260] There are two collections, the

first seventy in number upon the principal feasts and on the virtues;

the second, one hundred and sixty-three upon the Gospels and Epistles.

The first collection must have been made earlier than 826, for it is

dedicated to bishop Haistulf, who died in that year. The most of these

homilies were doubtless actually delivered by Raban. The sermons of Leo

the Great, Augustin, Alcuin and others have been liberally drawn on,

and so the homilies are compilations in great measure, like the rest of

his works. Yet a few are apparently original and have the greatest

interest, inasmuch as they treat of the vices then current and so

furnish a picture of the times. [1261]

(2) Treatise on the Soul. [1262] It is an extract with slight additions

from Cassiodorus' De Anima, as he acknowledges in his preface to king

Lothair. To it are appended extracts from the De disciplina Romanae

militiae of Flavius Vegetius Renatus. The reason given for this strange

appendix is "the frequent incursions of the Barbarians." The treatise

was perhaps the last product of Rabanus. [1263]

(3) A martyrology. [1264] The saints for the different days are noted,

in most cases merely the name is given, in others there are short

sketches. Its principal source is Jerome. It was prepared at the

request of Ratleik, who stole the relics of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus

for Einhard; and is prefaced by a short poem addressed to the abbot

Grimold.

(4) The vision of God, purity of heart and mode of penance. [1265]

Three books dedicated to the abbot Bonosus (Hatto). The first is mostly

extracted from Augustin's De vivendo Deo; the second and the third from

other old sources.

(5) The Passion of our Lord, [1266] a brief and pious meditation upon

our Lord's sufferings.

VI. Letters. (1) A letter to Bishop Humbert upon lawful degrees of

relationship between married persons. [1267] (2) Seven miscellaneous

letters. [1268] Epist. i. to suffragan bishop Regimbald on discipline.

Epist. iii. to Eigil against Radbertus's view of the Lord's Supper.

Epist. iv. v. vi. to Hincmar, Notingus and Count Eberhard upon

predestination. Epist. vii. to Louis the German; the acts of the Mainz

council of 848. Epist. viii. on Gottschalk, a synodical letter to

Hincmar.

VII. Poems. Raban was no poetic genius; yet he had carefully studied

prosody and he was able to write verses to his friends and for

different occasions. [1269] He also wrote some epitaphs, including his

own. His most extraordinary production is a long poem, "The praise of

the Cross." This was begun at the suggestion of Alcuin in Tours, but

not completed until 815. It is a monument of misdirected skill and

patience. He presents twenty-eight drawings by his friend Hatto. Some

are geometrical, others are of persons or objects. The page on which is

the drawing is filled in by a stanza of the poem, the letters of which

are regularly spaced and some are purposely arranged in prominent and

peculiar positions so that they catch the eye and form other words.

Each stanza is followed by an explanatory section in prose, and the

second book is a prose treatise upon the subject. The whole is prefaced

by three poems; the first pleads for the intercession of Alcuin, the

second is the dedication to the Pope, and the third, "The figure Of

Caesar" is the dedication to Louis the Pious. Alcuin had written a

poem, "On the Holy Cross," upon a somewhat similar plan. So that the

suggestion may have come from him, but the idea may be traced to

Fortunatus. This poem of Raban Maur was very popular in the Middle Age

and was considered a marvel of ingenuity.

The hymns of Raban are few in number, for although many have been

attributed to him his right to most of them is very doubtful.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1216] Praefatio to his De laudibus sanctae crucis Migne, CVII. col.

147, 148. Magnentius indicates his birth at Mainz. which was called in

the Old High German Magenze (see Ebert II. 121 n.). Hrabanus is the

Latinized form of Hraban (i e."raven "). Rabanus is the ordinary

spelling. Maurus was the epithet given to him by Alcuin (Migne, CIX.

col. 10) to indicate that in Rabanus were found the virtues which had

made Maurus the favorite disciple of the great St. Benedict.

[1217] Cf. his self-written epitaph, Migne, CXII. col. 1671.

[1218] Only one of the two, Alcuin's, has been preserved (Migne, C.

col. 398). That Raban wrote first is a reasonable conjecture from

Alcuin's letter. Cf Mullinger, p. 139.

[1219] In a poem (Migne, CXII. col. 1600) addressed to Ratgar, he

gently pleads for the return of his books and papers. In another longer

poem he describes the defection caused by Ratgar's tyranny (ibid. col.

1621).

[1220] In his comment on Joshua xi. 8 (Migne, CVIII. col. 1053, l. 38).

[1221] Migne, CVII. col. 15.

[1222] See p. 700.

[1223] See. p. 701.

[1224] Migne, CVII, col. 24.

[1225] Hefele, IV. 179-181.

[1226] Migne, CVII. col. 82, 83, 84.

[1227] Migne, CIV. col. 519.

[1228] Unprinted are the commentaries on Isaiah, Daniel and John; lost

those on Mark, Luke and Acts. The remainder are found in Migne, CVII.

col. 439-670; 727-1156. CVIII., CIX., CXI. 679-1616. CXII. 9-834.

[1229] Preface to Matt., Migne, CVII. col. 727.

[1230] Migne, CXII. col. 849.

[1231] Comment. in cantica quae ad matutinas laudes dicuntur. [CXII.

col. 1089-1166.

[1232] Allegoriae in universam Sacram Scripturam. Ibid. col. 849-1088.

[1233] Ibid. col. 858.

[1234] De vita beatae Mariae Magdalenae et sororis ejus sanctae

Marthae, ibid. col. 1431--1508.

[1235] De clericorum institutione, CVII. col. 293-420.

[1236] He defends the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist by an

appeal to Jewish Passover usage, the Eucharist being the Christian

Passover, and the use of wine mingled with water for the reason that

out of the Saviour's pierced side there flowed both water and blood.

The water signifies the people, the wine the blood of Christ. Therefore

their union in the cup signifies the union of the people with Christ,

ibid. Lib. 1. Cap. XXX[. (col. 319, 320.)

[1237] Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. If. (col. 379.)

[1238] Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. XXXIX. col. 420

[1239] Liber de computo, CVII. col. 669-728.

[1240] De universo, CXI. col. 9-614.

[1241] Excerptio de arte grammatica Prisciani, ibid. col. 613-678.

[1242] B�hr, l.c. 419.

[1243] Liber de sacris ordinibus, sacramentis divinis et vestimentis

sacerdotalibus, Migne, CXII. col. 1165-1192.

[1244] De ecclesiastica disciplina libri tres, CXII. col. 1191-1262.

[1245] Glossae latino-barbaricae de partibus humani corporis, ibid.

col. 1575-1578.

[1246] There are also extant a few words from his Latin-German glossary

to the Bible, ibid. col. 1583. Cf. Steinmeyer u. Sievers, Die

althochdeutschen Glossen gesammelt u. bearbeitet, Berlin, 1879 (I.3

sqq.); quoted by Ebert, l.c. 127.

[1247] De inventione linguarum, Migne, CXII. col. 1579-1584.

[1248] Liber de oblatione puerorum, CVII. col. 419-440.

[1249] Quasi illi libertatem ac nobilitatem generis sui perdant qui

servitium Christi profitentur. CVII. col. 431.

[1250] Ibid. col. 432.

[1251] De reverentia filiorum erga patres et subditorum erga reges. Cf.

Ebert, l.c. 139, 140.

[1252] De consanguineorum nuptiis et de magorum praegtigiis falsisque

divinationibus tractatus, CX. col. 1087-1110.

[1253] De consanguineorum nuptiis et de magorum praegtigiis falsisque

divinationibus tractatus, CX. col. 1087-1110.

[1254] CX. col. 1100.

[1255] Responsa canonica super quibusdam interrogationibus Reginbaldi

chorepiscopi, ibid. col. 1187-1196.

[1256] Si liceat chorepiscopis presbyteros et diaconos ordinare cum

consensu episcopi sui ibid. col. 1195-1206.

[1257] Poenitentiale, ibid. col. 467-494. Poenitentium liber, CXII.

col. 1397-1424.

[1258] De quaestionibus canonum poenitentialium libri tres, ibid. col.

1333-1336. (The preface only.)

[1259] De vitiis et virtutibus et peccatorum satisfactione, ibid. col.

1335-1398. (Only the third book.)

[1260] Homiliae, CX. col. 9-468.

[1261] Ebert, l.c. p. 141, mentions particularly Lib. I., Hom. XLII.,

XLIII. and LXIII. The first is directed against the ridiculous custom

of making a great noise, shooting arrows and throwing fire in the air

when the moon is waning in order to prevent its being swallowed up by a

monster. The second is directed against soothsaying in its various

forms, and the third against gluttony, drunkenness and scurrility.

[1262] Tractatus de anima, Migne, CX. col. 1109-1120. The Vegitian

extracts are not given in Migne, but by D�mmler, cf Ebert l.c. p. 136.

[1263] So Ebert conjectures, l.c. p. 136.

[1264] 267 Martyrologium, Migne, CX. col. 1121-1188.

[1265] De vivendo Deum, de puritate cordis et modo poenitentiae, CXII.

col. 1261-1332.

[1266] De passione Domini, CXII. col. 1425-1430.

[1267] Quota generatione licita sit connubium epistola, CX. col.

1083-1088.

[1268] Epistolae, CXII. Col. 1507-1576.

[1269] Carmina, ibid. col. 1583-1682.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 168. Haymo.

I. Haymo, Halberstatensis episcopus: Opera, in Migne, Tom.

CXVI.-CXVIII.

II. Paul Anton: De vita et doctrina Haymonis, Halle, 1700, 2d ed. 1705;

C. G. Derling: Comm. Hist. de Haymone, Helmst�dt, 1747. Ceillier XII.

434-439. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 111-126. B�hr, 408-413.

Haymo (Haimo, Aymo, Aimo) was a Saxon, and was probably born about 778.

He took monastic vows at Fulda, was sent by, his abbot (Ratgar) with

his intimate friend Rabanus Maurus in 803 to Tours to study under

Alcuin; on his return he taught at Fulda until in 839 he was chosen

abbot of Hirschfeld. In 841 he was consecrated bishop of Halberstadt.

In 848 he sat in the Council of Mayence which condemned Gottschalk. He

founded at considerable expense the cathedral library of Halberstadt,

which unfortunately was burnt in 1179. He died March 27, 853. He was an

excellent scholar. As an exegete he was simple and clear, but rather

too verbal.

His writings are voluminous, and were first published by the Roman

Catholics in the Reformation period (1519-36). They teach a freer and

less prejudiced Catholic theology than the Tridentine. Thus he denies

that Peter founded the Roman church, that the pope has universal

supremacy, and rejects the Paschasian doctrine of transubstantiation.

His works consist principally of (1) Commentaries. [1270] He wrote or

compiled upon the Psalms, certain songs in the Old Testament, Isaiah,

the Minor Prophets, Canticles, Pauline Epistles and the Apocalypse.

Besides these commentaries, (2) Homilies, [1271] upon the festivals of

the church year and (3) Miscellanies, "The Body and Blood of the Lord,"

[1272] which is an extract from his commentary on 1st Cor., "Epitome of

sacred history," [1273] substantially though not entirely an extract

from Rufinus' Latin translation of Eusebius' "Ecclesiastical history,"

and an ascetic piece in three books, "The love for the heavenly

country." [1274]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1270] Migne, CXVI. col. 193-CXVII. col. 1220.

[1271] Homiliae, Migne, CXVIII. col. 11-816.

[1272] De corpore et sanguine Domini, CXVIII. col. 815-818.

[1273] Historiae sacrae Epitome, ibid. col. 817-874.

[1274] De varietate librorum, sive de amore coelestis patriae, ibid.

col. 875-958.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 169. Walahfrid Strabo.

I. Walafridus Strabus, Fuldensis monachus: Opera, in Migne, Tom.

CXIII.-CXIV. His Carmina have been edited in a very thorough manner by

Ernst D�mmler: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini. Tom. II. (Berlin, 1884),

pp. 259-473.

II. For his life see the Preface of D�mmler and Ebert, II. 145-166. Cf.

also for his works besides Ebert, Ceillier, XII. 410-417; Hist. Lit. de

la France, V. 59-76; B�hr, pp. 100-105, 398-401.

Walahfrid, poet and commentator, theologian and teacher, was born of

obscure parentage in Alemannia about 809, and educated in the

Benedictine abbey school of Reichenau on the island in Lake Constance.

His cognomen Strabus or, generally, Strabo was given to him because he

squinted, but was by himself assumed as his name. [1275] From 826 to

829 he studied at Fulda under Rabanus Maurus. There he formed a

friendship with Gottschalk, and there he appears to have lived all

alone in a cell, the better perhaps to study. [1276] On leaving Fulda

he went to Aix la Chapelle, and was befriended by Hilduin, the lord

chancellor, who introduced him to the emperor Louis the Pious. The

latter was much pleased with him and appreciating his scholarship made

him tutor to his son Charles. The empress Judith was also particularly

friendly to him. In 838 Louis the Pious appointed him abbot of

Reichenau, but two years later Louis the German drove him from his post

and he went to Spires, where he lived until 842, when the same Louis

restored him to his abbotship, probably at the solicitation of Grimald,

his chancellor. [1277] In 849 he went over to France on a diplomatic

mission from Louis the German to Charles the Bald, but died on August

18th of that year while crossing the Loire, and was buried at

Reichenau. [1278]

Walahfrid was a very amiable, genial and witty man, possessed

remarkable attainments in both ecclesiastical and classical literature,

and was moreover a poet with a dash of genius, and in this latter

respect is a contrast to the merely mechanical versifiers of the

period. He began writing poetry while a mere boy, and in the course of

his comparatively brief life produced many poems, several of them of

considerable length.

His Writings embrace

1. Expository Works. 1. Glosses, [1279] i.e., brief notes upon the

entire Latin Bible, including the Apocrypha; a very meritorious

compilation, made especially from Augustin, Gregory the Great, Isidore

of Seville, and Bede, with very many original remarks. This work was

for five hundred years honored by the widest use in the West. Peter

Lombard quotes it as "the authority" without further designation; and

by many its notes have been given equal weight with the Bible text they

accompany. It was one of the earliest printed works, notwithstanding

its extent. [1280] 2. Exposition of the first twenty Psalms, [1281]

rather allegorical than really explanatory. 3. Epitome of Rabanus

Maurus' Commentary on Leviticus. [1282] This work is an indication of

Walahfrid's reverence for his great teacher. 4. Exposition of the Four

Evangelists. [1283] It was formerly printed among the works of Jerome.

The notes are brief and designed to bring out the "inner sense." 5. The

beginnings and growth of the divine offices. [1284] This valuable and

original work upon the archeology of the liturgy was written about 840

at the request of Reginbert, the learned librarian of the abbey of

Reichenau, who desired more accurate information upon the origin of the

different parts of the liturgy. The supplementary character of the work

explains its lack of system. Walahfrid treats in disconnected chapters

of temples and altars; bells; the derivation of several words for holy

places; the use of "pictures," as ornaments and aids to devotion, but

not as objects of worship; the things fitting divine worship; "the

sacrifices of the New Testament" (in this chap., No. XVI., he dissents

from the transubstantiation theory of Radbertus, saying, Christ "after

the Paschal supper gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body and

blood in the substance of the bread and wine and taught them to

celebrate [the sacrament] in memory of his passion" [1285] ); then

follow a number of chapters upon the Eucharist; sacred vestments;

canonical hours and hymns; baptisms; titles, &c. The work closes with a

comparison of ecclesiastical and secular dignities.

II. A Homily on the Fall of Jerusalem. [1286] Walahfrid gives Josephus'

account of the fall of the city and then proceeds to the spiritual

application of our Lord's prophetic discourse (Matt. xxiv.).

III. Biographies. 1. Life of the Abbot St. Gall, [1287] the apostle of

Switzerland (d. 645 or 646). It is not original, but a rewriting of the

life by Wettin, Walahfrid's honored teacher at Reichenau. Walahfrid

reproduced the same in verse. [1288] 2. Life of St. Othmar, abbot of

St. Gall, [1289] similarly reproduced. 3. The prologue to his edition

of Einhard's Life of Charlemagne, which gives valuable information

about Einhard. [1290]

IV. Poetry. 1. The Vision of Wettin. [1291] This is the oldest of his

poems, dating according to his own assertion from his eighteenth year

[1292] (i.e., c. 826). It is not original, but a versification, with

additions, of the prose work of Heito. The ultimate source is Wettin

himself, who relates what he saw (October 824) on his journey, under

angelic guidance, to Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise. The fact that

Wettin was very sick at the time explains the occasion of the vision

and his reading its contents, but the poem is interesting not only in

itself, but as a precursor of Dante's Divine Comedy. [1293] 2. The Life

and Death of St. Mammes, [1294] an ascetic from childhood, who preached

to the wild sheep gathered by a strange impulse in a little chapel.

This extraordinary performance attracted adverse notice from the

authorities. Mammes was accused of witchcraft and, on refusing to

sacrifice to the gods, also of atheism. His enemies vainly attempted to

kill him by fire, by wild beasts, and by stoning. Finally he was

peacefully called from life by the voice of God. 3. The Life and Death

of St. Blaithmaic, abbot of Hy and martyr. [1295] It relates how an

Irish crown prince embraced an ascetic life in childhood and attained a

martyr's crown on the island of Hy. 4. Garden-culture, [1296] a curious

poem upon the plants in the convent garden. 5. On the Image of Tetricus

[1297] (Dietrich), an ingenious poem in laudation of Louis the Pious

and his family. [1298] 6. Miscellaneous Poems, [1299] including

epistles, epigrams, inscriptions and hymns.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1275] E. g. in Preface to his epitome of Raban's commentary on

Leviticus. Migne, CXIV. col. 795.

[1276] Ebert, p. 147.

[1277] 80 D�mmler, l.c. 261.

[1278] XV. Kal. Sept. D�mmler, l.c. 261.

[1279] Glossa ordinaria, Migne, CXIII.--CXIV. col. 752.

[1280] B�hr (pp. 398 sq.) gives the dates of nine editions between 1472

and 1634.

[1281] Expositio in XX. primos Psalmos, Migne, CXIV. col. 752-794.

[1282] Epitome commentariorum Rabani in Leviticum, ibid. col. 795-850.

[1283] Expositio in Evangelia, ibid. col. 849-916.

[1284] De ecclesiasticarum rerum exordiis et incrementis, CXIV. col.

919-966.

[1285] De rebus eccl. XVI. Ibid. col. 936.

[1286] De subversione Jerusalem, ibid. col. 965-974.

[1287] 290 Vita S. Galli, ibid. col. 975-1030.

[1288] D�mmler, l.c., Vita Galli, pp. 428-473.

[1289] Vita S. Othmari, Migne, CXIV. col. 1031-1042.

[1290] Jaff�, Monumenta Carolina, pp. 507-8.

[1291] De visione Wettini, Migne, CXIV. col. 1063-1082. Heito's work la

in Tom. CV. col. 771-780. Both are given by D�mmler, l. c pp. 267-275;

301-333.

[1292] Migne, CXIV. col. 1064, "qui pene octavum decimum jam annum

transegi."

[1293] Ebert, l.c. 149. Cf. Bernold's Vision in section on Hincmar.

[1294] Vita S. Mammae, Migne, CXIV. col. 1047-1062. D�mmler, l.c. pp.

275-296.

[1295] Vita S. Blaitmaici, D�mmler, l.c. pp. 297-301. Migne, col.

1043-1046.

[1296] Hortulus, D�mmler, pp. 335-350. Migne, col. 1121-1130.

[1297] De imagine Tetrici, D�mmler, pp. 370-378. Migne, col. 1089-1092.

[1298] See Ebert, pp. 154-158.

[1299] D�mmler, pp. 350-428. Migne, CXIV, col. 1083-1120.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 170. Florus Magister, of Lyons.

I. Florus, diaconus Lugdunensis: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CXIX. ol.

9-424. His poems are given by D�mmler: Poet. Lat. aev. Carolini, II.

(Berlin, 1884), pp. 507-566.

II. Bach: Dogmengeschichte des Mittelalters, Wien, 1873-1875, 2 Abth.

I. 240. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 213-240. Ceillier, XII. 478-493.

B�hr, 108, 109; 447-453. Ebert, II. 268-272.

Florus was probably born in the closing year of the eighth century and

lived in Lyons during the reigns of Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald

and Louis II. He was head of the cathedral school, on which account he

is commonly called Florus Magister. He was also a deacon or sub-deacon.

He enjoyed a wide reputation for learning, virtue and ability. He stood

in confidential relations with his bishop, Agobard, and with some of

the most distinguished men of his time. His library was a subject of

remark and wonder for its large size. [1300]

Like every other scholar under Charles the Bald, he made his

contribution to the Eucharistic and Predestination controversies. In

the former he took the side of Rabanus Maurus and Ratramnus against the

transubstantiation theory of Paschasius Radbertus; in the latter he

opposed Johannes Scotus Erigena, without, however, going entirely over

to the side of Gottschalk. He sat in the council of Quiercy (849), the

first one called by Hincmar in the case of Gottschalk. He died about

860.

His complete works are:

1. A patristic cento on the election of Bishops, [1301] written in 834,

to show that in primitive Christian times the bishops were always

chosen by the free vote of the congregation and the clergy. Therefore

the interference of the king in such elections, which was one of the

growing evils of the time, was unwarranted by tradition and only

defensible on the plea of necessity to preserve the union between

Church and State.

2. An Exposition of the Mass, [1302] compiled, according to his own

express statement, for the most part, from Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustin,

and other Fathers.

3. A Treatise against Amalarius, [1303] in which he supports Agobard

against Amalarius, who had explained the liturgy in a mystical and

allegorical manner. [1304]

4. A Martyrology, [1305] a continuation of Bede's.

5. Sermon on Predestination. [1306]

6. A treatise against Scotus Erigena's errors, [1307] written in 852 in

the name of the church of Lyons. He calls attention to Erigena's

rationalistic treatment of the Scriptures and the Fathers; rejects the

definition of evil as negation; insists that faith in Christ and an

inner revelation are necessary to a right understanding of the

Scriptures. It is noticeable that while he censures Erigena for his

abuse of secular science, he claims that it has its proper use. [1308]

7. St. Augustin's Exposition of the Pauline Epistles, [1309] long

attributed to Bede.

8. Capitulary collected from the Law and the Canons. [1310]

9. Miscellaneous Poems, [1311] which prove him to have had a spark of

true poetic genius. [1312]

10. There is also extant a letter which he wrote to the empress Judith.

[1313]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1300] Cf. Wandalbert, in Migne, CXXI. col. 577.

[1301] Liber de electionibus episcoporum, collectus ex sententiis

patrum, Migne CXIX. col. 11-14.

[1302] Opusculum de expositione missae, Migne, CXIX, col. 15-72.

[1303] Opusculum adversus Amalarium, ibid. col. 71-96.

[1304] See Amalarius in Migne, CV. col. 815 sqq.

[1305] Martyrologium, Migne, XCIV. col. 797 sqq.

[1306] Sermo de praedestinatione, Migne, CXIX. col. 95-102.

[1307] Adversus J. S. Erigenae erroneas definitiones liber, ibid. col.

101-250.

[1308] See his preface (col. 101-103).

[1309] Expositio in epistolas Beati Pauli ex operibus Sancti Augustini

collecta, ibid. col. 279-420.

[1310] Capitula ex lege et canone collecta, ibid. col. 419-422.

[1311] Carmina varia, ibid. col. 249-278.

[1312] Ebert discusses them, II. 269-272.

[1313] Flori epistola ad imperatricem Judith, Migne, CXIX. col. 423,

424.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 171. Servatus Lupus.

I. Beatus Servatus Lupus: Opera, in Migne, Tom. CXIX. col. 423-694 (a

reprint of the edition of Baluze. Paris, 1664, 2d ed. 1710). The

Homilies and hymns given by Migne (col. 693-700) are spurious.

II. Notitia historica et bibliographica in Servatum Lupum by Baluze, in

Migne, l.c. col. 423-6. Nicolas: �tude sur les lettres de Servai Loup,

Clermont Ferrant, 1861; Franz Sprotte: Biographie des Abtes Servatus

Lupus von Ferri�res, Regensburg, 1880. Du Pin, VII. 169-73. Ceillier,

XII. 500-514. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 255-272. B�hr, 456-461.

Ebert, II. 203-209. J. Bass Mullinger: The Schools of Charles the

Great. London, 1877, pp. 158-170. For Lupus' part in the different

councils he attended, see Hefele: Conciliengeschichte, IV. passim.

Lupus, surnamed Servatus, [1314] was descended from a prominent family.

He was born in Sens (70 miles S. E. of Paris) in the year 805 and

educated in the neighboring Benedictine monastery of SS. Mary and Peter

anciently called Bethlehem, at Ferri�res, then under abbot Aldrich, who

in 829 became archbishop of Sens, and died early in 836. He took

monastic vows, was ordained a deacon and then taught in the

convent-school until in 830 on advice of Aldrich he went to Fulda.

Einhard, whose life of Charlemagne had already deeply impressed him,

[1315] was then abbot of Seligenstadt, only a few miles away, but his

son Wussin was being educated at Fulda, and it was on a visit that he

made to see his son that Lupus first met him. With him and with the

abbot of Fulda, the famous Rabanus Maurus, he entered into friendship.

It was he who incited Rabanus to make his great compilation upon the

Epistles of Paul; [1316] and to him Einhard dedicated his now lost

treatise De adoranda cruce. [1317] He pursued his studies at Fulda and

also gave instruction until the spring of 836, when he returned to

Ferri�res. [1318] He then took priest's orders and taught grammar and

rhetoric in the abbey school. In 837 he was presented at the court of

Louis the Pious, and by special request of the empress Judith appeared

the next year (Sept. 22, 838). [1319] The favor showed him led him

naturally to expect speedy preferment, but he was doomed to

disappointment. In the winter of 838 and 839 he accompanied Odo, who

had succeeded Aldrich, to Frankfort, [1320] where the emperor Louis

spent January and February, 839. Louis died in 840 and was succeeded by

Charles the Bald. In 842 Charles deposed Odo because of his connection

with Lothair, and by request of the emperor the monks elected Lupus

their abbot, Nov. 22, 842, [1321] and the emperor confirmed the

election. It was with difficulty that Odo was removed. The year 844 was

an eventful one with Lupus. The monks of Ferri�res were bound yearly to

supply money and military service to Charles, and Lupus had to take the

field in person. [1322] In this year he went against the rebellious

Aquitanians. On June 14th he was taken prisoner by them in the battle

of Angoul�me, but released after a few days by intervention of Turpio,

count of Angoul�me, and on July 3d he was back again in Ferri�res.

Later on he was sent by Charles, with Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, to

visit the monasteries of Burgundy, and at the close of the year he sat

in the council of Verneuil, and drew up the canons. [1323] Can. XII. is

directed against the king's seizure on ecclesiastical property. His own

special grievance was that Charles had rewarded the fidelity of a

certain Count Odulf by allowing him the revenues of the cell or

monastery of St. Judocus on the coast of Picardy (St. Josse sur mer),

which had belonged to Alcuin, but was given to Ferri�res by Louis the

Pious, and the loss of which greatly crippled his already expensive

monastery. [1324] It was not, however, until 849 that the cell was

restored. This is the more strange because Charles had a high regard

for his learning and diplomatic skill, as is shown by his employment of

Lupus in delicate public business. Thus in 847 Lupus sat in the peace

congress at Utrecht between Lothair, Louis and Charles the Bald. In

midsummer 849 Charles sent him to Leo IV. at Rome concerning the

ecclesiastical encroachments of the Breton Duke Nominoi. In the spring

of 853 he sat in the council of Soissons and took Hincmar's side

regarding the deposition of those priests whom Ebo had ordained, after

his own deposition in 835. In the same year he attended the convocation

of the diocese of Sens and there sided with Prudentius against

Hincmar's deliverances in the Gottschalk controversy. It is supposed

that he was also at the council of Quiercy, 857, because his Admonitio

[1325] is written in the spirit of the deliberations of that council

respecting the troubles of the times. In 858 he was sent on diplomatic

business to Louis the German. But in the same year he was forced by the

exigencies of the times to deposit the abbey's valuables with the monks

of St. Germain Auxerrois for safe keeping. In 861 Foleric of Troyes

offered protection to his monastery. In 862 he was at Pistes, and drew

up the sentence of the Council against Robert, archbishop of Mans. As

after this date all trace of Lupus is lost, his death during that year

is probable,

Servatus Lupus was one of the great scholars of the ninth century. But

he gained knowledge under great difficulties, for the stress of

circumstances drove him out of the seclusion he loved, and forced him

to appear as a soldier, although he knew not how to fight, to write

begging letters instead of pursuing his studies, and even to suffer

imprisonment. Yet the love of learning which manifested itself in his

childhood and increased with his years, notwithstanding the poor

educational arrangements at Ferri�res, [1326] became at length a master

passion and dominated his thoughts. [1327] It mattered not how pressing

was the business in hand, he would not let business drive study out of

his mind. He set before him the costly and laborious project of

collecting a library of the Latin classics, and applied to all who

could assist him, even to the pope (Benedict III.). He was thankful for

the loan of codices, so that by comparison he might make a good text.

He was constantly at work upon the classics and gives abundant evidence

of the culture which such study produces, in his "uncommon skill in the

lucid exposition of a subject." [1328]

His Works are very few. Perhaps the horrible confusion of the period

hindered authorship, or like many another scholar he may have shrunk

from the labor and the after criticism. In his collected works the

first place is occupied by his

1. Letters, [1329] one hundred and thirty in number. They prove the

high position he occupied, for his correspondents are the greatest

ecclesiastics of his day, such as Raban Maur, Hincmar of Rheims,

Einhard, Radbert, Ratramn and Gottschalk. His letters are interesting

and instructive. [1330]

2. The Canons of Verneuil, 844. [1331] See above.

3. The Three Questions, in 852. [1332] They relate to free will, the

two-fold predestination, and whether Christ died for all men or only

for the elect. It was his contribution to the Gottschalk controversy in

answer to Charles the Bald's request. In general he sides with

Gottschalk, or rather follows Augustin. In tone and style the book is

excellent.

4. Life of St. Maximinus, bishop of Treves. [1333] It is in fifteen

chapters and was written in 839. It is only a working over of an older

Vita, and the connection of Lupus with it is questionable. [1334]

5. Life of St. Wigbert, in thirty chapters, written in 836 at the

request of Bun, abbot of Hersfeld. [1335] It tells the interesting

story of how Wigbert came from England to Germany at the request of

Boniface, how he became abbot of Fritzlar, where he died in 747, how he

wrought miracles and how miracles attended the removal of his relics to

Hersfeld and were performed at his tomb.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1314] Perhaps in memory of his recovery from some severe illness, as

that which in the winter of 838-9 confined him for a time in the

convent of St. Trend in the diocese of Li�ge

[1315] Lupus, Epist. I. (Migne, CXIX. col. 433).

[1316] Baluze, in Migne, ibid. col. 425.

[1317] Migne, ibid col. 445.

[1318] Although he thus lived six years in Germany he never obtained a

mastery of German. Wetzer u. Welte, Kirchenlexicon s. v. Lupus.

[1319] So Baluze, in Migne, CXIX col. 423.

[1320] It was upon this journey that Lupus fell sick. See fn. 864

p.735.

[1321] So Baluze, ibid. col. 425.

[1322] Pertz, Legg. I. 223

[1323] 326 Hefele, IV. III. Pertz, Legg. I. 383.

[1324] Epist. 71, Migne, CXIX. col. 533.

[1325] It appears as Epist. 100 in Migne, ibid. col. 575.

[1326] Epist. 1, ibid. col. 433.

[1327] Epist. 35, ibid. col. 502.

[1328] Neander, vol. iii. p. 482. Ebert has a good passage on this

point (l.c. p. 205-206). Also Mullinger, p. 165 sqq.

[1329] Epistolae, Migne, CXIX. col. 431-610.

[1330] "No other correspondence, for centuries, reveals such pleasant

glimpses of a scholar's life, or better illustrates the difficulties

which attended ita pursuits." Mullinger p. 166.

[1331] Canones concilii in Verno, Migne, l.c. col. 611-620.

[1332] Liber de tribus quaestionibus, ibid. col. 621-666.

[1333] Vita Sancti Maximini, Episcopi Trevirensis, Migne, CXIX. col.

665-680.

[1334] Cf. Baluze (Migne, l.c. col. 425) and Ebert, l.c. p. 208.

[1335] Vita Sancti Wigberti, abbatis Fritzlariensis, Migne, l.c.

679-694.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 172. Druthmar.

I. Christianus Druthmarus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CVI. col.

1259-1520.

II. Ceillier, XII. 419-423. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 84-90. B�hr,

401-403.

Christian Druthmar was born in Aquitania in the first part of the ninth

century. Before the middle of the century he became a monk of the

Benedictine monastery of old Corbie. [1336] About 850 he was called

thence to the abbey of Stavelot-Malm�dy, in the diocese of Li�ge, to

teach the Bible to the monks. [1337] It is not known whether he died

there or returned to Corbie.

He was a very superior scholar for his age, well versed in Greek and

with some knowledge of Hebrew. Hence his epithet, the "Grammarian"

(i.e. Philologist). His fame rests upon his Commentary on Matthew's

Gospel, [1338] a work distinguished for its clearness of statement, and

particularly noticeable for its insistence upon the paramount

importance of the historic sense, as the foundation of interpretation.

[1339] To such a man the views of Paschasius Radbertus upon the Lord's

Supper could have no attraction. Yet an attempt has been persistently

made to show that in his comments upon Matt. 26:26-28, he teaches

transubstantiation. Curiously enough, his exact language upon this

interesting point cannot be now determined beyond peradventure, because

every copy of the first printed edition prepared by Wimphelin de

Schelestadt, Strassburg 1514, has perished, and in the MS. in

possession of the Cordelier Fathers at Lyons the critical passage reads

differently from that in the second edition, by the Lutheran, Johannes

Secerius, Hagenau 1530. In the Secerius text, now printed in the Lyons

edition of the Fathers, and in Migne, the words are, 26:26, "Hoc est

corpus meum. Id est, in sacramento" ("This is my body. That is, in the

sacrament," or the sacramental sign as distinct from the res

sacramenti, or the substance represented). Matt. 26:28, Transferens

spiritaliter corpus in panem, vinum in sanguinem ("Transferring

spiritually body into bread, wine into blood"). [1340] In the MS. the

first passage reads: "Id est, vere in sacramento subsistens" ("That is,

truly subsisting in the sacrament"); and in the second the word

"spiritaliter "is omitted. The Roman Catholics now generally admit the

correctness of the printed text, and that the MS. has been tampered

with, but insist that Druthmar is not opposed to the Catholic doctrine

on the Eucharist.

The brief expositions of Luke and John [1341] are probably mere notes

of Druthmar's expository lectures on those books, and not the works he

promises in his preface to Matthew. [1342]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1336] The monastery of Old Corbie was in Picardy, in the present

department of Somme, nine miles by rail east of Amiens. That of New

Corbie was in Westphalia, and was founded by Louis the Pious in 822 by

a colony of monks from Old Corbie.

[1337] Stavelot is twenty-four miles southeast of Li�ge, in present

Belgium. It is now a busy manufacturing place of four thousand

inhabitants. Its abbey was founded in 651, and its abbots had princely

rank and independent jurisdiction down to the peace of Luneville in

1801. The town of Malm�dy lies about five miles to the northeast, and

until 1815 belonged to the abbey of Stavelot. It is now in Prussia.

[1338] Expositio in Matthaeum Evangelistam, Migne, CVI. col. 1261-1504.

[1339] "Studui autem plus historicum sensum sequi quam spiritalem, quia

irrationabile mihi videtur spiritalem intelligentiam in libro aliquo

quaerere, et historicam penitus ignorare: cum historia fundamentum

omnis intelligentize sit," etc. Ibid. col. 1262, l. 6, Fr. bel.

[1340] Ibid. col. 1476, l. 16 and 3 Fr. bel.

[1341] Ibid. col. 1503-1514, 1515-1520.

[1342] Ibid. col. 1263.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 173. St. Paschasius Radbertus.

I. Sanctus Paschasius Radbertus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CXX.

II. Besides the Prolegomena in Migne, see Melchior Hausher: Der heilige

Paschasius Radbertus. Mainz 1862. Carl Rodenberg: Die Vita Walae als

historische Quelle (Inaugural Dissertation). G�ttingen 1877. Du Pin,

VII. 69-73, 81. Ceillier, XII. 528-549. Hist. Lit. de la France, V.

287-314. B�hr, 233, 234, 462-471. Ebert, II. 230-244.

Radbertus, surnamed Paschasius, [1343] the famous promulgator of the

doctrine of Transubstantiation, was born of poor and unknown parents,

about 790, in or near the city of Soissons in France. His mother died

while he was a very little child, and as he was himself very sick he

was "exposed" in the church of Soissons. The nuns of the Benedictine

abbey of Our Lady in that place had compassion upon him and nursed him

back to health. [1344] His education was conducted by the adjoining

Benedictine monks of St. Peter, and he received the tonsure, yet for a

time he led a secular life. His thirst for knowledge and his pious

nature, however, induced him to take up again with the restraints of

monasticism, and he entered (c. 812) the Benedictine monastery at

Corbie, in Picardy, then under abbot Adalhard. There he applied himself

diligently to study and to the cultivation of the monastic virtues, and

so successfully that he soon won an enviable reputation for ascetic

piety and learning. He was well read in classical literature,

particularly familiar with Virgil, Horace and Terence, and equally well

read in the Fathers. He knew Greek and perhaps a little Hebrew. His

qualifications for the post of teacher of the monastery's school were,

therefore, for that day unusual, and he brought the school up to a high

grade of proficiency. Among his famous pupils were Adalhard the

Younger, St. Ansgar, Odo, bishop of Beauvais, and Warinus, abbot of New

Corbie. He preached regularly and with great acceptance and was strict

in the observance by himself and others, of the Benedictine rule.

In the year 822 he accompanied his abbot, Adalhard, and the abbot's

brother and successor, Wala, to Corbie in Saxony, in order to establish

there the monastery which is generally known as New Corbie. In 826

Adalbard died, and Wala was elected his successor. With this election

Radbertus probably had much to do; at all events, he was deputed by the

community to secure from Louis the Pious the confirmation of their

choice. This meeting with the emperor led to a friendship between them,

and Louis on several occasions showed his appreciation of Radbertus.

Thus in 831 he sent him to Saxony to consult with Ansgar about the

latter's northern mission, and several times asked his advice. Louis

took the liveliest interest in Radbertus's eucharistic views, and asked

his ecclesiastics for their opinion.

In 844 Radbertus was elected abbot of his monastery. He was then, and

always remained, a simple monk, for in his humility, and probably also

because of his view of the Lord's Supper, he refused to be ordained a

priest. His name first appears as abbot in the Council of Paris, Feb.

14, 846. He was then able to carry through a measure which gave his

monastery freedom to choose its abbot and to govern its own property.

[1345] These extra privileges are proofs that the favor shown toward

him by Louis was continued by his sons. Radbertus was also present in

the Council of Quiercy in 849, and joined in the condemnation of

Gottschalk. Two years later (851) he resigned his abbotship. He had

been reluctant to take the position, and had found it by no means

pleasant. Its duties were so multiform and onerous that he had little

or no time for study; besides, his strict discipline made his monks

restive. But perhaps a principal reason for retiring was the fact that

one of his monks, Ratramnus, had ventured to criticize, publicly and

severely, his position upon the Eucharist; thus stirring up opposition

to him in his own monastery.

Immediately upon his resignation, Radbertus went to the neighboring

abbey of St. Riquier, but shortly returned to Corbie, and took the

position of monk under the new abbot. His last days were probably his

pleasantest. He devoted himself to the undisturbed study of his

favorite books and to his beloved literary labors. On April 26, 865,

[1346] he breathed his last. He was buried in the Chapel of St. John.

In the eleventh century miracles began to be wrought at his tomb.

Accordingly he was canonized in 1073, and on July 12th of that year his

remains were removed with great pomp to St. Peter's Church at Corbie.

The fame of Paschasius Radbertus rests upon his treatise on The body

and blood of the Lord, [1347] which appeared in 831, and in an improved

form in 844. His arguments in it and in the Epistle to Frudegard [1348]

on the same subject have already been handled at length in this volume.

[1349] His treatise on The birth by the Virgin, [1350] i.e. whether

Christ was born in the ordinary manner or not, has also been

sufficiently noticed. [1351]

Besides these Radbertus wrote, 1. An Exposition of the Gospel of

Matthew. [1352] He explained this Gospel in his sermons to the monks.

At their request, he began to write out his lectures, and completed

four of the twelve books before his election as abbot, but was then

compelled to lay the work aside. The monks at St. Riquier's requested

its continuance, and it finally was finished. The special prefaces to

each book are worth attentive reading for their information concerning

the origin and progress of the commentary, and for the views they

present upon Biblical study in general. As the prologue states, the

principal sources are Jerome, Ambrose, Augustin, Chrysostom, Gregory

the Great, and Bede. [1353] Of these, Jerome was most used. His

excerpts are not always literal. He frequently alters and expands the

expressions. [1354] Radbertus was particular to mark on the margin of

his pages the names of the authors drawn upon, but in transcribing his

marks have been obliterated. His interpretation is rather more literal

than was customary, in his day, and he enlivens his pages with

allusions to passing events, dwelling especially upon the disorders of

the time, the wickedness of the clergy and monks, the abuses of the

confessional, and the errors of the Adoptionists, Claudius of Turin and

of Scotus Erigena. He also frequently quotes classic authors. [1355]

2. An Exposition of Psalm XLIV [1356] It was written for the nuns of

Soissons, to whom he owed his life, and the dedication to them is an

integral part of the first of its four books. It is allegorical and

very diffuse, but edifying.

3. An Exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremiah. [1357] This was the

fruit of his old age, and once more, as in his early manhood, he

deplored the vices, both lay and clerical, which disgraced his times.

His allusion to the Norman incursions in the neighborhood of Paris,

[1358] which took place in 857, proves that he must have written the

work after that date. In his prologue, Radbertus states that he had

never read a commentary on Lamentations written by a Latin author.

Hence his information must have been derived from Greek sources, and he

was unacquainted with the similar work by Rabanus Maurus. He

distinguished a triple sense, a literal, spiritual, and a moral, and

paid especial regard to types and prophecies, as he considered that

there were prophecies in Lamentations which referred to his own day.

4. Faith, Hope and Love. [1359] This work is preceded by an acrostic

poem, the first letters of each line forming the name "Radbertus

Levita." Each of the three books is devoted to one of the Christian

virtues. Radbertus wrote the treatise at the request of abbot Wala, for

the instruction of the younger monks. The book on faith is remarkable

for its statement that faith precedes knowledge, thus antedating the

scholastics in their assertion, which is most pregnantly put in the

famous expression of Anselm, Credo ut intelligam. [1360] The third

book, On Love, is much later than the others on account of the author's

distractions.

5. Life of Adalhard, [1361] the first abbot of New Corbie. It is a

panegyric rather than a strict biography, but contains much interesting

and valuable information respecting the abbot and the founding of the

German monastery of Corbie. The model for the work is the funeral

oration of Ambrose upon Valentinian II. Its date is 826, the year of

Adalhard's death. It contains much edifying matter.

6. Life of Wala, [1362] the brother of Adalhard at Old Corbie, and his

successor. It is in the peculiar form of conversations. In the first

book the interlocutors are Paschasius, as he calls himself, and four

fellow Corbie monks--Adeodatus, Severus, Chremes, Allabicus; and in the

second, Paschasius, Adeotatus and Theophrastus. These names are, like

Asenius, as he calls Wala, manifestly pseudonyms. He borrowed the idea

of such a dialogue from Sulpicius Severus, who used it in his life of

St. Martin of Tours. The date of the book is 836, the year of Wala's

death.

7. The Passion of Rufinus and Valerius, [1363] who were martyrs to the

Christian faith, at or near Soissons, in the year 287. In this work he

uses old materials, but weakens the interest of his subject by his

frequent digressions and long paraphrases.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1343] From Pascha, probably in allusion to big position in the

Eucharistic controversy.

[1344] Their abbess was Theodrada. Mabillon, Annales, lib. 27 (vol. 2,

p. 371).

[1345] Privilegium monasterii Corbeiensis, in Migne, CXX. col. 27-32.

Cf Hefele, IV. 119.

[1346] This is the date given in the Necrology of Nevelon. See

Mabillon, Annales, lib. XXXVI. (vol. III. p. 119).

[1347] De corpore et sanguine Domini, in Migne, CXX. col. 1259-1350.

[1348] Epistola de corpore et sanguine Domini ad Frudegardum. Ibid.

col. 1351-1366.

[1349] Pp. 543, 546 sqq.

[1350] De partu virginis, Migne, CXX. col. 1367-1386.

[1351] Page 553.

[1352] Expositio in evangelium Matthaei, Migne, CXX. col. 31-994.

[1353] Ibid. col. 35.

[1354] Ibid. col. 394.

[1355] B�hr, 465.

[1356] Expositio in Psalmum XLIV. Ibid. col. 993-1060.

[1357] In Threnos sive Lamentationes Jeremiae. Ibid. col. 1059-1256.

[1358] Ibid. col. 1220.

[1359] De fide, spe et charitate. Migne, CXIX, col. 1387-1490.

[1360] Ebert, l.c. 235.

[1361] Vita Sancti Adalhardi, Migne. CXX. col. 1507-1556. Ebert, l.c.

236-244, gives a fulI account of Paschasius' Lives of Adalhard and

Wala.

[1362] Epitaphium Arsenii seu vita venerabilis Walae. Migne, CXX. col.

1559-1650.

[1363] De Passione SS. Rufini et Valeri. Ibid. col. 1489-1508.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 174. Patramnus.

I. Ratramnus, Corbeiensis monachus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CXXI.

The treatise De corpore et sanguine Domini was first published by

Johannes Pra�l under the title Bertrami presbyteri ad Carolum Magnum

imperatorum, Cologne, 1532. It was translated into German, Z�rich 1532,

and has repeatedly appeared in English under the title, The Book of

Bertram the Priest, London 1549, 1582, 1623, 1686, 1688 (the last two

editions are by Hopkins and give the Latin text also), 1832; and

Baltimore., U. S. A., 1843. The best edition of the original text is by

Jacques Boileau, Paris, 1712, reprinted with all the explanatory matter

in Migne.

II. For discussion and criticism see the modern works, Du Pin, VII.

passim; Ceillier, XII. 555-568. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 332-351.

B�hr, 471-479. Ebert, II. 244-247. Joseph Bach: Dogmengeschichte des

Mittelalters, Wien, 1873-75, 2 parts (I. 193 sqq.); Joseph Schwane:

Dogmengeschichte der mittleren Zeit, Freiburg in Br., 1882 (pp. 631

sqq.) Also Neander, III. 482, 497-501, 567-68.

Of Ratramnus [1364] very little is known. He was a monk of the

monastery of Corbie, in Picardy, which he had entered at some time

prior to 835, and was famed for his learning and ability. Charles the

Bald frequently appealed to his judgment, and the archbishop of Rheims

gave over to him the defense of the Roman Church against Photius. He

participated in the great controversies upon Predestination and the

Eucharist. He was an Augustinian, but like his fellows he gathered his

arguments from all the patristic writers. In his works he shows

independence and ingenuity. One of his peculiarities is, that like

Bishop Butler in the Analogy, he does not name those whom he opposes or

defends. He was living in 868; how long thereafter is unknown.

He was not a prolific author. Only six treatises have come down to us.

1. A letter upon the cynocephali. [1365] It is a very curious piece,

addressed to the presbyter Rimbert who had answered his queries in

regard to the cynocephali, and had asked in return for an opinion

respecting their position in the scale of being. Ratramnus replied that

from what he knew about them he considered them degenerated descendants

of Adam, although the Church generally classed them with beasts. They

may even receive baptism by being rained upon. [1366]

2. How Christ was born. [1367] In this treatise Ratramnus refutes the

theory of some Germans that Christ issued from the body of the Virgin

Mary in some abnormal way. [1368] He maintains on the contrary, that

the birth was one of the ordinary kind, except that his mother was

before it, during it, and after it a Virgin [1369] because her womb,

was closed. He compares Christ's birth to his issuing from the sealed

tomb and going through closed doors. [1370] The book is usually

regarded as a reply to the De partu virginis of Radbertus, but there is

good reason to consider it independent of and even earlier than the

latter. [1371]

3. The soul (De anima). It exists in MS. in several English libraries,

but has never been printed. It is directed against the view of Macarius

(or Marianus) Scotus, derived from a misinterpreted sentence of

Augustin that the whole human race had only one soul. The opinion was

condemned by the Lateran council under Leo X. (1512-17).

4. Divine predestination. [1372] It was written about 849 at the

request of Charles the Bald, who sought Ratramnus' opinion in the

Gottschalk controversy. Ratramnus defended Gottschalk, although he does

not mention his name, maintaining likewise a two-fold predestination,

regardless of the fact that the synods of Mayence (848) and of Quiercy

(849) had condemned it, and Gottschalk had been cruelly persecuted by

Hincmar of Rheims. In the first book Ratramnus maintains the

predestination of the good to salvation by an appeal to the patristic

Scriptural quotations and interpretations upon this point, particularly

those of Augustin. In the second book he follows the same method to

prove that God has predestinated the bad to eternal damnation. But this

is not a predestination to sin. Rather God foresees their determination

to sin and therefore withholds his help, so that they are lost in

consequence of their own sins.

5. Four books upon the Greeks' indictment of the Roman Church. [1373]

Like the former work, it was written by request. In 967 Photius

addressed a circular letter to the Eastern bishops in which he charged

the Roman Church with certain errors in faith and practice: e.g., the

doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the celibacy of the clergy, the Sabbath

and Lent fasts. Nicholas I. called upon his bishops to refute this

charge. Hincmar of Rheims commissioned Odo of Beauvais to write an

apologetic treatise, but his work not proving satisfactory he next

asked Ratramnus. The work thus produced is very famous. The first three

books are taken up with the doctrine of the Holy Spirit; but in the

fourth he branches out upon a general defense of the ecclesiastical

practices of the Latin Church. He does this in an admirable, liberal

and Christian spirit. In the first chapter of the fourth book he mildly

rebukes the Greeks for prescribing their peculiar customs to others,

because the difference in such things is no hindrance to the unity of

the faith which Paul enjoins in 1 Cor. i. 10. This unity he finds in

the faith in the Trinity, the birth of Christ from a Virgin, his

sufferings, resurrection, ascension, session at God's right hand,

return to judgment, and in the baptism into Father, Son and Holy

Spirit. [1374] In the first three chapters of the book he proves this

proposition by a review of the condition of the Early Church. He then

passes on to defend the Roman customs. [1375]

6. The Body and Blood of the Lord. [1376] This is the most valuable

writing of Ratramnus. It is a reply to Paschasius Radbert's book with

the same title. [1377] It is dedicated to Charles the Bald who had

requested (in 944) his opinion in the eucharistic controversy. Without

naming Radbert, who was his own abbot, he proceeds to investigate the

latter's doctrines. The whole controversy has been fully stated in

another section. [1378]

The book has had a strange fate. It failed to turn the tide setting so

strongly in favor of the views of Radbertus, and was in the Middle Age

almost forgotten. Later it was believed to be the product of Scotus

Erigena and as such condemned to be burnt by the council of Vercelli

(1050). The first person to use it in print was John Fisher, bishop of

Rochester, who in writing against Oecolampadius quotes from it as good

Catholic authority. [1379] This called the attention of the Zwinglian

party to it and they quickly turned the weapon thus furnished against

the Catholics. In the same year in which it was published at Cologne

(1532), Leo Judae made a German translation of it (Z�rich, 1532) which

was used by the Z�rich ministers in proof that the Zwinglian doctrine

of the Lord's Supper was no novelty. [1380] But the fact that it had

such a cordial reception by the Reformed theologians made it suspicious

in Catholic eyes. The Council of Trent pronounced it a Protestant

forgery, and in 1559 it was put upon the Index. The foremost Catholic

theologians such as Bellarmin and Allan agreed with the Council. A

little later (1571) the theologians of Louvain (or Douay) came to the

defense of the book. In 1655 Sainte Beuve formally defended its

orthodoxy. Finally Jacques Boileau (Paris, 1712) set all doubt at rest,

and the book is now accepted as a genuine production of Ratramnus.

It remains but to add that in addition to learning, perspicuity and

judgment Ratramnus had remarkable critical power. The latter was most

conspicuously displayed in his exposure of the fraudulent character of

the Apocryphal tale, De nativitate Virginis, and of the homily of

Pseudo-Jerome, De assumptione Virginis, both of which Hincmar of Rheims

had copied and sumptuously bound.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1364] Bertramnus, although a common variant, is due to a slip of the

pen on the put of a scribe and is therefore not an allowable form.

[1365] Epistola de cynocephalis, Migne, CXXI. col. 1153-1156.

[1366] "Nam et baptismi sacramentum divinitus illum consecutum fuisse,

nubis ministerio eum perfundente, sicut libellus ipse testatur,

creditur," col. 1155.

[1367] De eo quod Christus ex virgine natus est liber, ibid. col. 81

[not 31, as in table of contents]-102.

[1368] Chap. I. col. 83.

[1369] Chap. II. col. 84.

[1370] Chap. VIII. col. 96.

[1371] See Steitz in Herzog2(art. Radbertus) XII. 482-483.

[1372] De praedestione Dei libri duo, Migne, CXXI. col. 11-80.

[1373] Contra Graecorum opposita Romanam ecclesiam infamantium libri

quatuor, ibid. col. 225-346.

[1374] IV. 1. Ibid. col. 303.

[1375] It is instructive to compare the apology of Aeneas, bishop of

Paris (reprinted in the same vol. of Migne, col. 685-762), which is a

mere cento of patristic passages.

[1376] De corpore et sanguine Domini liber. Ibid. col. 125-170.

[1377] See p. 743.

[1378] P. 543 sqq.

[1379] De Verit. Corp. et sang. Christi contra OEcolampad., Cologne,

1527.

[1380] Ruchat, Reform. de la Suisse, vol. iv. p. 207; ed. Vulliemin,

vol. iii. p. 122.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 175. Hincmar of Rheims.

I. Hincmarus, Rhemensis archiepiscopus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom.

CXXV.-CXXVI., col. 648. First collected edition by Sirmond. Paris,

1645.

II. Prolegomena in Migne, CXXV. Wolfgang Friedrich Gess:

Merkw�rdigkeiten aus dem Leben und Schriften Hincmars, G�ttingen, 1806.

Prichard: The life and times of Hincmar, Littlemore, 1849. Carl von

Noorden: Hinkmar, Erzbischof von Rheims, Bonn, 1863. Loupot: Hincmar,

�v�que de Reins, sa vie, ses oeuvres, son influence, Reims, 1869.

Auguste: Vidieu: Hincmar de Reims, Paris, 1875. Heinrich Schr�rs:

Hincmar, Erzbischof von Reims, Freiburg im Br., 1884 (588 pages).

III. Cf. also Flodoard: Historia ecclesia, Remensis, in Migne, CXXXV.,

col. 25-328 (Book III., col. 137-262, relates to Hincmar); French

trans. by Lejeune, Reims, 1854, 2 vols. G. Marlot: Histoire de Reims,

Reims, 1843-45, 3 vols. F. Monnier: Luttes politiques et religieuses

sous les Carlovingiens, Paris, 1852. Max Sdralek: Hinkmar von Rheims

kanonistisches Gutachten �ber die Ehescheidung des K�nigs Lothar II.

Freiburg im Br., 1881. Du Pin, VII. 10-54. Ceillier, XII. 654-689,

Hist. Lit. de la France, V., 544-594 (reprinted in Migne, CXXV. col.

11-44). B�hr, 507-523. Ebert, II. 247-257. Hefele: Conciliengeschichte,

2d ed. IV. passim.

Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, was born of noble and distinguished

ancestry, probably in the province of that name, [1381] in the year

806. His name is also spelled Ingumar, Ingmer and Igmar. He was

educated in the Benedictine monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, under

abbot Hilduin. When the latter was appointed (822) chancellor to Louis

the Pious he took young Hincmar to court with him. There his talents

soon brought him into prominence, while his asceticism obtained for him

the especial favor of Louis the Pious. This interest he used to advance

the cause of reform in the monastery of St. Denis, which had become lax

in its discipline, and when the Synod of Paris in 829 appointed a

commission to bring this about he heartily co-operated with it, and

entered the monastery as a monk. In 830, Hilduin was banished to New

Corbie, in Saxony, for participation in the conspiracy of Lothair

against Louis the Pious. Hincmar had no part in or sympathy with the

conspiracy, yet out of love for Hilduin he shared his exile. Through

his influence with Louis, Hilduin was pardoned and re-instated in his

abbey after only a year's absence. Hincmar for the next nine or ten

years lived partly at the abbey and partly at court. He applied himself

diligently to study, and laid up those stores of patristic learning of

which he afterwards made such an effective use. In 840 Charles the Bald

succeeded Louis, and soon after took him into his permanent service,

and then began that eventful public life which was destined to render

him one of the most famous of churchmen. After his ordination as priest

in 844, Charles the Bald gave him the oversight of the abbeys of St.

Mary's, at Compiegne, and of St. Germer's, at Flaix. He also gave him

an estate, [1382] which he made over to the hospice of St. Denis, on

his elevation to the archiepiscopate. In December, 844, Hincmar took a

prominent part in the council at Verneuil, and in April of the

following year at the council of Beauvais he was elected by the clergy

and people of Rheims to be their archbishop. This choice being ratified

by Charles the Bald, and the permission of his abbot being received, he

was consecrated by Rothad, bishop of Soissons, archbishop of Rheims and

metropolitan, May 3, 845.

No sooner had he been established in his see and had secured from

Charles the restitution of all property that belonged to it, than

trouble broke out. His diocese had fallen into more or less disorder in

consequence of the ten years which had elapsed between Ebo's deposition

and his election. Hincmar's first trouble came from Ebo, who contested

Hincmar's election, on the ground that he was still archbishop. But the

council of Paris in 846 affirmed Hincmar's election, and, in 847, Leo

IV. sent him the pallium. The first difficulty being overcome, a second

presented itself. For a few months in 840 Ebo had occupied his old see

by force, and during this time bid ordained several priests. Hincmar

degraded them and the council of Soissons in 853 approved his act. But

naturally his course was opposed. The leader of the malcontents was

Wulfad, one of the deposed priests. The matter was not disposed of

until 868, when Pope Hadrian decided practically in favor of the

deposed priests, for while exonerating Hincmar of all blame, at the

same time he confirmed the election of Wulfad (866) as archbishop of

Bourges.

Another trouble came from Rothad, bishop of Soissons, who had

consecrated him, and who was one of his suffragans. Rothad had deposed

a priest, for unchastity and the deposition was confirmed by an

episcopal council. Hincmar took the ground that Rothad, being only a

suffragan bishop, had no right of deposition, and also no right to call

a council. He also brought formal charges of disobedience against him

and demanded the reinstatement of the deposed priest. Rothad

persistently refusing compliance was then himself deposed (861). Both

parties appealed to the pope, who at last (January 21, 865) decided in

Rothad's favor and re-instated him. [1383]

In 863 Hincmar refused to give his assent as metropolitan to the

elevation of Hilduin, brother of G�nther of Cologne, to the bishopric

of Cambrai. Hilduin had been nominated to this position by Lothair, but

Hincmar said that he was unfit, and the pope approved of his action.

His longest and hardest fight was with his nephew and namesake,

Hincmar, bishop of Laon. The latter was certainly very insubordinate

and disobedient both to his metropolitan and his king. In consequence

Hincmar of Rheims deposed him (871) and the king took him prisoner and

blinded him. Pope Hadrian II. (d. 872) defended him but accomplished

nothing. Pope John VIII. also pleaded his cause, and in 878 gave him

permission to recite mass. He died in 882.

These controversies, and those upon Predestination and the Eucharist,

and his persecution of Gottschalk, elsewhere treated at length, [1384]

have tended to obscure Hincmar's just reputation as a statesman. Yet he

was unquestionably the leader in the West Frankish kingdom, and by, his

wisdom and energy preserved the state during a sadly disordered time.

His relations with Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald and Carloman were

friendly. He crowned several queens of the Carolingian family, and in

869 Charles the Bald. He also solemnized their marriages. In 859 he

headed the German delegation to Louis, and in 860 conducted the peace

deliberations at Coblenz. He took the side of Charles the Bald in his

fight with Rome, and in 871 wrote for him a very violent letter to Pope

Hadrian II. [1385] It may be said that in state politics he was more

successful than in church politics. He preserved his king from

disgrace, and secured his independence, but he was unable to secure for

himself the papal sanction at all times, and the much coveted honor of

the primacy of France which John VIII., in 876, gave to Ansegis,

archbishop of Sens.

One of the most important facts about these Hincmarian controversies is

that in them for the first time the famous pseudo-Isidorian decretals

[1386] are quoted; and that by all parties. Whether Hincmar knew of

their fraudulent character may well be questioned, for that he had

little if any critical ability is proved by his belief in two literary

forgeries, an apocryphal tale of the birth of the Virgin, and a homily

upon her assumption, [1387] attributed to Jerome. The fraud was exposed

by Ratramnus. His use of the decretals was arbitrary. He quoted them

when they would help him, as against the pope in contending for the

liberty of the Frankish Church. He ignored them when they opposed his

ideas, as in his struggle with his nephew, because in their original

design they asserted the independence of bishops from their

metropolitans.

Hincmar was not only a valiant fighter, but also a faithful shepherd.

He performed with efficiency all the usual duties of a bishop, such as

holding councils, hearing complaints, settling difficulties, laying

plans and carrying out improvements. He paid particular attention to

education and the promotion of learning generally. He was himself a

scholar and urged his clergy to do all in their power to build up the

schools. He also gave many books to the libraries of the cathedral at

Rheims and the monastery of St. Remi, and had many copied especially

for them. His own writings enriched these collections. His attention to

architecture was manifested in the stately cathedral of Rheims, begun

by Ebo, but which he completed, and in the enlargement of the monastery

of St. Remi.

The career of this extraordinary man was troubled to its very end. In

881 he came in conflict with Louis the Third by absolutely refusing to

consecrate one of the king's favorites, Odoacer, bishop of Beauvais.

Hincmar maintained that he was entirely unfit for the office, and as

the Pope agreed with him Odoacer was excommunicated. In the early part

of the following year the dreaded Normans made their appearance in the

neighborhood of Rheims. Hincmar bethought himself of the precious

relics of St. Remi and removed them for safety's sake to Epernay when

he himself fled thither. There he died, Dec. 21, 882. He was buried two

days after at Rheims.

Looking back upon Hincmar through the vista of ten centuries, he stands

forth as the determined, irrepressible, tireless opponent of both royal

and papal tyranny over the Church. He asserted the liberty of the

Gallican Church at a time when the State on the one hand endeavored to

absorb her revenues and utilize her clergy in its struggles and wars,

and the Pope on the other hand strove to make his authority in

ecclesiastical matters supreme. That Hincmar was arrogant, relentless,

self-seeking, is true. But withal he was a pure man, a stern moralist,

and the very depth and vigor of his belief in his own opinions rendered

him the more intolerant of the opinions of opponents, as of those of

the unfortunate Gottschalk. The cause he defended was a just and noble

one, and his failure to stem the tide setting toward anarchy in Church

and State was fraught with far-reaching consequences.

His Writings.

His writings reveal his essentially practical character. They are very

numerous, but usually very short. In contents they are designed for the

most part to answer a temporary purpose. This makes them all the more

interesting to the historian, but in the same degree of less permanent

importance. The patristic learning they exhibit is considerable, and

the ability great; but the circumstances of his life as prelate

precluded him from study and quiet thought, so he was content to rely

upon the labors of others and reproduce and adapt their arguments and

information to his own design. Only the more important can be here

mentioned. Some twenty-three writings are known to be lost. [1388]

I. Writings in the Gottschalk Controversy. [1389]

1. The first was in 855, Divine Predestination and the Freedom of the

Will. It was in three books. All has perished, except the prefatory

epistle to Charles the Bald. [1390]

2. At the request of this king he wrote a second treatise upon the same

subject. [1391]

3. In 857 he refuted the charge made against him by Gottschalk and

Ratramnus that in altering a line of a hymn from "Te, trina Deitas," to

"Te, sancta Deitas," he showed a Sabellian leaning. [1392]

II. Writings in the Hincmar of Laon Controversy. [1393] They consist of

letters from each disputant to the other, formal charges against

Hincmar of Laon, the sentence of his deposition, the synodical letter

to Pope Hadrian II. and the letter of Hincmar of Laon to the same.

III. Writings relative to political and social affairs.

1. The divorce of king Lothair and queen Theutberga. [1394] This

treatise dates from 863 and is the reply to thirty questions upon the

general subject asked Hincmar by different bishops. It reveals his firm

belief in witches, sorcery and trial by ordeal, and abounds in

interesting and valuable allusions to contemporary life and manners.

[1395]

2. Addresses and prayers at the coronation of Charles the Bald, his son

Louis II. the Stammerer, his daughter Judith, and his wife Hermintrude.

[1396]

3. The personal character of the king and the royal administration.

[1397] It is dedicated to Charles the Bald, and is avowedly a

compilation. The Scriptures and the Fathers, chiefly Ambrose, Augustin,

and Gregory the Great are its sources. Its twenty-three chapters are

distributed by Hincmar himself [1398] under three heads:

(a) the royal person and office in general [chaps. 1-15]; (b) the

discretion to be shown in the administration of justice [chaps. 16-28];

(c) the duty of a king in the unsparing punishment of rebels against

God, the Church and the State, even though they be near relatives

[chaps. 29-33]. It was composed in a time of frequent rebellion, and

therefore the king had need to exercise severity as well as gentleness

in dealing with his subjects. [1399] Hincmar delivers himself with

great plainness and gives wise counsels.

4. The vices to be shunned and the virtues to be exercised. [1400]

Another treatise designed for the guidance of Charles the Bald,

compiled chiefly from Gregory the Great's Homilies and Morals. Its

occasion was Charles's request of Hincmar to send him Gregory the

Great's letter to king Reccared, when the latter came over to

Catholicism. Hincmar's treatise is a sort of appendix. It begins with a

reference to the letter's allusion to the works of mercy, and then out

of Gregory's writings Hincmar proceeds to treat of these works and

their opposite vices. In chaps. 9 and 10 Hincmar discusses the

eucharist and shows his acceptance of the view of Paschasius Radbertus.

5, 6. Treatises upon rape, a common offense in those lawless days.

[1401]

7. To the noblemen of the Kingdom for the instruction of King Carloman

[1402] It was Hincmar's response to the highly complimentary request of

the Frankish nobles, that he draw up some instructions for the young

King Carloman, on his accession in 882. It was therefore one of the

last pieces the old statesman prepared.

IV. Writings upon ecclesiastical affairs. 1. The Capitularies of 852,

874, 877, 881. [1403] 2. A defense of the liberties of the church,

addressed to Charles. [1404] It is in three parts, called respectively

Quaterniones, Rotula and Admonitio; the first sets forth the necessity

of the independence of the Church of the State, and quotes the ancient

Christian Roman imperial laws on the subject. The second is on the

trial of charges against the clergy as laid down in synodical decrees

and papal decisions. The third is an exhortation to the king to respect

ecclesiastical rights.

3. The crimination of priests, a valuable treatise upon the way in

which their trials should be conducted, as shown by synodical decrees

and quotations from Gregory the Great and others. [1405]

4. The case of the presbyter Teutfrid, who had stolen Queen Imma's

tunic, a golden girdle set with gems, an ivory box, and other things.

[1406] The treatise deals with the ecclesiastico-legal aspects of the

case, and shows how the criminal should be treated. Gregory the Great

is freely quoted.

V. Miscellaneous. 1. Exposition of Psalm civ. 17. [1407] In the Vulgate

the second clause of the verse reads, "the nest of the stork is their

chief." The treatise was written in answer to Louis the German's

question as to the meaning of these words. He begins with a criticism

of the text, in which he quotes the Septuagint rendering, the

exposition of Jerome, Augustin, Prosper and Cassiodorus. The meaning he

advocates is that the nest of the stork surpasses that of the little

birds of which it is the chief or leader. The treatise is particularly

interesting for its manner of dealing with one of the so-called

Scripture difficulties,

2. The vision of Bernold. [1408] This interesting little story dates

from 877, the year of Charles the Bald's death. Bernold lived in

Rheims, and was known to Hincmar. He had a vision after he had been

four days at the point of death, which he related to his confessor, and

the confessor to Hincmar, who for obvious reasons published it. Bernold

regained his health, and was therefore a living witness to the accuracy

of his story. In his vision he went to "a certain place," i.e.

purgatory, in which he found forty-one bishops, ragged and dirty,

exposed alternately to extreme cold and scorching heat. Among them was

Ebo, Hincmar's predecessor, who immediately implored Bernold to go to

their parishioners and clergy and tell them to offer alms, prayers and

the sacred oblation for them. This he did, and on his return found the

bishops radiant in countenance, as if just bathed and shaved, dressed

in alb, stole and sandals, but without chasubles. Leaving them, Bernold

went in his vision to a dark place, where he saw Charles the Bald

sitting in a heap of putrefaction, gnawed by worms and worn to a mere

skeleton. Charles called him by name and implored him to help him.

Bernold asked how he could. Then Charles told him that he was suffering

because he had not obeyed Hincmar's counsels, but if Bernold would

secure Hincmar's help he would be delivered. This Bernold did, and on

his return he found the king clad in royal robes, sound in flesh and

amid beautiful surroundings. Bernold went further and encountered two

other characters--Jesse, an archbishop, and a Count Othar, whom he

helped by going to the earth and securing the prayers, alms and

oblations of their friends. He finally came across a man who told him

that in fourteen years he would leave the body and go back to the place

he was then in for good, but that if he was careful to give alms and to

do other good works he would have a beautiful mansion. A rustic of

stern countenance expressed his lack of faith in Bernold's ability to

do this, but was silenced by the first man. Whereupon Bernold asked for

the Eucharist, and when it was given to him he drank almost half a

goblet of wine, and said, "I could eat some food, if I had it." He was

fed, revived and recovered. Hincmar, in relating this vision, calls

attention to its similarity to those told in the Dialogues of Gregory

the Great, the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, in the writings of St.

Boniface, and to that of Wettin, which Walahfrid Strabo related. [1409]

He ends by exhorting his readers to be more fervent in their prayers,

and especially to pray for king Charles and the other dead.

3. The life of St. Remigius, [1410] the patron saint of Rheims. This is

an expansion of Fortunatus' brief biography by means of extracts from

the Gesta Francorum, Gregory of Tours, and legendary and traditional

sources, and particularly by means of moralizing and allegorizing. The

length of the book is out of all proportion to its value or interest.

To the life he adds an Encomium of St. Remigius. [1411] The object of

these two books is not to produce history or criticism, but an edifying

work and to exalt the church of Rheims by exalting its patron. Perhaps

also he would hint that the gift which Chlodwig made to Remigius might

be acceptably imitated. [1412]

4. Hincmar appears as a genuine historian in the third part of the

Bertinian Annals, [1413] so called because first published from a MS.

found in the convent of St. Bertin. These Annals of the West Frankish

Kingdom begin with the year 741 and go down to 882. Hincmar wrote them

from 861 to 882. He evidently felt the responsibility of the work he

conducted, for he put every fact down in a singularly impartial manner,

especially when it is remembered that he was himself an important part

of contemporary history. [1414]

5. Letters. [1415] These are fifty-five in number, and are upon weighty

matters; indeed they are official documents, and not familiar

correspondence.

6. Poems.. [1416] They are very few and devoid of poetical merit [1417]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1381] Schr�rs, l.c. p. 9.

[1382] August 12, 844. See Schr�rs, l.c. p. 26.

[1383] Hefele, IV. 292.

[1384] See pp. 528 sqq; 552.

[1385] See Hefele, IV. 507. The letter is in Migne, CXXIV. col.

881-896.

[1386] See pp. 268 sqq.

[1387] See p. 750.

[1388] See Hist. Lit. de la France, l.c. The philosophical treatise De

diversa et multiplici animae ratione (Migne, CXXV. col. 929-952) is

probably falsely attributed to him. Cf. Ebert, l.c. p. 250.

[1389] See pp. 528 sqq.

[1390] Migne, CXXV. col. 49-56.

[1391] De Praedestinatione, ibid. col. 55-474.

[1392] Collectio de una et non trina Deitate, ibid. col. 473-618.

[1393] Opuscula et epistolae in causa Hincmari Laudunensis, Migne,

CXXVI. col. 279-648.

[1394] De divortio Lotharii regis et Tetbergae reginae, Migne, CXXV.

col. 619-772.

[1395] See especially Inter. vi., xvii., xviii., ibid. col. 659-673,

726-730.

[1396] Coronationes regiae ibid. col. 803-818.

[1397] De regis persona et regio ministerio, ibid. col. 833-856.

[1398] See preface, col. 833, 834.

[1399] Ebert (II. 251) accordingly finds the explanation of the

treatise in its third division.

[1400] De cavendiis vitiis et virtutibus exercendio, ibid. col.

857-930.

[1401] De coercendis militum rapinis, and De co�rcendo et exstirpando

raptu viduarum puellarum ac sanctimonialium, ibid. col. 953-956,

1017-1036.

[1402] Ad proceres regni, ibid. col. 993-1008.

[1403] Capitula, ibid. col. 773-804, 1069-1086.

[1404] Pro ecclesiae libertatum defensione ibid. col. 1035-1070.

[1405] De presbyteris criminosis, ibid. col. 1093-1110.

[1406] De causa Teutfridi presbyteri, ibid. col. 1111-1116.

[1407] De verbis Psalmi: Herodii domus dux est eorum, ibid. col.

957-962.

[1408] De visione Bernoldi presbyteri, ibid. col. 1115-1120.

[1409] See , 169, p. 732.

[1410] Vita Sanctii Remigii, Migne. CXXV. col. 1129-1188.

[1411] Encomium ejusdem S. Remigii, ibid. col. 1187-1198.

[1412] Ebert. l.c. p. 256.

[1413] Annalium Bertinianorum pars tertia, Migne, CXXV. col. 1203-1302.

Reprint f Pertz, "Monum. Germ. Hist. Script." I. 455-515.

[1414] Ebert, l.c. 367, 868.

[1415] Epistolae, Migne, CXXVI. col. 9-280.

[1416] Carmina, Migne, CXXV. col. 1201-1202. There are a few verses

elsewhere in Migne, and a poem on the Virgin Mary in Mai, "Class.

auctori e Vaticanis codicibus, " 452 sqq.

[1417] Ebert, l.c. 257.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 176. Johannes Scotus Erigena.

I. Johannes Scotus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CXXII. (1853). H. J.

Floss prepared this edition, which is more complete than any other, for

Migne's series. The De divisione naturae was separately edited by C. B.

Schl�ter, M�nster, 1838, who reprints in the same vol. (pp. 593-610)

thirteen religious poems of Scotus as edited by Cardinal Mai (Class.

Auct. V. 426 sqq.). B. Haur�au has edited Scotus's commentary on

Marcianus Capella, Paris, 1861; and Cardinal Mai, his commentary on the

Heavenly Hierarchy of Dionysius Areopagita in Appendix at opera edita

ab Mai, Rome, 1871. There is an excellent German translation of the De

Div. Nat. by L. Noack (Erigena �ber die Eintheilung der Natur, mit

einer Schlussabhandlung Berlin, 1870-4, Leipzig, 1876, 3 pts.),

II. Besides the Prolegomena and notes of the works already mentioned,

see Peder Hjort: J. S. E., oder von dem Ursprung einer christlichen

Philosophie und ihrem heiligen Beruf, Copenhagen, 1823. F. A.

Staudenmaier: J. S. E., u. d. Wissenschaft s. Zeit., vol. I. (all

published), Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1834. St. R�n� Taillandier: S. E. et

la philosophie scholastique, Strasbourg, 1843. N. M�ller: J. S. E. u.

s. Irrth�mer, Mayence, 1844. Theodor Christlieb Leben u. Lehre d. J. S.

E., Gotha, 1860; comp. also his article in Herzog,2 XIII. 788-804

(1884). Johannes Huber: J. S. E. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der

Philosophie und Theologie im Mittelalter, Munich, 1861. A. St�ckl: De

J. S. E., M�nster, 1867. O. Hermens: Das Leben des J. S. E., Jena,

1869. R. Hoffmann: De J. S. E. vita et doctrina, Halle, 1877 (pp. 37).

Cf. Baur: Geschichte der Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit, II. 263-344.

Dorner: Gesch. d. Lehre v. d. Person Christi, II. 344-359. Neander,

III. 461-466.

III. On particular points. Torstrick: Philosophia Erigenae; 1.

Trinitatis notio, G�ttingen, 1844. Francis Monnier: De Gothescalci et

J. S. E. controversia, Paris, 1853. W. Kaulich: Das speculative System

des J S. E., Prag, 1860. Meusel: Doctrina J. S. E. cum Christiana

comparavit, Budissae (Bautzen), 1869. F. J. Hoffmann: Der Gottes u.

Sch�pfungsbegriff des J. S. E., Jena, 1876. G. Anders: Darstellung u.

Kritik d. Ansicht dass d. Kategorien nicht auf Gott anwendbar seien,

Sorau, 1877 (pp. 37). G. Buchwald: Der Logosbegriff de J. S. E.,

Leipzig, 1884. For his logic see Prantl: Geschichte d. Logik im

Abendlande, Leipzig, 1855-70, 4 vols. (II. 20-37). For his philosophy

in general see B. Haur�au: Histoire de la philosophie scholastique,

Paris, 1850, 2 vols., 2d ed. 1872-81, (chap. viii). F. D. Maurice:

Mediaeval Philosophy, London, 1856, 2d ed. 1870 (pp. 45-79). F.

Ueberweg: History of Philosophy, Eng. trans. I., 358-365. Reuter.:

Geschichte d. religi�sen Aufkl�rung im Mittelalter, Berlin, 1875-1877,

2 vols. (I. 51-64). J. Bass Mullinger.: The Schools of Charles the

Great, London, 1877 (pp. 171-193). Also Du Pin, VII. 82-84. Ceillier,

XII. 605-609. Hist. Lit. de la France, V. 416-429. B�hr., 483-500.

Ebert, II. 257-267.

His Life.

Of Johannes Scotus Erigena, philosopher and theologian, one of the

great men of history, very little is known. His ancestry, and places of

birth, education, residence and death are disputed. Upon only a few

facts of his life, such as his position at the court of Charles the

Bald, and his literary works, can one venture to speak authoritatively.

He was born in Ireland [1418] between 800 and 815, educated in, one of

its famous monastic schools, where the Greek Fathers, particularly

Origen, were studied as well as the Latin. He went to France about 843,

attracted the notice of Charles the Bald, and was honored with his

friendship. [1419] The king appointed him principal of the School of

the Palace, and frequently deferred to his judgment. John Scotus was

one of the ornaments of the court by reason of his great learning, his

signal ability both as teacher and philosopher, and his blameless life.

He was popularly regarded as having boundless knowledge, and in reality

his attainments were uncommon. He knew Greek fairly well and often

introduces Greek words into his writings. He owed much to Greek

theologians, especially Pseudo-Dionysius and Maximus. [1420] He was

acquainted with the Timaes of Plato in the translation of Chalcidus and

with the Categories of Aristotle. [1421] He was also well read in

Augustin, Bo�thius, Cassiodorus and Isidore. He took a leading part in

the two great doctrinal controversies of his age, on predestination and

the eucharist, [1422] and by request of Charles the Bald translated

into Latin the Pseudo-Dionysian writings. The single known fact about

his personal appearance is that, like Einhard, he was of small stature.

He died about 877, probably shortly after Charles the Bald.

His Writings.

Besides the treatise upon Predestination and the translation of

Dionysius, already discussed, [1423] Scotus Erigena wrote:

1. A translation of the Obscurities of Gregory Nazianzen, by Maximus

Confessor. [1424] This was made at the instance of Charles the Bald, in

864.

2. Expositions of the Heavenly Hierarchy, the, Ecclesiastical

Hierarchy, and the Mystical Theology of Dionysius. [1425]

3. Homily upon the prologue to John's Gospel. [1426]

4. A commentary upon John's Gospel. [1427] Only four fragments of it

have as yet been found.

5. A commentary upon the Dialectic of Martianus Capella. This has been

published by Haur�au. [1428]

6. The outgoing and in-coming of a soul to God. [1429] Of this only a

small fragment has as yet been found.

7 The vision of God. This is in MS. at St. Omer and not yet printed.

8. Verses. [1430] Among them are some Greek verses, with a self- made

Latin interlinear translation. He introduces both single Greek words

and verses similarly interlineated into his other poems.

9. The great work of Scotus Erigena is The Division of Nature. [1431]

It consists of five books in the form of a dialogue between a teacher

and a disciple. The latter, generally speaking, represents the

ecclesiastical conscience, but always in the end echoes his teacher.

The style is lively and the range of topics embraces the most important

theological cosmological and anthropological questions. The work was

the first practical attempt made in the West to unite philosophy and

theology. As in the dedication to Wulfad, the well-known opponent of

Hincmar, John calls him simply "brother," the work must have been

written prior to 865, the Year of Wulfad's elevation to the

archiepiscopate of Bourges. [1432]

His Theological Teaching.

In the Division of Nature Scotus Erigena has embodied his theology and

philosophy. By the term "Nature" he means all that is and is not.

[1433] The latter expression he further interprets as including, 1st,

that which is above the reach of our senses or our reason; 2d, that

which though known to those higher in the scale of being is not known

to those lower; 3d, that which is yet only potentially existent, like

the human race in Adam, the plant in the seed, etc.; 4th, the material

which comes and goes and therefore is not truly existent like the

intelligible; 5th, sin as being the loss of the Divine image. [1434]

Nature is divided into four species: (1) that which creates and is not

created, (2) that which is created and creates, (3) that which is

created and does not create, (4) that which neither creates nor is

created. The first three divisions are a Neo-Platonic and Christian

modification of the three-fold ontological division of Aristotle:

[1435] the unmoved and the moving, the moved and moving, and the moved

and not moving. The fourth form was suggested by the Pseudo-Dionysian

doctrine of the return of all things to God.

One of the fundamental ideas of his theology is the identity of true

philosophy and true religion. Both have the same divine source. [1436]

"True religion" and authority, i.e. the Church doctrine, are however

not with him exactly identical, and in a conflict between them he sides

with the former. In his use of Scripture he follows the allegorical

method. He puts the Fathers almost upon a level with the Sacred Writers

and claims that their wisdom in interpreting Scripture must not be

questioned. At the same time he holds that it is permissible,

especially when the Fathers differ among themselves, to select that

interpretation of Scripture which most recommends itself to reason as

accordant with Scripture. [1437] It is, he says, the province of reason

to bring out the hidden meaning of the text, which is manifold,

inexhaustible, and striking like a peacock's feathers. [1438] It is

interesting to note in this connection that John Scotus read the New

Testament in the original Greek, and the Old Testament in Jerome's

version, not in the Septuagint. [1439] And it is still more interesting

to know that he prayed most earnestly for daily guidance in the study

of the Scriptures. [1440]

The doctrinal teaching of Scotus Erigena can be reduced, as he himself

states, to three heads. (1) God, the simple and at the same time the

multiform cause of all things; (2) Procession from God, the divine

goodness showing itself in all that is, from general to particular; (3)

Return to God, the manifold going back into the one.

First Head. God, or Nature, which creates but is not created. a. The

Being of God in itself considered. God is the essence of all things,

alone truly is, [1441] and is the beginning, middle and end of all

things. [1442] He is incomprehensible. [1443] While the predicates of

essence, truth, goodness, wisdom, &c., can be, according to the

"affirmative" theology, applied to God, it can only be done

metaphorically, because each such predicate has an opposite, while in

God there is no opposition. Hence the "negative" theology correctly

maintains they can not be. [1444] Neither can self-consciousness be

predicated of God. [1445] Although not even the angels can see the

essence of God, yet his being (i.e. the Father) can be seen in the

being of things; his wisdom (i.e. the Son) in their orderly

arrangement, and his life (i.e. the Holy Spirit) in their constant

motion. [1446] God is therefore an essence in three substances. Scotus

Erigena takes up the doctrine of John of Damascus concerning the

procession of the Holy Spirit and applies it to the relation of the Son

to the Father: "As the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the

Son, so is the Son born of the Father through the Holy Spirit." [1447]

In the old patristic fashion he compares the Three Persons to light,

heat and radiance united in the flame. But he understood under

"persons" no real beings, only names of the aspects and relations under

which God's being comes out. God realizes himself in creation, and in

every part of it, yet he does not thereby yield the simplicity of his

essence. He is still removed from all, subsists outside of and above

the world, which has no independent existence apart from God, but is

simply his manifestation. He is both the substance and the accidents of

all that exists. "God therefore is all and all is God." [1448] But God

reveals himself to the creature. He appeared first to the pious in

visions, but this was only occasional. [1449] He then appeared

constantly in the form of the different virtues. [1450] The intellect

is itself a theophany; and so is the whole world, visible and

invisible. [1451]

2. The Procession from God or Nature. a. Nature which creates and is

created, or the primordial ideas of the world and their unity in the

Logos. God is the nature and essence of the world. Creation is the

effect of the divine nature, which as cause eternally produces its

effects, indeed is itself in the primordial ideas the first forms and

grounds of things. [1452] As the pure Being of God cannot immediately

manifest itself in the finite, it is necessary that God should create

the prototypes in which he can appear. In creation God passes through

these prototypes or primordial causes into the world of visible

creatures. So the Triune God enters the finite, not only in the

Incarnation, but in all created existences. Our life is God's life in

us. As remarked above, we know God because in us he reveals himself.

These prototypes have only subjective existence, except as they find

their unity in the Logos. [1453] Under the influence of the Holy Spirit

they produce the external world of time and space.

b. Nature, which is created and does not create, or the phenomenal

world and its union in man. In the Logos all things existed from

eternity. Creation is their appearance in time. The principle of the

development of the primordial ideas is the Holy Spirit. [1454] The

materiality of the world is only apparent, space and time only exist in

the mind. The "nothing" from which God made the heavens and the earth

was his own incomprehensible essence. [1455] The whole phenomenal world

is but the shadow of the real existence. [1456] Man is the centre of

the phenomenal world, uniting in himself all the contradictions and

differences of creation. [1457] His intellect has the power to grasp

the sensuous and intelligible, and is itself the substance of things.

[1458] So all nature is created in man, and subsists in him, [1459]

because the idea of all its parts is implanted in him. The divine

thought is the primary, the human the secondary substance of things.

[1460]

Paradise is to be interpreted spiritually. Adam is not so much an

historical personage as the human race in its pre�xistent condition.

Man was never sinless, for sin, as a limitation and defect, is not

accidental or temporal, but original in the creation and nature of man.

[1461]

c. The union of divinity and created existence, or the Godman. Scotus

Erigena shows upon this point the duality of' his system. On the one

hand he presents Christ as an historical character, with body, mind,

soul, spirit, in short the union of the entire sensible and

intellectual qualities of the creature. [1462] But on the other hand he

maintains that the Incarnation was an eternal and necessary fact,

[1463] and that it came about through an ineffable and multiplex

theophany in the consciousness of men and angels. [1464]

3. The return to God, or the completion of the world in Nature, which

creates not and is not created. a. The return to God according to its

pre-temporal idea, or the doctrine of predestination. There is only one

true predestination, viz. to holiness. There is no foreknowledge of the

bad. God has completest unity and simplicity; hence his being is not

different from his knowledge and will; and since he has full liberty,

the organization of his nature is free. But this organization is at the

same time to the world law and government, i.e. its predestination; and

because God is himself goodness, the predestination can only be to

good. The very character of wickedness,--it is opposed to God, not

substantial in nature, a defect mixed up with the good, transitory, yet

essential to the development of the world,--renders it unreal and

therefore not an object of divine knowledge. God does not know the bad

as such, but only as the negation of the good. "God's knowledge is the

revelation of his essence, one and the same thing with his willing and

his creating. As evil cannot be derived from the divine causality,

neither can it be considered as an object of divine knowledge." [1465]

Nor is there any divine predestination or foreknowledge respecting the

punishment of the bad, for this ensues in consequence of their

violation of law. They punish themselves. [1466] Hell is in the

rebellious will. Predestination is, in brief, the eternal law and the

immutable order of nature, whereby the elect are restored from their

ruin and the rejected are shut up in their ruin. [1467]

b. The return of all things to God considered according to their

temporal principles, or the doctrine of salvation. There are only a few

scattered remarks upon this subject in Scotus Erigena. Christ is the

Saviour by what he is in himself, not by what he does. His death is

important as the means of resurrection; which began with the

resurrection and exaltation of Christ, because then all things began to

return to their union in their primordial causes, and this return

constitutes salvation. The consequences of salvation are therefore felt

by angels as well as men, and even by inanimate things. [1468]

Salvation, as far as we are concerned, consists in speculative

knowledge. We unite ourselves with God by virtue of contemplation.

[1469]

c. The return of all things to God considered according to their future

completion. All things came out from God, all things go back to God.

This is the law of creation. The foundation of this return is the

return of man to the Logos. The steps are, 1st, deliverance from the

bodily forms; 2d, resurrection and the abrogation of sex; 3d, the

transformation of body into spirit; 4th, the return to the primordial

causes; 5th, the recession of nature, along with these causes, into

God. But this, of course, implies that God alone will exist forever,

and that there can be no eternal punishment. Scotus Erigena tries in

vain to escape both these logical conclusions. [1470]

His Philosophy.

Ueberweg thus states Scotus Erigena's philosophical position and

teachings: [1471] "The fundamental idea, and at the same time the

fundamental error, in Erigena's doctrine is the idea that the degrees

of abstraction correspond with the degrees in the scale of real

existence. He hypostasizes the Tabula Logica. The universals are before

and also in the individual objects which exist, or rather the latter

are in the former: the distinction between these (Realistic) formulae

appears not yet developed in his writings .... He is throughout a

Realist. He teaches, it is true, that grammar and rhetoric, as branches

of dialectic or aids to it, relate only to words, not to things, and

that they are therefore not properly sciences; but he co-ordinates

dialectic itself with ethics, physics and theology, defining it as the

doctrine of the methodical form of knowledge, and assigning to it in

particular, as its work, the discussion of the most general conceptions

or logical categories (predicaments); which categories he by no means

regards as merely subjective forms or images, but as the names of the

highest genera of all created things ....

"The most noteworthy features in his theory of the categories are his

doctrine of the combination of the categories with each other, and his

attempt to subsume them under the conceptions of motion and rest; as

also his identification of the categories of place with definition in

logic, which, he says, is the work of the understanding. The

dialectical precepts which relate to the form or method of

philosophising are not discussed by him in detail; the most essential

thing in his regard is the use of the four forms, called by the Greeks

division, definition, demonstration and analysis. Under the latter he

understands the reduction of the derivative and composite to the

simple, universal and fundamental; but uses the term also in the

opposite to denote the unfolding of God in creation."

His Influence and Importance.

Scotus Erigena was considered a heretic or a madman while he lived, and

this fact joined to the other that his views were far in advance of his

age, caused his influence to be at first much less than might have been

expected. He passed into almost complete obscurity before he died, as

the conflicting reports of his later years show. Yet he did wield a

posthumous influence. His idea of the unity of philosophy and theology

comes up in Anselm and Thomas Aquinas; his speculation concerning

primordial causes in Alexander of Hales and Albertus Magnus. From him

Amalrich of Bena, and David of Dinanto drew their pantheism; and

various mystical sects of the Middle Ages were inspired by him. The

Church, ever watchful for orthodoxy, perceived that his book, De

Divisione Naturae, was doing mischief. Young persons, even in convents

read it eagerly. Everywhere it attracted notice. Accordingly a council,

at Sens, formally condemned it, and then the Pope (Honorius III.)

ordered, by a bull of Jan. 23, 1225, the destruction of all copies that

could be found, styling it "a book teeming with the worms of heretical

depravity." [1472] This order probably had the desired effect. The book

passed out of notice. But in 1681 Thomas Gale issued it in Oxford.

Again the Roman Church was alarmed, and Gregory XIII., by bull of April

3, 1685, put it on the Index.

Scotus Erigena was a man of rare originality and mental vigor. His

writings are full of ideas and bold arguments. His strongly syllogistic

mode of developing his theme was all his own, and the emphasis he put

upon logic proves his superiority to his age. Unlike the scholastics,

who meekly bowed to tradition, he treated it with manly independence.

To his "disciple" he said: "Let no authority terrify thee. [1473] Hence

it is erroneous to call him "the Father of Scholasticism;" rather is he

the founder of Speculative Philosophy. [1474] The scholastics drew from

him, but he was not a scholastic. The mystics drew from him, but he was

not a mystic. As a pathfinder it was not given to him to thoroughly

explore the rich country he traversed. But others eagerly pressed in

along the way he opened. He is one of the most interesting figures

among the mediaeval writers. He demands study and he rewards it. De

Divsione Naturae is a master-piece, and, as Baur well says, "an

organized system which comprehends the highest speculative ideas."

[1475]

Note on the country of birth and death of Scotus Erigena.

The statement that John was born in Ireland rests upon the

interpretation of his name. Scotus is indefinite, since it was used of

both Ireland and Scotland, the former country being called Scotia

Major. But Erigena is most probably a corruption of JIerou' [sc.

nhvsou] gena, Hierugena, which John, with his fondness for using Greek

words on all occasions, added to his original name to indicate his

birth in the "holy isle," or "isle of saints," a common designation of

Ireland. The derivation is the more probable since he himself calls

Maximus Confessor Graiga-gena, to indicate the latter's birth in

Greece. By his contemporaries and in the oldest codices he is called

Joannes Scotus or Scottus, [1476] but in the oldest MSS. of his

translation of Dionysius Joanna Ierugena. [1477] In course of time,

owing to his scribes' ignorance of Greek, the epithet was written

Eriugena, Erygena, and finally Erigena. Another derivation of the

epithet, which has less to commend it, is from jIevrnh ? gevna, jIevrnh

being the Greek name for Ireland. But this leaves the disappearance of

the first v to be accounted for. The far-fetched explanations of

Erigena either from Ayr, a city on the west coast of Scotland, or

Ergene in Hereford, a shire in England on the south Welsh border, and

gena, may be dismissed without discussion.

The absence of authentic information to the contrary makes it probable

that Scotus Erigena died in France. But there is a tradition that he

was called by Alfred the Great into England and made abbot of

Malmesbury, and there died a violent death at the hands of his

scholars. It is inherently improbable that a conservative and loyal son

of the church like Alfred, would invite to any position so eccentric,

if not heretical, a man as Scotus Erigena. Charles the Bald died in

877. It is not likely that Erigena would leave France before that date,

but then he was at least sixty-two, and hence rather old to change his

residence. A reference to Asser's biography of King Alfred affords a

rational explanation of the tradition. Asser says that Alfred invited

from Gaul a priest and monk named John, who was remarkable for energy,

talent and learning, in order that the king might profit by his

conversation. A few pages further on, Asser calls this John an old

Saxon, and says that Alfred appointed him the first abbot of Athelney,

and that he was almost murdered by hired ruffians. Mon. Hist. Brit.

vol. i. [1848], pp. 489, 493, 4 Eng. trans. Six Old English Chronicles

in Bohn's "Antiquarian Library," pp. 70, 80, 81. It needed only that

the fame of John Scotus should reach England for the John of Asser's

biography to be confounded with him, and thus the story arose as it is

found in Ingulph, William of Malmesbury, and Matthew Paris.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1418] See supplementary note to this section.

[1419] He even stood on a very familiar footing if the story of Matthew

of Paris mentioned on p. 539 may be credited. Cf Matthew Paris,

Chronica major, ed. Luard, pp. 415 sq.

[1420] His affinity with Maximus has been shown by Baur and Dorner.

[1421] Ueberweg, l.c. p. 359.

[1422] See full account in this vol. pp. 539 sqq. and 551 sqq.

[1423] These works are in Migne, CXXII. col. 355-440, and col.

1029-1194.

[1424] Versio Ambiguorum S. Maximi. Migne, CXXII. col. 1193-1222.

[1425] Expositiones super ierarchiam coelestem S. Dionysii, etc. Ibid.

col. 125-284.

[1426] Homilia in prologum S. Evangelii secundum Joannem. Ibid. col.

283-296.

[1427] Commentarius in S. Evangelium secundum Joannem. Ibid. col.

297-548.

[1428] See Lit., p. 762.

[1429] Liber de egressu et regressu animae ad Deum. Migne, CXXII.

co.,1023, 1024.

[1430] Ibid. Verses, col. 1221-1240.

[1431] Periphuseosmerismou. Id est, de divisione naturae. Ibid.col.

411-1022.

[1432] V. 40, ibid. col. 1022, I. 13.

[1433] Est igitur natura generale nomen ut diximus, omnium quae sunt et

quae non sunt."De Div. Nat. I. Ibid. col. 441, l. 10.

[1434] I. 3-7. Cf Ueberweg, l.c., p. 361.

[1435] Metaph. XII. 7; cf. Augustin, who mentions the first three

forms, De civ. Dei, V 9, and Ueberweg, l.c. I. 363.

[1436] "Ambo siquidem ex uno fonte, divina videlicet sapientia, manare

dubium non est."De div. Nat. I. 66, Migne, ed. col. 511, l. 28.

[1437] Ibid. II. 16, col 548. IV. 16. col. 816, cf. col. 829.

[1438] Ibid. IV. 5, col. 749.

[1439] 2 "Septuaginta prae manibus non habemus." Migne col. 243.

[1440] Neander, III. p. 462.

[1441] "Ipse namque omnium essentia est, qui solus vere est." Migne,

Ibid. I.3 (col. 443).

[1442] "Est igitur principium, medium et finis." I. 11(col. 451).

[1443] "Dem per seipsum incomprehensibilis est!' I. 10 (col. 451).

[1444] I. 14 (col. 459).

[1445] II. 28 (col. 593). For a discussion of this point see

Christlieb, J. 8 B., pp. 168-176.

[1446] De div. Nat. I. 13 (col. 455). Ueberweg, l.c. , p. 361.

[1447] De div. Nat. II. 33 (col. 612).

[1448] III. 10 (col. 650). This is the remark of the "disciple," but

the "master" does not contradict it. Cf. III. 17, V. 30; I. 13.

[1449] I. 7, 8 (cols. 445448).

[1450] Igitur omnis theophania, id est omnis virtus, et in hac vita et

in futura vita,"I. 9 (col. 449).

[1451] I. 7, 8, 13 (cols. 445-448, 454-459).

[1452] III. 23 (col. 689).

[1453] II. 15, 22 (cols. 545-548, 562-566, especially col. 566).

[1454] II. 22 (col. 566).

[1455] III. 19 (col. 680).

[1456] I. 27, 56-58 (col. 474, 475; 498-501).

[1457] II. 9 (col. 536).

[1458] "Intellectus omnium est omnia," III.4 (col. 632, 1.3 Fr. bel.).

"Intellectus rerum veraciter ipsae res sunt," II. 8 (col. 535).

[1459] IV. 7 (cols. 762-772), e.g. "In homine omnis creatura

substantialiter creata sit."(col. 772).

[1460] IV. 7 (col. 762-772).

[1461] IV. 14 (col. 807, 808).

[1462] "'Corpus quippe,' inquit, 'et sensum et animam secundum nos

habens,' Christus videlicet, 'et intellectum:' His enim veluti quatuor

partibus humana natura constituitur." II. 13 (col.

[1463] V. 25 (col. 912).

[1464] V. 25 (col. 912).

[1465] Neander, l.c. III. p. 465.

[1466] "Nullum peccatum est quod non se ipsum puniat, occulte tamen in

hoe vita, aperte vero in altera, quae est futura." De Divina

Praedestinatione, XVI. vi. (col. 4236)

[1467] "Sicut enim Deus electorum, quos praedestinavit ad gratiam,

liberavit voluntatem, eamque caritatis suae affectibus implevit, ut non

solum intra fines aeternae legis gaudeant contineri, sed etiam ipsos

transire nec velle, nec posse maxi mum suae gloriae munus esse non

dubitent: ita reproborum, quos praedestinavit ad poenam turpissimam,

coercet voluntatem, ut e contrario, quicquid illis pertinet ad gandium

beatae viae, istis vertatur in supplicium miseriae." De div. Praed.

XVIII. vii. (col. 434), cf. XVII. i. v.

[1468] "Nonne Verbum assumens hominem, omnem creaturam visibilem et

invisibilem accepit, et totum, quod in homine accepit salvum fecit." De

div. Nat. V. 25 (col. 913).

[1469] "Commune ommium, quae facta sunt, quodam veluti interitu redire

in causas, quae in Deo subsistunt; proprium vero intellectualis et

raitonalis substantiae, unum cum Deo virtute contemplationis, et Deus

per gratiam fieri. " V. 21 (col. 898).

[1470] II. 6, 8, V. 7, 8, 3-6. Cf. Christlieb, l.c. p. 802.

[1471] I. pp. 360, 363, 364.

[1472] The full text of the bull is given by Floss, Migne, CXXII. col.

439.

[1473] De div. Nat. I. 66 (col. 511).

[1474] In the line of Spinoza, Schelling, and especially Hegel. On the

other band be sums up the ancient philosophy in its Christianized

shape.

[1475] "Ein organisch gegliedertes, die h�chsten speculativen Ideen

umfassendes System."L.c. II. 274.

[1476] So Pope Nicolas I. (Epist. cxv. in Migne, Patrol. Lat. CX [X.

col. 11 19); Prudentius (De Praedestinatione contra J. Scotum, in

Migne, CXV. col. 1011), and the council of Langres (859).

[1477] Christlieb in Herzog2vol. xiii. p. 789.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 177. Anastasius.

I. Anastasius Bibliothecarius: Opera omnia in Migne, Tom.

CXXVII.-CXXIX. col. 744.

II. The Prolegomena in Migne, CXXVII. Ceillier, XII. 712-718. B�hr,

261-271.

Anastasius, librarian of the Roman Church, hence surnamed the

"Librarian," to distinguish him from others of the same name, was abbot

of the monastery of Sancta Maria trans Tiberim under Nicolas I.

(858-867). He was sent in 869 to Constantinople as ambassador to

arrange a marriage between the daughter of Louis II. and a son of Basil

the Macedonian. While there the eighth oecumenical council was in

session, and by his knowledge of Greek he was very useful to the Papal

ambassador in attendance. He brought back with him the canons of the

council and at the request of Hadrian II. translated them into Latin.

He died, according to Baronius, in 886.

He has been identified by some (e.g. Fabricius [1478] and Hergenr�ther

[1479] ) with the Cardinal presbyter Anastasius who was deposed and

excommunicated in 850, anathematized in 853, but elected pope in 855 in

opposition to Benedict III. whom he imprisoned. He was deposed in 856

and died in 879. Those who accept the statement are obliged to suppose

that for some reason Nicolas and Louis II. condoned his fault and

Hadrian II. continued him in favor. The name Anastasius is too common

in Church history to render it necessary or safe to resort to such an

improbable identification.

The fame of Anastasius rests upon his numerous translations from the

Greek and his supposed connection with the Liber Pontificalis. [1480]

His style is rude and semi-barbarous, but he brought to the knowledge

of the Latins much information about the Greeks. He translated the

canons of the sixth, seventh and eighth oecumenical councils; [1481]

the Chronology of Nicephorus; [1482] the collection of documents in

Greek for the history of Monotheletism which John the Deacon had made;

[1483] and the lives of several saints. [1484] He also compiled and

translated from Nicephorus, George Syncellus, and Theophanus Confessor

a church history, which has been incorporated with the so-called

Historia Miscella of Paulus Diaconus.

His original writings now extant consist of a valuable historical

introduction to the translation of the canons of the Eighth Oecumenical

Council, a preface to that of the Collectanea, three letters (two to

Charles the Bald and one to archbishop Ado), [1485] and probably the

life of Pope Nicolas I. [1486] in the Liber Pontificalis.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1478] Bib. Lat. med., Hamburg, 1734, I. 230.

[1479] Photius, II. 230-240. Wetzer u. Welte, 2d ed. 1. col. 788-792.

[1480] Migne, CXXVII. col. 103-CXXVIII.

[1481] Migne, CXXIX. col. 27-512. Those of the sixth council are

unprinted.

[1482] Idem. col. 511-554.

[1483] Collecteana. Idem. col. 557-714.

[1484] Idem. col. 713-738.

[1485] Idem. col. 737-742.

[1486] CXXVIII. col. 1357-1378.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 178. Ratherius of Verona.

I. Ratherius, Veronensis episcopus: Opera omnia, in Migne, Tom. CXXXVI.

col. 9-768 (reprint of ed. by Peter and, Jerome Balterini, Verona,

1765).

II. See Vita by Ballerini in Migne, l.c. col. 27-142. Albrecht Vogel:

Ratherius von Verona und das 10. Jahrhundert. Jena, 1854, 2 vols. Cf.

his art. in Herzog2, XII. 503-506. Du Pin, VIII. 20-26.Ceillier, XII.

846-860. Hist. de la France, VI. 339-383. B�hr, 546-553.

Ratherius (Rathier) was born of noble ancestry at or near Li�ge in 890

(or 891) and educated at the convent of Lobbes. He became a monk,

acquired much learning and in 931 was consecrated bishop of Verona. By

his vigorous denunciation of the faults and failings of his clergy,

particularly of their marriages or, as he called them, adulteries, he

raised a storm of opposition. When Arnold of Bavaria took Verona (934),

king Hugo of Italy deposed him for alleged connivance with Arnold and

held him a close prisoner at Pavia from February, 935, until August,

937, when he was transferred to the oversight of the bishop of Como.

In the early part of 941 Ratherius escaped to Southern France, was

tutor in a rich family of Provence, and in 944 re-entered the monastery

of Lobbes. Two years later he was restored to his see of Verona; whence

he was driven again in 948. From 953 to 955 he was bishop of Li�ge. On

his deposition he became abbot of Alna, a dependency of the monastery

of Lobbes, where he stirred up a controversy upon the eucharist by his

revival of Paschasian views. In 961 he was for the third time bishop of

Verona, but having learned no moderation from his misfortunes he was

forced by, his indignant clergy to leave in 968. He returned to Li�ge

and the abbotship of Alna. By money he secured other charges, and even

for a year (971) forcibly held the abbotship of Lobbes. On April 25,

974, he died at the court of the count of Namur.

Ratherius "deserves in many respects to be styled the Tertullian of his

time." [1487] Some see in his castigation of vice the zeal of a

Protestant reformer, but his standpoint was different. He was learned

and ambitious, but also headstrong and envious. His works are obscure

in style, but full of information. The chief are

1. The Combat, also called Preliminary discourses, in six books. [1488]

It treats in prolix style of the different occupations and relations in

life, and dwells particularly upon the duties of bishops. It was the

fruit of his prison-leisure (935-937), when he was without books and

friends.

2. On contempt for canonical law. [1489] It dates from 961, and is upon

the disorders in his diocese, particularly his clergy's opposition to

his dispensation of its revenues. In all this Ratherius sees contempt

of the canons which he cites.

3. A conjecture of a certain quality. [1490] This is a vigorous defense

of his conduct, written in 966. Fourteen of his Letters and eleven of

his Sermons have been printed. [1491] In the first letter he avows his

belief in transubstantiation.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1487] Neander, Hist. Chr. Ch. III. 469.

[1488] Agnosticon or Libri Proeloquiorum. Migne, CXXXVI. col. 145-344.

[1489] De contemptu canonum. Ibid. col. 485-522.

[1490] Qualitatis conjectura cujusdam. Ibid. col. 521-550.

[1491] Epistolae. Ibid. col. 643-688. Sermones. Ibid. col. 689-758.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 179. Gerbert (Sylvester II.).

I. Silvester II. Papa (Gerbertus): Opera, in Migne, Tom. CXXXIX. col.

57-350. Contains also the biographical and literary notices of Natalis

Alexander, Fabricius, and the Bened. Hist. Lit. de la France. OEuvres

de Gerbert par A. Olleris. Clermont, 1867. Pertz: Monum. Germ. Tom. V.

Script. III. contains Gerberti archiep. Remensis Acta Concilii

Remensis, and the Libri IV. Historiarum of Richerus monachus S.

Remigii. Richer was a pupil of Gerbert, and his history of France was

first edited by Pertz.

II. Abr. Bzovius: Sylvester vindicatus. Rom., 1629. Hist. Lit. de la

France, VI., 559-614. C. F. Hock: Gerbert oder Papst Sylvester und sein

Jahrh. Wien, 1837. Max B�dinger: Ueber Gerberts wissenschaftl. und

polit. Stellung. Marburg, 1851. Gfr�rer: Allgem. Kirchengeschichte, Bd.

III. Abth. 3. Wilmanns: Jahrb�cher des deutschen Reichs unter Otto III.

Berlin, 1840. Giesebrecht: Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit, Bd. I.

613-616; 712-715: 842 (3d ed. 1865). Hefele: Conciliengesch. Bd. IV.

637 and passim. (2d ed. 1879). A. Olleris: Vie de Gerbert.

Clermont-Ferrand, 1867. Eduard Barthel�my: Gerbert, �tude sur sa vie et

ses ouvrages, suivie de la traduction de ses lettres. Paris, 1868.

Loupot: Gerbert, sa vie et ses �crits. Lille, 1869. Karl Werner:

Gerbert von Aurillac. Wien, 1878. Hauck: Silvester II., in Herzog, XIV.

233-240. Comp. also Ceillier, XII. 901-9II. Neander: III. 371-374, and

Reuter: Aufkl�rung in Mittelalter, I. 78-84.

Gerbert, the scholar and philosopher in the Fisherman's chair, and the

brightest light in the darkness of the tenth century was born before

950, of low parentage, in or near Aurilac in Auvergne, and educated as

a monk in the Benedictine convent of that place. He accompanied Count

Borel of Barcelona to Spain and acquired there some knowledge of Arabic

learning, but probably only through Latin translations. He also visited

Rome (968) in company of his patron Borel, and attracted the attention

of Pope John XIII., who recommended him to Emperor Otho the Great. He

afterwards became the tutor and friend of the youthful Otho III., and

inspired him with the romantic and abortive scheme of re-establishing

the Graeco-Roman empire of Constantine the Great in the city of Rome.

He was ambitious and fond of basking in the sunshine of imperial and

royal favor.

Gerbert became master of the cathedral school of Rheims and acquired

great fame as a scholar and teacher. He collected rare and valuable

books on every subject. He was intensely interested in every branch of

knowledge, divine and human, especially in mathematics, astronomy,

physics, and music; he first introduced the Arabic numerals and the

decimal notation into France, and showed his scientific and mechanical

genius by the construction of astronomical instruments and an organ

blown by steam. At the same time he was a man of affairs, a statesman

and politician. [1492]

In 972 he obtained through imperial favor the abbey, of Bobbio, but was

involved in contentions with the neighboring nobles and left in

disgust, though retaining his dignity. "All Italy," he wrote to a

friend, "appears to me a Rome, and the morals of the Romans are the

horror of the world." He returned to his position at Rheims, attracted

pupils from near and far and raised the cathedral school to the height

of prosperity. He was the secretary of the council held in the basilica

of St. Basolus near Rheims in 991, and gave shape to the flaming speech

of the learned bishop Arnulf of Orleans against the assumptions and

corruptions of the papacy. [1493] No Gallican could have spoken more

boldly. By the same synod Arnulf, archbishop of Rheims, an illegitimate

son of one of the last Carolingian kings, was deposed on the charge of

treason against Hugh Capet, and Gerbert was chosen in his place, at the

desire of the king. But his election was disputed, and he assumed an

almost schismatical attitude towards Rome. He was deposed, and his

rival Arnulf, with the aid of the pope, reinstated by a Council of

Senlis or Rheims (996). [1494] He now left France and accepted an

invitation of his pupil Otho III. to Magdeburg, followed him to Italy

(996), was by imperial favor made archbishop of Ravenna (998), and a

year afterwards raised to the papal throne as Sylvester II. He was the

first French pope. The three R's (Rheims, Ravenna, Rome) mark his

highest dignities, as expressed in the line ascribed to him:

"Scandit ab R. Gerbertus in R., fit postea papa vigens R."

As Gerbert of Rheims he had advocated liberal views and boldly attacked

the Roman Antichrists who at that time were seated in the temple of

God; but as Sylvester II. he disowned his Gallican antecedents and

supported the claims of the papacy. [1495] He did, however, nothing

remarkable during his short and troublesome pontificate (between

999-1003), except crown King Stephen of Hungary and give the first

impulse, though prematurely, to the crusades at a time when hundreds of

pilgrims flocked to the Holy Land in expectation of the end of the

world after the lapse of the first Christian millennium. [1496]

His character has been very differently judged. The papal biographers

of the later middle ages malignantly represent him as a magician in

league with the devil, and his life and pontificate as a series of

monstrous crimes. [1497] This story arose partly from his uncommon

learning and supposed contact with Mohammedanism, partly from his

former antagonistic position to Rome. Some modern historians make him

an ambitious intriguer. [1498]

His literary labors are chiefly mathematical. [1499] His theological

works are few and unimportant, and do not rise above the superstition

of his age. His short treatise, "De Corpore et Sanguine Domini," is a

defense of the doctrine of transubstantiation as taught by Paschasius

Radbertus, with the additional notion that the consecrated elements are

not digested like other food (as the Stercorianists held), but are

imperishable spiritual nourishment for the inner man, and constitute

the germ of the future resurrection body. [1500] Where words give out

there is the more room for faith. [1501]

In his sermon De informatione episcoporum, if genuine, [1502] he

presents the high theocratic view of the middle ages, raises the

episcopate far above royalty, [1503] and attacks the common traffic in

ecclesiastical dignities (simony), but maintains also that all bishops

share with Peter the care of Christ's flock. [1504] This indicates that

the tract was written before his elevation to the papacy, and that he

did not hold the ultramontane or Vatican doctrine of papal absolutism.

His Epistles to popes, emperors, kings, queens, archbishops and other

dignitaries., shed light on the history of the times, and show his high

connections, and his genius for politics and intrigue. [1505] They are

mostly short, and include also some letters of Otho III. The longest

and most interesting is addressed to Queen Adelaide, wife of Hugo

Capet, and the suffragans of the diocese of Rheims, [1506] in defense

of his ordination as archbishop of Rheims in opposition to his rival

Arnulf, whom he afterwards reinstated in his see as soon as he became

pope. [1507]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1492] Giesebrecht (I. 615) says of Gerbert: "Er geh�rte zu den

seltenen Gelehrten, die in den weltlichen Dingen gleich heimisch sind,

wie in dem Reich der Ideen, die von unbegrenzter Empf�nglichkeit sich

jeden Stoff aneignen, leicht alle Verh�ltnisse durchschauen und

bemeistern, denen die H�lfsmittel des Geistes nie versiegen, und deren

Kr�fte auch die zerstreuteste Th�tigkeit kaum ersch�pft."

[1493] See above, p. 290 sqq. Baronius declares this synod a fiction of

Gerbert, and makes him responsible for the sentiments, the Benedictine

editors of the Hist. Lit. only for the style, of the acts, "qui est

beaucoup au-dussus de celuis de quantit� d' autres �crits du m�me

temps." The acts were first published in the Magdeburg Centuries, and

then by Mansi and Pertz. See Hefele, IV. 647 sq.

[1494] Richer says Senlis (in the province of Rheims); Aimons, his

continuator says Rheims. The acts of that synod are lost. See Hefele,

IV. 646.

[1495] Hefele (IV. 654) assumes a gradual change in his views on the

papal power in consequence of deeper reflection and bitter experience,

and applies to him the words of Pius II.: "Aeneam rejicite, Pium

recipite." Reuter says (I. 84): "Der Heros der Aufkl�rung wurde, der

Repr�sentant der auf �bernat�rlichem Fundament basirten Autorit�t." But

Gerbert was a strong supernaturalist before that time, as his book on

the Lord's Supper proves. His controversy with the papacy had nothing

to do with doctrine any more than the controversy between Gallicanism

and Ultramontanism. It was simply a question as to the extent of papal

jurisdiction.

[1496] See above, p. 295 sq.

[1497] D�llinger, in his Papstfabeln des Mittelalters (English transl.

ed. by Henry B. Smith, pp. 267-272), devotes several pages to this

fable, and tram it to Rome and to Cardinal Benno, the calumnious enemy

of Gregory VII., who was likewise accused of black arts. According to

Benno, Satan promised his pupil Gerbert that he should not die till he

had said mass in Jerusalem. Gerbert thought himself safe till he should

get to Palestine; but when he read mass in the Jerusalem church (Santa

Croce in Jersalemme) at Rome, he was summoned to die, and caused his

tongue and hand to be cut off by way of expiation. The Dominicans

adopted the myth, and believed that Gerbert early sold himself to

Satan, was raised by him to the papal throne, and had daily intercourse

with him, but confessed at last his enormous crimes, and showed his

repentance by hacking off one limb after another. Since that time the

rattling of his bones in the tomb gives notice of the approaching death

of the pope.

[1498] So especially Gfr�rer, partly also Hauck. But Hock, B�dinger and

Damberger defend his character and orthodoxy. Neander, Hefele,

Giesebrecht deal justly with him.

[1499] 502 "Lesavoir dominant de Gerbert �tait la science des

mathematiques." (Hist. Lit. de la France.) He wrote De numerorum

divisione; De geometria; De spherae constructione; De Rationali et

Ratione uti, etc. See Migne, l.c. 125 sqq.

[1500] In Migne, col. 179-188. Comp. above, p. 552.

[1501] De Corp. et Sang. D. c. 7 (col. 185): "Ecce quantum fides

proficit, ubi sermo deficit."

[1502] Olleris and Giesebrecht doubt the genuineness.

[1503] L.c. col. 170: "Sublimitas episcopalis nullis poterit

comparationibus aequari. Si regum compares infulas et principum

diademata, longe erit inferius, quasi plumbi metallum ad auri fulgorem

compares.''

[1504] L.c. col. 171, in explaining "Pasce oves meas " (John 21: 15

sqq.), he says: "Quas oves non solum tunc beatus suscepit apostolus,

sed et nobiscum eas accepit, et cum illo eas suscipimus omnes."

[1505] Migne, col. 201-286.

[1506] "Dominae et gloriosae Adelaidi reginae semper Augustae

Gerbertus, gratia Domini Remorum episcopus, et omnibus suis

confratribus et co�piscopis Remorum dioeceseos, bene valere in

Christo." Migne, 242-244.

[1507] Mansi, XIX. 242; Hefele, IV. 654.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 180. Fulbert of Chartres.

I. Sanctus Fulbertus, Carnotensis episcopus: Opera, in Migne, Tom.

CXLI. col. 163-374. They were first printed by Masson at Paris, 1585.

II. Du Pin, IX. 1-6. Ceillier, XIII. 78-89. Hist. Lit. de la France,

VII. 261-279 (reprinted in Migne, l.c. col. 167-184). Neander III.

passim. Reuter: Gesch. der Rel. Aufkl�rung in Mittelalter (1875), I.

89-91. J. B. Souchet: Hist. du dioc�se et de, la ville de Chartres.

Chartres, 1867-1876.4 vols. Cf. Karl Werner: Gerbert von Aurillac.

Wien, 1878. A. Vogel in Herzog2 IV. 707 sq.

The most distinguished pupils of Gerbert were the Emperor Otho III.,

King Robert of France, Richer, the historian of France, and Fulbert of

Chartres, the most renowned teacher of his age. They represent the rise

of a new zeal for learning which began to dispel the darkness of the

tenth century. France took the lead, Italy followed.

Fulbert, called by his admiring disciples "the Socrates of the Franks,"

was born of poor and obscure parents, probably at Chartres, about 950,

and educated in the cathedral school of Rheims by Gerbert. He founded a

similar school at Chartres, which soon acquired a brilliant reputation

and rivalled that of Rheims. About 1003 he was elected chancellor of

the church of Chartres, and in 1007 its bishop. When the cathedral

burned down (1020), he received contributions from all parts of France

and other countries for its reconstruction, but did not live to finish

it. He was involved in the political and ecclesiastical disturbances of

his country, opposed the use of the sword by the bishops, and the

appropriation of church property, and sale of offices by the avaricious

laity. He lost the favor of the court by his opposition to the

intrigues of Queen Constantia. He died April 10, 1029. [1508]

Fulbert's fame rests chiefly on his success as a living teacher. This

is indicated by his surname. [1509] He was not an original thinker, but

knew how to inspire his pupils with enthusiasm. [1510] His personality

was greater than his learning. He wisely combined spiritual edification

with intellectual instruction, and aimed at the eternal welfare of his

students. He used to walk with them at eventide in the garden and to

engage in familiar conversations on the celestial country; sometimes he

was overcome by his feelings, and adjured them with tears, never to

depart from the path of truth and to strive with all might after that

heavenly home. [1511]

His ablest pupil was Berengar of Tours, the vigorous opponent of

transubstantiation, and it has sometimes been conjectured that he

derived his views from him. [1512] But Fulbert adhered to the

traditional orthodoxy, and expressed himself against innovations, in

letters to his metropolitan, Leutberich, archbishop of Sens. He

regarded the real presence as an object of faith and adoration rather

than of curious speculation, but thought that it is not more difficult

to believe in a transformation of substance by Divine power than in the

creation of substance. [1513] He was a zealous worshipper of the

saints, especially of the Virgin Mary, and one of the first who

celebrated the festival of her Nativity.

The works of Fulbert consist of one hundred and thirty-nine (or 138)

Letters, including some letters of his correspondents; [1514] nine

Sermons; [1515] twenty-seven Hymns and Poems,, [1516] and a few minor

compositions, including probably a life of St. Autbert. [1517] His

letters have considerable interest and importance for the history of

his age. The longest and most important letter treats of three

doctrines which he regarded as essential and fundamental, namely, the

trinity, baptism, and the eucharist. [1518]

From the school of Gerbert at Rheims proceeded the school of Fulbert at

Chartres, and from this again the school of Berengar at Tours--all

equally distinguished for popularity and efficiency. They in turn were

succeeded by the monastic school of Lanfranc at Bec, who came from

Italy, labored in France, opposed Berengar, his rival, and completed

his career in England as archbishop of Canterbury. He was excelled by

his pupil and successor, Anselm, the second Augustin, the father of

Catholic scholasticism. With him began a new and important chapter in

the development of theology.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1508] An epitaph (in Migne, l.c. 165) describes Fulbert as "suae

tempestatis [sui temporis] pontificum decus, lux praeclara mundo a Deo

data, pauperum sustentator, desolatorum consolator, praedonum et

latronuin refrenator, vir eloquentissimus, et sapientissimus tam in

divinis quam in liberalium artium libris" There is also an epitaph in

poetry, l.c. col. 171.

[1509] "Venerabilis ille Socrates" he is called by Adelmann.

[1510] Reuter (I. 89) characterizes him very well: "Ein ungew�hnliches

p�dagogisches Talent ist sicher demjenigen eigen gewesen, welchen die

bewundernden Sch�ler den Socrates der Franken nannten. Die

Pers�nlichkeit war ungleich gr�sser als die wissenschaftliche Leistung,

das individuell Anfassende bedeutsamer als die materielle Unterweisung.

Nicht f�hig originelle Gedanken zu entwickeln und mitzutheilen, hat

Fulbert als Bildner der Eigenth�mlichkeit begabter Sch�ler seine

Virtuosit�t in der anreqenden Kraft seines Umgangs gezeigt. Dieser

Lehrer wurde der Vater gar verschieden gestimmter wissenschaftlicher

S�hne."

[1511] Adelmann, one of his pupils, in a letter to Berengar, his

fellow-student, reminded him of these memorable conversations, and

warned him against error. See p. 554, and Neander, III. 502.

[1512] By Bishop Cosin (in his Hist. Transsubstantiationis), as quoted

by Robertson, If. 607.

[1513] Ep. V. (Migne, col. 201): "Jam nunc ad illud Dominici corporis

et sanguinis transeamus venerabile sacramentum, quod quidem tantum

formidabile est ad loquendum: quantum non terrenum, sed coeleste est

mysterium; non humanae aestimationi comparabile, sed admirable non

disputandum, sed metuendum. De quo silere potius aestimaveram quam

temeraria disputatione indigne aliquid definire; quia coelestis

altitudo mysterii plane non valet officio linguae corruptibilis exponi.

Est enim mysterium fide non specie aestimandum, non visu corporeo, sed

spiritu intuendum." Then toward,; the close of the same letter (col.

204) he says: "Si Deum omnia posse credis, et hoc consequitur ut

credas; nec humanis disputationibus discernere curiosus insistes, si

creaturas quas de nihilo potuit creare, has ipsas multo magis valeat in

excellentioris naturae dignitatem convertere, et in sui corporis

substantiam transfundere." The last phrase is nearly equivalent to

transubstantiation.

[1514] Epistolae, Migne, l.c. col. 189-278. Giesebrecht, Damberger, and

Werner have analyzed and made much use of them.

[1515] Sermones ad populum. Ibid. col. 317-340.

[1516] Hymni et carmina ecclesiastica. Ibid. col. 339-352. See above,

96, p. 433.

[1517] Vita S. Autberti, Cameracensis episcopi. Ibid. col. 355-368.

[1518] Ep. V. (formerly Ep. 1, in Migne, col. 196 sqq.) De tribus quae

sunt necessaria ad profectum Christianae religionis, from the year

1007, addressed to his metropolitan superior. See the extract on the

eucharist above, p. 784, note 3.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 181. Rodulfus Glaber. Adam of Bremen.

I. Rodulfus Glaber (Cluniacnesis monachus): Opera, in Migne, Tom.

CXLII. col. 611-720. The Historia sui temporis or Historia Francorum is

also printed in part, with textual emendations by G. Waitz, in the

Monum. Germ. Script., ed. by Pertz, Tom. VII. 48-72, and the Vita

Willelmi abbatis in Tom. IV. 655-658. Comp. Ceillier: XIII. 143-147.

Wattenbach: Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen. Potthast: Biblioth. Hist.

medii aevi, p. 521.

II. Adamus Bremensis: Gesta Hammaburgenais ecclesiae Pontificum, seu

Historia ecclesiastica. Libri IV. Best. ed. by Lappenberg in Pertz,

Mon. Germ. Scriptores, Tom. VII. 267-389. German translation by

Laurent, with introduction by Lappenberg, Berlin, 1850 (in

"Geschichtschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit;" XI. Jahrh. B. VII.). In

Migne, Tom. CXLVI. col. 433-566 (reprinted from Pertz).--Comp.

Giesebrecht: Wendische Geschichte, III. 316 sqq.; Wattenbach:

Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen (first ed. p. 252 sqq.); Koppmann: Die

mittelalterlichen Geschichtsquellen in Bezug auf Hamburg (1868);

Potthast, l.c p. 100; C. Bertheau in Herzog2 I. 140 sqq. Of older

notices see Ceillier, XIV. 201-206.

Among the historical writers of the eleventh century, Rodulfus Glaber,

and Adam of Bremen deserve special mention, the one for France, the

other for the North of Europe.

Rodulfus Glaber [1519] was a native of Burgundy, sent to a convent in

early youth by his uncle, and expelled for bad conduct; but he reformed

and joined the strict Benedictine school of Cluny. He lived a while in

the monastery of St. Benignus, at Dijon, then at Cluny, and died about

1050.

His chief work is a history of his own time, from 1000-1045, in five

books. Though written in barbarous Latin and full of inaccuracies,

chronological blunders, and legendary miracles, it is an interesting

and indispensable source of information, and gives vivid pictures of

the corrupt morals of that period. [1520] He wrote also a biography of

St. William, abbot of Dijon, who died 1031. [1521]

Adam of Bremen, a Saxon by birth, educated (probably) at Magdeburg,

teacher and canon of the chapter at Bremen (1068), composed, between

1072 and 1076, a history of the Bishops of Hamburg-Bremen. [1522] This

is the chief source for the oldest church history of North Germany and

Scandinavia, from 788 to the death of Adalbert, who was archbishop of

Bremen from 1045-1072. Adam drew from the written sources in the rich

library, of the church at Bremen, and from oral traditions. [1523] He

went to the Danish King Sven Estrithson, who "preserved the whole

history of the barbarians in his memory as in a book." He is impartial

and reliable, but neglects the chronology, . He may almost be called

the Herodotus of the North except for his want of simplicity. He was

familiar with Virgil, Horace, Lucian, and formed his style chiefly

after Sallust; hence his artificial brevity and sententiousness. [1524]

He ranks with the first historians of the middle ages. [1525]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1519] i.e. Calvus, Kahlkopf, Baldhead. His proper name was Rodulfus or

Radulphus. Ceillier (l.c. p. 143): "Rodulphe ou Raoul, surnomm� Glaber

parce qu'il �tait chauve et sans poil."

[1520] This is the judgment of Waitz (Mon. Germ. VII. 49), and

Giesebrecht (II. 567). Wattenbach (Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen,

first ed., 1858, p. 322) calls it "ein Werk voll merkw�rdiger Dinge,

und mannigfach belehrend, aber ohne festen Plan und chronologische

Ordnung."

[1521] The Vita S. Guillelmi or Willelmi, in Migne, l.c. col. 701-720.

[1522] Hamburg was the original seat of the Northern episcopate, and

remained so nominally, but owing to the constant irruptions of the

Wends and Normans, it was transferred to Bremen.

[1523] Lappenberg gives a full account of all his sources.

[1524] Wattenbach (p. 254): Sein Vorbild ist besonders Sallust, der in

den Schulen vorzugeweise gelesen wurde und darum auch eine �bergrossen

Einfluss auf den Stil der Zeit �bte" He adds (p. 255): "Jede

gewissenhafte Forschung geht auf Adam zur�ck und seine Autorit�t stand

von Anfang an mit Recht in hohem Ansehen."

[1525] Lappenberg (in Mon. Gem. VII. 267): "Paucissimi sane sunt inter

medii aevi historicos, qui rerum traditarum gravitate, perspicuitate,

iudicii ingenuitate, fontium scriptorum cognitione, sermonium ore

traditorum accurata perceptione ita emineant, ut Adamus, magister

scolarum Bremensis."

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

� 182. St. Peter Damiani.

I. Beati Petri Damiani (S. R. E. cardinalis Episcopi Ostiensis Ordinis

S. Benedicti) Opera omnia in quatuor tomos distributa, studio et labora

Domni Constantini Cajetani (of Montecassino), first publ. Rom.

1606-'13; in Paris, 1663; in Venice, 1783. Reprinted with Vitae and

Prolegomena in Migne's "Patrol. Lat.," Tom. CXLIV. and CXLV. (1853).

Tom. I. 1060 cols.; Tom. II. 1224 cols.

II. Three biographies of Damiani, one by his pupil, Joannes monachus,

who, however, only describes his monastic character. See Migne, I.

47-204. Acta Sanctorum (Bolland.), for February 23, Tom. III. 406-427.

Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Bened., Saec. VI. Also the Annales Ordinis S.

Benedicti, ed. Mabillon, Tom. IV., lib. LVIII.-LXII. (which extend from

a.d. 1039-1066, and notice the public acts of Damiani in chronological

order).

III. Jac. Laderchi: Vita S. Petri Damiani S. R. E. Cardinalis. Rom.

1702. 3 Tom. Albr. Vogel: Peter Damiani. Jena, 1856. Comp. his art. in

Herzog2 III. 466 sqq. F. Neukirch: Das Leben des Peter Dam. G�ttingen,

1876. Jos. Kleinermanns (R.C.): Petrus Damiani in s. Leben und Wirken,

nach den Quellen dargestellt. Steyl, 1882. Comp. also Ceillier, XIII.

296-324. Neander, III. 382, 397 and passim; Gfr�rer Gregor. VII, Bd.

I.; H�fler: Die deutschen Paepste; Will: Die Anf�nge der Restauration

der Kirche im elfte Jahrh.; Giesebrecht: Gesch. der deutschen

Kaizerzeit, vol. II.; Hefele: Conciliengesch., vol. IV.

I. Life. Peter Damianus or Damiani (1007-1072), [1526] a friend of

Hildebrand and zealous promoter of the moral reform of the clergy, was

a native of Ravenna, had a very hard youth, but with the help of his

brother Damianus (whose name he adopted), [1527] he was enabled to

study at Ravenna, Faenza and Parma. He acquired honor and fortune as a

teacher of the liberal arts in his native city. In his thirtieth year

he suddenly left the world and became a hermit at Fonte Avellano near

Gubbio (Eugubium) in Umbria, following the example of his countryman,

Romuald, whose life he described. [1528] He soon reached the height of

ascetic holiness and became abbot and disciplinarian of the hermits and

monks of the whole surrounding region. Even miracles were attributed to

him.

He systematized and popularized a method of meritorious

self-flagellation in connection with the recital of the Psalms; each

Psalm was accompanied with a hundred strokes of a leathern thong on the

bare back, the whole Psalter with fifteen thousand strokes. This

penance became a rage, and many a monk flogged himself to death to the

music of the Psalms for his own benefit, or for the release of souls in

purgatory. The greatest expert was Dominicus, who wore an iron cuirass

around his bare body (hence called Loricatus), and so accelerated the

strokes that he absolved without a break twelve Psalters; at last he

died of exhaustion(1063). [1529] Even noble women ardently practiced

"hoc purgatorii genus," as Damiani calls it. He defended this

self-imposed penance against the opponents as a voluntary imitation of

the passion of Christ and the sufferings of martyrs, but he found it

necessary also to check unnatural excesses among his disciples, and

ordered that no one should be forced to scourge himself, and that forty

Psalms with four thousand strokes at a time should be sufficient as a

rule.

The ascetic practice which he encouraged by word and example, had

far-reaching consequences; it became a part of the monastic discipline

among Dominicans [1530] and Franciscans, and assumed gigantic

proportions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially

during the reign of the Black Death (1349), when fraternities of

Flagellants or Cross-bearers, moved by a spirit of repentance, preceded

by crosses, stripped to the waist, with faces veiled, made pilgrimages

through Italy, Germany and England and scourged themselves, while

chanting the penitential psalms, twice a day for thirty-three days, in

memory of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life. [1531]

Damiani became the leader of the strict monastic party which centred at

Cluny and labored, from the sacerdotal and theocratic point of view,

for a reformation of the clergy and the church at a time of their

deepest degradation and corruption. He compared the condition of his

age to that of Sodom and Gomorrah; he opposed simony and the

concubinage of priests, as the two chief sources of evil. He advocated

a law which punished simony with deposition, and which prohibited the

laity from hearing mass said by married priests. Such a law was enacted

by the Lateran Council of 1059. He also condemned in the clergy the

practice of bearing arms, although even Pope Leo IX., in 1053, led an

army against the pillaging Normans. He firmly maintained that a priest

should not draw the sword even in defense of the faith, but contend

only with the Word of God and the weapon of the Spirit.

A man of such talent, piety and energy could not remain hidden in the

desert. He was drawn to Rome, and against his will chosen bishop of

Ostia and Cardinal of the Roman church by Stephen X. in 1058. He

narrowly escaped the triple crown in 1061. He was the spiritual

counsellor and censor of the Hildebrandian popes (Gregory VI., Clement

II., Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen X., Nicolas II., Alexander II.), and

of Hildebrand himself. He was employed on important missions at Milan,

Florence, Montecassino, Cluny, Mainz, Frankfort. He helped to put down

the papal schism of Cadalous. [1532] He had the confidence of the

Emperor Henry III. whom he highly praise as a second David, became

confessor of the widowed Empress Agnes, and prevented the divorce of

her son Henry IV. from his wife Bertha. He resigned his bishopric, but

was again called out from his retreat by Hildebrand; hence he called

him his holy Satan, and also the lord of the pope. [1533] He despised

the vanities and dignities of high office. He preferred his monastic

cell in the Apennines, where he could conquer his own world within,

recite the Psalter, scourge himself, and for a change write satires and

epigrams, and make wooden spoons. "What would the bishops of old have

done," he said, "had they to endure the torments which now attend the

episcopate? To ride forth constantly accompanied by troops of soldiers

with swords and lances, to be girt about with armed men, like a heathen

general! Every day royal banquets, every day parade! The table loaded

with delicacies for voluptuous guests; while the poor pine away with

famine!"

His last work was to heal a schism in the church of his native city. On

his return he died of fever at Faenza, Feb. 23, 1072, one year before

Hildebrand ascended the papal chair to carry out the reforms for which

Damiani had prepared the way with narrow, but honest, earnest and

unselfish devotion.

II. The Works of Damiani consist of Epistles, Sermons, Lives of Saints,

ascetic tracts, and Poems. They are a mirror of the church of his age.

1. The Epistles are divided into eight books. They are addressed (a) to

contemporary Roman Bishops (Gregory VI., Clement II., Leo IX., Victor

II., Nicolas II., Alexander II., and the Anti-pope Cadalous or Honorius

II.); (b) to the Cardinal Bishops, and to Cardinal Hildebrand in

particular; (c) to Patriarchs and to the Archbishops of Ravenna and

Cologne; (d) to various Bishops; (e) to Archpresbyters, Archdeacons,

Presbyters and other clergy. They give a graphic picture of the

corruptions of the church in his times, and are full of zeal for a

moral reform. He subscribes himself "Petrus peccator monachus." The

letters to the anti-pope Cadalous show his power of sarcasm; he tells

him that his very name from cado, to fall, and laov", people, was

ominous, that he deserved a triple deposition, that his new crime was

adultery and simony of the worst sort, that he had sold his own church

(Parma) and bought another, that the church was desecrated to the very

top by such adulteries. He prophesied his death within one year, but

Cadalous outlived it, and Damiani defended his prophecy as applying to

moral death.

2. Sermons, seventy-four in number. [1534] They are short and treat of

church festivals, apostles, the Virgin Mary, martyrs, saints, relics,

and enjoin a churchly and ascetic piety.

3. Lives of Saints, of the Benedictine order, namely, Odilo of Cluny,

Romuald, Rodulphus, and Dominicus Loricatus (the hero of

self-flagellation), whose examples are held up for imitation. [1535]

4. Dogmatic Discussions, De Fide Catholica; Contra Judaeos; Dialogus

inter Judaeum et Christianum; De Divina Omnipotentia; De Processione

Spiritus Sancti (against the Greeks), etc. [1536]

5. Polemic and ascetic treatises. The most important is the Liber

Gomorrhianus (1051), a fearless exposure of clerical immorality which

appeared to him as bad as the lewdness of Sodom and Gomorrah (hence the

title). [1537] It is addressed to Pope Leo IX. and calls on him to

exercise his authority in removing the scandals. The Liber Gratissimus,

addressed to Henry, archbishop of Ravenna, is directed against simony.

[1538] He wrote also tracts on the contempt of the world, on monastic

perfection, on the life of hermits, on sacerdotal celibacy, against

intemperance, against avarice, etc. [1539]

6. On Miracles and Apparitions. [1540]

7. On the Pictures of the chief Apostles, especially Peter and Paul.

[1541]

8. Exposition of the Canon of the Mass, and other liturgical topics.

[1542]

9. Exegetical Fragments on the Old and New Testaments. [1543]

10 Poems, satires, epigrams and Prayers. [1544] His best hymn is on the

glory of Paradise, based on poetic prose of St. Augustin: "Ad perennis

vitae fontem mens sativit arida." [1545]

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[1526] There are several distinguished persons of that name, (a)

Damianus, brother of Cosmas; they were physicians in Sicily who took no

fees, and died as "silverless" martyrs of the Diocletian persecution

(303), and became the patrons of physicians and druggists throughout

the middle ages. The Greeks distinguish three pairs of these brothers.

(b) Damianus, patriarch of Alexandria, d. 601, who leaned to

Sabellianism and Monophysitism. (c) D., bishop of Pavia, who drew up a

confession of faith against the Monothelites, A.D. 679.

[1527] As Eusebius called himself Pamphili after his friend and patron

Pamphilus,

[1528] See above, p. 366 sqq.

[1529] See Damiani's account in Vita Dominici Loricati, c. 10, in

Migne, I. 1017.

[1530] St. Dominic, the founder of the order of the Dominicans

(1170-1221), is said to have scourged himself every night three times,

first for himself, then for his contemporaries, and last for the souls

in purgatory.

[1531] Boileau, Historia Flagellantium, Paris, 1700; F�rstemann, Die

christl. Geisslergesellschaften, Halle, 1828; Cooper, Flagellation and

the Flagellants, London, 1870. 3d ed., 1877.

[1532] Or Cadalus, bishop of Parma, very rich and guilty of simony.

[1533] In two of his best epigrams, he says of Hildebrand (Migne, II.

961, 967): "Vivere vis Romae, clara depromito voce: Plus Domino papae

quam Domno pareo papae. \*\*\*\*\*\*\* Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus

adoro: Tu facis hunc Dominum; te facit iste Deum."

[1534] Migne, I. 506-924.

[1535] Migne, 925-1024.

[1536] II. 20 sqq. and 595 sqq.

[1537] II. 159-190.

[1538] II. 99 sqq.

[1539] II. 191 sqq.

[1540] II. 571 sqq.

[1541] II. 590 sqq.

[1542] II. 979 sqq.

[1543] II. 892 sqq. and 985 sqq.

[1544] II. 918 sqq.

[1545] II. 862. See above, p. 431 sq.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

[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.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Indexes

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Scripture References

Genesis

[1]12:7 [2]16:10

Exodus

[3]15:20 [4]25:17-22 [5]31:2

Numbers

[6]21:1

Deuteronomy

[7]6:4 [8]18:15 [9]18:15 [10]18:18 [11]32 [12]104

Joshua

[13]11:8

Judges

[14]5:6

Ezra

[15]6:10

Job

[16]3:6

Psalms

[17]2:8 [18]22:23 [19]44:2 [20]48 [21]60:4 [22]90:9

[23]102:24 [24]104:17 [25]109:28

Proverbs

[26]8:25

Song of Solomon

[27]4:12

Isaiah

[28]3:1-4 [29]21:67 [30]45:23

Jeremiah

[31]17:5

Ezekiel

[32]41:1 [33]41:15 [34]41:19 [35]44:2

Daniel

[36]6:11

Malachi

[37]2:2

Matthew

[38]2:1 [39]3:2 [40]6:3-4 [41]12:28 [42]16:18 [43]16:19

[44]20:26 [45]23:24 [46]24 [47]25:31-36 [48]26:26 [49]26:26

[50]26:26-28 [51]26:27 [52]26:28 [53]26:39 [54]27:34

[55]27:45

Mark

[56]1:15 [57]6:13 [58]13:32 [59]15:33 [60]16:18

Luke

[61]1:28 [62]1:80 [63]2:51 [64]9:26 [65]11:20 [66]11:52

[67]13:34 [68]18:19 [69]22:31 [70]22:31-32 [71]22:42

[72]23:22 [73]23:44

John

[74]1 [75]1:14 [76]1:43 [77]3:16 [78]4:14 [79]4:21

[80]4:24 [81]5:21 [82]6:38 [83]6:38 [84]6:54 [85]6:63

[86]6:63 [87]8 [88]10:35 [89]12:8 [90]14:16 [91]14:26

[92]14:28 [93]15:26 [94]15:26 [95]15:26 [96]15:26 [97]15:26

[98]15:26 [99]16:7 [100]17:21 [101]17:24 [102]19:27

[103]19:28 [104]19:38 [105]20:22 [106]20:25 [107]21

[108]21:17

Acts

[109]3:13-15 [110]15 [111]15:39-40 [112]17:34

Romans

[113]1:23 [114]1:24 [115]1:25 [116]8:29 [117]8:29 [118]8:32

[119]11:36 [120]12:1 [121]15:28 [122]16:10 [123]1588

[124]1606 [125]1655 [126]1658 [127]1702 [128]1738 [129]1741

[130]1766 [131]1786 [132]1835

1 Corinthians

[133]1:10 [134]3:11 [135]11:3

Galatians

[136]1:8-9 [137]2:11 [138]5:1 [139]6:15

Ephesians

[140]1:21 [141]5:2

Philippians

[142]2:8 [143]6

Colossians

[144]1:15 [145]1:16 [146]2:18 [147]2:21 [148]206 [149]212

[150]841 [151]1507 [152]1556

1 Timothy

[153]2:3 [154]2:5-6

Hebrews

[155]9:1-5

James

[156]5:14-15

1 John

[157]3:2 [158]4:23 [159]5:7

Revelation

[160]19:10 [161]22:8-9

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Greek Words and Phrases

\* ': [162]1

\* oGraptos,: [163]1

\* agennesia: [164]1

\* akolouthia: [165]1 [166]2

\* alethine latreia he prepei mone te theia phusei: [167]1

\* ameristos: [168]1

\* anabathmoi: [169]1

\* anagoge: [170]1

\* anagogikos: [171]1

\* anakephalaiosis: [172]1

\* anakreontika: [173]1

\* antenklema: [174]1

\* antistasis: [175]1

\* antiphonon, apolutikion: [176]1

\* anumnesate, laoi,: [177]1

\* apodeixis: [178]1

\* aposticha, automelon, exaposteilarion, eothina, kathisma,

katabasia, kontaria, makarismoi, megalunaria, oikoi, prosomoia,

stichera, triodia, tetraoda, diodia, psalterion, tropologion.:

[179]1

\* apophemi: [180]1

\* apokrisiarios: [181]1

\* apotoupatros: [182]1

\* apophasko: [183]1

\* apophatikos: [184]1

\* arithmos: [185]1

\* arche: [186]1

\* arche, exousia, dunamis, kuriotes: [187]1

\* archai, archangeloi, angeloi: [188]1

\* aspasmos kai timetike proskunesis: [189]1

\* asunchutos: [190]1

\* atreptos: [191]1

\* angelos: [192]1

\* azumon: [193]1

\* azumos: [194]1

\* anthropos: [195]1

\* artos: [196]1

\* arton: [197]1

\* Anoixo to stoma mou,: [198]1

\* ek: [199]1 [200]2 [201]3

\* ekporeusis: [202]1

\* ekpempsis: [203]1

\* ekporeuetai: [204]1

\* ekporeuomai: [205]1 [206]2

\* ektoupatros: [207]1

\* en to phanero: [208]1

\* energeia: [209]1

\* ento sekreto toutheioupalatiou: [210]1

\* exousiastikon: [211]1

\* epitotermatesduseos: [212]1

\* episkopos: [213]1

\* epoptes: [214]1

\* epitomai: [215]1

\* epicheiremata: [216]1

\* epopteuesthai: [217]1

\* Epistolai: [218]1

\* Hermeneia kata paraphrasin tou asmatos ton asmaton: [219]1

\* he anatolike ekklesia: [220]1

\* he heorte ton azumon: [221]1

\* he Hellenike tupographia tou phoinikos: [222]1

\* hekuriaketesorthodoxias: [223]1

\* e totheionpaschei: [224]1

\* e to paschontisumpaschei: [225]1

\* ethos: [226]1

\* idiomela: [227]1

\* idiomelatonTheophaneion: [228]1

\* idiomelon: [229]1

\* idiotes: [230]1

\* idion: [231]1

\* hierarches: [232]1

\* hiereus: [233]1

\* hierologia: [234]1 [235]2

\* Hidiomelon: [236]1

\* Historia: [237]1

\* orphanothropheion: [238]1

\* hoagnostosensarkipascheitheos: [239]1

\* hokurioserchetai: [240]1

\* oros: [241]1

\* ho Parakletos: [242]1

\* ho para tou Patros ekporeuetai: [243]1

\* honegopempso: [244]1

\* hopempseihoPaterento onomatimou: [245]1

\* organon: [246]1

\* hothen kai hen thelema homologoumen tou Kuriou Ies: [247]1

\* hoti dedoxastai.: [248]1

\* Oktoechos: [249]1

\* humnographoi.: [250]1

\* humnographos: [251]1

\* hupostatikon: [252]1

\* hustrichis: [253]1

\* humnos: [254]1

\* humnoshiketerioseisChriston: [255]1

\* o kale Dionusie: [256]1

\* asate to kurio pasa he ge,: [257]1

\* rhis: [258]1

\* Rhinotmetos: [259]1

\* Aigidios: [260]1

\* Aineite, paides . kurion: [261]1

\* Biblioth. ekkl.: [262]1

\* Galatai: [263]1

\* Doxa en hupsistois theo: [264]1

\* Diegesis peri tes ton neophanton Manichaion anablasteseos: [265]1

\* Didaskei: [266]1

\* Didaskalia pantodape: [267]1

\* Dion: [268]1

\* DionusioshoAreopagites: [269]1

\* Doxaenhupsistois: [270]1

\* Duotheletai: [271]1

\* Eikonoklastai: [272]1

\* Eirmos: [273]1

\* Eis ta theophaneia, Eis ten kuriaken tou Pascha, Eis ten

pentekosten, Eis ten analepsin tou Christou: [274]1

\* Eis ten tou Christou gennesin, Eis ta theophaneia, Eis ten

pentekosten, Pros Christon, Eis ten hupsosin tou staurou, Eis to

mega sabbaton. Neale has reproduced eight odes of Cosmas and a

cento on the Transfiguration. The Nativity hymn begins (Christ p.

165):: [275]1

\* Eis ten christou gennesin: [276]1

\* Euphrainesthe dikaioi;: [277]1

\* Euche: [278]1

\* Euchetai: [279]1

\* Euche, Idiomela en akolouthia tou exodiastikou, Eis ten koimesin

tes theotokou.: [280]1

\* Ekdosis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos: [281]1

\* Euchitai: [282]1

\* Theotokion: [283]1

\* Thesauros orthodoxias: [284]1

\* Keltai: [285]1

\* Kai: [286]1

\* Kanoneistenhuperagiantheotokon: [287]1

\* Kephalaia philosophika: [288]1

\* Keroularios: [289]1

\* Kollurides: [290]1

\* Kopronumos: [291]1

\* KuriaketonHagionpanton: [292]1

\* Men Ianouarios ,: [293]1

\* Maroneitai: [294]1

\* Menaia: [295]1

\* Menaion tou Ianouariou: [296]1

\* Monotheletai: [297]1

\* Monotheletai: [298]1

\* Muriobiblion: [299]1

\* Ouden gar adunaton te mesiteia sou: [300]1

\* Ouranoi agalliasthe;: [301]1

\* PetronkaiPaulon: [302]1

\* Parakletike,: [303]1

\* Paulianitoi: [304]1

\* Paulikianoi: [305]1

\* Paulikoi: [306]1

\* Pentekostarion: [307]1

\* Peri dikaiou kai `theiou dikaioteriou: [308]1

\* Perienergaiasdaimonon: [309]1

\* Periaireseonensuntomia: [310]1

\* Peritheiononomat: [311]1

\* Periphuseosmerismou: [312]1

\* Peri `dogmatos: [313]1

\* Pege gnoseos: [314]1

\* Proton men gar esti to kat autous gnorisma: [315]1

\* Sunodos penthekte: [316]1

\* Sunopsis ton nomon: [317]1

\* Salpisomen en salpingi asmaton: [318]1

\* Skirtesate ta hore,: [319]1

\* Sunagogai kai `apodeixeis akribeis: [320]1

\* Tou Christou gennethentos.: [321]1

\* Triodion: [322]1

\* Troullion: [323]1

\* Troullon: [324]1

\* Troparion: [325]1

\* Phos hilaron hagias doxes: [326]1

\* Photiou lexeon sunagoge: [327]1

\* Chr: [328]1

\* Christos ex ouranon; apantesate;: [329]1

\* Christos epi ges ; hupsothete;: [330]1

\* Christos gennatai; doxasate;: [331]1

\* haientais Germaniaishidrumenaiekklesiai: [332]1

\* haireseos: [333]1

\* automeloneistousapost: [334]1

\* biblos: [335]1 [336]2

\* biblia: [337]1

\* boulesis: [338]1

\* bouleutikonthelema: [339]1

\* brephotropheion: [340]1

\* gennesis: [341]1

\* genos: [342]1

\* ganoi: [343]1

\* gennesia: [344]1

\* gerontokomeia: [345]1

\* gnomikon: [346]1

\* graptos: [347]1

\* graptoi: [348]1

\* duho phusikas theleseis etoi thelematha en auto: [349]1

\* duothelemata: [350]1

\* deuteroproton: [351]1

\* diatouhuiou: [352]1

\* doulos: [353]1

\* drus: [354]1

\* eidodolatrai: [355]1

\* eikonokaustai: [356]1

\* eikonolatrai: [357]1

\* eikonomachoi: [358]1

\* eis ten theogonian: [359]1

\* eis to hagion pneuma: [360]1

\* eistousaionas: [361]1

\* eraphim, cheroubim, thronoi: [362]1

\* zume: [363]1

\* thelema: [364]1

\* thelesis: [365]1

\* theion amoibai pragmaton: [366]1

\* theologia: [367]1 [368]2

\* theotokion: [369]1

\* theotokos: [370]1

\* thingano: [371]1

\* thronoi, kuriotetes. archai, exousiai: [372]1

\* katharsis: [373]1

\* kopros: [374]1

\* kuphon: [375]1

\* khai `ek thou huihou: [376]1

\* khai duho phusikas energeias adiairetos: [377]1

\* kai: [378]1

\* kai en euphrosune: [379]1

\* kai ophthesomai phaidrospanegurizon;: [380]1

\* kai aso gethomenos tautes ta thaumata.: [381]1

\* kai logou epeuxomai te basilidi metri;: [382]1

\* kai plerothesetai pneumatos;: [383]1

\* kathhemeran: [384]1

\* kathizesthai: [385]1

\* kathismata: [386]1

\* kanones tes ektes sunodou: [387]1

\* katantiphrasin: [388]1

\* kataphemi: [389]1

\* katanuktika: [390]1

\* kataphasko: [391]1

\* kataphatikos: [392]1

\* kelleotai: [393]1

\* keltoi: [394]1

\* keriolos: [395]1

\* keruttomen: [396]1

\* klao: [397]1

\* klimax: [398]1

\* koruphaiakaipresbutatetontheologonakrotes: [399]1

\* kuaphos: [400]1

\* kuriotetes, dunameis , exousiai: [401]1

\* logoiapologetikoi: [402]1

\* latreia: [403]1

\* leitourgos: [404]1

\* logike latreia: [405]1

\* me thiges: [406]1

\* monon: [407]1

\* muesis: [408]1

\* mustes: [409]1

\* melodoi: [410]1

\* metanoia: [411]1

\* metanoia.: [412]1

\* metanoein: [413]1

\* metousiosis: [414]1

\* mneme tes hosias Metros hemon Melanes tes Rhomaias .: [415]1

\* monogenes: [416]1

\* mustagogia: [417]1 [418]2

\* nomos: [419]1

\* nekrosima: [420]1 [421]2

\* nosokomeia: [422]1

\* xenos: [423]1

\* xenodocheion: [424]1 [425]2

\* xulolatrai: [426]1

\* oikonomia: [427]1

\* oikonomikon: [428]1

\* oikoumenikosarchiepiskopos: [429]1

\* pathos: [430]1

\* pempso: [431]1

\* pempsoauton: [432]1

\* pos to pneuma to hagion ekporeuetai ek monou tou Patros , hos peges

kai arches tes thuotetos: [433]1

\* pan'tes: [434]1

\* para: [435]1 [436]2 [437]3

\* parekbasis: [438]1

\* parabates: [439]1

\* parthenion: [440]1

\* peripollon: [441]1

\* pisteuomen: [442]1

\* plinthoi: [443]1

\* poine: [444]1

\* poiotes: [445]1

\* poietai: [446]1

\* poneron theon kai agathon: [447]1

\* pragmatike: [448]1

\* presbuteros to sumpresbutero.: [449]1

\* proairetikon: [450]1

\* proskunesis: [451]1 [452]2

\* prototokos en pollois adelphois: [453]1

\* protosumboulos: [454]1

\* ptosis: [455]1

\* ptocheion, ptochotropheion: [456]1

\* rakteres: [457]1

\* sunkrisis: [458]1

\* seirai: [459]1

\* seraphim, cheroubim, archangeloi, angeloi: [460]1

\* stasis: [461]1

\* stichera anastasima: [462]1

\* stichera anatolika: [463]1

\* sullogai hermeneion: [464]1

\* schema: [465]1

\* to duo archas homologein: [466]1

\* to zoopoion, to ek tou patros; ekporeuomenon, k.t.l.: [467]1

\* to kurion: [468]1

\* to pneuma tes aletheias: [469]1

\* ton kata panta toutois sunaireten kai sundromon kaibebaioten tes:

[470]1

\* tuposperipisteos: [471]1

\* testheotokou: [472]1

\* tesoikoumenikesekklesiasepiskopou: [473]1

\* to houtolegomeno Troullo: [474]1

\* tauta: [475]1

\* teleiosis: [476]1

\* timetikeproskunesis: [477]1

\* to `hon huperousion: [478]1

\* tou: [479]1

\* tropos: [480]1

\* trochos: [481]1

\* troparion: [482]1

\* cherotropheia: [483]1

\* christianokategoroi: [484]1

\* , No. 446.: [485]1

\* ," and that it is ": [486]1

\* .": [487]1 [488]2

\* ." But the great African father put his poetry into prose, and only

furnished inspiring thoughts to poets. German translation by

K�nigsfeld (who gives it likewise under the name of St. Augustin)

": [489]1

\* ." This version is considerably enlarged and has been translated

into English by Miss Winkworth in "Lyra Germanica" : "In the midst

of life behold Death has girt us round. See notes in Schaff's:

[490]1

\* 9: [491]1

\* A curious mediaeval legend makes the Te Deum: [492]1

\* A few writers claim it for Pope Innocent III.: [493]1

\* According to Christ (Prol: [494]1

\* Alleluia: [495]1

\* By Mone (I. 242, note), Koch, Wackernagel. Mone's reasons are "the

classical metre with partial rhymes, and the prayer-like

treatment.": [496]1

\* By Tomasi (I. 375) and even Daniel (I. 213, sq.; IV. 125),

apparently also by Trench (p. 167). Tomasi based his view on an

impossible tradition reported by the Bollandists (Acta: [497]1

\* Christ (p. LII sq., p. 140-147) reasons chiefly from chronological

considerations. The poem is called akathistos: [498]1

\* Christ and Daniel ignore Stephen. Neale calls the one and only hymn

which he translated, "Idiomela in the Week of the First Oblique

Tone," and adds: "These stanzas, which strike me as very sweet, are

not in all the editions of the Octoechus." He ascribes to him also

a poetical composition on the Martyrs of the monastery of Mar S�ba

(March 20), and one on the Circumcision. "His style," he says,

"seems formed on that of S. Cosmas, rather than on that of his own

uncle. He is not deficient in elegance and richness of typology,

but exhibits something of sameness, and is occasionally guilty of

very hard metaphors.": [499]1

\* Christ, 131-140, gives his "Psalm of the Holy Apostles," and a

Nativity hymn. Comp. p. li. sq. Jacobi (p. 203 sq.) discusses the

data and traces in Romanus allusions to the Monotheletic

controversy, which began about: [500]1

\* Christ, 242-253; Daniel, III. 112-114; Neale, p. 120-151; B�ssler,

p. 23, 165; Schaff, p. 240 sq. Joseph is also the author of hymns

formerly ascribed to Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, during the

Monotheletic controversy, as Paranikas has shown (Christ, Prol:

[501]1

\* Comp. on Notker the biography of Ekkehard; Daniel V. 37 sqq.; Koch

I. 94 sqq.; Meyer von Knonau,: [502]1

\* Daniel, I. 116-118 (Rhythmus de gloria et gaudiis Paradisi: [503]1

\* Daniel, I. 175-183, gives ten hymns of Gregory, and an additional

one (Laudes canamus: [504]1

\* Daniel, I. 206 sq.; Mone, I.1 ("Primo Deus coeli globum: [505]1

\* Daniel, II. 329; Mone, I. 397. Several German versions, one by

Luther (1524): ": [506]1

\* Dr. E. A. Washburn, late rector of Calvary Church, New York, a

highly accomplished scholar (d. 1881). The version was made in 1860

and published in "Voices from a Busy Life," N. Y. 1883, p. 142.:

[507]1

\* English translation by Neale. See below, p. 473.: [508]1

\* For further information on Sequences see especially Neale's

Epistola Critica de Sequentiis: [509]1

\* Fr. Combefisius first edited the works of Andreas Cretensis, Par.

1644. Christ, 147-161, gives the first part of "the great canon"

(about one-fourth), and a new canon in praise of Peter. The last is

not in the Menaea: [510]1

\* From Newman's free reproduction (in Verses on Various Occasions:

[511]1

\* Gallandi, Bibl. Patrum: [512]1

\* His carmina: [513]1

\* In the abridged and not very happy translation of Bishop Cosin

(only four stanzas), beginning:: [514]1

\* It was introduced into the Prayer Book after the Restoration, 1662.

The alternate ordination hymn, "Come, Holy Ghost, eternal God,"

appeared in 1549, and was altered in 1662.: [515]1

\* Neale notices him, but thinks it not worth while to translate his

poetry.: [516]1

\* Neale translated four: Stichera for Great Thursday; Troparia for

Palm Sunday; a portion of the Great Canon; Stichera for the Second

Week of the Great Fast. His Opera: [517]1

\* O Lord, who: [518]1

\* Perpetim: [519]1

\* Poetae Gr. vet: [520]1

\* See the Latin text in Daniel II. 35; V. 69; Mone, I. 244. In ver. 8

line 2 Daniel reads frigidum for languidum.: [521]1

\* See the Marianic Te Deum: [522]1

\* See their hymns in Daniel, I. 183 sqq., and partly in Mone, and

Cl�ment.: [523]1

\* See two Latin texts with critical notes in Daniel, I. 160 sqq.,

rhymed English Versions by Mant, Caswall, and Neale. The originals

are not rhymed, but very melodious. See vol. III. 597. The Opera of

Fortunatus were edited by Luchi, Rom. 1786: [524]1

\* So Brower, and quite recently S. W. Duffield, in an article In

Schaff's "Rel. Encycl." III. 2608 sq. Also Cl�ment, Carmina: [525]1

\* The Latin text is from Brower, as reprinted in Migne (VI. 1657),

with the addition of the first doxology. The first translation is

by Robert Campbell, 1850, the second by Rev. S. W. Duffield, made

for this work, Feb. 1884. Other English versions by Wither (1623),

Drummond (1616), Cosin (1627), Tate (1703), Dryden (1700), Isaac

Williams (1839), Bishop Williams (1845), Mant ("Come, Holy Ghost,

Creator blest"), Benedict ("Spirit, heavenly life bestowing"),

MacGill ("Creator Holy Spirit! come"), Morgan ("Creator Spirit,

come in love"), in the Marquess of Bute's Breviary ("Come, Holy

Ghost, Creator come"). See nine of these translations in Odenheimer

and Bird, Songs of the Spirit: [526]1

\* The concluding conventional benediction in both forms is a later

addition. The first is given by Daniel (I. 214), and Mone (I. 242),

the second in the text of Rabanus Maurus. The scanning of

Paraecletos differs in both from that in the second stanza.: [527]1

\* The dates of his birth and death are quite uncertain, and variously

stated from 530 or 550 to 600 or 609.: [528]1

\* The text is taken from The First Book of Edward VI: [529]1

\* Translated by Neale, p. 32.: [530]1

\* syllabae: [531]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of Latin Words and Phrases

\* ": [532]1

\* ) ab Nicephoro dictus esse dicitur, quod ex Sicilia insula oriundus

erat et patria ab Arabibus capta et vastata cum matre et fratribus

primum in Peloponnesum, deinde Thessalonicem confugit, qua in urbe

monarchorum disciplnae severissimae sese addixit.": [533]1

\* .: "Nicephorus duos Iosephos hymnorum scriptores recenset, quorum

alterum Studiorum monasterii socium, alterum peregrinum dicit.

Priorem intelligo Iosephum fratrem minorem Theodori, Studiorum

antistitis, cuius memoriae dies XIV. mensis Iulii consecratus est.

Is ob morum integritatem et doctrina laudem Thessalonicensis

ecclesiae archiepiscopus electus a Theophilo rege: [534]1

\* Gravi me terrore pulsas vitae dies ultima": [535]1

\* audit, memoriam die III. mensis Aprilis ecclesia graeca

concelebrat. Is peregrinus (: [536]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of German Words and Phrases

\* ,: [537]1

\* Allg. Deutsche Biographie: [538]1

\* Also ist's ein Glaub zusammengeflickt aus der J�den, Christen und

Heiden Glaube: [539]1

\* Aufkl�rer: [540]1

\* Beda und seine Zeit: [541]1

\* Begleite sie mit ihrem Schwunge: [542]1

\* Ber�hr' im Fluge sie die Zeit.: [543]1

\* Christl. Kirchen- und Dogmengesch: [544]1

\* Conciliengesch: [545]1

\* Conciliengeschichte: [546]1

\* Dante Allighieri's Goettliche Komoedie: [547]1

\* Das Schulwesen des Mittelalters.: [548]1

\* Das System des Bo�thius und die ihm zugeschriebenen Theol.

Schriften: [549]1

\* Dass alles Irdische verhallt.": [550]1

\* Deise, sehr spaet, in dogmatischem Interesse aufgenommene Ansicht,

die sich bei L�ger und andern ja selbst noch bei Hahn findet, hat

keinen historischen Grund und ist von allen gr�ndlichen Kennern der

Waldensergeshichte l�ngst aufgegeben. Dabei soll nicht geleugnet

werden, dass die Tendenzen des Claudius sich noch eine zeitlang in

Italien erhalten haben; es ist soeben bemerkt worden, dass, nach

dem Zeugniss des Jonas von Orl�ans, man um 840 versuchte, sie von

neuen zu verbreiten. Dass sie sich aber bis zum Auftreten des Peter

Waldus und speciell in den piemontesischen Th�lern fortgepflanzt,

davon ist nicht die geringste Spur vorhanden.": [551]1

\* Dem Schicksal leihe sie die Zunge;: [552]1

\* Der Heros der Aufkl�rung wurde, der Repr�sentant der auf

�bernat�rlichem Fundament basirten Autorit�t: [553]1

\* Der Kaiser Friederich,: [554]1

\* Der Prophet hatte keine Wohnung f�r sich selbst. Sein Hauptquartier

war in der H�tte der Ayischa und die �ffentlichen Gesch�fte

verrichtete er in der Moschee, aber er brachte jede Nacht bei einer

seiner Frauen zu und war, wie es scheint, auch ihr Gast beim Essen.

Er ging aber t�glich, wenn er bei guter Laune war, bei allen seinen

Frauen umher, gab jeder einen Kuss, sprach einige Worte und spielte

mit ihr. Wir haben gesehen, dass seine Familie neun H�tten besass,

dies war auch die, Anzahl der Frauen, welche er bei seinem Tode

hinterliess. Doch gab es Zeiten, zu denen sein Harem st�rker war.

Er brachte dann einige seiner Sch�nen in den H�usern von Nachbarn

unter. Es kam auch vor, dass zwei Frauen eine H�tte bewohnten.

Stiefkinderwohnten, so lange sie jung waren, bei ihren M�ttern.:

[555]1

\* Der alte Barbarossa,: [556]1

\* Der heil. Benedict Gr�nder von Aniane und Cornelim�nster: [557]1

\* Der historische Christus und die Kirche, der sichtbare Leib Christi

verfl�chtigt sich schon bei Gottschalk zu einem leeren Abstraktum,

sobald der concrete Boden der Erw�hlung nicht mehr die Kirche und

ihre Sakramente, sondern ein lediglich fingirtes vorzeitliches

Decret Gottes ist. Es taucht dann immer ein Surrogat der Phantasie,

die s. g. unsichtbare Kirche auf, und diejenigen, welche die

grossartige realistische Lehre des hl. Augustin von der Kirche und

den Sakramenten zerst�ren, nennen sich vorz�glich Augustinianer,

indem sie nicht wissen, dass die Lehre Augustins von der

Praedestination auf dem concreten Boden der Christologie und

Anthropologie steht und ohne diese zur gef�hrlichsten H�resie

wird.: [558]1

\* Der m�chtig t�nend ihr entschallt,: [559]1

\* Des Lebens wechselvolles Spiel.: [560]1

\* Des Paulus Diaconus Leben und Schriften: [561]1

\* Des Reiches Herrlichkeit,: [562]1

\* Des heil. Augustinus' speculative Lehre von Gott dem dreieinigen:

[563]1

\* Deutsche Mythologie: [564]1

\* Deutsches Gesangbuch: [565]1

\* Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen: [566]1

\* Die Geburtsgeschichte Jesu im Koran ist nichts anderes als ein

mythologischer Mythus aus Ezech. 47 mit eingewobenen j�dischen

Z�gen, der seine Heimath im Ebionismus hat.: [567]1

\* Die Lehre Berengar's schliesst sich ganz an die des Ratramnus an,

ist aber zugleich eine Fortbildung derselben. Wie Ratramnus sich

eigentlich nur in der Sph�re des Verh�ltnisses von Bild und Sache

bewegt, so sucht dagegen Berengar zu zeigen, dass ungeachtet keine

andere Ansicht vom Abendmahl m�glich sei, als die symbolische, dem

Abendmahldoch seine volle Realit�t bleibe, dass, wenn man auch im

Abendmahl den Leib und das Blut Christi nicht wirklich geniesse,

doch auch so eine reelle Verbindung mit den Fleisch oder der in den

Himmel erh�chten Menschheit Christi stattfinde. Es ist im

Allgemeinen zwischen Ratramnus und Berengar ein analoges

Verh�ltniss wie sp�ter zwischen Zwingli und Calvin: [568]1

\* Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott: [569]1

\* Die M�nche, die er zu Gunsten der Bisth�mer beraubt hat, dachten

ihn nur eben von der H�lle gerettet; auch den Heiligenschein der

jungfraeulichen Kaiserinhat der Teufel zu verdunkeln gewusst.:

[570]1

\* Die Nachbarin des Donners, schweben: [571]1

\* Die Radbertische Doctrin war das synkretistische Gebilde, in

welchem die spiritualistische Lehre Augustin's mit der uralten

Anschauung von der realen Gegenwart des Leibes und dei Blutes

Christi, aber in Analogie mit dem religi�sen Materialismus der

Periode combinirt wurde; die gegnerische Theorie der Protest gegen

das Becht dieser Combination.: [572]1

\* Die S�ngerschule St. Gallens vom 8ten his 12ten Jahrh: [573]1

\* Die Sage vom Gral: [574]1

\* Die althochdeutschen Glossen gesammelt u. bearbeitet: [575]1

\* Die bisher unbekannt gebliebenen Hanyfen waren die Vorl�ufer des

Mohammad. Er nennt sich selbst einen Hanyf, und w�hrend der ersten

Periode seines Lehramtes hat er wenig anderes gethan, als ihre

Lehre best�tigt: [576]1

\* Die christl. Geisslergesellschaften: [577]1

\* Die dogmat. Lehre von den heil. Sacramenten der katholischen

Kirche,: [578]1

\* Die ihren Sch�pfer wandelnd loben: [579]1

\* Die trinitarische Lehrdifferenz: [580]1

\* Die untergeschobenen Schriften, die in der Hauptsache nichts

entscheidenden Stellen und die mit grosser Unwissenheit verdrehten

Ausspr�che sind so haeufig, dass man sich beides �ber die

Unwissenheit und Unversch�mtheit nicht genug verwundern kann,

welche in diesen Sammlungen sichtbar sind: [581]1

\* Diplomatisch-historische Forschungen: [582]1

\* Dogmengesch: [583]1 [584]2 [585]3

\* Ein Riesenschritt in der Entwicklung des deutschen Geistes geschah

durch Karls Gesetzgebung ... Mit Ehrfurcht und heiliger Scheu

schl�gt man die, Capitularien des grossen Kaisers auf, das erste

grosse Gesetzbuch der Germanen, ein Werk, dem mehrere Jahrhunderte

vorher und nachher kein Volk ein gleiches an die Seite gesetzt hat.

Das Bild des Karolingischen Staates tritt uns in voller

Gegenw�rtigkeit hier vor die Seele; wir sehen, wie Grosses

erreicht, wie das H�chste erstrebt wurde.: [586]1

\* Ein organisch gegliedertes, die h�chsten speculativen Ideen

umfassendes System: [587]1

\* Ein ungew�hnliches p�dagogisches Talent ist sicher demjenigen eigen

gewesen, welchen die bewundernden Sch�ler den Socrates der Franken

nannten. Die Pers�nlichkeit war ungleich gr�sser als die

wissenschaftliche Leistung, das individuell Anfassende bedeutsamer

als die materielle Unterweisung. Nicht f�hig originelle Gedanken zu

entwickeln und mitzutheilen, hat Fulbert als Bildner der

Eigenth�mlichkeit begabter Sch�ler seine Virtuosit�t in der

anreqenden Kraft seines Umgangs gezeigt. Dieser Lehrer wurde der

Vater gar verschieden gestimmter wissenschaftlicher S�hne: [588]1

\* Er geh�rte zu den seltenen Gelehrten, die in den weltlichen Dingen

gleich heimisch sind, wie in dem Reich der Ideen, die von

unbegrenzter Empf�nglichkeit sich jeden Stoff aneignen, leicht alle

Verh�ltnisse durchschauen und bemeistern, denen die H�lfsmittel des

Geistes nie versiegen, und deren Kr�fte auch die zerstreuteste

Th�tigkeit kaum ersch�pft: [589]1

\* Er hat hinabgenommen: [590]1

\* Er hat im Schloss verborgen: [591]1

\* Er ist niemals gestorben,: [592]1

\* Er lebt darin noch jetzt;: [593]1

\* Erhalt uns,Herr, bei deinem Wort: [594]1

\* Fehde: [595]1

\* Feind: [596]1

\* Folter: [597]1

\* Fulda und seine Privilegien: [598]1

\* G�schel Die Sage von Parcival und vom Gral nach Wolfram von

Eschenbach: [599]1

\* Gesch. der Bisch�fe von Augsburg: [600]1

\* Gesch. der Orgel und der Orgelbaukunst: [601]1

\* Gesch. der christl. lat. Lit: [602]1

\* Gesch. des Kelchs im Abendmahl: [603]1

\* Geschichte: [604]1

\* Geschichte der Novellen Justinians: [605]1

\* Geschichte der altirischen Kirche ... als Einleitung in die, Gesch.

des Stifts St. Gallen: [606]1

\* Glocke: [607]1

\* Glockenkunde: [608]1

\* Gottesurtheil: [609]1

\* Griech. Kirchenrecht bis zum Ende, des 9ten Jahrhunderts: [610]1

\* H�lt er verzaubert sich.: [611]1

\* Handbuch der Kirchl. Geogr. und Statistik: [612]1

\* Handbuch der Kirchl. Kunstarch�ologie: [613]1

\* Handbuch der christl. Kirchl. Alterth�mer: [614]1

\* Handbuch der christl. kirchlichen Alterth�mer: [615]1

\* Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Arch�ologie: [616]1

\* Hatte in Gallien die Hoftheologie des K�nigs den Semipeligianimus

(?) durchgebracht, so hat doch der Papst f�r Augustin entschieden

... Die Kirchengeschichte darf ganz unbedenklich in ihre Bl�tter

diese Entscheidung des r�mischen Stuhls gegen den Semipelagianismus

des neunten Jahrhunderts aufnehmen, die man seit Mauguin niemals

h�tte bezweifeln sollen: [617]1

\* Hist. Nachricht von Kirchen-Glocken: [618]1

\* Hist. Nachricht von den Glocken: [619]1

\* Hoch �ber'm niedern Erdenleben: [620]1

\* Ich kann nicht glauben,: [621]1

\* Ihr Siegeshymnen schallet laut, and Unschuld'ger Kinder

Martyrschaar: [622]1

\* Im Kampfe f�r die Bilder steigerte sich die Glut der sinnlichen

Fr�mmigkeit, und mit dem Siege der Bilderverehrung im neunten

Jahrhundert ist eine innerliche und aeusserliche Zunahme des

Heiligenkultus und namentlich ein Wachsthum der Marienvehrung

unverkennbar.: [623]1

\* Im unterird'schen Schlosse: [624]1

\* In Wahrheit ist ja auch der S�nder praedestinirt ad mortem oder

poenam, aber seine Praedestination ist keine absolute, wie die des

electus, sondern sie ist bedingt durch die praevisa demerita:

[625]1

\* Jede gewissenhafte Forschung geht auf Adam zur�ck und seine

Autorit�t stand von Anfang an mit Recht in hohem Ansehen: [626]1

\* Jetzt war Sachsen besiegt: [627]1

\* Karl der Gr. im Kreise der Gelehrten: [628]1

\* Kelten und Germanen: [629]1

\* Kesselfang: [630]1

\* Ketzergeschichte: [631]1

\* Kirchengesch: [632]1 [633]2 [634]3 [635]4

\* Kirchengesch. Deutschlands: [636]1

\* Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters: [637]1

\* Kirchengeschichte: [638]1

\* Kirchl. Geographie und Statistik: [639]1

\* Knecht: [640]1

\* Komm, Gott Sch�pfer, heiliger Geist: [641]1

\* Komm, Sch�pfer, heil'ger Geist, erfreu: [642]1

\* Komm, Sch�pfer, heiliger Geist: [643]1

\* Krit. Beitr�ge zur Gesch. florentin. Kirchenvereinigung: [644]1

\* Leben der heil. Kunigunde: [645]1

\* Lebensbild des heil. Notker von St. Gallen: [646]1

\* Leo der Grosse: [647]1

\* Mein liebes Kind, dos Denken ist auch Gottesdienst.": [648]1

\* Mit Benedict IX. erreichte das Papstthum aussersten Grad des

sittlichen Verfalls, welcher nach den Gesetzen der menschlichen

Natur den Umschlag zum Bessern erzeugt: [649]1

\* Mit ihr zu seiner Zeit,: [650]1

\* Mittelalterliches Schulwesen: [651]1

\* Mitten wir im Leben sind mit dem Tod umfangen: [652]1

\* Nach des ew'gen Lebens Quellen: [653]1

\* Nur ewigen und ersten Dingen: [654]1

\* Pl�tzlich wird der Tag erscheinen: [655]1

\* Schalk: [656]1

\* Schediasma litterarium: [657]1

\* Scotus Erigena dachte sich: [658]1

\* Sei ihr metall'ner Mund geweiht,: [659]1

\* Sein Vorbild ist besonders Sallust, der in den Schulen vorzugeweise

gelesen wurde und darum auch eine �bergrossen Einfluss auf den Stil

der Zeit �bte: [660]1

\* Selbst herzlos, ohne Mitgef�hl,: [661]1

\* Sendgerichte: [662]1

\* So hat demnach die grosse Trennung zwischen Orient und Occident in

diesem Lehrst�cke die Folge gehabt, dass die, Auffassung des

Damasceners, gleichsam in der Mitte stehend, von dem Patriarchen

Tarasius amtlich approbirt und vom Papste Hadrian I. vertheidigt,

weder im Orient noch im Occident zur Geltung kam. Dort galt sie als

zu zweideutig und hier ward sie als unzureichend befunden: [663]1

\* So lehre sie, dass nichts bestehet,: [664]1

\* Soll eine Stimme sein von oben,: [665]1

\* Soll sie im blauen Himmelszelt,: [666]1

\* Studien und Kritiken: [667]1

\* Ueber die f�r verloren gehaltene Schrift des Johannes Scotus

Erigena von der Eucharistic: [668]1

\* Und diess sei fortan ihr Beruf,: [669]1

\* Und f�hren das bekr�nzte Jahr.: [670]1

\* Und gr�nzen an die Sternenwelt;: [671]1

\* Und st�ndlich mit den schnellen Schwinger: [672]1

\* Und steur' des Papst's und T�rken Mord: [673]1

\* Und wie der Klang im Ohr vergehet,: [674]1

\* Und wird einst wiederkommen: [675]1

\* Urtheil: [676]1

\* Verh�ltniss der alten Kirche zur Sklaverei: [677]1

\* Was Enthusiasmus f�r die heilige Jungfrau, was Kenntniss biblischer

Typen, �berhaupt religi�ser Gegenst�nde und Gedanken zu leisten

vermochten, was Schmuck der Sprache. Gewandtheit des Ausdrucks,

Kunst der Rhythmen und der Reime hinzuf�gen komnten, das ist hier

in un�bertroffenem Masse bewirkt.": [678]1

\* Wehrmann: [679]1

\* Wie der Gestirne helle Shaar,: [680]1

\* Wie du mich mit Schrecken sch�ttelst: [681]1

\* Wozu der Meister sie erschuf:: [682]1

\* Zeitschrift f�r Kirchengeschichte: [683]1

\* Zum Schlaf sich hingesetzt.: [684]1

\* [Deum] adesse, bellantibus credunt.: [685]1

\* christliche Epik der Angelsachsen, Deutschen und Nordl�nder: [686]1

\* dass je ein Papst seine Stellung so sehr vergessen habe, wie es

Johann VIII. gethan haben m�sste, wenn dieser Brief �cht w�re. Es

ist in demselben auch keine Spur des Papalbewusstseins, vielmehr

ist die Superiorit�t des Photius fast ausdr�cklich anerkannt.:

[687]1

\* der allerbeste Hymnus: [688]1

\* des deutschen Mittelalters: [689]1

\* deutsch: [690]1

\* die kaiserlose, die schreckliche Zeit: [691]1

\* diutan, deutsch deutlich: [692]1

\* ein Werk voll merkw�rdiger Dinge, und mannigfach belehrend, aber

ohne festen Plan und chronologische Ordnung: [693]1

\* eine Ubiquit�t der vergeistigten und verg�ttlichten Natur, die die

Annahme einer speciellen Gegenwart in den Elementen des Abendmahls

nicht zuliess, sondern dieselben nur als Symbole zu nehmen

gestattete. Brod und Wein konnten ihm daher nur als Symbolejener

Ubiquit�t der verherrlichten menschlichen Natur gelten; er hat sich

aber hier�ber nicht n�her erkl�rt: [694]1

\* erkl�rte, sich ganz �bereinstimmend: [695]1

\* gegessen und mit den Z�hnen zerbissen: [696]1

\* gere: [697]1

\* grossentheils durch Schuld der lateinischen Eroberer: [698]1

\* guerre: [699]1

\* klopfen: [700]1

\* oberfl�chlich, eitel, ehrgeizig, verwegen and neuerungs�chtig:

[701]1

\* teutsch: [702]1

\* treu, Treue: [703]1

\* und mit Blutgesetzen worden das Christenthum und das K�nigthum

zugliech den Sachsen aufgedrungen. Mit Todesstrafen wurde die Taufe

erzwungen, die heidnischen Gebr�uche bedroht; jede Verletzung eines

chistlichen Priesters wurde, wie der Aufruhr gegen den K�nig und

der Ungehorsam gegen seine Befehle, zu einem todeswuerdigen

Verbrechen gestempelt: [704]1

\* war nur ein Namenchrist, aber doch immerhin ein solcher; die erste

christliche Erziehung war keineswegs spurlos an ihm

voruebergegangen. Sein Werk ruht zwar seinem ganzen Gehalt nach auf

der heidnisch-antiken Philosophie, haupts�chlich dem Platonismus,

und zwar in der neuplatonischen Form, wie schon eine sehr

fluechtige Kenntniss desselben alsbald zeigt, und in allen

Einzelheiten, freilich nicht ohne einige Uebertreibung, von Nitzsch

nach gewiessen worden Werk erh�lt nicht bloss durch das starke

Hervortreten stoischroemischer Ethik einen christlichen Anschein,

sondern diesenimmt hier auch mitunter in der That eine specifisch

christliche F�rbung an, wie es denn selbst auch an Reminiscenzen

aus der Bibel nicht ganz fehlt. Hoechst merkwuerdig ist, wie in

diesem Werke des letzten der roemischen Philosophen, wie Zeller ihn

mit Recht nennt, diese verschiedenen, zum Theil ganz heterogenen

Elemente sich durchdringen zu einer doch einigen Gesammtwirkung in

Folge des sittlichen Moments, worin seine, wie ueberhaupt des

r�mischen Eklekticismus St�rke beruht.": [705]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Index of French Words and Phrases

\* Cet homme est si grand que, la grandeur a p�n�tr� son nom: [706]1

\* Correspond. de l' empereur Napol. I: [707]1

\* De l'origine des traditions sur le christianisme de Bo�ce: [708]1

\* De numerorum divisione; De geometria; De spherae constructione; De

Rationali et Ratione uti: [709]1

\* Histoire des Gaulois: [710]1

\* Histoire, des instruments de musique au moyen-age: [711]1

\* Historia Flagellantium: [712]1

\* J'en mettrais la main au feu: [713]1

\* Les Romans de la Table Ronde: [714]1

\* Les bibles de Th�odulfe: [715]1

\* Les conqu�tes prodigieuses: [716]1

\* Les faits de la r�v�lation reposent sur les relations trinitaires.

Ils en sont comme les reflets: [717]1

\* Lesavoir dominant de Gerbert �tait la science des mathematiques:

[718]1

\* N� dans Ath�nes, Lut�ce d'Orient, il meurt � Lut�ce, Ath�nes

d'Occident; successivement epoux de deux �glises, dont l'une

poss�dera son borceau, et l'autre sa tombe. Montmartre vaudra la

colline de Mars: [719]1

\* Oeuvres de Saint Denis: [720]1

\* Pour le pape je suis Charemagne. parce que comme Charlemagne je

r�unis la couronne de Prance � celle du Lombards et que mon empire

confine avec l' Orient: [721]1

\* Rodulphe ou Raoul, surnomm� Glaber parce qu'il �tait chauve et sans

poil: [722]1

\* Toutes les provinces de l'occident: [723]1

\* Trait� des Cloches: [724]1

\* cloche: [725]1

\* concoururernt au grand ouvrage des �coles carlovinggiennes.":

[726]1

\* furent la dilatation du r�gne de Dieu, et il se moutra tr�s

chr�tien dans toutes ses aeuvres: [727]1

\* greel: [728]1

\* ord�al: [729]1

\* per les melleurs critiques: [730]1

\* qui est beaucoup au-dussus de celuis de quantit� d' autres �crits

du m�me temps: [731]1

\* san gr�al: [732]1

\* sont vrais simultan�ment: [733]1

\* torture: [734]1

\* un reflet de la Cit� de Dieu: [735]1

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

This document is from the Christian Classics Ethereal

Library at Calvin College, http://www.ccel.org,

generated on demand from ThML source.

References

1. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=12&scrV=7#i.iii.iv-p11.3

2. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Gen&scrCh=16&scrV=10#i.iii.viii-p27.1

3. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=15&scrV=20#i.iii.viii-p19.2

4. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=25&scrV=17#i.x.xi-p11.1

5. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Exod&scrCh=31&scrV=2#i.xiii.vii-p7.3

6. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Num&scrCh=21&scrV=1#i.iii.viii-p19.3

7. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=6&scrV=4#i.iii.viii-p10.1

8. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.iii.viii-p27.2

9. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=18&scrV=15#i.xi.xiii-p10.8

10. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=18&scrV=18#i.iii.viii-p27.2

11. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=32&scrV=0#i.iii.viii-p27.6

12. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Deut&scrCh=104&scrV=0#i.xiv.xxxv-p45.1

13. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Josh&scrCh=11&scrV=8#i.xiv.xxvi-p15.1

14. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Judg&scrCh=5&scrV=6#i.vi.ii-p4.1

15. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ezra&scrCh=6&scrV=10#i.xii.ii-p7.8

16. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Job&scrCh=3&scrV=6#i.xiv.xxvi-p44.1

17. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.xi.xiii-p10.9

18. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=22&scrV=23#i.xi.xiii-p10.9

19. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=44&scrV=2#i.xi.xiii-p10.11

20. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=48&scrV=0#i.xiv.x-p15.1

21. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=60&scrV=4#i.xi.xiii-p10.10

22. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=90&scrV=9#i.xiv.xxvi-p44.3

23. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=102&scrV=24#i.xiv.xxvi-p44.2

24. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=104&scrV=17#i.xiv.xxxiv-p63.1

25. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ps&scrCh=109&scrV=28#i.xi.xxiii-p39.6

26. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Prov&scrCh=8&scrV=25#i.xi.xiii-p10.13

27. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Song&scrCh=4&scrV=12#i.xi.xxii-p25.1

28. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=3&scrV=1#i.iv.xviii-p46.1

29. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=21&scrV=67#i.iii.viii-p27.3

30. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Isa&scrCh=45&scrV=23#i.xi.xiii-p10.12

31. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Jer&scrCh=17&scrV=5#i.x.xiv-p12.1

32. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=41&scrV=1#i.x.xi-p11.2

33. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=41&scrV=15#i.x.xi-p11.2

34. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=41&scrV=19#i.x.xi-p11.2

35. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Ezek&scrCh=44&scrV=2#i.xi.xxii-p25.2

36. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Dan&scrCh=6&scrV=11#i.xii.ii-p7.7

37. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Mal&scrCh=2&scrV=2#i.xi.xxiii-p39.5

38. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=2&scrV=1#i.ii.iii-p7.2

39. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.viii.iii-p15.1

40. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=6&scrV=3#i.vi.ix-p20.1

41. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=12&scrV=28#i.xiii.vi-p84.2

42. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.iv.iv-p25.3

43. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=16&scrV=19#i.xi.xxiii-p39.4

44. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=20&scrV=26#i.iv.iv-p12.1

45. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=23&scrV=24#i.xi.xxiii-p39.1

46. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=24&scrV=0#i.xiv.xxviii-p22.1

47. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=25&scrV=31#i.x.v-p145.1

48. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=26#i.xi.xvii-p11.1

49. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=26#i.xi.xxi-p11.1

50. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=26#i.xiv.xxxi-p11.1

51. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=27#i.xi.xxv-p13.2

52. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=28#i.xiv.xxxi-p11.2

53. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=26&scrV=39#i.xi.v-p11.1

54. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=34#i.xi.v-p11.7

55. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Matt&scrCh=27&scrV=45#i.xiii.iv-p83.1

56. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.viii.iii-p15.2

57. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=6&scrV=13#i.x.vi-p14.2

58. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=13&scrV=32#i.xi.xiii-p10.3

59. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=15&scrV=33#i.xiii.iv-p83.2

60. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Mark&scrCh=16&scrV=18#i.x.vi-p14.2

61. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=28#i.iii.viii-p19.1

62. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=1&scrV=80#i.xi.xiii-p10.2

63. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=2&scrV=51#i.xi.v-p11.4

64. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=9&scrV=26#i.xi.xxiii-p37.3

65. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=20#i.xiii.vi-p84.1

66. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=11&scrV=52#i.xi.xxiii-p37.4

67. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=13&scrV=34#i.xi.v-p11.8

68. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=18&scrV=19#i.xi.xiii-p10.2

69. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=31#i.iv.iv-p25.2

70. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=31#i.xi.vii-p9.1

71. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=22&scrV=42#i.xi.v-p11.2

72. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=22#i.xi.xxiii-p37.2

73. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Luke&scrCh=23&scrV=44#i.xiii.iv-p83.3

74. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=0#i.xi.xiii-p8.2

75. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=14#i.xi.xiii-p10.4

76. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=1&scrV=43#i.xi.v-p11.6

77. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=3&scrV=16#i.xi.xiii-p23.1

78. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=14#i.xi.xxiv-p11.1

79. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=21#i.iii.viii-p27.4

80. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=4&scrV=24#i.x.x-p13.2

81. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=5&scrV=21#i.xi.v-p11.9

82. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=38#i.xi.v-p11.3

83. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=38#i.xi.v-p16.7

84. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=54#i.xi.xxi-p6.2

85. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=63#i.xi.xxii-p6.1

86. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=6&scrV=63#i.xi.xxv-p39.1

87. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=8&scrV=0#i.ii.iii-p8.2

88. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=10&scrV=35#i.xi.xiii-p10.4

89. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=12&scrV=8#i.vi.ix-p24.1

90. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=16#i.iii.viii-p26.1

91. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=26#i.xi.iii-p21.2

92. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=14&scrV=28#i.xi.xiii-p10.1

93. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.xi.ii-p10.1

94. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.xi.ii-p17.1

95. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.xi.ii-p21.1

96. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.xi.iii-p10.4

97. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.xi.iii-p15.1

98. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=15&scrV=26#i.xi.iii-p21.1

99. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=16&scrV=7#i.xi.iii-p21.1

100. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=21#i.iv.iv-p20.1

101. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=17&scrV=24#i.xi.v-p11.6

102. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=27#i.x.v-p158.1

103. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=28#i.xi.v-p11.6

104. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=19&scrV=38#i.xi.xxiii-p37.1

105. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=22#i.xi.iii-p21.3

106. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=20&scrV=25#i.xiii.vi-p84.4

107. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=0#i.xiv.xxxviii-p28.1

108. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=John&scrCh=21&scrV=17#i.iv.iv-p25.1

109. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=3&scrV=13#i.xi.xiii-p23.4

110. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=0#i.xi.ix-p19.1

111. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=15&scrV=39#i.xi.xxiii-p39.3

112. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Acts&scrCh=17&scrV=34#i.xiii.iv-p11.1

113. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=23#i.x.x-p13.1

114. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=24#i.iii.viii-p43.1

115. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1&scrV=25#i.x.x-p13.1

116. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=29#i.xi.xiii-p9.2

117. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=29#i.xi.xiii-p10.5

118. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=8&scrV=32#i.xi.xiii-p23.2

119. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=11&scrV=36#i.xiii.iv-p51.1

120. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=12&scrV=1#i.x.i-p19.2

121. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=15&scrV=28#i.ii.iii-p11.2

122. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=16&scrV=10#i.ii.iii-p8.3

123. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1588&scrV=0#i.i.i-p40.1

124. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1606&scrV=0#i.xiv.xli-p3.1

125. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1655&scrV=0#i.v.i-p18.1

126. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1658&scrV=0#i.v.i-p18.2

127. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1702&scrV=0#i.xiv.xli-p5.1

128. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1738&scrV=0#i.i.i-p33.1

129. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1741&scrV=0#i.x.iv-p7.1

130. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1766&scrV=0#i.xi.ix-p5.1

131. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1786&scrV=0#i.x.v-p17.2

132. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rom&scrCh=1835&scrV=0#i.i.i-p34.1

133. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=1&scrV=10#i.xiv.xxxiii-p22.1

134. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=3&scrV=11#i.vi.ix-p14.1

135. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1Cor&scrCh=11&scrV=3#i.xi.xiii-p10.6

136. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=1&scrV=8#i.viii.ii-p13.1

137. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=2&scrV=11#i.xii.i-p26.1

138. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=5&scrV=1#i.i.iv-p12.1

139. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Gal&scrCh=6&scrV=15#i.xi.xxiii-p39.2

140. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=1&scrV=21#i.xiii.iv-p60.1

141. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Eph&scrCh=5&scrV=2#i.xi.xiii-p23.3

142. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=2&scrV=8#i.xi.v-p11.5

143. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Phil&scrCh=6&scrV=0#i.ii.iii-p8.1

144. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=15#i.xi.xiii-p9.3

145. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1&scrV=16#i.xiii.iv-p60.3

146. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=18#i.x.viii-p25.2

147. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=2&scrV=21#i.xii.ii-p14.4

148. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=206&scrV=0#i.xiv.xvii-p22.1

149. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=212&scrV=0#i.xiv.xvii-p22.1

150. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=841&scrV=0#i.xiv.xviii-p10.1

151. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1507&scrV=0#i.xiv.xxvi-p102.1

152. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Col&scrCh=1556&scrV=0#i.x.iv-p6.1

153. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=3#i.xi.xvii-p11.4

154. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1Tim&scrCh=2&scrV=5#i.iii-p7.1

155. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=9&scrV=1#i.x.xi-p11.3

156. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Jas&scrCh=5&scrV=14#i.x.vi-p14.1

157. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=3&scrV=2#i.xi.xiii-p10.7

158. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=4&scrV=23#i.iii.viii-p27.5

159. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=1John&scrCh=5&scrV=7#i.xiii.vi-p84.3

160. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=19&scrV=10#i.x.viii-p25.3

161. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3?scrBook=Rev&scrCh=22&scrV=8#i.x.viii-p25.3

162. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p14.1

163. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p50.1

164. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p14.1

165. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p18.2

166. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p20.2

167. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xi-p9.3

168. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p16.4

169. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p20.3

170. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p78.2

171. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p78.1

172. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.4

173. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p59.1

174. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.6

175. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.7

176. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p20.4

177. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p46.1

178. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.9

179. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p20.5

180. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p76.3

181. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.iii-p24.1

182. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p37.2

183. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p76.2

184. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p76.1

185. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p34.1

186. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.2

187. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p60.2

188. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p59.1

189. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xi-p9.2

190. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p16.5

191. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p16.3

192. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.iii-p24.2

193. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.5

194. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.1

195. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p48.3

196. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.6

197. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.4

198. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p33.1

199. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.6

200. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.8

201. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.11

202. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p12.1

203. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p19.1

204. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.6

205. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.5

206. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p12.2

207. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.4

208. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p20.2

209. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.3

210. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vii-p5.3

211. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.6

212. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iii-p11.1

213. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p48.1

214. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p50.5

215. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iii-p16.2

216. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.10

217. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p50.4

218. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p17.1

219. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p11.1

220. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.iii-p10.2

221. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.3

222. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.3

223. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xii-p10.1

224. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p84.2

225. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p84.3

226. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.1

227. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p28.2

228. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p59.2

229. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p63.1

230. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p13.2

231. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p13.1

232. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p69.1

233. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p69.2

234. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p44.3

235. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p28.2

236. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p20.1

237. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xi-p11.1

238. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.3

239. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p84.1

240. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p81.1

241. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xi-p9.1

242. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.2

243. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.4

244. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p17.2

245. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p17.4

246. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p5.1

247. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.viii-p17.1

248. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p47.1

249. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.9

250. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p16.3

251. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p83.3

252. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.5

253. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p8.6

254. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p57.2

255. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p61.2

256. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p85.2

257. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p44.1

258. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ix-p12.2

259. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ix-p12.1

260. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.ii-p9.1

261. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p25.2

262. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.7

263. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.3

264. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p25.1

265. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p26.1

266. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.iii-p10.1

267. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p13.1

268. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p85.4

269. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p12.1

270. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p7.3

271. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p4.6

272. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p35.1

273. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p18.1

274. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p32.3

275. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p40.2

276. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p32.1

277. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p68.1

278. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p7.3

279. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p7.1

280. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p32.4

281. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iii-p39.1

282. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p7.2

283. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p19.1

284. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xi-p7.1

285. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.2

286. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p23.1

287. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p91.1

288. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iii-p36.1

289. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p15.1

290. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.viii-p17.1

291. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.x-p12.1

292. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.viii-p17.1

293. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.5

294. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.x-p8.1

295. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.1

296. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.4

297. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p4.4

298. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p4.3

299. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p11.1

300. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p64.1

301. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p69.1

302. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p75.3

303. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.7

304. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.i-p10.3

305. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.i-p10.2

306. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.i-p10.1

307. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.12

308. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p72.1

309. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p15.1

310. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iii-p38.1

311. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p82.1

312. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxv-p37.1

313. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p22.1

314. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iii-p33.1

315. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.i-p22.1

316. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ix-p9.1

317. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p23.1

318. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p63.2

319. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p70.1

320. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p31.1

321. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p71.1

322. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.11

323. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vii-p5.2

324. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vii-p5.1

325. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p17.1

326. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p25.3

327. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p16.1

328. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.viii-p17.2

329. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p42.1

330. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p43.1

331. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p41.1

332. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xix-p5.1

333. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vii-p13.2

334. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p75.2

335. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.8

336. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.10

337. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.2

338. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.2

339. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.4

340. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.4

341. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p15.2

342. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p33.1

343. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p14.2

344. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p15.1

345. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.6

346. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.8

347. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xii-p6.2

348. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xii-p6.1

349. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p16.1

350. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p4.5

351. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p46.1

352. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.3

353. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p15.2

354. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iii-p7.1

355. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p27.3

356. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p35.3

357. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p27.1

358. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p35.4

359. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p32.2

360. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p23.3

361. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p7.5

362. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p57.1

363. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p16.2

364. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p4.2

365. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.1

366. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p85.3

367. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p44.4

368. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p28.3

369. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p19.3

370. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p19.4

371. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p14.3

372. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p60.4

373. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p50.1

374. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.x-p12.2

375. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p8.4

376. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.iii-p10.5

377. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p16.2

378. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p24.2

379. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p45.1

380. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p36.1

381. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p37.1

382. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p35.1

383. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p34.1

384. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p7.4

385. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p57.5

386. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p57.4

387. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ix-p9.2

388. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xviii-p9.1

389. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p75.3

390. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p28.4

391. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p75.2

392. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p75.1

393. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xiv-p5.1

394. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.1

395. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p15.2

396. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p16.6

397. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p35.2

398. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p8.2

399. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p82.2

400. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p8.3

401. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p58.1

402. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.x-p9.1

403. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p29.1

404. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p69.3

405. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.i-p19.1

406. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.ii-p14.5

407. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.v-p4.1

408. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p50.2

409. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p50.6

410. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p16.1

411. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.iii-p14.2

412. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.iii-p14.4

413. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.iii-p14.3

414. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xx-p6.1

415. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p14.6

416. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xiii-p8.1

417. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p44.2

418. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p28.1

419. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.iv-p24.1

420. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.i-p12.1

421. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p28.5

422. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.5

423. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p83.5

424. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.1

425. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.8

426. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p27.2

427. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.viii-p19.2

428. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.9

429. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.iv-p5.1

430. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.2

431. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.5

432. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p17.3

433. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.iii-p10.3

434. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xvii-p11.3

435. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.7

436. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.9

437. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.10

438. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.3

439. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p48.2

440. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p94.1

441. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xvii-p11.2

442. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p23.2

443. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p8.5

444. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.iii-p14.1

445. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p31.1

446. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p16.2

447. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.i-p22.3

448. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.8

449. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p69.4

450. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p16.7

451. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xi-p9.4

452. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xiii-p14.2

453. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xiii-p9.1

454. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iii-p13.1

455. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p36.1

456. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.2

457. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.viii-p19.1

458. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p32.1

459. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iii-p16.1

460. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p60.5

461. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p37.5

462. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p28.1

463. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p28.3

464. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iii-p16.3

465. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p35.1

466. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xii.i-p22.2

467. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p24.3

468. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p24.1

469. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p10.3

470. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vii-p13.1

471. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vi-p19.1

472. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p57.3

473. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.iv-p5.3

474. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.vii-p5.4

475. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p85.1

476. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p50.3

477. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p28.1

478. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p53.1

479. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p96.3

480. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p17.2

481. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p8.1

482. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p19.2

483. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.ix-p9.7

484. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ix-p35.5

485. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p106.5

486. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.3

487. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p96.5

488. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.7

489. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.5

490. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p106.3

491. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p38.2

492. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p7.1

493. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p72.1

494. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p51.1

495. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p96.4

496. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p47.1

497. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p46.1

498. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p57.1

499. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p77.1

500. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p79.1

501. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p87.1

502. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p94.1

503. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.1

504. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p20.1

505. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p32.1

506. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p106.1

507. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p86.1

508. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p85.1

509. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p96.1

510. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p67.1

511. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p25.1

512. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p40.1

513. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p35.1

514. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p38.3

515. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p45.1

516. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p89.1

517. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p72.1

518. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p111.1

519. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p57.1

520. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p61.1

521. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p83.1

522. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p4.1

523. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p122.1

524. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p17.1

525. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p37.1

526. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p52.1

527. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p61.1

528. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p10.1

529. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p110.1

530. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p102.1

531. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p96.2

532. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p128.1

533. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p83.6

534. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p83.2

535. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p114.4

536. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p83.4

537. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.iii-p6.2

538. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xviii-p18.1

539. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.viii-p4.1

540. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxiii-p7.1

541. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.viii-p11.1

542. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p32.1

543. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p29.1

544. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxi-p5.1

545. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.vi-p13.1

546. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.vi-p6.1

547. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p15.1

548. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p54.2

549. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p11.1

550. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p37.1

551. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xiv-p20.2

552. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p30.1

553. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxviii-p16.1

554. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p23.1

555. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.v-p35.1

556. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p22.1

557. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vii.ii-p5.1

558. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xvii-p21.1

559. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p35.1

560. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p33.1

561. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ii-p11.1

562. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p33.1

563. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p25.1

564. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xxix-p22.1

565. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p106.4

566. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.ii-p11.2

567. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.viii-p22.1

568. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxiv-p8.1

569. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.viii-p31.1

570. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xviii-p39.1

571. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p20.1

572. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxi-p6.1

573. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p94.4

574. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iv-p14.17

575. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxvi-p66.1

576. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.iv-p23.1

577. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xli-p15.2

578. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.iii-p22.1

579. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p24.1

580. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p25.2

581. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.xi-p12.1

582. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xxi-p9.2

583. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xii-p13.1

584. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxii-p14.1

585. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p4.1

586. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ix.iii-p7.1

587. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxv-p105.1

588. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxix-p11.1

589. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxviii-p8.1

590. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p32.1

591. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p29.1

592. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p27.1

593. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p28.1

594. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.iii-p6.1

595. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vi-p7.1

596. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vi-p7.2

597. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p6.5

598. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xxi-p9.1

599. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iv-p14.8

600. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.viii-p11.1

601. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p7.3

602. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p20.1

603. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxv-p13.1

604. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iv-p9.1

605. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p24.1

606. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xviii-p32.1

607. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p9.4

608. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p15.4

609. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vii-p6.2

610. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p24.3

611. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p25.1

612. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iii-p16.1

613. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p7.2

614. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.viii-p26.1

615. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p11.1

616. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p15.5

617. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xvii-p39.4

618. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p15.3

619. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p15.2

620. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p18.1

621. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.iv-p17.1

622. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p32.2

623. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p13.1

624. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p24.1

625. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xv-p8.1

626. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xl-p15.2

627. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xxii-p11.1

628. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vii-p12.1

629. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.4

630. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vii-p10.1

631. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p21.1

632. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p29.1

633. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vii.ii-p5.2

634. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xii-p13.2

635. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxiv-p8.2

636. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.vii-p8.1

637. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxiii-p7.2

638. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xiii-p6.1

639. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.viii-p12.1

640. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xiv-p24.2

641. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p48.2

642. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p48.3

643. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p48.1

644. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.vi-p13.2

645. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xviii-p39.2

646. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p94.2

647. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p25.3

648. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xviii-p6.1

649. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xviii-p48.1

650. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p35.1

651. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p54.4

652. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p106.2

653. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.6

654. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p26.1

655. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p146.1

656. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xiv-p24.1

657. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.iv-p24.2

658. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxii-p14.2

659. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p27.1

660. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xl-p15.1

661. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p31.1

662. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.viii.i-p10.1

663. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.iii-p13.1

664. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p36.1

665. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p22.1

666. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p19.1

667. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.6

668. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxii-p12.1

669. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p16.1

670. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p25.1

671. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p21.1

672. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p28.1

673. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iii.iii-p7.1

674. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p34.1

675. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p34.1

676. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vii-p6.1

677. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.v-p9.1

678. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.iii-p57.6

679. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p11.3

680. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p23.1

681. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p115.1

682. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p17.1

683. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.7

684. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p30.1

685. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vii-p15.1

686. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.viii-p13.1

687. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.iv-p17.2

688. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p20.2

689. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p15.6

690. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p12.1

691. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p45.1

692. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p12.3

693. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xl-p10.1

694. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxii-p14.3

695. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.viii-p19.1

696. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxiii-p17.4

697. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p11.1

698. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.v.v-p29.2

699. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p11.2

700. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p9.6

701. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.xxiii-p6.1

702. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p12.2

703. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vi-p12.1

704. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.xxii-p11.2

705. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p20.2

706. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.ix-p44.1

707. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p62.2

708. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vi-p11.2

709. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxviii-p22.3

710. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.i.iii-p6.5

711. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p7.1

712. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xli-p15.1

713. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vii-p13.1

714. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iv-p14.11

715. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xx-p13.1

716. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.ix-p72.1

717. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.7

718. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxviii-p22.2

719. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p13.2

720. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.iv-p13.1

721. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.xi-p62.4

722. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xl-p8.1

723. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vii-p7.1

724. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p15.1

725. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.vii-p9.5

726. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiii.vii-p7.2

727. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.iv.ix-p72.2

728. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iv-p14.3

729. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.vii-p6.4

730. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.2

731. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xiv.xxxviii-p10.1

732. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.ii.iv-p14.2

733. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.xi.ii-p21.8

734. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.vi.viii-p6.4

735. file://localhost/ccel/s/schaff/hcc4/cache/hcc4.html3#i.x.v-p119.4